Bill of Rights in Action



FALL 2013 Volume 29 № 1

PURITAN MASSACHUSETTS: THEOCRACY OR DEMOCRACY?

IN THE 1630S, ENGLISH PURITANS IN MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY CREATED A SELF-GOVERNMENT THAT WENT FAR BEYOND WHAT EXISTED IN ENGLAND. SOME HISTORIANS ARGUE THAT IT WAS A RELIGIOUS GOVERNMENT, OR THEOCRACY. OTHERS CLAIM IT WAS A DEMOCRACY.

In 1534, King Henry VIII of England broke with the Roman Catholic Church and established the Church of England (the Anglican Church). This Protestant church rejected the authority of the Catholic Pope but kept many practices of Roman Catholicism, such as worship rituals, many sacraments (sacred customs such as baptism), and bishops who governed the church.

By 1600, a growing group of Anglican Church members, or Anglicans, thought their church was too much like the Catholic Church, which they condemned as a false church. Many Anglicans were called Puritans because they wanted to purify the church and make it simpler.

A key difference between the Puritans and the other Anglicans



JOHN F. PARAMINO'S Relief sculpture is the Founders Memorial in Boston, Massachusetts. It shows Boston's first resident, William Blackstone, greeting John Winthrop.

was over the afterlife and how one was saved from the fires of hell. The Anglican Church taught that a believer in Christ had to follow church teachings and sacraments in order to be saved. Most Puritans, however, adopted the teachings of John Calvin, a major leader of the Protestant Reformation in Europe.

Calvin taught that God alone chose or elected those who would receive salvation and those who would not. The Puritans believed God would give them outward signs of their salvation (being saved), such as success in life or an appearance of godliness. The Anglican Church, however, rejected Calvin's teaching.

The Puritans gathered in different groups and made a covenant (formal agreement) with God to obey his will as revealed in the Bible. In these "covenant communities," they focused on Bible reading, preaching, and following God's biblical laws.

Errand into the Wilderness

Back in England, the Puritans were increasingly troubled that so many people did not follow God's laws as written in the Bible. The Puritans feared that God would punish England. They also suffered under the rule of King Charles I who ignored English liberties and enforced the Anglican religion.

GOVERNANCE

This edition of *Bill of Rights in Action* focuses on governance. The first article examines self-government in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The second article reviews Cleopatra's means of restoring the dynasty of the Ptolemies. The final article presents connections between the U.S. Constitution and the first state constitutions.

U.S. History: Puritan Massachusetts: Theocracy or Democracy? **World History:** Who Was the Real Cleopatra?

U.S. History: How the First State Constitutions Helped Build the U.S. Constitution

Next Issue of Bill of Rights in Action Will Be Available Only Electronically (see page 16)

Born in 1588, John Winthrop was the son of a large landowner. He attended college at Cambridge and managed his father's lands. He also studied law and became a minor legal official of the king. At about the time he married in 1605, he got caught up in the Puritan movement.

In 1629, King Charles granted a charter to a group of merchants who wanted to establish a trading colony in New England. The charter formed the Massachusetts Bay Company. Most of the stockholders, including John Winthrop, were Puritans.

At an organizational meeting, the stockholders voted to transfer the company itself to the Massachusetts Bay Colony. They also made as its main purpose a place for Puritans to live under "godly rule." Finally, they elected John Winthrop as governor of the colony. Under the king's charter, the company stockholders had the sole authority to create a government for the colony.

In 1630, shortly before the first group of about 400 Puritans sailed to America, Winthrop delivered a speech that spelled out their religious mission. He placed great emphasis on the need for everyone to unify and help one another for the "common good."

Winthrop also described a special covenant between the Puritans and God to advance God's will in the colony. Winthrop said they would live together to "work out our salvation under the power and purity of His holy ordinances [laws]."

But, most importantly, Winthrop said they would create a model for an uncorrupted church and godly society. He borrowed a phrase from the Bible: "we shall be a City upon a Hill." If this undertaking were to fail, he warned, many would speak evil of God, and the colony "shall surely perish."

Thus, Winthrop described the Puritans' main mission to Massachusetts Bay as setting an example of "godly rule." Those left behind in England would see God's will at work, follow God's laws, and be saved. Later, Puritans called this their "errand into the wilderness."

The Congregational Church

On June 12, 1630, after a two-month voyage aboard four ships, the Puritans landed at Salem in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. At this time, Salem was a poor settlement of huts crowded between the sea and thick forest. Governor Winthrop, however, decided to establish a new town, named Boston that soon became the capital of the colony.

The Puritans in
Massachusetts Bay
believed in a
separation of church
and state, but not
a separation of the
state from God.

The Puritans first focused on establishing their churches. A group gathered together to form a "covenant community," pledging to obey God's laws. Every gathering, called a congregation, elected its own minister and decided its own church rules. Thus, each Congregational Church was independent and self-ruling, unlike the Anglican Church with its governing bishops. One disadvantage of this independence was the possibility of division. This could threaten the colony's unity that Winthrop thought was so important.

Becoming a member of a Congregational Church was not easy.

Individuals had to testify before the congregation and attempt to prove that they had been elected by God for salvation. According to the Puritans, those who failed this test or refused to apply for church membership were destined for hell.

The General Court

The first government in the colony was set up according to the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company. Only about a dozen company stockholders, including Winthrop, came to the colony on the first voyage. Under the company's charter, they were designated "freemen," and only they were permitted to vote for government officers.

At their first meeting in August 1630, the stockholder freemen confirmed Winthrop as governor, chose a deputy governor, and selected seven assistants to enact the colony's laws. The assistants also acted as the colony's judges and the highest court of appeals. Thus, the nine company officers were also the colony's government, called the General Court.

In October, the nine officers held their first General Court. Governor Winthrop urged that the public be invited. Winthrop convinced the other officers to declare all those adult males present as freemen. The new freemen were allowed to vote their consent for the seven assistants who then selected the governor (Winthrop again) and his deputy. Winthrop believed that the government should be based on the consent (full agreement) of the governed.

The October General Court ended by inviting any other adult males to apply for "freemanship." At the General Court the next year, over 100 men took the oath to become new freemen with the right to elect the assistants. The General Court passed a law, however,

restricting future freemanship and the right to vote only to Congregational Church members in order to guarantee a "godly" government.

Perhaps the first tax revolt in North America occurred in 1631 when members of the Congregational Church in Watertown near Boston protested a tax to build fortifications to protect the colony. The Watertown minister and congregation objected when the General Court enacted the tax without the consent of the people.

Governor Winthrop calmed the revolt. He pointed out that all freemen now had the right to elect the General Court assistants. However, the General Court in 1632 ordered each town to choose two representatives to discuss their views about taxes with the governor and assistants.

In that same year, the General Court authorized all freemen present to directly elect the governor and deputy governor. But the General Court assistants still held the power to make all laws.

In 1634, the newly empowered freemen at the General Court demanded to see the Massachusetts Bay Company charter. The freemen discovered that the lawmaking power was granted to all freemen, not just the assistants.

Governor Winthrop argued against the new freemen participating in the lawmaking process. Electing the General Court officers should be enough, he said. He claimed that having a large number of freemen passing the laws would be impractical.

Eventually, Winthrop and the other General Court officers gave in. From 1634 on, the towns of the colony each elected freemandeputies to share power with the assistants to pass laws and approve taxes. At first, the assistants and deputies acted together in a single-house legislature.



MARY DYER was a Quaker and supporter of Anne Hutchinson. In 1660, Dyer was executed on Boston Commons for disobeying Puritan anti-Quaker laws.

Winthrop became embroiled in another General Court controversy. In 1642, he agreed with the General Court assistants that they should have a "negative voice," which is a veto over laws approved by the town deputies. "If the negative voice was taken away," he warned, "our government would be a mere democracy."

Winthrop typically preferred compromise to resolve differences. He finally proposed that both the assistants and deputies must get each other's consent for a law to pass. This was an early kind of "check and balance" that later became a major part of the U. S. Constitution. In 1644, the assistants and deputies agreed to separate the General Court into a two-house legislature.

Non-church members could petition the government, participate in town meetings, and, after 1647, vote for town officers. They could not vote for members of the General Court. Massachusetts voters still made up a far larger percent of the population than in England where social rank and property ownership severely limited the people's right to vote.

Church and State

The Puritans in Massachusetts Bay believed in a separation of church and state, but not a separation of the state from God. The Congregational Church had no formal authority in the government. Ministers were not permitted to hold any government office. Nevertheless, the Puritans expected the government to protect the Church by punishing sins, including blasphemy (cursing God), heresy (false religious beliefs), and adultery.

John Cotton, a Puritan minister, further explained the nature of Puritan government. Cotton wrote that the Bible approved governments led by kings or an aristocracy of the best people, but it did not approve democracy. Cotton warned against the tendency of men to let power go to their heads. "It is necessary, therefore, that all power that is on earth be limited," he wrote.

Puritan lawmaking touched all aspects of life. The General Court lawmakers set prices for goods and wages to control inflation. They regulated the sale of alcohol and banned smoking and card playing.

In 1636, they established Harvard College, the first school of higher learning in the American colonies. In 1642, they required all parents to teach reading to their children so they could understand the Bible.

As judges, the assistants formed juries, conducted civil and criminal trials, and decided sentences for those convicted of crimes. Punishments included fines, whipping, confinement to stocks, banishment, and death.

the In mid-1630s, Roger Williams openly preached Separatist ideas, calling for the Puritans to denounce the Anglican Church as "anti-Christian." He also argued that the colony's government should have no role at all in religious matters. Tried for what the colonial government called "dangerous opinions," he was banned from the colony. He then established the colony of Rhode Island that promoted religious freedom.

Around the same time, Anne Hutchinson was tried for heresy when she spoke out against the Puritan belief in outward signs of God's salvation. One must look inward to find God's "Holy Spirit," she said. She was found guilty, excommunicated, and then banished (sent away). She joined Williams in Rhode Island.

The Massachusetts Bay Puritans opposed the idea of religious toleration. In addition to Williams and Hutchinson, they banned Catholics, Anglicans, Baptists, and Quakers when they attempted to openly worship and preach. John Winthrop approved the banishments, believing they were necessary to prevent disunity in the colony.

Body of Liberties

In 1635, the General Court's town deputies established a committee to prepare a written code of laws for the colony. The code would include traditional English

The Massachusetts Body of Liberties

Below are seven excerpts from the numbered provisions of the "Massachusetts Body of Liberties." Try to match the liberty in each excerpt with a similar right found in one or more of the ten amendments of the U. S. Bill of Rights.

- 1. "No man's life shall be taken away... nor in any way punished... [or] no man's goods or estate shall be taken away... unless it be by virtue of... some express law of the country warranting the same...."
- 8. "No man's cattle or goods...shall be...taken for any public use... without such reasonable prices and hire as the ordinary rates of the country do afford...."
- 18. "No man's person shall be restrained or imprisoned... before the law has sentenced him thereto, if he can put in sufficient security... for his appearance, and good behavior in the meantime...."
- 26. "Every man that finds himself unfit to plead his own cause in any court shall have liberty to [use] any man against whom the court does not except, to help him...."
- 29. "In all actions at law it shall be the liberty of the plaintiff and defendant by mutual consent to choose whether they will be tried by the bench or by jury. . . . The like liberty shall be granted to all persons in criminal cases."
- 42. "No man shall be twice sentenced by civil justice for one and the same crime, offense, or trespass."
- 70. "All freemen called to give any advice, vote, verdict, or sentence in any court, council, or civil assembly shall have full freedom to do it according to their true judgments and consciences...."

liberties but also reflect God's laws. In 1641, after several drafts, the General Court accepted "The Massachusetts Body of Liberties," containing 98 provisions.

Most of document's provisions actually made up a bill of rights. Many of these provisions included principles that later found their way into the U. S. Bill of Rights (see sidebar above).

Other provisions went beyond our Bill of Rights. They declared equality before the law for all (including foreigners), and prohibited wife-beating, slavery, as well as cruelty to children, servants, and farm animals.

Another section listed twelve death-penalty offenses based on the Bible, such as blasphemy, premeditated murder, adultery, being a witch, and rebelling against the state. In practice, however, the Puritans seldom used the death penalty.

Decline of Puritan Power

By the 1640s, the Massachusetts Bay government had evolved from a company's board of officers to an elected representative system based on the consent of the governed. The Puritans accomplished this independent of the king and Parliament, and it was far ahead of what existed in England. Over time, the Puritans grew to cherish their nearly complete independence from England. They also tended to be skeptical about any government, including their own.

After 1660, King Charles II and his brother James II, who succeeded Charles, tried to impose royal rule over Massachusetts Bay. A royal court cancelled the colony's charter, resulting in strong political resistance and a rebellion in Boston.

After William and Mary came to the English throne in 1689, Massachusetts finally agreed to a new compromise charter. It kept the General Court's elected town deputies who chose a Governor's Council to replace the assistants. But the king appointed the governor who could veto any law passed by the General Court. The new charter also ended the restriction that limited voting only to Congregational Church members and replaced it with a property-ownership requirement.

John Winthrop's vision of "a city upon a hill" faded after he and the first generation of Puritan leaders died. Gradually, more non-Puritan immigrants came to Massachusetts with interests and purposes other than religious ones. The king demanded religious toleration for Anglicans, Baptists, and Quakers. Some saw Puritan "godly rule" as just another kind of tyranny.

The Puritans' religious mission, "the errand into the wilderness," was largely unfulfilled. Nevertheless, they developed important political and legal ideas that contributed to the founding of the United States more than a century later.

DISCUSSION AND WRITING

- 1. According to John Winthrop, what was the main reason for the Puritans emigrating to Massachusetts Bay Colony?
- 2. Explain the Puritan view of the relationship of church and state. Do you agree or disagree with it? Why?
- 3. In what ways do you think the Puritan church and government influenced American democracy?

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ACTIVITY

Self-Government in Puritan Massachusetts

Theocracy: a government under the rule of God and His laws **Democracy:** a government under the rule of the people and laws made by them or their representatives

Was the government in Puritan Massachusetts a theocracy, a democracy, or neither?

Form small groups to investigate, discuss, and decide this question.

- 1. Each group will prepare two lists of evidence from the article. One list of evidence will support the view that Puritan Massachusetts was a theocracy. The other list will support the view that it was a democracy.
- 2. Each group will then discuss the two lists to see if one of them has the stronger evidence. The group may decide that both lists are equal in strength.
- 3. Finally, each group will decide how to answer the question above and prepare to defend their answer before the class.

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See page 16 for more information.

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WHO WAS THE REAL CLEOPATRA?

CLEOPATRA WAS, FOR A TIME, THE MOST POWERFUL WOMAN IN THE ROMAN WORLD. HOWEVER, HER REPUTATION WAS CONTROVERSIAL THEN AND IS STILL DEBATED TODAY.

Alexander the Great of Macedon invaded Egypt and established his rule there in 332 B.C. When he died, Alexander's generals divided up his vast conquests. Ptolemy (pronounced "TAH-leh-me") became the Macedonian king of Egypt.

During his rule, Ptolemy I created an eastern Mediterranean empire from North Africa to Syria. He also made his capital, Alexandria in Egypt, the richest city in the Mediterranean world.

The Macedonians from north of Greece carried with them the Greek language and culture into Ptolemy I's empire. Alexandria soon became the center of Greek civilization with a famous library that claimed to hold books (scrolls) that contained all the knowledge of the known world.

Ptolemy I established a dynasty that ruled Egypt for nearly 300 years. The Greek-speaking Ptolemies were foreigners, however, reigning over the Egyptian people who were often burdened by taxes. The wealth of Egypt was based on the labor of Nile River Valley farmers who produced wheat for export to Rome and other cities.

In 197 B.C., a neighboring king defeated the army of Ptolemy V, taking much of the empire that the first Ptolemy had created. To secure peace, Ptolemy V married the conquering king's daughter, Cleopatra. She was the first of numerous Cleopatra queens.

The Ptolemies constantly fought



THIS SYRIAN TETRADRACHM, or silver coin, dates from the first century B.C. and depicts Cleopatra.

one another for the Egyptian throne. Hardly a few years passed without one family member murdering another, usually by poison.

In 80 B.C., Ptolemy XII started his long reign. He became a client king of Rome, which meant he submitted to Roman authority to avoid being conquered and to remain king of Egypt. He was also the father of the most famous Cleopatra of them all.

Cleopatra VII

Cleopatra was one of three daughters along with two younger sons of Ptolemy XII. She was born in 69 B.C., but little is known of her mother, who died when Cleopatra was 12.

With the fabulous Library of Alexandria as her classroom and top Greek scholars as her teachers, Cleopatra received the best education possible in the ancient world. She studied Greek literature, geography, history, mythology, mathematics, philosophy, science, and rhetoric (persuasive speech). In addition to Greek, she spoke eight other languages. She was the first of the Ptolemies to bother to learn the language of the Egyptian people.

Cleopatra learned from her father, who taught her to carefully choose her allies as he had done with the powerful Romans. She also learned from his example how he ruled. When Ptolemy XII returned to Egypt after a three-year absence in Rome, he discovered his oldest daughter had usurped (taken) the throne. Ptolemy immediately had her murdered.

In 51 B.C., Ptolemy XII died, leaving Cleopatra VII, age 18, and her brother Ptolemy XIII, age 10, as co-monarchs. Cleopatra became the dominant ruler, but the advisers of the young Ptolemy maneuvered to gain the support of the army and the people of Alexandria. Cleopatra was forced to flee to Syria where she raised an army to fight her way back to the throne.

Cleopatra and Caesar

In 48 B.C., Julius Caesar defeated his Roman rival, Pompey. Caesar then went on to Egypt and occupied the royal palace in Alexandria.

Meanwhile, Pompey had escaped and sought refuge with Ptolemy, now age 13, and his army. But, the young king's advisers had Pompey beheaded, hoping this would win Caesar to their side of the conflict with Cleopatra. Instead, this only angered Caesar.

Cleopatra decided to return secretly to Alexandria to persuade Caesar to support her. She had herself smuggled into the palace in a sack carried by a loyal servant. We do not know what exactly happened next,

but afterward Cleopatra, 21, and Caesar, 52, became allies against her brother. She also soon discovered that she was pregnant.

The young Ptolemy was enraged at this turn of events. His advisers ordered his army to Alexandria to besiege the palace. Caesar's men were hugely outnumbered. In the confusion, Cleopatra's younger sister, Arsinoe, fled the palace and joined her brother's army.

The civilians of Alexandria sided with Ptolemy and tried to seize Caesar's ships in the harbor. Caesar then ordered them burned. However, the fires spread to the docks and the great library was at least partly destroyed.

Finally, Roman reinforcements arrived, forcing Ptolemy's army to retreat. A battle then took place in the desert. Caesar outsmarted Ptolemy's generals and defeated the Egyptian army. Ptolemy was killed, possibly drowning in the Nile. The Romans captured Arsinoe. Cleopatra had won her first political test by siding with the Romans against her own people.

Caesar lingered in Egypt. He put Cleopatra on the throne along with her 12 year-old brother, Ptolemy XIV, whom she officially married, an ancient Egyptian practice. Caesar's purpose was to assure the stability of Egypt and the continued flow of wheat to Rome, thus preventing bread riots in the empire's capital.

Apparently, Caesar trusted Cleopatra to rule Egypt well. They celebrated their pact on a luxurious royal barge cruise up the Nile. Cleopatra presented herself to the Egyptian people dressed as Isis, the popular Egyptian goddess of motherhood and agriculture.

Caesar finally left Alexandria, taking Arsinoe as a prisoner of war. A few months later, Cleopatra gave birth to a boy whom the people called Caesarion, "Little Caesar."

Queen of Egypt

Cleopatra had two long-term strategic goals. First, she wanted to restore the territories of the Ptolemy Dynasty's empire that had been lost over 150 years earlier. Second, she wanted to secure for herself and her descendants the independence of Egypt but with the protection of Rome. Before pursuing these goals, however, she had to restore order to her country and prove that she was a capable ruler.

Cleopatra was a "hands-on" ruler. She listened to people's grievances, acted as the chief judge, and punished greedy government officials. She supervised the sowing and harvesting of wheat, and managed royal textile factories and monopolies, like papyrus-making (paper). She commanded the army and navy, and carried on diplomacy with foreign kings.

Cleopatra was, for a time, the most powerful woman in the Roman world.

Within a year, Cleopatra stabilized the economy. She appeared often as the goddess Isis, draped in pearls, in religious rituals important to the common people. She also became the richest person in the Mediterranean world.

In 46 B.C., Cleopatra took her teenage co-ruler and infant Caesarion to Rome. Caesar acknowledged Caesarion as his natural son. Cleopatra lived in Caesar's villa outside Rome where they continued their romance while Caesar's wife lived nearby in the city. Caesar built a golden statue of her in the Temple of Venus.

During Cleopatra's stay in Rome, Caesar produced his "triumph," the traditional self-celebration by a Roman general of his foreign victories. Caesar's triumph included a parade, displaying the treasure he seized along with his captives in chains. Among them was Cleopatra's sister, Arsinoe. Cleopatra did not witness the event.

In 44 B.C., Cleopatra was still living in Rome when Caesar was assassinated by senators led by Cassius and Brutus. They feared Caesar wanted to destroy the Roman Republic and make himself king.

Cleopatra was shocked at the death of her lover and protector. Moreover, in his will Caesar made his 18-year-old adopted nephew, Octavian, his heir. The will made no mention of Caesarion. Cleopatra quickly returned to Egypt.

Cleopatra's hold on the throne was weakened by Caesar's death. Her teenage co-ruler, Ptolemy XIV, was a threat. Like her father had done, Cleopatra had her brother murdered by poison. Her sister, Arsinoe, was living in exile and had declared herself queen of Egypt. She, too, was a threat.

Cleopatra replaced Ptolemy XIV with three-year-old Caesarion as her new co-ruler. During a famine, she distributed free wheat to the people from the royal granaries. She embarked on building projects dedicated to Isis, Caesar, and the Ptolemy dynasty. She also began construction of her own tomb in Alexandria.

The queen revived the city's reputation as the center of Greek culture and scholarship. Works on medicine were especially notable at this time. Cleopatra herself probably wrote a number of books on this subject.

Cleopatra and Antony

Mark Antony was a Roman general and loyal friend of Caesar. After Caesar's assassination, Antony believed he rightfully should inherit the unique status of Rome's greatest

WORLD HISTORY

leader. Antony formed an alliance with Caesar's young and sickly heir, Octavian, and then took the lead in pursuing Cassius, Brutus, and the other assassins.

Finally, in 42 B.C., Antony and Octavian defeated Cassius and Brutus, who then took their own lives. Antony and Octavian agreed to divide the Roman Empire between them: Antony got the lands in the eastern Mediterranean, and Octavian took the lands in the west.

When things settled down, Antony, 43, summoned Cleopatra, 28, to his headquarters at Tarsus (a city now in southeast Turkey) to account for her lack of support for avenging Caesar's assassination. Cleopatra took her time, but her royal galley and support ships were loaded with gifts. She made a spectacular entrance up a river to Tarsus, as recorded by the ancient Greek historian and biographer, Plutarch:

She sailed up the Kydnos River in a boat with a golden stern, purple sails spread, the rowers pulling the silver oars to the sound of flutes, pipes, and strings. She herself reclined under a canopy adorned with gold... Marvelous scents from innumerable incense offerings spread along the river banks.

Cleopatra wined and dined Antony and his guests in a series of elaborate banquets. Each night, the guests took home as gifts the decorations made of precious metals and jewels. Antony, who was married, was love-struck.

Finally, Antony and Cleopatra talked business. She explained that she had sent a fleet of ships to aid him, but that a storm tore the fleet apart. Antony wanted money and a fleet to help his invasion of Parthia (now part of Iran). Cleopatra wanted Antony to order the death of her rival sister, Arsinoe. They made a deal. Antony postponed his Parthian



RELIEFS OF CLEOPATRA and her son by Julius Caesar, Caesarion on the wall of the Dendera Temple in Egypt.

campaign, however, and followed Cleopatra back to Alexandria.

Several months later, Antony headed to Rome to renew his alliance with Octavian. On the way, he abandoned his dying wife, living in Greece. Antony then married Octavian's sister, Octavia, to seal the alliance with his rival, Octavian. Meanwhile, Cleopatra gave birth to twins: Alexander Helios (The Sun) and Cleopatra Selene (The Moon).

Queen of Kings

Three years later, Antony was at the Syrian port of Antioch, again preparing to conquer Parthia. He summoned Cleopatra from Alexandria. This time, she brought her toddler twins whom Antony accepted as his children.

She was also pregnant again, and in 36 B.C. gave birth to her fourth child and the third by Antony, Ptolemy Philadelphos.

Antony suffered a disastrous defeat by the Parthians. He grew depressed and drank heavily. Cleopatra revived his spirits. In 34 B.C., he was on the march to Armenia, where he was victorious. He brought the king and his family back to Alexandria in golden chains.

In a breathtaking public ceremony, Cleopatra dressed as Isis, and Antony dressed as the Greek god Dionysus. They sat on golden thrones with the four children occupying smaller thrones below. Antony proclaimed Cleopatra "Queen of Kings" along with similar honors to the children.

In exchange for ships and money she had given him, Antony gave Roman territories to Cleopatra that included the island of Cyprus, Phoenicia, Syria, and North Africa. Cleopatra was well on her way to recovering the lands that had been lost by the Ptolemies.

He then made each of their children monarchs of kingdoms from North Africa to Parthia (which Antony had not yet conquered).

Cleopatra at age 35 seemingly had achieved her strategic goals of restoring the old Ptolemy dynasty's empire with herself and her children as rulers backed by Antony. Antony's "donation" of Roman territories to Egypt, however, did not go over well with Octavian back in Rome.

Downfall and Death

Octavian, envisioning himself as the sole head of the Roman Empire, needed to get rid of Antony. There was also the problem of

Caesarion, Caesar's natural son, who might someday claim to be Rome's true leader.

Going after Antony directly was difficult since many Roman soldiers would refuse to fight against him. Therefore, Octavian spread propaganda against Cleopatra that Antony had been "bewitched by that accursed woman." Octavian accused Cleopatra of "enslaving" Antony and that Rome itself was next. He accused Antony of betraying Rome. Antony made matters worse by divorcing Octavia.

Finally, Octavian got the Senate to declare war against Cleopatra. He calculated correctly that Antony would defend her. Then both of them could be destroyed.

Soon both sides were assembling ships and armies. Cleopatra paid for most of Antony's war fleet and commanded a fleet of her own. The showdown came in a naval battle off the west coast of Greece.

When the opposing fleets clashed in battle on September 2, 31 B.C., neither side gained an advantage. Suddenly Cleopatra in her treasure-laden ship broke through the battle and headed for Egypt. Antony quickly followed her.

Octavian claimed the two fled out of cowardice. But there is evidence that this was a planned escape. Cleopatra had seen a number of bad omens, and she feared a victory by Octavian would clear the way for him to attack a defenseless Egypt.

Antony and Cleopatra ended up in Alexandria. When Octavian arrived, hungering for Cleopatra's treasure, Antony attempted to fight him on sea and land but failed. Cleopatra tried to escape to India, but her ships in the Red Sea were burned by a hostile neighboring king. Cleopatra then tried to negotiate with Octavian to save herself, her children, and her kingdom.

One day Antony received word that his lover had killed herself. He

plunged his sword into himself but did not die right away. Then hearing Cleopatra was still alive, he had his servants carry him to her and died in her arms.

Cleopatra finally met with Octavian face-to-face. She unsuccessfully tried her charms one more time. She blamed everything on Antony and offered Octavian the treasures that she had stuffed into her large tomb. Octavian feared she would destroy the treasure. She feared being taken to Rome in golden chains to display in his triumph.

Ultimately, Cleopatra took her own life, probably with some painless poison. There is a famous story that she was bitten by a snake, but this is unlikely. Dead at age 39, she had been Queen of Egypt for over 20 years.

Octavian allowed Cleopatra and Antony to be buried together in her tomb. He took her treasure and annexed (took over) Egypt. But Cleopatra denied him the pleasure of marching her in golden chains at his triumph in Rome.

Caesarion, age 17, was captured and murdered by Octavian's men.

The nine-year-old twins, Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene, along with five-year-old Ptolemy Philadelphos were taken in by Octavia to raise in Rome. The boys shortly disappeared from history, possibly the victims of Rome's many epidemics.

Cleopatra Selene married a favorite of Octavian, who sent them to rule a kingdom in North Africa. They had a son whom she naturally named Ptolemy. He inherited the kingdom, but displeased the Roman Emperor Caligula, who had him murdered in 40 A.D. His death brought an end to Cleopatra's Ptolemy Dynasty.

DISCUSSION AND WRITING

- 1. How did Cleopatra go about building her empire differently than the Roman men in her life?
- 2. What do you think was Cleopatra's biggest mistake? Why? What do you think was her greatest accomplishment? Why?
- 3. Were Cleopatra, Caesar, Antony, and Octavian all villains in this true story? Who was the worst? Why?

ACTIVITY

Who Was the Real Cleopatra?

The class will decide this question by debating three positions that historians have taken on Cleopatra over the centuries:

- A. Cleopatra was an immoral seducer and power-mad schemer.
- B. Cleopatra was a smart ruler and skillful strategist.
- C. Cleopatra used ruthless tactics to survive in a violent man's world.
- 1. Form four groups. Three of them will act as the debating groups. Each group will argue for one of the above positions on the question. Each debating group will need to review the article for facts and events that support its position.
- 2. The fourth group will act as the debate judges. Judges have the responsibility of asking questions and challenging the arguments of the debating groups.
- 3. After all the debating groups have finished, the judges will discuss and decide which position best answers the question: Who was the real Cleopatra?
- 4. OPTIONAL Finally, discuss as a whole class whether you agree that all three positions above are true.

HOW THE FIRST STATE CONSTITUTIONS HELPED BUILD THE U. S. CONSTITUTION

DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, THE FORMER ENGLISH COLONIES EACH ADOPTED THEIR OWN CONSTITUTIONS. THESE FIRST STATE CONSTITUTIONS PROVIDED THE BUILDING BLOCKS FOR THE U. S. CONSTITUTION, INCLUDING THE BILL OF RIGHTS.

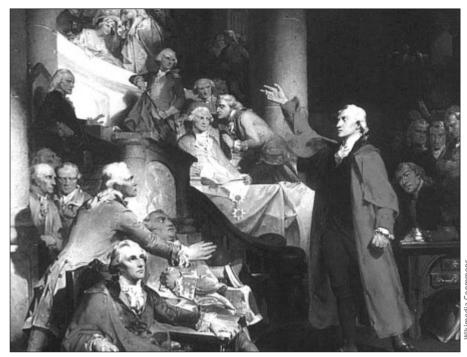
After the Revolutionary War, delegates from the thirteen American states met at Philadelphia to draft a new constitution for the United States. They were unhappy with the weakness of the national government under the Articles of Confederation. But where did the delegates get their ideas for what became the U. S. Constitution?

The delegates understood England's "unwritten constitution," based on centuries of customs, rights, common law court decisions, and the acts of kings and Parliament. But these constitutional elements were sometimes ignored or violated by the king since there was no written guarantee that the monarch must obey them.

Closer to home, the delegates knew how their colonial governments had evolved from royal charters and land grants to a significant degree of self-rule. A majority of the delegates at the Constitutional Convention in 1787 also had been members of one or both of the Continental Congresses that met during the Revolutionary War. More importantly, most of them had been involved in debating and writing the constitutions for their own states. These first state constitutions proved to be the greatest source of ideas for drafting the U.S. Constitution and later the Bill of Rights.

First State Constitutions

Four colonies adopted constitutions even before the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed on July 4, 1776. After that date, all the colonies



"PATRICK HENRY Before the Virginia House of Burgesses" (1851) by Peter F. Rothermel shows Patrick Henry making a speech against the Stamp Act of 1765, when he famously declared, "If this be treason, make the most of it!"

referred to themselves as states of the United States of America.

The states went about adopting constitutions in three ways. Eight states relied on their regularly elected colonial legislatures renamed "provincial congresses." Three states elected delegates to a constitutional convention. Two states, Connecticut and Rhode Island, did not write new constitutions, but instead simply revised their colonial charters.

On January 5, 1776, New Hampshire's provincial congress adopted the first state constitution. This constitution was intended to be a temporary fundamental law "during the present unhappy and unnatural contest with Great Britain." It set up a basic structure of government but did not provide for a governor, bill of rights, or amending process. A state convention added these things in a second constitution adopted in 1784.

Massachusetts was the last of the states to write and adopt its first constitution. In 1778, the provincial congress submitted a draft constitution to the voters at town meetings, but they turned it down.

A convention was then elected specifically to draft a constitution. John Adams wrote most of it, which included a bill of rights. Massachusetts voters finally approved this constitution by the required two-thirds vote in 1780. This was the first time voters ratified a state constitution. It remains the world's oldest written constitution still in effect.

Vermont was not recognized as a state at this time because the neighboring states disputed its boundaries. Nevertheless, in 1777, Vermonters met in a convention and adopted a constitution anyway. It was the first state constitution to prohibit slavery.

Building Blocks

A written constitution generally describes the structure of a government. It may also identify rights guaranteed to citizens. A written constitution is superior to all laws enacted by a legislature. For example, the U. S. Constitution declares itself to be "the supreme Law of the Land."

By 1780, all the first state constitutions plus that of Vermont had created most of the building blocks that were used to draft the U. S. Constitution at the Philadelphia Convention in 1787.

Overriding Principles

All the states accepted the idea of "popular sovereignty." This means that all the powers of government originally came from the people. Delaware's constitution stated, "Persons entrusted with the legislative and executive Powers are the Trustees and Servants of the Public."

Based on popular sovereignty, each state created a "republican" form of democracy (republic) in which representatives elected by the voters made the laws. This differed sharply from the system in England where elected members of the House of Commons had to share lawmaking power with the king and House of Lords, both of which usually inherited their government positions.

The states made clear that the rule of law would control their republican governments. John Adams of Massachusetts wrote that a republic is "an empire of laws, and not men."

Separation of Powers

In 1748, France's Baron de Montesquieu wrote *The Spirit of the Laws*. He described a "separation of powers" that included a legislature making the laws, an executive enforcing the laws, and a judiciary interpreting the laws. He used as his example the English system of king, parliament, and courts.

Most of those who were involved in drafting their first state constitutions had read or were familiar with Montesquieu's theory of the separation of powers. However, he seemed to overlook the reality that the powers of government in England were not always clear-cut. For example, Parliament's House of Lords could act as the highest court of appeals.

The states sought to keep the three branches of government independent of one another as a way to prevent one branch from becoming too powerful. Virginia's Constitution designed its government so that no branch would exercise powers that belonged to one of the others.

Bicameral Legislature

All the state constitutions assumed that the legislature would be the most important part of the government. Legislators were elected by voters to represent their interests, the essence of republican democracy.

Based on popular sovereignty, each state created a "republican" form of democracy in which representatives elected by the voters made the laws.

Who were the voters? Of course, women and slaves were excluded from voting at this time, and most free black men and Indians could not vote. White adult males had to prove they were a resident, owned a certain amount of land, possessed private property worth so much money, paid taxes, or some combination of these.

All but two of the states created bicameral (two-house) legislatures. Pennsylvania and Georgia had unicameral (one-house) legislatures, believing they were more democratic. The lower house in bicameral legislatures, most commonly called the house of representatives, was the

larger of the two houses. Lower house and unicameral members represented towns, counties, or other districts and were considered closest to the people in the government.

Lower house members usually had to qualify as voters, sometimes with a greater property requirement. The only age qualification was the minimum age for voting (21). Several state constitutions had a "religious test," which required their lower house members to be Christians.

All states elected their lower house representatives for one-year terms except South Carolina with two-year terms. All "money bills," those that dealt with taxes and spending, had to originate in the lower house of bicameral legislatures.

Bicameral upper houses were often called the senate. Members were directly elected by the people except in Maryland where an elected convention chose among its delegates to represent each county in the upper house. Members usually had to own more property than those in the lower house. A few states had a religious qualification. The minimum age requirement ranged from 21 to 30. Members served terms between one to five years.

Upper houses had full lawmaking powers, but could not initiate "money bills." However, they had to approve those and all other bills passed by the lower house before they could become laws. The upper houses in some states conducted the trial of government officers who had been impeached (charged) by the lower house.

Chief Executive

The first state constitutions called their chief executive either governor or president. In eight states, the legislature chose the chief executive. In the remaining five states, the voters directly elected him. Most chief executives served one-year terms.

Some state constitutions had age, property, or religious qualifications for the chief executive. But, more than half the constitutions

named no qualifications at all. Maryland required its governor to be "a person of wisdom, experience, and virtue."

Most of the first state constitutions greatly limited the powers of the chief executive, fearing he might become another tyrant like King George III. New York and Massachusetts were exceptions.

Along with high court judges, the New York governor, elected by the voters, was a member of the Council of Revision that could veto laws passed by the legislature. Only the Massachusetts constitution empowered its voter-elected governor to act alone to veto laws.

Judiciary

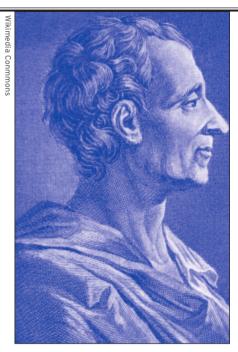
The courts made up the weakest of the three branches of government in all the first state constitutions. Judges in various states were appointed by the chief executive, the legislature, or by both acting together. The courts acting alone had no power to declare laws unconstitutional.

Some states limited the terms of their judges to a certain number of years. Other states followed the English tradition of lifetime appointments for "good behavior." This meant a judge could be impeached and removed from office if he abused his power like taking bribes.

Checks and Balances

Built into the first state constitutions were "checks and balances" to limit the powers of government. The short, mostly one-year, terms of office were designed to prevent lawmakers and chief executives from acquiring too much power. A saying at that time warned, "Where annual elections end, there slavery begins."

Bicameral legislatures pitted the lower against the upper house so neither could pass laws without the other's approval. New York and Massachusetts set up procedures that involved the chief executive to check the legislature by vetoing laws. But, in both states, the legislature could



CHARLES-LOUIS DE SECONDAT, Baron de Montesquieu, was a philosopher of the Enlightenment who developed the theory of the separation of powers.

balance that check by overriding the veto by a two-thirds vote.

There was no judicial check on the constitutionality of laws at this time. However, Pennsylvania's first state constitution included a Council of Censors, which was elected by the voters to meet every seven years to examine all laws passed by the legislature. It could recommend that the legislature repeal laws that the Council believed to be unconstitutional.

Bill of Rights

A majority of the American colonies produced written guarantees of rights such as trial by jury based on the "rights of Englishmen." Americans considered these to be "inalienable rights," natural rights that could not be taken away by any power or even freely given up.

The first colonies to write bills of rights were Maryland in 1639 and Massachusetts in 1641. These written rights limited the power of government far more than in England. However, they were still acts of a colonial legislature, which could be overruled by the king.

Led by Virginia in 1776, six states plus Vermont wrote formal

bills of rights into their first state constitutions. Four more states wrote certain rights into the body of their constitutions.

By 1780, the first state bills of rights together accounted for all but one of the rights that ended up later in the U.S. Bill of Rights. The six rights most frequently listed by the states were (1) free exercise of religion, (2) jury trial in criminal cases, (3) freedom of the press, (4) due process of law, (5) no excessive bail. and (6) no unreasonable searches and seizures. The one right missing in the state constitutions was that the drafters failed to reserve that other unnamed rights were "retained by the people" (Ninth Amendment of the U. S. Bill of Rights).

Amendment Process

Seven of the thirteen states provided a procedure for amending their first state constitutions. Three of these states did this solely through action by the legislature. Four states required a constitutional convention to meet and approve amendments. None of the first state constitutions called for submitting amendments to the voters for ratification.

The Federal Constitution

By the time the delegates arrived at the Philadelphia Constitutional Convention in 1787, they brought with them the basic building blocks from their own first and, in some cases, second state constitutions. These building blocks provided the basis for most of the debates at Philadelphia, although the state constitutions often differed over the specifics. In addition, the delegates had the advantage of witnessing their state constitutional governments in operation.

One scholar has linked provisions in the U. S. Constitution to similar ones in the state constitutions plus the charters used by Connecticut and Rhode Island. He found more than 200 links. The first state constitutions with the

most links to the federal Constitution were those of Massachusetts (53) and New York (51).

The state constitution building block that the Philadelphia delegates did not adopt was a federal bill of rights. Most felt it was not needed since the states provided their own protections. But, this proved to be a mistake. The chief argument of those who opposed ratifying the Constitution was the lack of a bill of rights to prevent federal abuses of individual liberties.

Supporters of ratification finally promised to amend the Constitution with a bill of rights. James Madison led the effort in the First Congress to add a number of amendments to the Constitution based almost entirely on rights found in the state constitutions.

Ten amendments, containing over two dozen specific rights, were finally ratified by the required three-fourths the states in 1791. Thus, the federal Bill of Rights was added to the U. S. Constitution.

* * * * *

Among the thirteen states, all but Massachusetts eventually replaced their first constitutions, or charters in the case of Connecticut and Rhode Island. The states often revised their constitutions to be more in line with the U. S. Constitution. Pennsylvania and Georgia adopted a bicameral legislature in their updated constitutions. No state constitution today has an enforceable property or religious requirement for voting or holding public office.

DISCUSSION AND WRITING

1. Why did each of the thirteen states adopt a written constitution and not an unwritten one like that of England?



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- 2. How were the first state constitutions similar to and different from the U. S. Constitution in the following areas?
 - a. bicameralism
 - b. qualifications and terms for members of the legislature and chief executive
 - c. selection and terms of judges
 - d. bill of rights

- 3. Why do you think the first state constitutions and the U. S. Constitution included "checks and balances"?
- 4. Imagine you were a member of the Constitutional Convention. Would you have added another right you thought important? If so, what would it have been? And why would you have added it?

ACTIVITY

A Religious Test

At the time the first state constitutions were drafted, some states included a "religious test" that required public officials to swear an oath that they held a certain religious faith. This had been the practice for many years in England where Catholics, Jews, and Protestants who did not conform to the official Church of England were excluded from holding government office.

Below are excerpts from five state constitutions that were in effect before the U. S. Constitution was drafted in 1787.

- 1. In small groups, rank the five states in order from the one that had the most restrictive religious test to the one that had no religious test.
- 2. Determine which state came closest to what the U. S. Constitution says about religious tests in Art. VI.
- 3. Discuss whether you think elected officials in your state should be required to swear the following oath before taking office. "I believe in one God and the right of every individual to worship Him as one chooses."
- 4. Report your conclusions and reasons to the rest of the class.

Pennsylvania: "And each member, before he takes his seat, shall make and subscribe the following declaration: 'I do believe in one God, the creator and governor of the universe, the rewarder of the good and the punisher of the wicked. And I do acknowledge the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by Divine inspiration."

____ Maryland: "That no other test or qualification ought to be required, on admission to any office of trust or profit, than such oath of support and fidelity to this State...and a declaration of a belief in the Christian religion."

Massachusetts: "Any person chosen governor, lieutenant-governor, councilor, senator, representative, and accepting the trust, shall, before he proceed to execute the duties of his place or office, make and subscribe the following declaration: 'I do declare, that I believe the Christian religion, and have a firm persuasion of its truth....'"

New York: "... this convention doth further...declare, that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever hereafter be allowed, within this State...."

South Carolina: "No person shall be eligible to sit in the house of representatives unless he be of the Protestant religion...." Similar language applied to members of the senate, governor, and the executive council.

Standards

Puritan Massachusetts: Theocracy or Democracy?

National High School U.S. History Standard 3: Understands why the Americas attracted Europeans, why they brought enslaved Africans to their colonies and how Europeans struggled for control of North America and the Caribbean. Understands social and economic characteristics of European colonization in the 17th and 18th centuries (e.g., changing immigration and settlement patterns of Puritans...).

National High School U.S. History Standard 4: Understands how political, religious, and social institutions emerged in the English colonies. Understands characteristics of religious development in colonial America (e.g., the presence of diverse religious groups and their contributions to religious freedom...the major tenets of Puritanism and its legacy in American society... Puritan objections to their ideas and behavior). Understands the similarities and differences in colonial concepts of community (e.g., Puritan's covenant community...).

Common Core Standard RH.11-12.1: Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, connecting insights gained from specific details to an understanding of the text as a whole.

Common Core Standard RH.6-8.1: Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources.

Common Core Standard SL.11-12.4: Present information, findings, and supporting evidence, conveying a clear and distinct perspective, such that listeners can follow the line of reasoning, alternative or opposing perspectives are addressed, and the organization, development, substance, and style are appropriate to purpose, audience, and a range of formal and informal tasks.

Common Core Standard SL.8.4: Present claims and findings, emphasizing salient points in a focused, coherent manner with relevant evidence, sound valid reasoning, and well-chosen details; use appropriate eye contact, adequate volume, and clear pronunciation.

Who Was the Real Cleopatra?

National High School World History Standard 3: Understands the major characteristics of civilization and the development of civilizations in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the Indus Valley. (3) Understands features of trading networks in Egypt.

National High School World History Standard 8: Understands how Aegean civilization emerged and how interrelations developed among peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean and Southwest Asia from 600 to 200 BCE. (7) Understands how Egyptian society saw itself in relation to its gods and how attitudes towards women are indicated in representations of its goddesses.

National High School World History Standard 9: Understand how major religious and large-scale empires arose in the Mediterranean Basin, China, and India from 500 BCE to 300 CE. (1) Understands shifts in the political framework of Roman society (e.g., major phases in the empire's expansion through the 1st century CE; how imperial rule over a vast area transformed Roman society, economy, and culture; the causes and consequences of the transition from Republic to Empire under Augustus in Rome; how Rome governed its provinces from the late Republic to the Empire...).

Common Core Standard RH.6-8.8: Distinguish among fact, opinion, and reasoned judgment in a text.

Common Core Standard RH.9-10.8: Assess the extent to which the reasoning and evidence in a text support the author's claims.

Common Core Standard WHST.6-8.1: Write arguments focused on *discipline-specific content*. (b) Support claim(s) with logical reasoning and relevant, accurate data and evidence that demonstrate an understanding of the topic or text, using credible sources.

Common Core Standard WHST.9-10.1: Write arguments focused on *discipline-specific content*. (b) Develop claim(s) and counterclaims fairly, supplying data and evidence for each while pointing out the strengths and limitations of both claim(s) and counterclaims in a discipline-appropriate form and in a manner that anticipates the audience's knowledge level and concerns.

California History/Social Science Standard 6.2: Students analyze the geographic, political, economic, religious, and social structures of the early civilizations of Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Kush. (3) Understand the relationship between religion and the social and political order in Mesopotamia and Egypt. (6) Describe the role of Egyptian trade in the eastern Mediterranean and Nile valley.

California History/Social Science Standard 6.7: Students analyze the geographic, political, economic, religious, and social structures during the development of Rome.

- (1) Identify the location and describe the rise of the Roman Republic, including the importance of such mythical and historical figures as...Julius Caesar....
- (3) Identify the location of and the political and geographic reasons for the growth of Roman territories and expansion of the empire, including how the empire fostered economic growth through the use of currency and trade routes. (4) Discuss the influence of Julius Caesar and Augustus in Rome's transition from republic to empire.

How the First State Constitutions Helped Build The U. S. Constitution

National High School U.S. History Standard 7: Understands the impact of the American Revolution on politics, economy, and society. Understands the differences among several state constitutions (e.g., various applications of 18th-century republicanism, such as virtue in government, balancing the interests of different social groups, service to the common good, representation, separation of powers, judicial independence, and the legitimacy of slavery).

National High School U.S. History Standard 8: Understands the institutions and practices of government created during the Revolution and how these elements were revised between 1787 and 1815 to create the foundation of the American political system based on the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Understands influences on the ideas established by the Constitution (e.g., the ideas behind the distribution of powers and the system of checks and balances....

Common Core Standard RH.11-12.1: Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, connecting insights gained from specific details to an understanding of the text as a whole.

Common Core Standard RH.6-8.1: Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources.

Common Core Standard SL.11-12.4: Present information, findings, and supporting evidence, conveying a clear and distinct perspective, such that listeners can follow the line of reasoning, alternative or opposing perspectives are addressed, and the organization, development, substance, and style are appropriate to purpose, audience, and a range of formal and informal tasks.

Common Core Standard SL.8.4: Present claims and findings, emphasizing salient points in a focused, coherent manner with relevant evidence, sound valid reasoning, and well-chosen details; use appropriate eye contact, adequate volume, and clear pronunciation.

California History/Social Science Standard 8.3: Students understand the foundation of the American political system and the ways in which citizens participate in it. (1) Analyze the principles and concepts codified in state constitutions between 1777 and 1781 that created the context out of which American political institutions and ideas developed.

California History/Social Science Standard 8.9: Students analyze the early and steady attempts to abolish slavery and to realize the ideals of the Declaration of Independence. (2) Discuss the abolition of slavery in early state constitutions.

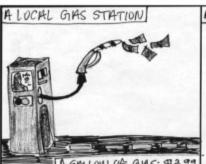
California History/Social Science Standard 11.1: Students analyze the significant events in the founding of the nation and its attempts to realize the philosophy of government described in the Declaration of Independence. (2) Analyze...the debates on the drafting and ratification of the Constitution, and the addition of the Bill of Rights.

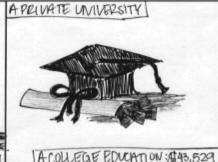
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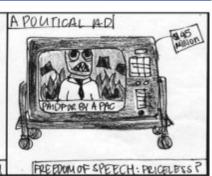
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DECEMBER 2013

5th Annual First Amendment Cartoon Contest







4th Annual High School Comic Strip Winner: Gillian, Glenbrook South HS, Glenview, IL

For high school, middle school, and elementary school students nationwide.

Since the earliest days of the American republic, cartoonists have entertained us, drawn attention to the issues of the day, and provoked discussion. In short, cartoons contribute to our civic life. We invite students to create their own contribution to this great tradition and celebrate Bill of Rights Day by entering the 5th Annual First Amendment Cartoon Contest!

Open to students nationwide-high school, middle school, and elementary school.

Six winners will each receive \$50*. In addition, up to five entries will receive honorable mentions, and all entries can receive a certificate of participation.

The contest rules, entry form, and deadline will be announced by the middle of December 2013 on the Judges, Courts, and Law website at: www.courtsed.org.

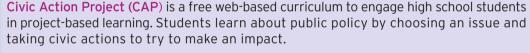
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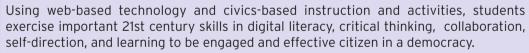
* Prize money is provided by Constitutional Rights Foundation and the Administration of Justice Fund.



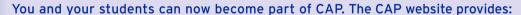
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