**Thomas Hobbes** (1588-1679)

*Leviathan or The Matter, Forme and Power of a Common Wealth Ecclesiastical and Civil*

Written during the English Civil War (1642-1651) - Published in 1651

It is relevant to: The conflict between Monarchy and Parliament

The issue of social peacemaking

It introduces the theory of **the social contract**.

* The desire of power and material goods is a prevailing aspect of human nature

Their power is equal: the weakest can kill the strongest

The material goods are limited 🡪 they crave the same goods

* They become enemies
* **The State of Nature:** The Natural Condition of Mankind before society, government and law.

A state of war of all against all 🡪fear of sudden death or injury

no laws – no action is deviant

* No property and industry (If you cultivate a piece of land, a stronger man may encroach it)

No aspects of civilization can be developed: e.g. no letters and art

*“In such condition, there is no place for industry . . . no Culture of the Earth; no Navigation . . . no Knowledge of the face of the Earth; no account of Time; no Arts; no Letters; no Society; and which is worst of all, continual feare, and danger of violent death…"*

Even though such a condition never existed, Civil Wars are related to it.

* Charles I’s execution and the English Civil War are associated with the State of Nature
* His political affiliations are revealed
* The fear of sudden death makes people look for peace in their everyday lives.

Reason (Logos) makes them contrive the Natural Laws

Natural Laws: General rules to guarantee self-preservation.

First law of Nature:Seek peace and follow it.

*"That every man, ought to endeavour Peace, as farre as he can hope of obtaining it;”*

*and when he cannot obtain it, that he may seek, and use, all helps and advantages of Warre.”*

Natural laws are not mandatory: People conform to them at will.

It is vital an authority enforce their implementation

* They become authors of **the Social Contract**

Reciprocal renouncement of their right to harm or kill each other

They transfer all their rights and powers to a representative (individual or assembly), with the exception of the right of self-preservation. (2nd Law of Nature)

Once the sovereign is established, people become subjects and owe obedience.

The sovereign is responsible for legislative rules and has judicial power.

He forces them to observe the contract and punishes the offenders.

He can also make peace or war against other Commonwealths.

* Three kinds of sovereign: monarchy, aristocracy, democracy.
* Hobbes in favour of absolute monarchy.
* The actions of the sovereign cannot be illegal
* The subject has no right to resist (only to defend himself if the sovereign threatens his life)

**John Locke** (1632-1704)

* *Two Treatises of Government*

Written before Locke’s flight to Holland in 1683 (after Shaftesbury’s death)

* Debate of the Exclusion Crisis

Published in 1689 after the Glorious Revolution when William the Orange and Mary II ascended the throne

**The First Treatise**: Refutation of Sir Robert Filmer’s *Patriarcha*

* *Patriarcha*: written before the Civil War but published during the Exclusion Crisis (1680).
* Filmer: in favour of absolutist monarchy 🡪 every human is born a slave to the king

The king’s power comes from the natural authority of the father (Adam was the first king)

key notions: 1) The Divine Right of the Kings and 2) Passive Obedience

**The Second Treatise**: Theory of civil society (Contract Theory)

* Political Power: “*The right of making laws with penalties of death, and consequently all less penalties, for the regulating and preserving of property, and of employing the force of the community, in the execution of such laws, and in the defense of the commonwealth from foreign injury, and all this only for the public good.”*
* State of Nature:

1. All men are equal (contrary to Filmer)
2. State of perfect freedom

but Law of Nature: No one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty or possessions.

They are obliged to observe and enforce the law 🡪 Every man has the right to punish the offenders.

* Social Contract: establishing civil government to reinforce the Law of Nature among citizens.

also People join the society to protect property.

Each person owns his own body 🡪 No one can use a person’s body without his permission

Property through labour (If you work in a field, the crop belongs to you because of your labour.)

A man is entitled to the amount of the product of his labour which is essential for his survival.

* If the authority cannot protect people’s lives, liberty and possession, they have the right to resist and depose him. (Glorious Revolution)
* His political philosophy influenced the American Constitution and the French Revolution