



IF I AM THINKING,



THEN THERE MUST BE A SUBJECT DOING THE THINKING,

AND THEREFORE I EXIST.



BUT THE SUBJECT OF AN ACTION HAS TO BE A CORPOREAL THING.

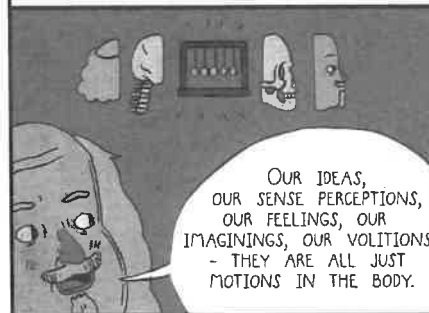


IN HIS OWN TREATISE ON HUMAN NATURE, POLITICS, AND RELIGION, TITLED *LEVIATHAN*, HOBBS CLAIMED THAT THE MIND AND ITS ACTIVITY IS JUST MATTER IN MOTION.

THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS A SOUL DISTINCT FROM THE BODY.

HOBBS'S MATERIALISM EXTENDED TO ALL STATES OF CONSCIOUSNESS.

DESCARTES HAD LITTLE PATIENCE FOR PEOPLE LIKE HOBBS.

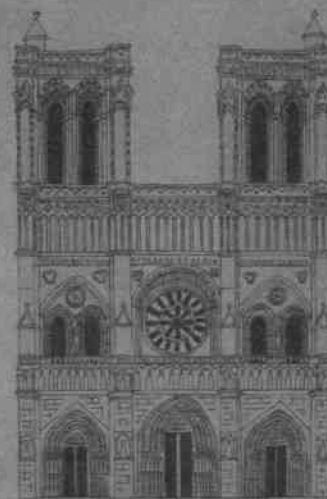


OUR IDEAS, OUR SENSE PERCEPTIONS, OUR FEELINGS, OUR IMAGININGS, OUR VOLITIONS - THEY ARE ALL JUST MOTIONS IN THE BODY.



THIS ENGLISHMAN IS A NASTY PIECE OF WORK. I'D BEST NOT HAVE ANYTHING MORE TO DO WITH HIM; OR WE WILL BECOME ENEMIES.

# PARIS

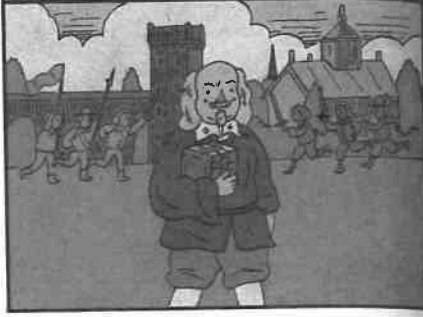


# 1646

IN THE 1640S, THOMAS HOBBS HAD MORE PRESSING MATTERS TO DEAL WITH THAN MIND-BODY METAPHYSICS.



HE WAS IN PARIS TO DEBATE THE MERITS OF DESCARTES'S PHILOSOPHY BECAUSE THERE WAS CIVIL WAR ON THE HORIZON IN ENGLAND.



IMAGINE A TIME WHEN THERE IS NO COMMONWEALTH, NO ORGANIZED SOCIETY, NO JUSTICE -



JUST A LOT OF PEOPLE LIVING WITHOUT LAWS OR LEADERS.



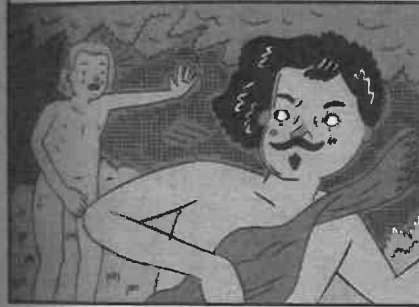
WITH PARLIAMENT PITTED AGAINST KING CHARLES I, HOBBS - A ROYALIST AND FEARING FOR HIS SAFETY AS THE KING'S ENEMIES GAINED THE UPPER HAND -



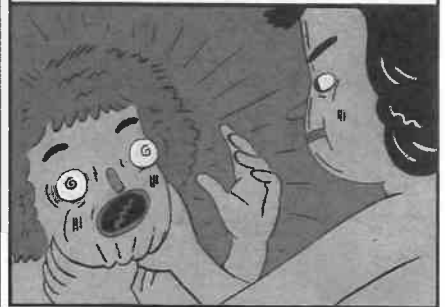
HAD GONE INTO EXILE IN 1640.



NOTHING TO KEEP THEM FROM CHEATING, STEALING,



OR EVEN KILLING EACH OTHER.



HE WROTE *LEVIATHAN* TO SHOW THAT THE AUTHORITY OF A SOVEREIGN MUST BE ABSOLUTE.



HE BEGAN HIS ARGUMENT BY DEPICTING A LIFE WITHOUT ANY GOVERNMENT.



IN SUCH A CONDITION, EVERY MAN HAS A RIGHT TO EVERYTHING, EVEN ANOTHER'S BODY.

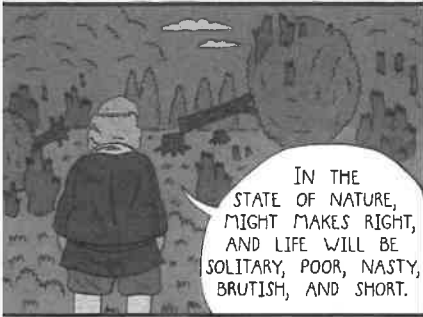


IF I CAN GET IT, IT'S MINE.



IF YOU CAN TAKE IT FROM ME, IT'S YOURS.

EVERYONE IS ACTING ONLY FOR THEIR OWN WELFARE. MOTIVATED BY FEAR, EACH DOES WHAT THEY CAN TO SURVIVE.



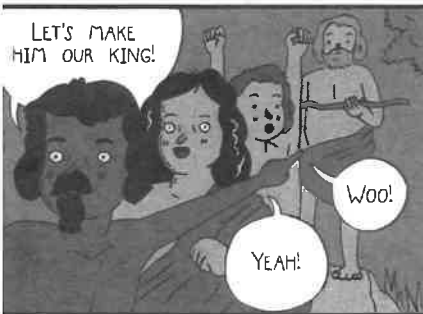
IN THE STATE OF NATURE, MIGHT MAKES RIGHT, AND LIFE WILL BE SOLITARY, POOR, NASTY, BRUTISH, AND SHORT.

THEY REALIZE THAT IF THEY ARE GOING TO SURVIVE AND FLOURISH, THEY NEED TO ORGANIZE AND FIND PROTECTION.



LET'S GET IT TOGETHER, FOLKS!

AND THEY WILL AGREE TO INSTITUTE A SOVEREIGN TO IMPOSE SOME ORDER ON AN ANARCHIC STATE OF AFFAIRS.



LET'S MAKE HIM OUR KING!

WOO!

YEAH!

THESE PEOPLE ARE FRIGHTENED BUT RATIONAL.



THEY WILL DECIDE THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER FOR EVERYONE TO GIVE UP THE UNLIMITED RIGHT TO WHATEVER THEY CAN LAY THEIR HANDS ON.



I HEREBY RELINQUISH MY RIGHT TO KILL YOU.

AND I YOU.

THE SOVEREIGN WILL HAVE THE ABSOLUTE POWER TO MAKE LAWS AND COMPEL PEOPLE TO OBEY THEM.



WHAT DO I DO?

THE BEST KIND OF SOVEREIGNTY IS MONARCHY, SINCE ALL LAWS COME FROM ONE PERSON AND ALL POWER IS INVESTED IN A SINGLE AUTHORITY.

THIS "COVENANT" TO SET UP A POLITY WITH A SOVEREIGN AS HEAD IS MADE SOLELY BY THE PEOPLE.



THE DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS?



A LEGITIMATE SOVEREIGN IS EMPOWERED BY THE CITIZENS WHO AUTHORIZE HIM, NOT BY GOD.

NO ONE HAS THE RIGHT TO DISOBEY THE SOVEREIGN, NO MATTER HOW MUCH THEY DISLIKE THE LAWS.



IMPRISONMENT FOR THIEVERY AND VIOLENCE!



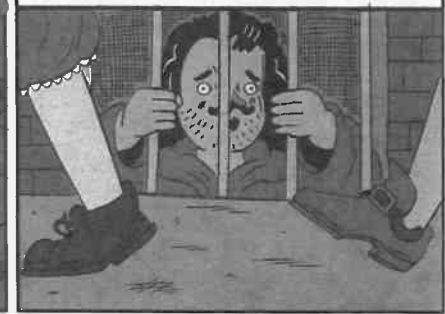
NONSENSE!



HOBBS'S ABSOLUTE SOVEREIGN GOVERNS ALL AFFAIRS OF STATE.

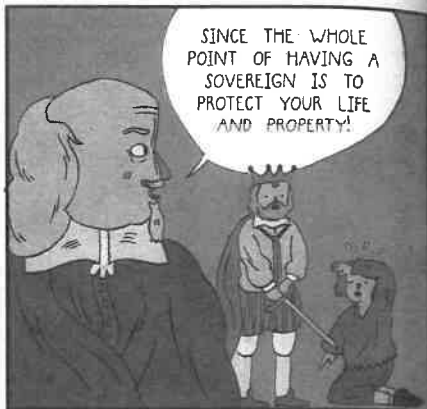
MY WORD IS LAW.

AND THEY WILL OBEY, OUT OF FEAR. THE ALTERNATIVE WOULD BE A RETURN TO THE STATE OF NATURE. AND NO ONE WANTS THAT.





WELL, UNLESS THE SOVEREIGN TRIES TO KILL YOU. THEN YOU HAVE THE RIGHT TO RESIST,



SINCE THE WHOLE POINT OF HAVING A SOVEREIGN IS TO PROTECT YOUR LIFE AND PROPERTY!

WITH A SOVEREIGN IN PLACE, THERE IS NOW A TRUE COMMONWEALTH,

WITH SECURITY, RIGHTS, JUSTICE, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS.



EVEN RELIGION FALLS UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE CIVIL SOVEREIGN.

NOT TO YOUR PREACHERS OR PRIESTS...



THERE MUST NOT BE TWO COMPETING POWERS IN THE STATE.

YOU OWE OBEDIENCE TO YOUR SOVEREIGN,



NOT TO YOUR PREACHERS OR PRIESTS...



...AND DEFINITELY NOT TO SOME GUY IN ROME!

Ow!

HE DISCUSSES IT IN THE FINAL CHAPTERS OF *LEVIATHAN*, FOR WHICH HE HAD A SPECIAL TITLE.



"THE KINGDOM OF DARKNESS"!!

AS WELL AS WHO IS PERMITTED TO INTERPRET THESE SACRED WRITINGS FOR THE PEOPLE...



Hmm...

HOBBS HAD SOME ESPECIALLY UNKIND THINGS TO SAY ABOUT CATHOLICISM.



GET OUT OF HERE!

THE CIVIL SOVEREIGN, AS HEAD OF HIS COMMONWEALTH'S CHURCH, WILL ALONE DETERMINE WHAT COUNTS AS HOLY SCRIPTURE...



Hmm...

...AND EVEN WHAT IS OR IS NOT A MIRACLE.



IF THE SOVEREIGN SAYS IT IS SO, THEN NO CITIZEN MAY CONTRADICT IT.

IT'S A MIRACLE!

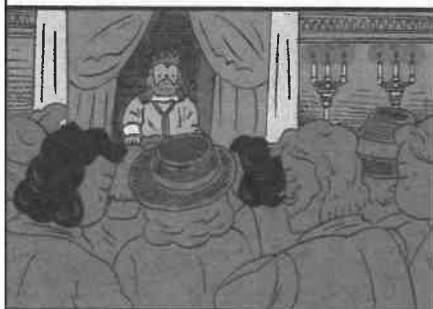
AS FOR HOBBS'S OWN RELIGIOUS BELIEFS, THESE ARE NOT ENTIRELY CLEAR.



HOBBS'S *LEVIATHAN* WAS A BOLD AND RADICAL EFFORT TO REVEAL THE CONTRACTUAL AND SECULAR FOUNDATIONS OF POLITICAL AUTHORITY,



DEMONSTRATE THE IMPORTANCE OF ABSOLUTE OBEDIENCE TO THE CIVIL SOVEREIGN,



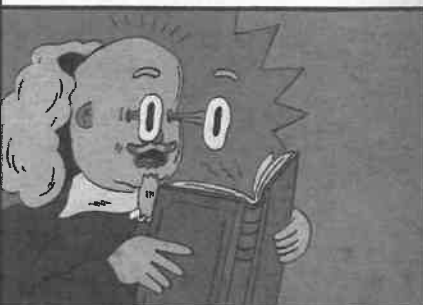
AND SEVERELY LIMIT ECCLESIASTIC POWER.



THE ENGLISHMAN WAS NOT ONE TO MINCE WORDS, AND HIS TREATISE WAS WIDELY CONDEMNED AS A DANGEROUS BOOK FILLED WITH "GODLESS" IDEAS.



BUT EVEN HOBBS WAS ASTOUNDED AT WHAT HE READ SOME YEARS LATER IN A NEW BOOK BY AN EXCOMMUNICATED JEW LIVING IN HOLLAND.

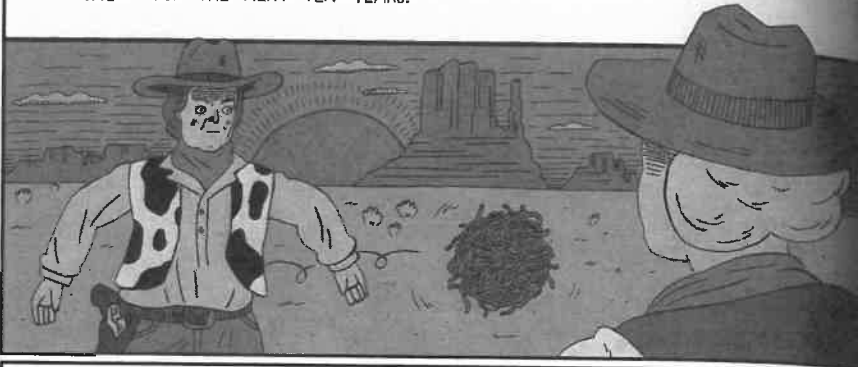


# THE HAGUE



1670

ARNAULD AND MALEBRANCHE WOULD FIGHT IT OUT WITH MUCH PASSION FOR THE NEXT TEN YEARS.



THEIR DEBATE WAS ONE OF THE GREAT INTELLECTUAL EVENTS OF THE 17TH CENTURY.



IT SEEMS TO ME THAT MR. ARNAULD HAS TOO HOT A TEMPER, AND THAT MR. MALEBRANCHE IS A LITTLE OUT OF HIS MIND.



# LONDON



# 1689

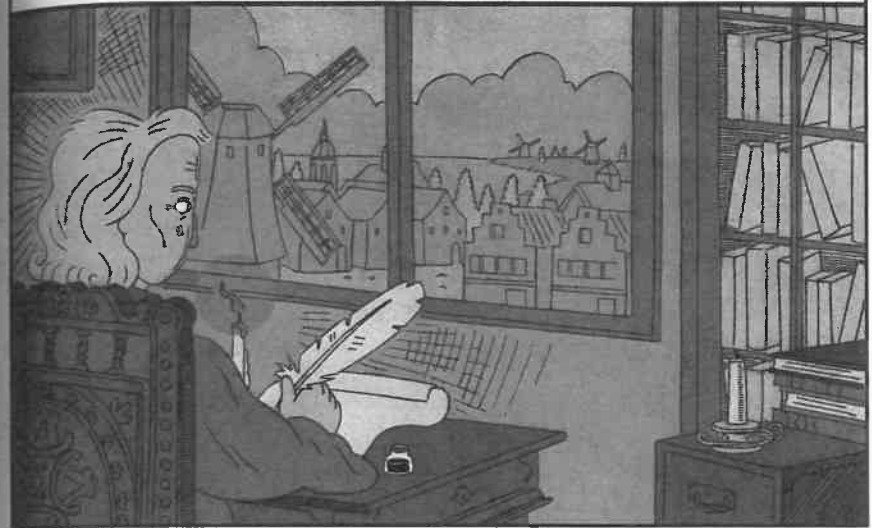
IN 1683, AN OXFORD-TRAINED ENGLISH PHILOSOPHER LEFT HIS HOMETLAND IN A HURRY.



JOHN LOCKE WAS SUSPECTED OF PARTICIPATING IN A CONSPIRACY TO ASSASSINATE KING CHARLES II AND HIS BROTHER, JAMES DUKE OF YORK (LATER JAMES II).



ONCE SETTLED IN AMSTERDAM, AND CONCERNED FOR ENGLAND'S FUTURE AFTER THE CATHOLIC JAMES II TOOK THE THRONE, LOCKE PUT QUILL TO PAPER TO ADD THE FINISHING TOUCHES ON HIS *TREATISES ON GOVERNMENT*.



WHILE HE WAS NO FRIEND OF THE STUART MONARCHY, LOCKE WAS PROBABLY NOT A PART OF THE CONSPIRACY.

STILL, BETTER SAFE THAN SORRY.



IN THESE ESSAYS, LOCKE EXPLAINS THE THEORETICAL ORIGIN AND TRUE PURPOSE OF CIVIL SOCIETY.

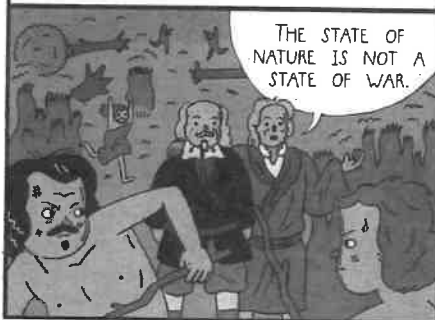
LOCKE, LIKE HOBBS, SEES THE BASIS OF SOCIETY IN AN AGREEMENT THAT EMERGES FROM A STATE OF NATURE.

ALONG WITH HIS PATRON AND FRIEND THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY, LOCKE TOOK OFF FOR THE NETHERLANDS.

HE WOULD NOT RETURN TO ENGLAND UNTIL SIX YEARS LATER, JUST BEHIND WILLIAM OF ORANGE AND HIS CONQUERING ARMY.

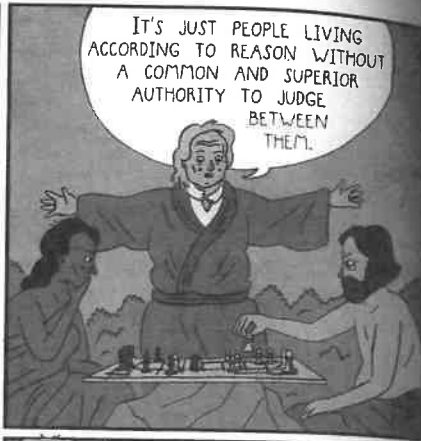


BUT LOCKE'S ORIGINAL CONDITION IS A MORE BENIGN PLACE THAN WHAT HIS OLDER ENGLISH COLLEAGUE CONCEIVED.



THE STATE OF NATURE IS NOT A STATE OF WAR.

IT'S JUST PEOPLE LIVING ACCORDING TO REASON WITHOUT A COMMON AND SUPERIOR AUTHORITY TO JUDGE BETWEEN THEM.



IT IS A CONDITION OF PERFECT FREEDOM AND EQUALITY, WHERE EVERYONE MAY ORDER THEIR LIVES AS THEY SEE FIT.



THEY DO NOT, HOWEVER, HAVE ABSOLUTE LICENSE TO DO WHATEVER THEY WANT.



HEY!

CERTAIN MORAL PRINCIPLES ARE VALID FOR ALL HUMAN BEINGS NO MATTER WHO THEY ARE OR WHEN OR WHERE THEY LIVE.



THE LAW OF NATURE IS INDEPENDENT OF DIVINE DECREES AND CIVIL LEGISLATION.

NATURAL LAW IS DISCOVERABLE BY REASON ALONE AND GOVERNS LIFE IN THE STATE OF NATURE.



IT PROCLAIMS THAT EACH PERSON MUST STRIVE TO PRESERVE HIMSELF, AND TO PRESERVE OTHERS AS MUCH AS HE CAN.

NO ONE MAY HARM ANOTHER IN HIS LIFE, LIBERTY, HEALTH, OR POSSESSIONS.



IN THE ABSENCE OF GOVERNMENT,



ANYONE HAS THE RIGHT TO ENFORCE THE LAW OF NATURE

EVEN IN THE STATE OF NATURE, WHERE THERE IS NO SOVEREIGN, LORD, OR MASTER,



...THERE ARE STILL LAWS.



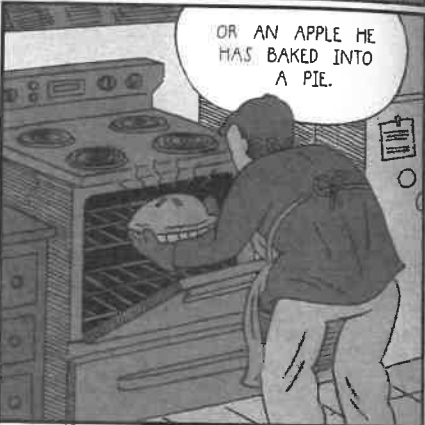
AND PUNISH THOSE WHO TRANSGRESS IT.



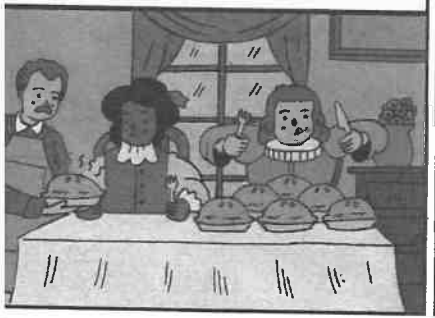
IN THIS ANARCHIC BUT GENERALLY PEACEFUL CONDITION, A PERSON ACQUIRES PROPERTY BY "MIXING HIS LABOR" WITH SOMETHING.



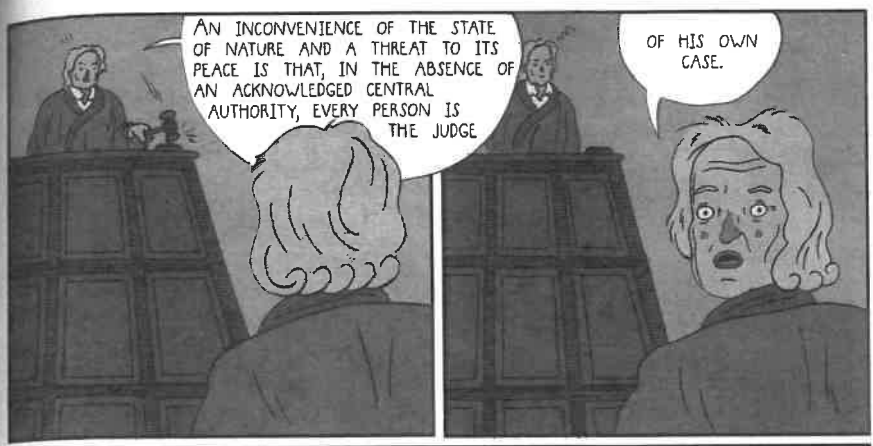




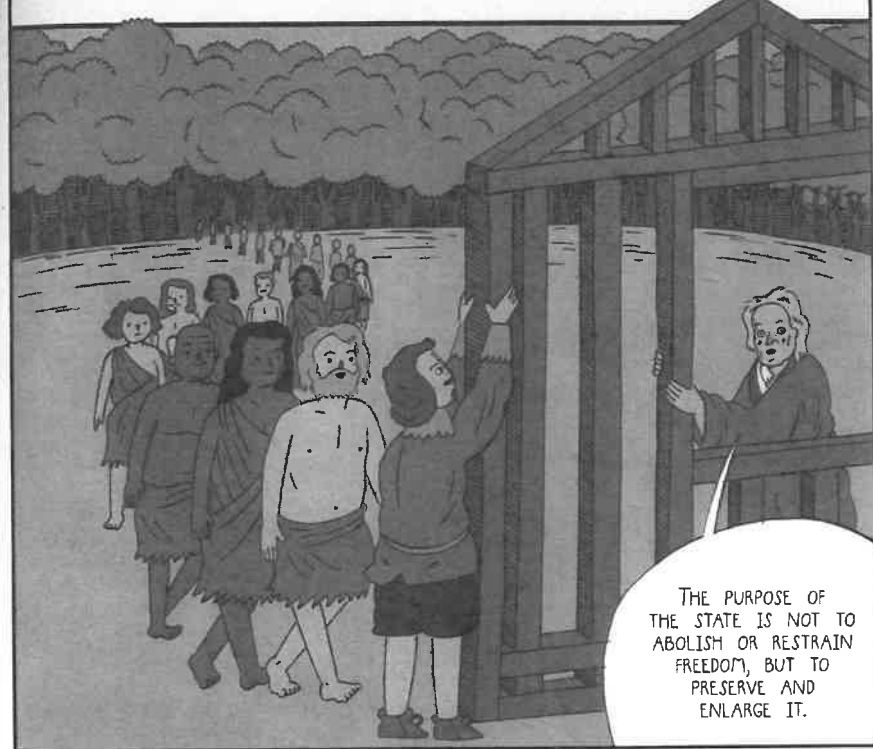
UNFORTUNATELY, THE STATE OF NATURE IS NOT ALWAYS SO PEACEFUL. INEQUALITIES WILL ARISE...



...AND THERE WILL INEVITABLY BE DISPUTES OVER PROPERTY.



INDIVIDUALS GUIDED BY REASON WILL THUS SEEK TO LEAVE THE STATE OF NATURE BY FORMING A CIVIL SOCIETY THAT CAN PROTECT THEIR NATURAL RIGHTS TO LIFE, LIBERTY, AND PROPERTY.



A COMMONWEALTH IS CREATED WHEN EACH PERSON VOLUNTARILY GIVES UP HIS NATURAL POWER TO ENFORCE HIS RIGHTS AND HANDS IT OVER TO THE COMMUNITY-AT-LARGE.



WHEREVER A NUMBER OF PEOPLE UNITE INTO ONE SOCIETY SO AS TO QUIT EVERY ONE HIS EXECUTIVE POWER OF THE LAW OF NATURE AND RESIGN IT TO THE PUBLIC, THERE AND THERE ONLY IS POLITICAL OR CIVIL SOCIETY.

ONLY THROUGH CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED - AND NEVER THROUGH FORCE OR DIVINE DECREE -

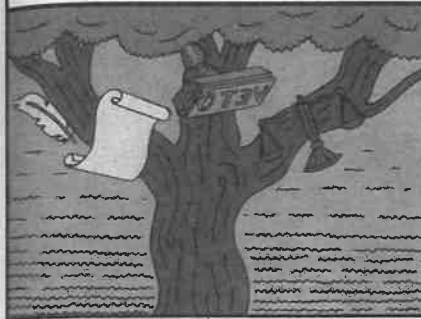


IS THERE LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT, AUTHORIZED TO MAKE AND ENFORCE LAWS FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD.

THROUGH THIS ORIGINAL COMPACT, EVERY PERSON OBLIGES HIMSELF TO SUBMIT TO THE DETERMINATION OF THE MAJORITY.



FOR LOCKE, ABSOLUTE MONARCHY, WITH NO SEPARATION OF EXECUTIVE, JUDICIAL, AND LEGISLATIVE POWERS, IS INCONSISTENT WITH CIVIL SOCIETY.



IN THIS, LOCKE DIFFERS FROM HOBBS.

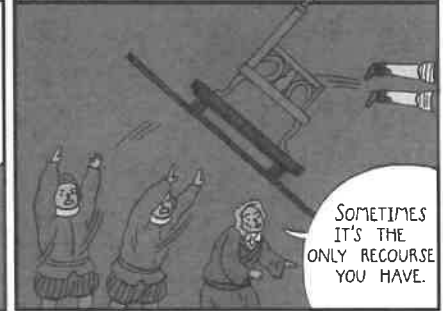


AN ABSOLUTE MONARCH LIVES IN A STATE OF NATURE WITH HIS SUBJECTS.

THERE WOULD BE NO AUTHORITY ABOVE THE ABSOLUTE MONARCH TO APPEAL TO FOR RESOLVING DIFFERENCES WITH SUCH A RULER AND TO SEEK REDRESS AGAINST HIM.



HE ALSO DEPARTS FROM HOBBS IN ALLOWING FOR REBELLION AGAINST A SOVEREIGN.



SOMETIMES IT'S THE ONLY RECOURSE YOU HAVE.

WHEN A GOVERNMENT FAILS TO UPHOLD ITS END OF THE BARGAIN AND PROTECT LIFE, LIBERTY, AND PROPERTY, THE CITIZENS MAY SEEK TO REPLACE IT.



WHEN A KING BECOMES A TYRANT, THE PEOPLE HAVE THE RIGHT TO RESIST.

LOCKE HOPED THIS LESSON WOULD BE TAKEN TO HEART IN ENGLAND.

