

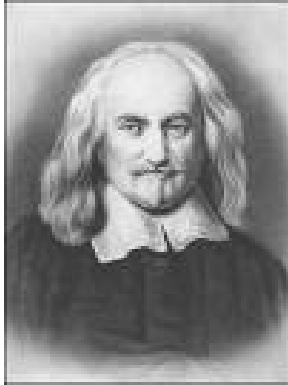
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Mr. Crawford



Excerpt from Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (1651)

Man in the state of nature is the same as in a time of War, where every man is Enemy to every man; a time wherein men live without other security than what their own strength and their own invention shall furnish them with. In such condition, there is no place for Industry, because the fruit thereof is uncertain, and consequently no Cultivation, no Navigation, nor use of the commodities that may be imported by Sea, no Building, no Instruments of moving and removing such things as require much force, 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 fear, and danger of violent death, and the

life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short . . .

The only Passions that incline men to Peace are Fear of Death, Desire of such things as are necessary to comfortable living, and a Hope by their Industry to obtain wealth. And Reason suggests convenient Articles of Peace, upon which men may be drawn to agreement . . .

And because the condition of Man is a condition of War of everyone against everyone; in which case everyone is governed by his own Passion and Reason, and there is nothing he can make use of that would not be a help him in preserving his life against his enemies; It follows that, in such a condition, every man has a Right to everything--even to one another's body. And therefore, as long as this natural Right of every man to own everything exists, there can be no security to any man--no matter how strong or wise he is--of living out the natural lifespan which Nature ordinarily allows men to live . . .

. . . If there is no Great Power, or not great enough power for our security, every man will and may lawfully rely on his own strength and art, for caution against all other men . . .

The only way to establish a Common Power, as may be able to defend us from invasion of foreigners and the injuries of one another, and thereby to secure our lives so that by our own industry, and by the fruits of the Earth, we may nourish ourselves and live contentedly is to confer all our power and strength upon one Man, or upon an Assembly of men, that may reduce all our Wills into one Will . . . and by doing so submit our Wills, every single one, to his Will and judgments. This is more than Consent, or Concord; it is a real Unity of everyone in one and the same Person, made by Covenant of every man, in such manner, as if every man should say: I Authorize and give up my Rights and pledge obedience to this Man on this condition, that everyone else give up their Rights to him as well, and Authorize all his Actions in like manner.

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