

INGLESE

- THOMAS HOBBS (BIOGRAPHY)
- MOST IMPORTANT THEMES OF HOBBS' THEORY
- LEVIATHAN
- DE CIVE

- JOHN LOCKE (BIOGRAPHY)
- MOST IMPORTANT THEMES OF LOCKE'S THEORY
- TWO TREATISES OF GOVERNMENT
- A LETTER CONCERNING TOLERATION: EXTRACTS
- LOCKE VS HOBBS

- THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND
- THE CIVIL WAR
- THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION
- HISTORY OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT FROM THE BEGINNIG TO THE 14th CENTURY
- HISTORY OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT FROM THE 15th TO THE 20th CENTURY

THOMAS HOBBS

1588 April 5, born in Malmesbury, Wiltshire, England. His premature birth was hastened by his mother's fear upon hearing of the approach of the Spanish Armada. His father was vicar of Westport but fled to London after being involved in a brawl outside his own church, leaving Thomas to be raised by a wealthy uncle.

1603 Enters Magdalen Hall, Oxford where he studies scholastic philosophy with little enthusiasm but does well in logic.

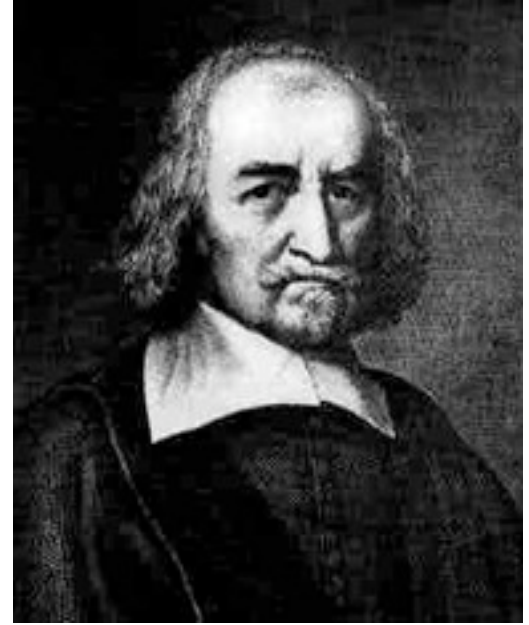
1608 Receives bachelor's degree and becomes tutor to the son of William Cavendish, earl of Devonshire.

1628 Publication of his English translation of Thucydides through which he intended to show the English the dangers of democracy.

1642- Publication of De Cive and First Draught of 1646 the Optiques. 1648 The death of Mersenne.

1651 Publication of Leviathan. 1657 Publication of the second part of his trilogy, **De Homine**.

1679 December 4, dies at Hardwick Hall.



Portrait of Thomas H. by John Michael Wright (National Portrait Gallery, London)

Most important themes of Hobbes' theory

- **The Materialist View of Human Nature**

Hobbes believed that all phenomena in the universe can be explained in terms of the motions and interactions of material bodies. He did not believe in the soul or in the mind as separate from the body.

- **The Inadequacy of Observation as a Foundation of Knowledge**

Hobbes rejected what we now know as the scientific method because he believed that the observation of nature itself is too subjective a basis on which to ground philosophy and science.

- **Fear as the Determining Factor in Human Life**

Hobbes maintained that the constant back-and-forth mediation between the emotion of fear and the emotion of hope is the defining principle of all human actions.

- **Good and Evil as Appetite and Aversion**

Hobbes believed that in man's natural state, moral ideas do not exist. Thus, in speaking of human nature, he defines good simply as that which people desire and evil as that which they avoid, at least in the state of nature.

- **Absolute Monarchy as the Best Form of Government**

Hobbes promoted that monarchy is the best form of government and the only one that can

Leviathan

Chapter XVII [...] Men (who naturally love liberty, and dominion over others) accept the restraint of living in Commonwealths only for their own preservation, and a more contented life. [...]

Chapter XVIII [...] A Commonwealth is instituted when a multitude of men all do agree, he that voted for and he that voted against, to give the right to represent them all to a man or assembly. [...]

Chapter XXI [...] Liberty signifieth the absence of opposition and may be applied no less to irrational and inanimate creatures than to rational. [...]



Leviathan
Frontespiece

De Cive

Chapter II. [...] But the first and fundamentall Law of Nature is, That Peace is to be sought after where it may be found; and where not, there to provide our selves for helps of War [...] **III.** But one of the Naturall Lawes deriv'd from this fundamentall one is this, That the right of all men, to all things, ought not to be retain'd, but that some certain rights ought to be transferr'd, or relinquisht. [...]

Chapter IV. [...] The same Law which is Naturall, and Morall, is also wont to be called Divine, nor undeservedly, as well because Reason, which is the law of Nature, is given by God to every man for the rule of his actions [...]

Chapter V. [...] It is of it selfe manifest, that the actions of men proceed from the will, and the will from hope, and feare, insomuch as when they shall see a greater good, or lesse evill, likely to happen to them by the breach, than observation of the Lawes, they'l wittingly violate them. [...]

JOHN LOCKE

1632 29 August Locke is born.

1670 Locke (under the supervision of Shaftsbury) writes the Fundamental Constitution of Carolina

1672 October-November. Locke returns to England.

1688 Locke wrote Two Treatises of Government

1690 Locke wrote A Letter concerning Toleration

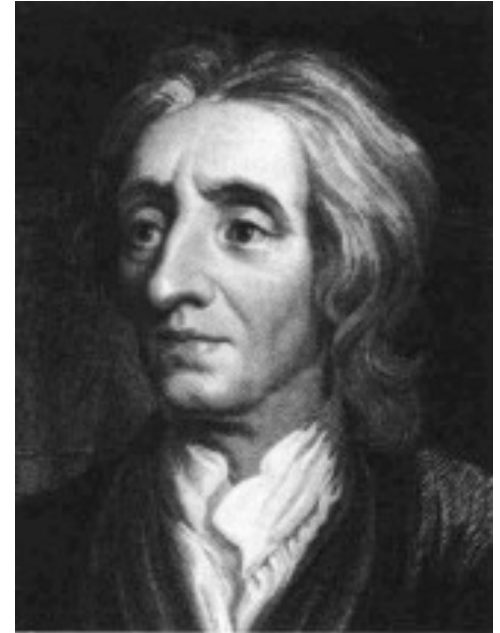
1694 The second edition of the Essay Concerning Human Understanding published.

1695 The Reasonableness of Christianity published anonymously during the English "Glorious Revolution"

1695 Locke answered criticisms of the Reasonableness in A Vindication of the Reasonableness of Christianity.

1697 A second Vindication of the Reasonableness of Christianity.

1700 Locke remained at Oates until his death in 1704



Portrait of John Locke, by Sir Godfrey Kneller (oil on canvas, unframed)

Most important themes

- * Civil disobedience and the right of revolution

- * Patriarchalism and the divine right of kings

of Locke's theory

- * Natural law, consent, and the social contract

- * Public spirit, private rights, and political corruption

- * Representation, separation of powers, and the balanced constitution

- * The claims to independence of America and Ireland

- * Religious toleration and the power of the church

- * Land rights, labour rights, and the state's right to tax

Two treatises of government

Here is the subject matter of the various chapters of the Second Treatise:

- **Chapter 1 Book I:** the definition of Political power
- **Chapter II-VII:** the bases of government, states of nature, war, slavery, the nature of property
- **Chapters VIII-XIV:** the nature of political power and legitimate civil government
- **Chapter XV:** recapitulates the fundamental distinctions between paternal political and despotic power.
- **Chapter XVI-XVIII:** elaborates the nature of illegitimate civil government. It specifies three forms of such illegitimacy: 1. an unjust foreign conquest, 2. internal usurpation of political rule and 3. tyrannical extension of power by those who were originally legitimately in power.
- **Chapter XIX:** gives the conditions under which legitimate revolution may occur.

A Letter Concerning Toleration: extracts

[...] The [English] nation had learnt by bitter experience that when a Roman Catholic monarch is upon the throne, religious and civil liberty is lost. This was the experience under their monarchs until the Reformation, and revisited under Mary Tudor and the Stuarts, principally because the Roman Church decrees that her adherents' first loyalty is to the Roman Church and her Popes not to the land of which they are a citizen or even a monarch.... The Vatican is a government like any other, [...] and a Catholic's first loyalty is meant to be to the Vatican... The Vatican is built upon two pillars of authority: apostolic Succession (all peoples are the inheritors of the mantle of Peter) and Temporal Power, upon which the Vatican bases its claim that the Pope has authority over the kings of the earth.... While some Catholics may rebelliously choose not to submit to the Pope as to God, there is no denying that this is the immutable doctrinal position of their church.[...]

Locke vs Hobbes

ISSUES	LOCKE	HOBBS
The Social Contract	We give up our right to ourselves exact retribution for crimes in return for impartial justice backed by overwhelming force. We retain the right to life and liberty, and gain the right to just, impartial protection of our property.	If you shut up and do as you are told, you have the right not to be killed
Violation of the social contract	If a ruler seeks absolute power, if he acts both as judge and participant in disputes, he puts himself in a state of war with his subjects and we have the right and the duty to kill such rulers and their servants.	No right to rebel. The ruler's will defines good and evil for his subjects. The King can do no wrong, because lawful and unlawful, good and evil, are merely commands, merely the will of the ruler.
Civil Society	Civil society precedes the state, both morally and historically. Society creates order and grants the state legitimacy.	Civil society is the application of force by the state to uphold contracts and so forth. Civil society is a creation of the state. What most modern people would call civil society is "jostling", pointless conflict and pursuit of selfish ends that good government should suppress.
Rights	Men have rights by their nature	You conceded your rights to the government, in return for your life
Role of the State	The only important role of the state is to ensure that justice is seen to be done	Whatever the state does is just by definition. All of society is a direct creation of the state, and a reflection of the will of the ruler.
Authorized use of force	Authorization is meaningless, except that the authorization gives us reason to believe that the use of force is just. If authorization does not give us such confidence, perhaps because the state itself is a party to the dispute, or because of past lawless acts and abuses by the state, then we are	The concept of just use of force is meaningless or cannot be known. Just use of force is whatever force is authorized

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

THE CIVIL WAR

THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION



**The Battle of the Boyne (1690),
by Jan Wyck,
National Army Museum, London.**

THE CIVIL WAR



An artist's impression of the execution of Charles I (1649)

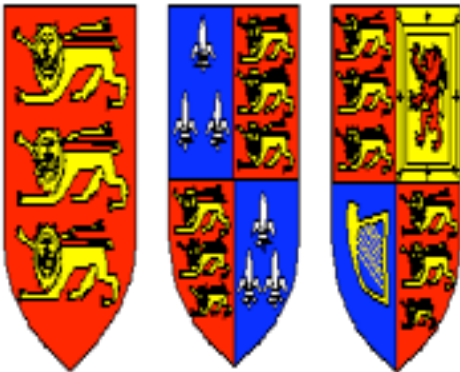


For god and for Parliament
by Chris Collingwood



Charles II at the Battle of Worcester (1651)
by Chris Collingwood

THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION



House of Commons Information Office

The Glorious Revolution

The term Glorious Revolution refers to the series of events in 1688-89 which culminated in the exile of King James II and the accession to the throne of William and Mary. It has also been seen as a watershed in the development of the constitution and especially of the role of [Parliament](#). This **Factsheet** is an attempt to explain why.

Glorious Revolution, description, used retrospectively, for a complex series of events in England from 1688 to 1689, including the replacement of the Roman Catholic king, **James II**, with the Protestant **William III** and his wife **Mary II**, and the passage of the **Bill of Rights**.

After his accession in 1685, James had alienated his Protestant subjects through his efforts to secure freedom of worship and civic equality for England's small Catholic minority. The methods he used were seen as changing England's mixed, parliamentary constitution into an **absolute monarchy**. James expanded his army and allowed Catholics to hold public office and worship freely, contrary to English law. Until 1688 Protestant unease at his conduct was tempered by the expectation that James would be succeeded by Mary, his daughter, and her husband William of Orange. However, in June 1688 the queen gave birth to a son, who would be raised as a Catholic and take precedence over Mary in the succession. Invited by prominent Protestants, William gathered a massive fleet and an army of 40,000 men and invaded England, landing at Torbay, Devon, on November 5, and began to advance on London. James, suffering a loss of nerve due to desertions from his cause, fled to France with his family without giving fight.

History of the British Parliament



The House of Lords in the English Parliament
Photo: Parliamentary Education Unit



The modern House of Commons in the English Parliament, rebuilt after the Second World War

FROM THE BEGINNING TO
THE 14th CENTURY

The History of Parliament in Britain

The idea of a Parliament slowly emerged in Anglo Saxon times (about 900) when the king called together a council of nobles called the Witengemot to advise him on such matters as wars and taxes. When William the Conqueror invaded Britain in 1066 he set up a similar council called the Curia Regis (King's Council), that met with the king three times each year. But these councils were not democratic. There were no elections and the bishops, abbots, earls and knights who attended them did not represent anyone. They spoke to the king only when the king requested advice. Originally, Parliament was a meeting of people from three levels in the society: the King, the lords (including the bishops and barons) and the commons (the Knights and representatives of towns). Eventually the House of Lords became known as the "upper house" because it was made up of the nobility. The House of Commons became known as the "lower house" because it represented the commons, or the shires and towns. At the meetings, members spoke and talked or parleyed (from the French parler to speak). The Parliament met wherever the king was staying, but after Westminster Hall was built (just before 1100) the Parliament usually met at Westminster in London where the King usually lived. Before 1300 there were no elections.

The first real Parliament in England was called by King John in 1265. The King needed more money and so he called together rich merchants and landowners and asked them to collect money for him.

INFO FILE:

About 1350, King Edward III built the new St Stephen's Chapel in his palace at Westminster.

The chapel became the meeting place of the House of Commons in the early 1500s. College chapels (in schools and universities) are traditionally long narrow rooms with the altar at one end and the people sitting along the walls in pews facing each other.

History of the British Parliament

FROM THE 15th TO THE 20th CENTURY

- In the **15th Century** the Commons gained equal law-making powers with the Lords, under **King Henry V**.
- The **16th Century** saw the legal union of Wales with England under **King Henry VIII** (1536). Henry's reign also saw the Church of England break away from the Roman Catholic church. Nowadays the Queen remains the Supreme Governor of the Church of England and, as the sovereign, must by law be a member of the Church.
- In the **17th Century**, tensions increased between Parliament and Monarch, in 1641 the King and The Parliament could not agree on the control of troops for the repression of the Irish Rebellion. **Civil War** break out the following year, leading to the execution of **King Charles I** in 1649. Following the restoration of the Monarchy in 1660, the role of Parliament was enhanced by **the events of 1688-89 (the glorious Revolution)** and the passage to the **Bill of Rights** which established the authority of Parliament over the King, and enshrined in law the principle of freedom of speech in parliamentary debates.
- 1707 brought the Union with Scotland and the first Parliament of Great Britain.**
- Growing pressure for reform of Parliament in the **18th and 19th Centuries** led a series of Reform Acts which extended the electoral franchise to most men (over 21) and finally to women over 21 in 1928.
- ~~-The legislative primacy of The House Of Commons over the other one was confirmed in the **20th Century** by the passing of the **Parliament Acts of 1911 and 1949.**~~

INFO FILE: **The Parliament acts of 1911:** it removes from the House of Lords the power to veto a bill, except to prolong the lifetime of Parliament. Instead, the Lords could delay a bill by up to 2 years. The acts also reduce the maximum lifespan of a Parliament from 7 to its present 5 years.

The Parliament acts of 1949: it reduces the Lord's delaying powers to 1 year.