LESSON FIVE: THE LEGACY

LESSON OBJECTIVE

To determine the importance of the Declaration of Independence in influencing issues of slavery and the Civil War, women’s suffrage, the concept of universal human rights, and the Civil Rights Movement, and to show how the concepts and promises of this document still are viewed as an enduring part of American culture.

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES AND THEIR OBJECTIVES

ACTIVITY ONE: Washington’s Vision for the United States
- Summary: Students read a part of Washington’s Inaugural Address.
- Objective: To examine an image of Washington during his inauguration as the first president of the United States.

ACTIVITY TWO: Frederick Douglass Speaks of Slavery and Liberty
- Summary: Students look at excerpts from the Frederick Douglass speech “What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?”.
- Objective: To examine this document and how it relates to the Declaration of Independence.

ACTIVITY THREE: Abraham Lincoln Looks Back
- Summary: Students look at the Gettysburg Address.
- Objective: To examine this document in terms of how it relates to the Declaration of Independence.

ACTIVITY FOUR: Women Declare their Rights
- Summary: Students look at the Declaration of Sentiments.
- Objective: To compare this document with the Declaration of Independence in terms of language and content.

ACTIVITY FIVE: Eleanor Roosevelt and the United Nations
- Summary: Students look at the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- Objective: To compare how this document on global rights relates to concepts of freedom and equality found in the Declaration of Independence.

ACTIVITY SIX: Martin Luther King’s Dream of Liberty
- Summary: Students look at the Martin Luther King Jr. speech “I Have a Dream,” and write a speech of their own.
- Objective: To allow students to use their knowledge of history to express their ideas and vision of the future.

ACTIVITY SEVEN: Liberty Today
- Summary: Students examine the Statue of Liberty and its symbolism.
- Objective: To gain an understanding of how the ideals of the Declaration of Independence continue to serve us today.

NATIONAL STANDARDS

Social Studies: II d; IV h; V c, f, g; VI h; X a, b, c, f, h, j.
History: Era 5, Standard 2; Era 7, Standard 3; Era 9, Standard 4.
The concepts of self-government, freedom, and equality conceived by the founders of our country and embodied in the Declaration of Independence continued to influence the struggle for equality in succeeding generations and continues today. This influence has been the catalyst for initiating major turning points in history, especially when the virtues of equality, freedom, and human life itself are at the heart of political and social struggles. It is at these times that the words of the Declaration of Independence sound most strongly:

“... We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness ...”

Federal Hall National Memorial, New York
www.nps.gov/feha

Throughout the 18th century, Federal Hall was the center of some of New York’s greatest events. It was the site of New York State’s first capital and New York City Hall. The original building, completed in 1703, had many purposes: governor’s office, council chamber, assembly chamber, supreme court, jail, and sheriff’s office.

John P. Zenger’s trial, in 1735, for printing materials that insulted the Royal Governor foreshadowed the revolutionary ideas yet to sweep across the colonies. Because what he said was true, Zenger was found not guilty of libel and the stage was set for publicly disagreeing with the government. The Stamp Act Congress met at Federal Hall (1765) to discuss British taxes, and the Sons of Liberty met there to organize protests. In 1776, citizens of New York City gathered at the site of Federal Hall to listen to the words of the Declaration of Independence. During the war, the British army that occupied the city used it as headquarters.

The Continental Congress met at Federal Hall from 1784 to 1788. After ratification of the U.S. Constitution, the Senate and House of Representatives held their sessions in Federal Hall. President George Washington, cheered by a large crowd, took his oath of office on the balcony of Federal Hall. In his inaugural speech, Washington said that Americans had been given a great responsibility—together they would discover if a government without kings could really last.
Frederick Douglass National Historic Site  
www.nps.gov/frdo

Frederick Douglass, born into slavery, freed himself and became a world-famous author, orator, abolitionist, and reformer. In an era when most white Americans accepted (and some endorsed) slavery, he was among the most prominent and eloquent leaders of the abolitionist cause, working as a speaker, journalist, publisher, and editor to testify to the enormity and horrors of the “peculiar institution.” His autobiographies remain essential reading today.

For many of the years when he worked for abolition, Douglass lived in Rochester, New York. It was there, in 1852, that he delivered to the women of the Rochester Anti-Slavery Sewing Society one of his most famous speeches, a Fourth of July “oration.” In the text of the speech, Douglass skillfully drew on the memory of the American Revolution and the language of the Declaration of Independence to fashion a powerful critique of American slavery and American freedom, and to persuade his listeners and readers of the need for change.

After the Civil War, Douglass remained a voice for justice in national politics, advocating full citizenship rights for African Americans, including the vote. In 1872, he moved his family to Washington, DC. There he continued to work as a newspaper publisher for a time, and served in a variety of official positions including U.S. minister to Haiti. In 1877, he purchased the home that he named Cedar Hill, which is now the Frederick Douglass National Historic Site.

Gettysburg National Military Park, Pennsylvania  
www.nps.gov/gett

Abraham Lincoln ran for president on a “Preserving the Union” platform. His election led the South to secede from the Union, triggering the Civil War. When the war broke out in 1861, Americans were forced again to look at issues of slavery in the context of a country founded on equality. At this time, the United States was still an experiment. There was no guarantee that the new model on which the country’s government was based would prove successful. President Abraham Lincoln himself echoed the concepts of the Declaration of Independence in his speech at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

In July 1863, the Battle of Gettysburg continued for three days. A victory for the Union army and a turning point in the Civil War, Gettysburg cost over 51,000 soldiers killed, wounded, captured, or missing; it was the largest battle fought in the Civil War.
A portion of the battlefield was later turned into the Soldiers’ National Cemetery. On the day of the cemetery dedication, November 19, 1863, Lincoln delivered his now famous Gettysburg Address. In this short and powerful speech, he hearkened back to the Declaration of Independence by recalling the accomplishments of the founders and challenging the American people to reestablish the ideals of liberty and democracy on which the country was founded.

Women’s Rights National Historical Park, New York
www.nps.gov/woir

In their fight against slavery, many abolitionists advocated women’s rights. At a time when women generally were denied political, educational, employment, and property ownership rights, many struggled to be heard in the arena of women’s suffrage. In 1848, reformers Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Jane Hunt, Mary Ann M’Clintock, Lucretia Mott, and Martha Wright organized the first Women’s Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, New York. Participants discussed the role of women in society, and demanded equal rights with men. Before concluding, the convention produced the Declaration of Sentiments, a document similar in style and content to the Declaration of Independence. In it, the suffragists claimed that “We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal.” Although the suffrage movement finally reached a milestone in 1920 when the Nineteenth Amendment guaranteed women the right to vote, the struggle for gender equality continued.

Eleanor Roosevelt National Historic Site, New York
www.nps.gov/elro

The wife of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and First Lady for 12 years, Eleanor Roosevelt used her political influence to further humanitarian causes and civil rights. At one time a shy girl, Eleanor became outspoken in politics after 1921 when polio limited her husband’s mobility. Eleanor, encouraged by Franklin’s political mentor Louis Howe, became vocal in the Democratic Party, successfully delivering speeches and making political appearances.

After being elected to the presidency in 1932, Franklin Roosevelt relied on his wife to tour the United States and report to him the nation’s plight during the Great Depression. Eleanor traveled and witnessed firsthand the conditions of poverty-stricken rural areas, city slums, prisons, and even coal mines. With the outbreak of World War II, she went overseas to visit wounded American servicemen in England, the Caribbean, and the South Pacific. After the
death of Franklin Roosevelt, President Harry S. Truman called Eleanor back into public service in 1946 by appointing her a delegate to the United Nations General Assembly. During her tenure at the U.N., Eleanor helped draft the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948).

Eleanor Roosevelt died in 1962, but her contributions had far-reaching effects. Because of her tireless efforts in support of human rights, President Truman called her “The World’s First Lady.” Today, the National Park Service preserves her home on the Hudson River as the Eleanor Roosevelt National Historic Site, the only national historic site dedicated to a first lady.

Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site, Georgia
www.nps.gov/malu

Lincoln Memorial, Washington, DC
www.nps.gov/linc

The Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery in the United States, the Fourteenth Amendment guaranteed equal protection under law to everyone born or naturalized in the United States, and the Fifteenth Amendment banned racial barriers to voting. Despite these changes to the fundamental law of the land, the promises contained in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments remained unfulfilled, and the African American struggle to gain legal equality and economic opportunity incomplete. After World War II, a new era in that struggle began, an era that saw increased national activism and local protests, as well as integration of the military and public schools. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. first gained a national reputation as one of the leaders of a boycott protesting segregation on buses in Montgomery, Alabama, a boycott that lasted more than a year. From the American Revolution, to the period of Reconstruction following the Civil War, through the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s, until today, African American leaders have fought continually for the rights of all people as described in the Declaration of Independence.

Many consider Martin Luther King’s “I Have a Dream” speech, delivered in the summer of 1963 on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, DC to be among the most eloquent speeches in U.S. history. On August 28, more than 250,000 people belonging to various organizations (the Urban League, the NAACP, and the Negro Labor Council among many others) converged on the nation’s capital for the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. King’s speech was a focal point of
this mass demonstration, a passionate expression of hope that looked back to the promises of the founders of our country—that all people should enjoy freedom without being victimized by tyranny. Like Frederick Douglass and David Walker before him, Dr. King reminded Americans of the “truths” set forth in the Declaration of Independence. King’s speech, coupled with the mass demonstration, contributed to passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 committing the federal government to the prevention of discrimination in employment and public facilities.

For his tireless quest for civil rights, in 1964 King received the Nobel Prize for Peace. Assassinated on April 4, 1968, he is today internationally honored for his legacy of racial and social justice.

Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site was created for the benefit, inspiration, and education of present and future generations. It is the place where Dr. King was born, lived, worked, worshiped, and is buried. The site contains a multi-media exhibit on the life of Dr. King and his involvement in the Civil Rights Movement, his birth home, his tomb, Ebenezer Baptist Church, and the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change.

The Lincoln Memorial, in Washington, DC was the site of the “I Have a Dream” speech. By 1963, because of its connection with emancipation, the Memorial had a history as a place where African Americans might gather to remind the nation of unfinished business—the extension of equal justice to all citizens.

Statue of Liberty National Monument, New York
www.nps.gov/stli

The ideals of the American Revolution remain relevant and powerful today. For Americans and for all who value those ideals, the impact of the Revolution still resonates more than 225 years after the events. Immigrants have been coming to America from all over the world for the purpose of fulfilling the promise of “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” The national symbol of this promise, the Statue of Liberty, has greeted newcomers since it was first brought to New York Harbor from Paris in 1886. Its creators, a group of French intellectuals and abolitionists, decided to honor the ideals of freedom and liberty by presenting the statue as a gift to the United States in honor of the country’s 100th birthday. Edouard Laboulay proposed the idea, and the sculptor Auguste Bartholdi designed the colossal statue. Bartholdi’s creation has remained an icon of American independence and freedom from oppression ever since.
George Washington took the oath of office as the first president of the United States on April 30, 1789. After being received by Congress, Washington stepped onto the balcony, followed by the Senators and Representatives. Before the assembled crowd of spectators, Robert Livingston, chancellor of the State of New York, administered the oath of office prescribed by the Constitution: “I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.” After repeating this oath, Washington kissed the Bible held for him by the chancellor, who called out, “Long live George Washington, President of the United States,” followed by a salvo of 13 cannons. Except for taking the oath, the law required no further inaugural ceremonies. But, upon reentering the Senate Chamber, the President addressed the members of Congress. After the address, he accompanied Congress to St. Paul’s Church for divine service. A brilliant fireworks display in the evening ended the official program.

(Information excerpted from Washington’s Inaugural Address of 1789. National Archives and Records Administration: Washington, DC, 1986.)

PROCEDURE

1. Explain to students the significance of Federal Hall as the place where George Washington was inaugurated as the first president of the United States, emphasizing the idea that the new government was an untried experiment. Then read and discuss the following excerpt from the inaugural speech that he gave to the Senate and House of Representatives.

Excerpts from Washington’s Inaugural Speech, April 30, 1789

Among the vicissitudes incident to life no event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order and received on the 14th day of the present month … On the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat … with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years. … On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me … could not but overwhelm with despondence one who ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies …

… the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are … staked on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.
ACTIVITY ONE

- Why did Washington feel anxious when Congress summoned him to New York?
- How did Washington feel about his country?
- According to Washington, was it the president who was entrusted with carrying out the new model of government? If not, who was?
- What can you tell about Washington’s character based on the language he uses in this speech?

Distribute photocopies of Source # 32 (Image of Washington taking his presidential oath). As a class, discuss the scene and the significance of the event.
- How does George Washington look?
- Does his countenance in the image correspond with the impression he gives in his inaugural speech? Why or why not?
- Who might the other people on the balcony be?
- Why are there no women?

After discussing the image, ask students to imagine that they were present in the crowd below the balcony of Federal Hall in 1789 when Washington was being sworn in. Have them write a poem or short story expressing how they feel about the event in light of their recent “experience” of having lived through the Revolutionary War.
RESOURCES NEEDED

**Source #33**, Excerpts from the Frederick Douglass 1852 speech “What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?”

ABOUT THE SOURCE

In 1852, a women’s anti-slavery organization in his hometown invited Douglass to speak to them on the Fourth of July. In his speech, which he actually delivered on July 5, Douglass dramatically called on Americans to “be true to” the principles of the Declaration of Independence as “the first great fact in your nation’s history—the very ring-bolt in the chain of your yet undeveloped destiny.” His words drew cheers from the audience that day and, when published, reached even larger audiences.

PROCEDURE

1. Discuss what the Declaration of Independence says about equality and liberty, and ask the students to imagine how that language might have sounded to enslaved people in 1776, and then in 1852.

2. Distribute photocopies of the excerpts on the following page and read out loud. Ask the students to read the excerpts again and find references to the fight for American independence.

3. In this part of the speech, what comparisons does Douglass make between 1776 and 1852?

4. Ask the students to evaluate what Douglass intends to do by talking about “you” and “us” and “fellow citizens” as he does. Who is he addressing? Who does he “represent”?

---

**NATIONAL PARK SERVICE**

**LESSON FIVE**

5.8
ACTIVITY THREE

Abraham Lincoln

Looks Back

ABOUT THE SOURCE

The main speaker at the 1863 dedication ceremony of the Soldiers’ National Cemetery at Gettysburg was not Abraham Lincoln but Edward Everett, a former governor of Massachusetts, U.S. senator, and secretary of state. Lincoln had been invited to say only a few words. After Everett’s speech, which continued for two hours, Lincoln delivered his Gettysburg Address in about two minutes. While Lincoln was given a respectful ovation, the speech itself had little impact on the newspapers of the day, many completely omitted it in reporting the news of the event.

PROCEDURE

1. Discuss the role of the Civil War in American history in the context of the abolition of slavery and how it relates to the concept of liberty and freedom for which the American Revolution was fought.

2. Distribute photocopies of Source #34 (Gettysburg Address). Read the document aloud in class and discuss.
   - What did Lincoln state from the outset in his address?
   - What is the test to which Lincoln referred?
   - According to this speech, what did the soldiers at Gettysburg die trying to defend?
   - What task did Lincoln state the living were charged with and why?
   - How does this document reflect what is written in the Declaration of Independence?
Women Declare their Rights

RESOURCES NEEDED

Source #35, Excerpts from the Declaration of Sentiments

ABOUT THE SOURCE

Delivered at the first Women’s Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, the Declaration of Sentiments was modeled after the Declaration of Independence. The convention approved a statement in favor of women’s suffrage, which set in motion a movement that lasted 72 years until the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920.

PROCEDURE

1. With students discuss the legal restrictions faced by women in the past, particularly in the area of voting rights prior to the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment.

2. Distribute photocopies of Source #35 (Declaration of Sentiments) and place as an overhead Source #11 (Declaration of Independence).

3. Ask students to look carefully at both documents and discuss the similarities of the two documents in terms of content and language. Have students write down their findings.

4. Discuss why they think the Declaration of Sentiments was written the way it was. What point were the suffragists at the 1848 convention trying to make when they modeled their document on the Declaration of Independence?

5. Explain to students that women were fighting for their rights at the same time abolitionists were fighting to end slavery. The coming of the Civil War brought the issue of slavery to the forefront. It was not until the turn of the century that the women’s suffrage movement gained national attention.
RESOURCES NEEDED

Source #36, Universal Declaration of Human Rights

ABOUT THE SOURCE

On December 10, 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. As head of the United Nation’s Commission on Human Rights, Eleanor Roosevelt was the driving force behind the creation of the document. Upon proclaiming this Declaration, the Assembly requested all member countries of the United Nations “to cause it to be disseminated, displayed, read and expounded principally in schools and other educational institutions, without distinction based on the political status of countries or territories.”

PROCEDURE

1. Discuss with students the role that Eleanor Roosevelt played in advocating human rights and how these actions relate to the concepts of freedom and equality found in the Declaration of Independence.

2. Distribute photocopies of Source #36 (Universal Declaration of Human Rights). Explain to students that a committee consisting of people from various countries crafted this document, and that it applies to all citizens of the world rather than to one particular country. Discuss the importance of the role of the United Nations in general, and of Eleanor Roosevelt’s work on the Declaration in particular.

3. Working in groups, have students examine the articles of the Declaration. Each group should be assigned two to three articles to analyze for meaning. Each group should prepare to present what they find.

4. After regrouping, discuss as a class the contents of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
   - How is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights like the Declaration of Independence?
   - How does the Universal Declaration differ from the Declaration of Independence?
   - Do they think the concepts in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are upheld in the world today? Why or why not?

5. As a homework assignment, have students research other examples of Eleanor Roosevelt’s humanitarian contributions to society. Ask them to write down two examples, each with an explanation of how that contribution expressed the conviction found in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that “all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.”
King’s Dream of Liberty

**RESOURCES NEEDED**

Source #37, “I Have a Dream” speech (excerpts)
Student Worksheet: King’s Dream

**ABOUT THE SOURCE**

Organizers staged the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, in part, to show massive support for the civil rights bill proposed by President John F. Kennedy on June 11, 1963, but blocked by southern members of Congress. Kennedy had been reluctant to act against legalized segregation, but after widely publicized confrontations in Birmingham, Alabama, exposed to the world the viciousness and violence that accompanied segregation, King and other movement leaders seized the moment to press the president to respond to their demands for justice.

The March on Washington included local and national leaders from all sections of the county and from many walks of life including celebrity actors and musicians. Of all the speeches given that day, that of Martin Luther King Jr. has become by far the most renowned. King had originally prepared a short speech, as each of the speakers of the day was allotted only 15 minutes to address the crowd. When King was about to sit down, singer Mahalia Jackson called out for him to continue by telling about his dream. Cheered on by shouts from the audience, King got up again and went on to deliver his landmark “I Have a Dream” speech.

**PROCEDURE**

1. With the students discuss the Civil Rights Movement in the context of how it relates to the concepts of liberty and freedom embodied in the Declaration of Independence. Explain that the speech they are going to read was delivered by Martin Luther King Jr. at the March on Washington at the Lincoln Memorial on Aug. 28, 1963.

2. Distribute photocopies of Source #35 (excerpt of “I Have a Dream” speech) as well as the student worksheet “King’s Dream.” Have students complete the worksheet and then go over the answers in class.

3. Have students write a speech about what their dreams are for the future of our country. They should include references to documents and events they learned about in their study of the Declaration of Independence. To whom would they deliver this speech and why?
In the beginning of his speech, Martin Luther King Jr. talked about the Emancipation Proclamation. This was Lincoln’s decree that, effective January 1, 1863, “all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free.” Though the proclamation did not end slavery in states that had not seceded, it reinforced African American efforts to make the Civil War into a war to end slavery.

What did King say about the situation of African Americans (the word Negro was used in 1963) 100 years after the Emancipation Proclamation?

What famous documents did King refer to in his speech?

King reminded everyone of a promise made in one of those documents. What is that promise?

Did King feel that promise was being kept for African Americans? Explain.

Was King hopeful that the promise would someday be kept? Explain.

What was King’s dream?
ABOUT THE SOURCE

The Statue of Liberty, created to be a universal expression of American freedom, was originally given the name “Liberty Enlightening the World.” French sculptor Auguste Bartholdi’s colossal statue was cast in separate sheets of copper, joined together on a steel support, and mounted on a granite pedestal paid for with American donations. It measures 305 feet from the ground to the top of the torch, although the thickness of the “skin” is only 3/32 of an inch. Assembled and installed on Bedloe’s Island (now Liberty Island) in New York Harbor, it was inaugurated on October 28, 1886, in a grand celebration in New York City.

The Statue of Liberty, a symbol in itself, contains other types of symbolism incorporated into its form. The torch shines as a symbolic beacon of light to all the persecuted nations of the world. Sculpted in the image of a Roman goddess, the statue’s clothing and the Roman numerals on her book hearken back to the ancient ideals of the Republic so admired by the leaders of the American Revolution. The date on the book is July 4, 1776, the date the Declaration of Independence was adopted.

PROCEDURE

1. Distribute photocopies of Source #38 (Photo of Statue of Liberty). Discuss the Statue of Liberty as a universally recognized symbol of the American ideals of freedom and democracy. Ask students to look carefully at the statue and have them describe what it looks like.
   - What is the statue holding in her raised hand?
   - How is she dressed?
   - What is written on her book?
   - How does the statue’s appearance relate to the concepts of freedom and liberty?
   - Why do the students think a gift like this might come from another country?

2. Have students choose a symbol of what freedom or liberty means to them and create an expression of that symbol either in an essay, drawing, or poem. Their work should be prefaced by an explanation of why they chose that symbol and how it fits in with the concepts they have learned about in this curriculum.
TYING IT TOGETHER

1. Based on what they have learned from Lessons 1 through 5, have students summarize the concepts of the Revolution in the following way:
   - What were the goals of the American Revolution?
   - How do those goals affect our lives today?
   - Are we still working towards those goals or have they been realized? Why or why not?

2. Have students write a poem or essay defining what it means to be an American.

VOCABULARY

abolitionist: someone who is against slavery.

emancipation: being set free from slavery.

enduring: lasting for a long time.

legacy: something that is passed down from generation to generation.

suffrage: the right to vote.
George Washington’s Inauguration

George Washington taking his presidential oath of office.

DOVER PUBLICATIONS
Excerpts from *What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?*
by Frederick Douglass

Fellow-citizens, pardon me, allow me to ask, why am I called upon to speak here to-day? What have I, or those I represent, to do with your national independence? Are the great principles of political freedom and of natural justice, embodied in that Declaration of Independence, extended to us? and am I, therefore, called upon to bring our humble offering to the national altar, and to confess the benefits and express devout gratitude for the blessings resulting from your independence to us?

Would to God, both for your sakes and ours, that an affirmative answer could be truthfully returned to these questions! Then would my task be light, and my burden easy and delightful. For who is there so cold, that a nation’s sympathy could not warm him? Who so obdurate and dead to the claims of gratitude, that would not thankfully acknowledge such priceless benefits? Who so stolid and selfish, that would not give his voice to swell the hallelujahs of a nation’s jubilee, when the chains of servitude had been torn from his limbs? I am not that man. In a case like that, the dumb might eloquently speak, and the “lame man leap as an hart.”

But, such is not the state of the case. I say it with a sad sense of the disparity between us. I am not included within the pale of this glorious anniversary! Your high independence only reveals the immeasurable distance between us. The blessings in which you, this day, rejoice, are not enjoyed in common. The rich inheritance of justice, liberty, prosperity and independence, bequeathed by your fathers, is shared by you, not by me. The sunlight that brought life and healing to you, has brought stripes and death to me. This Fourth [of] July is yours, not mine. You may rejoice, I must mourn. To drag a man in fetters into the grand illuminated temple of liberty, and call upon him to join you in joyous anthems, were inhuman mockery and sacrilegious irony. Do you mean, citizens, to mock me, by asking me to speak to-day?

*What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?*, originally published as a pamphlet in James M. Gregory’s *Frederick Douglass, the Orator* (New York, 1893), 103–06.
The Gettysburg Address
Gettysburg, Pennsylvania
November 19, 1863

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that “all men are created equal.”

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of it, as a final resting place for those who died here that the nation might live. This we may, in all propriety do. But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate — we can not consecrate — we can not hallow — this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have hallowed it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here; while it can never forget what they did here.

It is for us, the living, we here be dedicated to the great task remaining before us — that, from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here, gave the last full measure of devotion — that we here highly resolve these dead shall not have died in vain — that this nation, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people by the people, shall not perish from the earth.
Excerpts from the Declaration of Sentiments

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, but one to which the laws of nature and of nature’s God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to such a course.

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it, and to insist upon the institution of a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they were accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of the women under this government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal station to which they are entitled.
UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS
Adopted by UN General Assembly Resolution 217A (III) of 10 December 1948

WHEREAS recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

WHEREAS disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

WHEREAS it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

WHEREAS it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

WHEREAS the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

WHEREAS Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in cooperation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

WHEREAS a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, therefore, The General Assembly Proclaims THIS UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.
1. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

2. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

3. Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

4. No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

5. No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

6. Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

7. All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of the Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

8. Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

9. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

10. Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

11. Everyone charged with a penal offense has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defense.

12. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

13. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

14. This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.
15  1  Everyone has the right to a nationality.
   2  No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change
   his nationality.
16  1  Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or
   religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal
   rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.
   2  Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the
   intending spouses.
   3  The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to
   protection by society and the State.
17  1  Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.
   2  No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.
18    Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right
   includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in
   community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief
   in teaching, practice, worship and observance.
19    Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression: this right includes
   freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart
   information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.
20  1  Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.
   2  No one may be compelled to belong to an association.
21  1  Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly
   or through freely chosen representatives.
   2  Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.
   3  The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will
   shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and
   equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.
22    Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to
   realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance
   with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural
   rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.
23  1  Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favorable
   conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.
   2  Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.
   3  Everyone who works has the right to just and favorable remuneration ensuring
   for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented,
   if necessary, by other means of social protection.
   4  Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of
   his interests.
Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.
Excerpts from “I Have a Dream” Speech

Delivered on the steps at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington D.C. on August 28, 1963.
The following are excerpts from the spoken speech, transcribed from recordings.

I am happy to join with you today in what will go down in history as the greatest
demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation.

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today,
signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great
beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of
withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity.

But one hundred years later, the Negro is still not free. One hundred years later, the
life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of
discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty
in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro
is still languishing in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his
own land. So we have come here today to dramatize a shameful condition.

In a sense we have come to our nation’s capital to cash a check. When the architects
of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration
of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was
to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men,
would be guaranteed the unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note insofar as her
citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has
given the Negro people a bad check, a check which has come back marked “insufficient
funds.” But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to
believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation.
So we have come to cash this check—a check that will give us upon demand the riches
of freedom and the security of justice. We have also come to this hallowed spot to
remind America of the fierce urgency of now. This is no time to engage in the luxury
of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to make
real the promises of democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate
valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to lift our
nation from the quick sands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. …
Let us not wallow in the valley of despair. I say to you today, my friends, so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: “We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal.” …

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.

I have a dream today. …

This will be the day when all of God’s children will be able to sing with a new meaning, “My country, ‘tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrim’s pride, from every mountainside, let freedom ring.” …
Source #38 Photo of Statue of Liberty

Statue of Liberty
STATUE OF LIBERTY NATIONAL MONUMENT