

excerpt from
Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*

OF THE CAUSES, GENERATION, AND DEFINITION OF A COMMONWEALTH

THE final cause, end, or design of men (who naturally love liberty, and dominion over others) in the introduction of that restraint upon themselves, in which we see them live in Commonwealths, is the foresight of their own preservation, and of a more contented life thereby; that is to say, of getting themselves out from that miserable condition of war which
5 is necessarily consequent, as hath been shown, to the natural passions of men when there is no visible power to keep them in awe, and tie them by fear of punishment to the performance of their covenants, and observation of those laws of nature set down in the fourteenth and fifteenth chapters.

For the laws of nature, as justice, equity, modesty, mercy, and, in sum, doing to others as
10 we would be done to, of themselves, without the terror of some power to cause them to be observed, are contrary to our natural passions, that carry us to partiality, pride, revenge, and the like. And covenants, without the sword, are but words and of no strength to secure a man at all. Therefore, notwithstanding the laws of nature (which every one hath then kept, when he has the will to keep them, when he can do it safely), if there be no power erected,
15 or not great enough for our security, every man will and may lawfully rely on his own strength and art for caution against all other men. And in all places, where men have lived by small families, to rob and spoil one another has been a trade, and so far from being reputed against the law of nature that the greater spoils they gained, the greater was their honor; and men observed no other laws therein but the laws of honor; that is, to abstain from
20 cruelty, leaving to men their lives and instruments of husbandry. And as small families did then; so now do cities and kingdoms, which are but greater families (for their own security), enlarge their dominions upon all pretenses of danger, and fear of invasion, or assistance that may be given to invaders; endeavor as much as they can to subdue or weaken their neighbors by open force, and secret arts, for want of other caution, justly; and are
25 remembered for it in after ages with honor.

Nor is it the joining together of a small number of men that gives them this security; because in small numbers, small additions on the one side or the other make the advantage of strength so great as is sufficient to carry the victory, and therefore gives encouragement to an invasion. The multitude sufficient to confide in for our security is not determined by any
30 certain number, but by comparison with the enemy we fear; and is then sufficient when the odds of the enemy is not of so visible and conspicuous moment to determine the event of war, as to move him to attempt.

And be there never so great a multitude; yet if their actions be directed according to their particular judgements, and particular appetites, they can expect thereby no defense, nor
35 protection, neither against a common enemy, nor against the injuries of one another. For being distracted in opinions concerning the best use and application of their strength, they do not help, but hinder one another, and reduce their strength by mutual opposition to nothing: whereby they are easily, not only subdued by a very few that agree together, but also, when there is no common enemy, they make war upon each other for their particular
40 interests. For if we could suppose a great multitude of men to consent in the observation of

justice, and other laws of nature, without a common power to keep them all in awe, we might as well suppose all mankind to do the same; and then there neither would be, nor need to be, any civil government or Commonwealth at all, because there would be peace without subjection.

45 Nor is it enough for the security, which men desire should last all the time of their life, that they be governed and directed by one judgement for a limited time; as in one battle, or one war. For though they obtain a victory by their unanimous endeavor against a foreign enemy, yet afterwards, when either they have no common enemy, or he that by one part is held for an enemy is by another part held for a friend, they must needs by the difference of
50 their interests dissolve, and fall again into a war amongst themselves.

It is true that certain living creatures, as bees and ants, live sociably one with another (which are therefore by Aristotle numbered amongst political creatures), and yet have no other direction than their particular judgements and appetites; nor speech, whereby one of them can signify to another what he thinks expedient for the common benefit: and therefore
55 some man may perhaps desire to know why mankind cannot do the same. To which I answer,

First, that men are continually in competition for honor and dignity, which these creatures are not; and consequently amongst men there ariseth on that ground, envy, and hatred, and finally war; but amongst these not so.

60 Secondly, that amongst these creatures the common good differeth not from the private; and being by nature inclined to their private, they procure thereby the common benefit. But man, whose joy consisteth in comparing himself with other men, can relish nothing but what is eminent.

Thirdly, that these creatures, having not, as man, the use of reason, do not see, nor think
65 they see, any fault in the administration of their common business: whereas amongst men there are very many that think themselves wiser and abler to govern the public better than the rest, and these strive to reform and innovate, one this way, another that way; and thereby bring it into distraction and civil war.

Fourthly, that these creatures, though they have some use of voice in making known to
70 one another their desires and other affections, yet they want that art of words by which some men can represent to others that which is good in the likeness of evil; and evil, in the likeness of good; and augment or diminish the apparent greatness of good and evil, discontenting men and troubling their peace at their pleasure.

Fifthly, irrational creatures cannot distinguish between injury and damage; and therefore
75 as long as they be at ease, they are not offended with their fellows: whereas man is then most troublesome when he is most at ease; for then it is that he loves to show his wisdom, and control the actions of them that govern the Commonwealth.

Lastly, the agreement of these creatures is natural; that of men is by covenant only, which is artificial: and therefore it is no wonder if there be somewhat else required, besides
80 covenant, to make their agreement constant and lasting; which is a common power to keep them in awe and to direct their actions to the common benefit.

The only way to erect such a common power, as may be able to defend them from the invasion of foreigners, and the injuries of one another, and thereby to secure them in such

85 sort as that by their own industry and by the fruits of the earth they may nourish themselves
and live contentedly, is to confer all their power and strength upon one man, or upon one
assembly of men, that may reduce all their wills, by plurality of voices, unto one will: which
is as much as to say, to appoint one man, or assembly of men, to bear their person; and
every one to own and acknowledge himself to be author of whatsoever he that so beareth
90 their person shall act, or cause to be acted, in those things which concern the common
peace and safety; and therein to submit their wills, every one to his will, and their
judgements to his judgement. This is more than consent, or concord; it is a real unity of them
all in one and the same person, made by covenant of every man with every man, in such
manner as if every man should say to every man: I authorize and give up my right of
95 governing myself to this man, or to this assembly of men, on this condition; that thou give
up, thy right to him, and authorize all his actions in like manner. This done, the multitude so
united in one person is called a COMMONWEALTH; in Latin, CIVITAS. This is the
generation of that great LEVIATHAN, or rather, to speak more reverently, of that mortal god
to which we owe, under the immortal God, our peace and defense. For by this authority,
given him by every particular man in the Commonwealth, he hath the use of so much power
100 and strength conferred on him that, by terror thereof, he is enabled to form the wills of them
all, to peace at home, and mutual aid against their enemies abroad. And in him consisteth
the essence of the Commonwealth; which, to define it, is: one person, of whose acts a great
multitude, by mutual covenants one with another, have made themselves every one the
author, to the end he may use the strength and means of them all as he shall think expedient
105 for their peace and common defense.

And he that carryeth this person is called sovereign, and said to have sovereign power;
and every one besides, his subject.

110 The attaining to this sovereign power is by two ways. One, by natural force: as when a
man maketh his children to submit themselves, and their children, to his government, as
being able to destroy them if they refuse; or by war subdueth his enemies to his will, giving
them their lives on that condition. The other, is when men agree amongst themselves to
submit to some man, or assembly of men, voluntarily, on confidence to be protected by him
against all others. This latter may be called a political Commonwealth, or Commonwealth by
Institution; and the former, a Commonwealth by acquisition. And first, I shall speak of a
115 Commonwealth by institution.

