

Bard College Bard Digital Commons

History - Master of Arts in Teaching

Master of Arts in Teaching

Spring 2021

From Civil Liberties to Social Contract Theory: Hobbes' and Locke's Influence on the Early American Republic

Evan A. Krasner Bard College

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.bard.edu/history_mat

Part of the American Politics Commons, American Studies Commons, Political History Commons, and the United States History Commons

Recommended Citation

Krasner, Evan A., "From Civil Liberties to Social Contract Theory: Hobbes' and Locke's Influence on the Early American Republic" (2021). *History - Master of Arts in Teaching*. 20. https://digitalcommons.bard.edu/history_mat/20

This Book is brought to you for free and open access by the Master of Arts in Teaching at Bard Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in History - Master of Arts in Teaching by an authorized administrator of Bard Digital Commons. For more information, please contact digitalcommons@bard.edu.



FROM CIVIL LIBERTIES TO SOCIAL CONTRACT THEORY: HOBBES' AND LOCKE'S INFLUENCE ON THE EARLY AMERICAN REPUBLIC

By
Evan A. Krasner
Bard College
Master of Arts in Teaching Program
May 2021

Table of Contents

Introduction	pg. 2
Historiographic Synthesis Essay	pg. 4
Document Section and Headnotes	pg. 18
Textbook Engagement.	pg. 31
Bibliography	pg. 35

I. Introduction

Before delving into a synthesis and comparison of six monographs involving distinguished English Enlightenment philosophers, Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, it is helpful to provide historical background of the events in seventeenth-century England when Hobbes and Locke were writing. Hobbes wrote the *Leviathan* (1651) during the English Civil War (1842-51), which was a series of Civil Wars fought between the Parliamentarians ("Roundheads") and Royalists ("Cavaliers") over control of England and issues pertaining to religious freedom. Another cause of the English Civil War was to determine the role of government among its subjects. While the Royalists advocated for maintaining a monarchy, in which subjects were loyal to their sovereign leader, the opposition, Parliamentarians, supported switching to a parliamentary-style government in which members of the society are entitled to rights as citizens instead.¹

The English Civil War resulted in the execution of Charles I in January 1649, the first English King to be executed, ultimately diminishing the authority of the Monarch leading to a more robust Parliament. In Hobbes' *Leviathan*, which is a scientific treatise, Hobbes writes about the role of government in response to the events occurring during the English Civil War. Hobbes opines on issues ranging from sovereignty, supreme authority within a territory, and social contract theory, which involves the state's authority over an individual.²

Similarly, John Locke's *Second Treatise of Government* (1689), the second of two treatises, was written in response to England's Glorious Revolution (1688-89). The Glorious Revolution was a rather bloodless conflict and was a rebellion against absolute monarchy. The

¹ Thomas Hobbes, introduction to *Leviathan*, ed. Edwin Curley (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 1994), viii-xi.

² Ibid.

revolution resulted in overthrowing King James II, who was replaced by Mary II Queen of England. The Glorious Revolution not only granted more authority to English Parliament, it also led to the establishment of the Bill of Rights, which determines basic civil rights within the Empire and determines who inherits the Crown. In Locke's *Second Treatise*, the Enlightenment thinker writes about issues ranging from natural rights, private property, and contract theory in response to the Glorious Revolution.³

For this historiographical essay, although four of the six selected monographs delve into Hobbes' and Locke's political theories, two of the monographs are biographies including Roger Woolhouse's Locke: A Biography (2007) and A.P. Martinich's Hobbes: A Biography (1999). While Hobbes and Locke are best known for their works involving political philosophy, my paper focuses on historiography: how contemporary historians examine (both primary and secondary sources) and write about Locke and Hobbes as historical figures. Another thing to be cognizant of, when critically analyzing and comparing the monographs, is ongoing current events happening at the date of the monograph's publication. For example, the Hobbes biography was published in 1999 while the Locke biography nearly a decade later in 2007. A possible explanation for the increase in Locke and Hobbes biographies (and related monographs) being published in the late 90s through late 2000s is the presence of libertarian rhetoric (across a bipartisan political spectrum in American politics) referencing natural rights and contract theory.⁴ In addition to the two biographical monographs, one of the books I am writing about, which focuses on Locke's political theories, has "libertarian" in the title, Eric Mack's John Locke: *Major Conservative and Libertarian Thinkers* (2009).

³ John Locke, introduction to *Second Treatise of Government*, ed. C.B. Macpherson (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 1980), vii-xix.

⁴ Molly Worthen, "A Rise in Secular Libertarianism, Not Liberalism, in the U.S," *NYTimes* online, June 29, 2015, https://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2015/06/29/red-white-and-bluer/a-rise-in-secular-libertarianism-not-liberal ism-in-the-us.

II. Historiographic Synthesis Essay

A. Biographies (of Locke & Hobbes)

In John Tosh's *The Pursuit of History* (2015), Tosh makes several points about biography as it relates to historiography which are relevant to a historiographical discussion of biographies of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke. Tosh writes, "Many historians believe that it [biography] has no serious place in historical study...But the biographer who has studied the development of his or her subject from childhood to maturity is much more likely to make the right inferences...From this perspective, the personal development of important individuals in the past is a valid subject of historical enquiry in its own right." When unpacking the above quotation and applying it to the two biographical monographs, Woolhouse's *Locke* and Martinich's *Hobbes*, both authors successfully articulate the significance of Locke and Hobbes in their historical context. Both Woolhouse in his biography of Locke and Martinich in his biography on Hobbes present the Enlightenment philosophers as intellectual polyglots who specialized in fields other than political science including medicine, economics, and religion.

When juxtaposing the two biographies, Woolhouse's *Locke* alongside Martinich's *Hobbes*, the authors share similar goals: presenting Locke and Hobbes as well-rounded historical figures; the equivalent of seventeenth-century English "Renaissance Men." Although Locke and Hobbes are considered two of the most influential political philosophers in history, Woolhouse and Martinich emphasize Hobbes' and Locke's fascination and expertise in fields outside of political philosophy such as math, medicine, science, and religion. In doing so, the biographers articulate to their readers that Locke and Hobbes are mythologized for their contributions to

⁵ John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of History*, 6th ed. (London: Routledge, 2015), 54-56.

political philosophy; yet, Locke and Hobbes as historical figures in the context of seventeenth-century England should also be recognized for their scholarship in other fields.

While Woolhouse mentions Locke's fascination with fields outside of political philosophy, including medicine and religion, in various chapters throughout his biography, in Martinich's monograph, Martinich dedicates an entire chapter to Hobbes' religious views and scientific research. Even in the monograph's description, included on the inside of the hard copy of the book's sleeve, Martinich mentions how Hobbes (during his lifetime) was more famous for physics, geometry, and religion compared to political philosophy. In chapter 4, "Early Scientific Studies and Religious Views, 1629 – 1640," Matrinich not only presents Hobbes having eclectic academic pursuits outside the realm of philosophy, chronologically the chapter ends in 1640, two years before the beginning of the English Civil War. Between the eleven years of 1629 – 1640, Matrinich, who does a thorough job of analyzing primary sources (including Hobbes' journals), demonstrates the development of Hobbes as a well-rounded scholar focusing on the Enlightenment thinker's contributions to physical science and geometry.⁶

Part of what makes Martinich's *Hobbes* a robust and well-researched monograph is Martinich's ability to connect seemingly unrelated primary documents from Hobbes' writings. In chapter 4, "Early Scientific Studies and Religious Views, 1629 - 1640," Martinich examines an August 1638 letter from Hobbes' (in edited collection, The Correspondence of Thomas Hobbes (1994)) to one of his pupils, Charles Cavendish. In the letter, there is an excerpt from *Elements of* Law, Natural and Politic, a book written in 1640 but published a decade later in 1650 which addresses a diverse range of topics ranging from geometry to sovereignty as it pertains to politics.⁷ The connection between Hobbes' letter to his student, Charles Cavendeish, and

⁶ A.P. Martinich, *Hobbes: A Biography* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 82-120. ⁷ Ibid., 94-95.

Hobbes' book, *Elements of Law*, relates to human interaction (socialization) specifically involving how to deal with condescending remarks from other people.

In Martinich's juxtaposition of Hobbes' letter to Charles Cavendish alongside an excerpt from Hobbes' *Elements of Law, Natural and Politic*, Martinich claims that Hobbes' father-like advice, in which Hobbes warns his pupil (Charles Cavendish) to avoid both verbal and physical altercation, is reminiscent of a portion of Hobbes's *Elements of Law* in which Hobbes delves into the nuances of humor. In Martinich's analysis of Hobbes' letter to Charles Cavendish, Martinich describes Hobbes as "admonishing" Cavendish telling his pupil not to make jokes at the expense of another person. Martinich paraphrases Hobbes' views on humor, specifically when someone tells a joke with malicious intent, claiming that the person delivering the insult is narcissistic. Despite Hobbes' 1638 letter to Charles Cavendish predating Hobbes *Elements of Law* by two years (the book was written in 1640 before being published in 1850), Martinich is making a historiographical connection involving humor in two different primary sources, a letter and book.⁸

While Martinich does a thorough job of analyzing Hobbes' writings, especially making thematic connections between Hobbes' letters and books, similarly Woolhouse's close readings and explanations of Locke's writings, particularly Locke's *Letter Concerning Toleration* (1689), provide historiographical context for the audience. Woolhouse compares and analyzes primary sources, specifically Locke's *Letter Concerning Toleration*, which advocates for religious tolerance in late seventeenth-century England. In the late seventeenth century, it was feared that Catholicism would surpass Protestantism as the dominant form of Christianity. Woolhouse compares Locke's aforementioned *Letter Concerning Toleration* alongside a pamphlet written by Anglican clergyman, Jonas Proast, which opposed Locke's notion of religious tolerance.

8 Martinich, Hobbes, 94-95.

Woolhouse's close reading of excerpts from Locke's *Letter Concerning Toleration* juxtaposed with portions of Proast's rebuttal, or counterargument, to Locke are not only insightful, it almost reads like a debate between the two historical figures.⁹

When comparing A.P. Martinich's biography of Thomas Hobbes with Roger Woolhouse's biography of Jocke Locke a noticeable difference is the way the two monographs are organized: Martnich's *Hobbes* is arranged thematically (by chapter) whereas Woolhouse's *Locke* is broken down chronologically. Although one would think a monograph organized chronologically is the most structurally sound way of organizing a biography, when glancing at the table of contents of Woolhouse's *Locke* it almost appears too detailed and overwhelming to the reader.

For example, when examining the Table of Contents in Woolhouse's *Locke*, one will notice a chapter title such as chapter 7, "LONDON (February 1689 - December 1690)," with several subtitles within the chapter. Although there are advantages to Woolhouse's style of organizing chapters (based on Locke's geographical whereabouts) and subchapters (based on theme and content of the chapter), this can be confusing for readers searching for Locke's publications or specific events in his life. Although Woolhouse's monograph, like most biographies, has an Index serving as a supplemental resource for the reader searching for miscellaneous items (letters, books, etc.) pertaining to Locke, frequently Locke's most iconic political writings, including his *Two Treatises*, are featured less prominently as subchapters.¹⁰

Upon first glance, Hobbes' interest with physical sciences appears unrelated to Hobbes' political theories; yet, in Martinich's *Hobbes*, Martinich manages to explain how Hobbes' fascination with science, specifically the universe, influenced his outlook on philosophy.

Martinich stresses the influence on how Hobbes' location and surroundings shaped his theories,

⁹ Roger Woolhouse, *Locke: A Biography* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 285-290.

¹⁰ Ibid., x.

specifically Hobbes' third tour of the European continent from 1634 until 1636. Martinich writes, "Hobbes's speculations about the physical universe took wing during this visit to Europe. As indicated earlier, it was at this time that he finally decided that the only things that exist are bodies and the human sentient experience, that is, the qualitative or phenomenal feel of life, is simply the complex motions of tiny bodies inside the human organism." During the mid 1630s when Hobbes was travelling across Europe, mostly Italy, he met leading intellectuals including famous astronomer Galileo and French mathematician, Marin Mersenne.

B. Political Theory (of Hobbes & Locke)

The next pair of monographs under consideration in this essay are two books addressing political theory on Hobbes and Locke. Before juxtaposing the two monographs involving political theory on Hobbes, Quentin Skinner's *Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes* (1996) alongside Eric Mack's *John Locke: Major Conservative and Libertarian Thinkers* (2009), it is useful to first analyze each book separately. In *Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes*, Skinner claims that the purpose of his monograph is to deconstruct Hobbesian thought which attempted to convert moral and political thought into a scientific discipline. In Mack's monograph on Locke, Mack demonstrates how Lockean thought (classical liberalism) mostly from Locke *Second Treatise* shaped contemporary conservative and libertarian thought. For Skinner's monograph, from a contemporary perspective, the notion of quantifying political philosophy is a daunting (almost impossible) take; yet, as Skinner notes, Hobbes' interdisciplinary influence on the field of politics and science is one of the origins of modern-day political science.¹³

44

¹¹ Martinich, *Hobbes*, 91.

¹² Ibid 90-91

¹³ Quentin Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 1.

When delving into the historiography of Hobbes' writings, a good starting point is the introduction of Skinner's monograph in which Skinner explains the significance of *reason* and *rhetoric* as it pertains to Hobbesian philosophy. Hobbes was largely inspired by the distinguished Roman philosopher and statesman, Cicero, particularly Cicero's notion of *scientia civilis* which roughly translates to "civil knowledge." When applying Cicero's *scientia civilis* to Hobbes' notions of *reason* and *rhetoric*, Skinner writes, "[A]s soon as Hobbes addressed himself to the topic of *scientia civilis* in the late 1630s he proceeded to pull up his own humanist roots. One of his principle aims in *The Elements* and *De Cive* is to discredit and replace the Renaissance ideal of a union between reason and rhetoric, and hence between science and eloquence.... He maintains that, so long as we reason aright from premises based in experience, we shall be able not merely to arrive at specific truths, but to teach and beget in others exactly the same conceptions as we possess ourselves." For Skinner, Hobbes rejects previous Renaissance notions involving reason, rhetoric, and science. Instead, Hobbes demonstrates that reason should be based on experience in order to teach truths and morals.

In Eric Mack's *John Locke: Major Conservative and Libertarian Thinkers* (2009), edited by John Meadowcraft, Mack deconstructs the historiography of Lockean thought which is a *rights-oriented* version of classical liberalism. A substantial portion of Mack's monograph unsurprisingly focuses on Locke's best-known work *The Second Treatise of Government*, Book II of Locke's *Two Treatises of Government*, in which Mack delves into themes of property rights and man's state in nature. Mack is also interested in the role of government which Mack claims should be limited in order to protect individuals' liberties.¹⁵

¹⁴ Skinner, Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes, 2-3.

¹⁵ Eric Mack, *John Locke: Major Conservative and Libertarian Thinkers*, ed. John Meadowcroft (New York and London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2009), 4-5.

Mack also examines seventeenth-century political philosophy which was a response to the English Civil War (1641 - 1652) including works from Robert Filmer (1588 - 1653) and Thomas Hobbes (1588 - 1679). In Mack's examination of Filmer, Mack claims that Filmer was an advocate for unlimited monarchical authority, arguably the antithesis of Locke. The first of Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* criticizes Filmer's stance on authoritarianism, which Filmer writes about in *Patriarcha: The Natural Power of Kings* (1680). When juxtaposing Lockean notions of natural rights alongside Filmer's strict adherence toward the monarch in *Patriarcha*, Mack writes, "Men are naturally equal and free; political authority is established through the consent of such equal and free individuals; through their consent individuals create a limited political authority; political authority may overstep its rightful bounds, and when it does, it may be lawfully ressited." Mack applies Lockean liberalism involving man in nature (without government) is free and political authority is a Western societal construct in order to limit civil liberties.¹⁷

Following Mack's analysis of Filmer's philosophy involving sovereignty and natural rights (arguably the opposite of Locke's views), Mack juxtaposes Filmer with Hobbes comparing and contrasting the two seventeenth-century theorists. While Filmer claims that there is a natural hierarchy (or order) among people, Hobbes rejects this notion of class ranking in any form of an organized society including politics. Mack writes, "Men are by nature masterless -- both in the sense that there is no natural authority of one man over another and in the sense men are not naturally subject to any moral laws. Therefore, in men's natural condition, nothing is morally forbidden, nothing is unlawful or unjust; everything is permissible." When paraphrasing Mack's interpretation of Filmer and Hobbes, Filmer argues that a sovereign (authority) exists in

_

¹⁶ Mack, John Locke, 11.

¹⁷ Ibid., 10-11.

¹⁸ Ibid., 15.

nature, whereas Hobbes claims that man has no legal restraints in the aforementioned state of nature (similar to Locke).¹⁹

Although Skinner's monograph on Hobbes and Mack's monograph on Locke both involve political theory, the two books contrast greatly in terms of the content. Skinner's *Reason and Rhetoric* reads more like a historical analysis of Hobbes' philosophies in which Skinner traces Hobbes influences (including Cicero) whereas Mack's *John Locke* reads more like a monograph involving political history. While Skinner demonstrates Hobbes' influence on Western thought, particularly Skinner's deconstruction of Hobbesian notions of *reason* and *rhetoric*, Mack's trajectory of Locke's influence on historical figures (including President Thomas Jefferson) is more obvious in Mack's prose.

C. Hobbes' & Locke's Influence on the American Revolution & Early Republic

The final two monographs selected for consideration in this essay were two that directly engaged with the question of the influence of Locke and Hobbes on the American Revolution and Early Republic. When analyzing the historiography of Locke's and Hobbes' influence on the American Revolution and Early American Republic, a good starting point is juxtaposing Paul Downes' Hobbes, Sovereignty, and Early American Literature (2015) alongside Steven M.

Dworetz's The Unvarnished Doctrine: Locke, Liberalism, and the American Revolution (1990). Yet, before comparing the two monographs, one should analyze the historiography of each monograph, Downes' book and Dworetz's book, separately. In Downes' monograph, Downes claims that Hobbesian notions "democratic sovereignty," which Hobbes alludes to in the Leviathan were common themes in early American rhetoric ranging from seventeenth-century clergymen, including Massachusetts Bay Colony minister, John Cotton, to theologian and

¹⁹ Mack, John Locke, 15.

founder of the Rhode Island Colony, Roger Williams.²⁰ Although it is unclear whether or not Roger Williams was reading (or influenced by) Hobbes, Williams' political speeches pertaining to the issue of sovereignty in colonial America have parallels to Hobbesian political philosophy.

Although it is unclear if seventeenth-century American ministers and statesmen were reading Hobbes, Downes points out that the aforementioned colonists used the same metaphor as Hobbes involving the golden calf in Exodus as an allegory for sovereignty. When deconstructing the analogy pertaining to the golden calf in Exodus, when Moses ascended Mount Sinai the Israelites used the calf as a false idol breaking their covenant with G-d, Hobbes claims that sovereignty was switched from G-d to the golden calf. Similarly, this analogy from the Bible can be applied to sovereignty within a nation state from monarch to the state itself. Although seventeenth-century American colonists, including statesmen and ministers, did not reference Hobbes in their speeches and sermons, the golden calf analogy questioning the American colonies' sovereignty to England was a prevalent part of political rhetoric. ²¹

In chapter 3, "Hobbes in America," of Downes' *Hobbes, Sovereignty, and Early American Literature*, Downes claims that Hobbesian philosophy played more of a role in shaping Early American political thought than originally thought. Downes unsurprisingly claims that Americans' notions of Democratic liberalism were shaped by Locke while late eighteenth-century colonists' understanding of economics (particularly nascent capitalism) were influenced by Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* (1776). While Marxism is more of a contemporary critique to both Early American economics (capitalism) and religion (Protestantism) compared to Hobbesian thought (which predates Marx), Hobbes similarly served as a late eighteenth-century rebuttal to Adam Smith and John Locke. Downes writes, "Critical

²⁰ Paul Downes, *Hobbes, Sovereignty, and Early American Literature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 2, 6-8.

²¹ Downes, *Hobbes, Sovereignty, and Early American Literature*, 6-10.

approaches to American liberal orthodoxy tend to trace an ideological path that leads from John Locke to Adam Smith and from Protestant individualism to neoliberal corporate capitalism...The present study risks an alternative point of departure by proposing that a comprehensive critique of Protestant and proto-capitalist liberalism began, in revolutionary England, with the political philosophy of Thomas Hobbes."²² When paraphrasing Downes, Hobbesian philosophies were a seventeenth-century rebuttal to Lockean notions of liberalism and Smith's nascent version of capitalism.

When determining and analyzing Hobbes' influence on America, Downes notes that few colonists prior to 1800 owned a copy of the *Leviathan*. Downes mentions how Founding Father and publisher, Benjamin Franklin, sold a rare folio edition of Hobbes' *Leviathan* in Philadelphia in 1744. In 1763, Benjamin Franklin as well as Franklin's business partner and fellow printer, David Hall, imported a copy of "Hobbes' Works;" yet, Downes is unclear as to which of Hobbes' publications included Franklin's and Hall's copy of "Hobbes' Works." Although Hobbes' writings were among Franklin's (and Hall's) possessions, it is unclear how closely either Franklin or Hall read Hobbes. When assessing Downes' study pertaining to eighteenth-century Americans reading (and understanding) Hobbes, it is clear that Hobbes was not widely read and the few Americans who did were highly educated and distinguished individuals like Benjamin Franklin and David Hall. ²³

In Dworertz's opening chapter of *The Unvarnished Doctrine*, "The Historiographic Revolution: The Rise of 'Cato' and the Decline of Locke in American Revolutionary Thought," Dworertz provides a nuanced historiography involving the history and political thought of the American Revolution. Dworetz begins the chapter claiming that in a political society such as the

²² Downes, *Hobbes, Sovereignty, and Early American Literature*, 69-70.

²³ Ibid., 241-242.

thirteen colonies (what would later become the United States) a founding ideology is imperative in unifying its citizens. Dworetz writes, "a society's understanding of its founding doctrine is an integral part of its self-consciousness and the ultimate source of its sense of purpose and normative vision. The ideology of the founding furnishes the standards by which citizens evaluate contemporary events, practices, and arrangements.²⁴ From a historical and geopolitical perspective, Dworetz emphasizes the significance of revolution as a turning point in geopolitical history particularly in a society in which the founding principles are grounded in "liberal-democratic ideology" like the United States.

One of Dworetz's central arguments throughout *The Unvarnished Doctrine* is that Dworetz challenges the role that Lockean liberalism played in America's founding doctrine claiming that republicanism, the notion of civic virtue, was also important. Prior to historians challenging Locke's role in revolutionary rhetoric, it was unanimously agreed that Locke was the sole political philosopher seventeenth and eighteenth-century colonists were reading. Dworertz writes, "From [a historiographical] perspective John Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* looked like 'the textbook of the American Revolution' and the source 'from which Americans drew the 'principles of 1776.' Locke's political thought had thoroughly 'dominated the political philosophy of the American Revolution,' the totality of which could therefore be summarized simply as 'an exegesis upon Locke.'" From the above quotation, it is clear that historians who studied the **historiography** of Locke's influence on the American Revolution unanimously agreed that Locke's philosophies were integral (and dominated) to the political discourse among eighteenth-century Americans.

²⁴ Steven M. Dworertz, *The Unvarnished Doctrine: Locke, Liberalism, and the American Revolution* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1990), 3-4.

²⁵ Ibid., 5-6.

In the 1960s, historians such as Bernard Bailyn, John Dunn and J.G.A. Pocock began to question Locke's role in the American Revolution stating that Locke's liberalism was negligible in late eighteenth-century political rhetoric. Upon closer examination, Dworetz, who refers to the aforementioned historians as "revisionist historians," claims that Bailyn's and Pocock's "repblican hypothesis" completely replaced the Locken liberalism as the founding ideology. 26 Although "revisionist historian" most times has a negative connotation, for Dworetz his nomenclature "revisionist" is more literal; Dworertz is reanalyzing political rhetoric leading up to the American revolution.

Historiographically, Dworetz recognizes both the role Lockean liberalism and radical republican revisionism played in shaping late eighteenth-century American revolutionary rhetoric. In The Unvarnished Doctrine, Dworetz writes, "The historiographic radicalism of the republican revision should be carefully considered. It represents a profound and, indeed, unprecedented realignment in the history of political thought. I am not aware of any development in the study of the history of political thought that can match the decline of Lockean theory, and of liberalism in general, and the corresponding rise of civic republicanism in the historiography of the American Revolution. With astonishing speed and thoroughness, scholars have abandoned one interpretation of the founding doctrine in favor of another, apparently antithetical, understanding of Revolutionary ideology."²⁷ The goal of Dworertz's monograph is to critically examine repulican revisionist history pertaining to the late eighteenth-century political rhetoric and reassess the role of Lockean liberalism in the American Revolution.²⁸

In The Unvarnished Doctrine, Dworertz does a nice job of applying Locke's political theory in the context of the American Revolution providing two distinct criteria for how to

²⁶ Dworetz, The Unvarnished Doctrine, 6-7.

²⁷ Ibid., 7.

²⁸ Ibid.

properly analyze the historiography. The first criterion, which appears obvious, is that the aforementioned historiography should be directly related to Locke. Phrased differently, when reading and analyzing historiography involving Lockean liberalism and the American Revolution, one should be able to recognize Locke's influence in the text. Secondly, when analyzing the historiography of Locke's influence on the American Revolution, one should be cognizant of how contemporaries interpret Locke. When Dworetz refers to "contemporaries," he is alluding to both late eighteenth-century Americans who read Locke during the American Revolution as well as historians and political scientists who study the historiography of Locke. ²⁹

When comparing Downes' *Hobbes, Sovereignty, and Early American Literature* to Dworetz's *The Unvarnished Doctrine*, it is helpful to apply John Tosh's *The Pursuit of History* for the purposes of juxtaposing and analyzing political-philosophical historiography in the two monographs. In chapter 3, "Mapping the field," one of the subheadings in Tosh's section on "Political History" involves *Political history in turbulent times*. In the aforementioned subheading, Tosh writes about the historiography of distinguished Europeans including French philosopher Voltaire and Arthur Young, the English agriculturalist best known for his writing (eyewitness account) of the French Revolution.

Although Tosh does not reference Locke or Hobbes in his historiographical analysis of *Political history* in chapter 3 of *The Pursuit of Happiness*, Tosh addresses themes involving culture and society which most eighteenth-century Enlightenment thinkers discuss in their writing. Tosh writes, "In fact, during the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, a 'philosophical' turn of mind was rather more evident than [Arthur] Young allowed for. Voltaire's historical works ranged over the whole field of culture and society,...German historicism was closely associated with a school of political thought, best represented by Hegel, which endowed

²⁹ Dworetz, The Unvarnished Doctrine, 9.

the concept of the state with a moral and spiritual force beyond the material interests of its subjects; it followed that the state was the main agent of historical change." When applying the above quotation from Tosh to Dworetz's monograph on Locke and Downes' book on Hobbes, Tosh attempts to connect eighteenth-century Enlightenment thought across Europe as response to significant historical change. In Dworetz's *The Unvarnished Doctrine*, Dworetz challenges previous historiographical notions that Lockean liberalism was the core Enlightenment ethos of the American Revolution; instead, civic republicanism was equally as integral to eighteenth-century American political thought. Similarly, although few seventeenth and eighteenth-century Americans were reading Hobbes, Hobbesian notions of sovereignty and social contract theory were pervasive throughout the American colonies.

_

³⁰ Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 48.

III. Document Section and Headnotes

Primary Source #1, "The Fundemental [sic] Constitutions of Carolina: March 1, 1669"

Although unconfirmed, it is alleged that John Locke played a role in making the **Fundamental Constitutions of the Carolinas**, which was adopted by eight law proprietors on March 1, 1669. Due to Locke's patronage of **Anthony Ashley Cooper**, 1st Earl of Shaftesbury, one of the original proprietors of the Province of Carolina, historians claim that the Constitution of the Carolinas was co-authored by Locke and Cooper.

Our sovereign lord the King having, out of his royal grace and bounty, granted unto us the province of Carolina, with all the royalties, properties, jurisdictions, and privileges of a county palatine, as large and as ample as the county palatine of Durham, with other great privileges; for the better settlement of the government of the said place, and establishing the interest of the lords proprietors with equality and without confusion; and that the government of this province may be made most agreeable to the monarchy under which we live and of which this province is a part; and that we may avoid erecting a numerous democracy, we, the lords and proprietors of the province aforesaid, have agreed to this following form of government, to be perpetually established amongst us, unto which we do oblige ourselves, our heirs and successors, In the most binding ways that can be devised.³¹

_

³¹ "The Fundemental *[sic]* Constitutions of Carolina: March 1, 1669," The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy, Yale University Law School: Lillian Goldman Law Library, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th century/nc05.asp.

Primary Source #2, "Chapter xxix: Of those things that Weaken a Commonwealth" in Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan* (1668)

The excerpt below, from Hobbes' **Leviathan** (1688), pertains to man's possessions, specifically **private property**. When Hobbes writes "such as excludeth [sic] the right of the sovereign," Hobbes is referring to how citizens have the right to private property and in this context the **sovereign** refers to a monarch (king or queen). Hobbes also alludes to equal rights among citizens, as opposed to subjects of a monarchy giving the people greater autonomy. This passage from Hobbes is reminiscent of Locke's Second Treatise of Government (1690) not only involving individual freedoms (civil liberties) and private property but the right to resist tyrannical government.

[10] A fifth doctrine that tendeth to the dissolution of a commonwealth is *That every private* man has an absolute proprietary in his goods, such as excludeth [sic] the right of the sovereign. Every man has indeed a proprietary that excludes the right of every other subject; and he has it only from the sovereign power, without the protection whereof every other man should have equal right to the same. But if the right of the sovereign also be excluded, he cannot perform the office they have put him into, which is to defend them both from foreign enemies and from the injuries of one another; and consequently, there is no longer a commonwealth.³²

³² Thomas Hobbes, "Chapter xxix: Of those that Weaken a Commonwealth" in *Leviathan* (1688) edited by Edwin Curley (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 1994), 213.

Primary Source #3, "Chapter V: Of Property" in John Locke's Second Treatise of Government (1690)

In this passage from "Chapter V: Of Property" in Locke's **Second Treatise of Government** (1690), Locke deconstructs the significance of **private property** among members of Western society. Locke claims that in the **state of nature** there is no hierarchy among men, therefore, no man has right to another person's possessions. Part of what gives someone a right to their property is **labor** and **work**. By removing the state of nature, and adding some form of society (or government), Locke claims that man is still entitled to their private property due to labor associated with the property itself.

[27] Though the earth, and all inferior creatures, be common to all men, yet every man has *property* in his own *person*: this no body has any right unto but himself. The *labour* of his body, and the *work* of his hands, we may say, are properly his. Whatsoever he then removes out of the state that nature hath provided, and left it in, he hath mixed his *labour* with, and joined to something that is his own, and thereby makes it his *property*. It being him removed from the common state nature hath placed it in, it hath by this *labour* something annexed to it, that excludes the common right of other men: for this *labour* being the questionable property of the labourer, no man but he can have a right to what is once joined to, at least where is enough, and as good, left in common for others.³³

³³ John Locke, "Chapter V: Of Property," in *Second Treatise of Government* (1690) edited by C.B. Macpherson (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 1980), 19.

Primary Source #4, "Chapter xii: Of Religion" in Thomas Hobbes Leviathan (1668)

The theme of **sovereignty** is omnipresent throughout Thomas Hobbes' **Leviathan** (1668) including "Chapter xii: Of Religion." In this chapter, Hobbes makes an analogy comparing G-d to a king and the Bible to set laws within the monarchy stating "the policy and and laws are civil are part of religion." Hobbes also addresses the notion of **"chosenness"** reminiscent of the Israelities as G-d's chosen people in the Hebrew Bible as well as their covenant with G-d.

[22] But where G-d himself by supernatural revelation planted religion, there he also made to himself a peculiar kingdom and gave laws, not only of behaviour towards himself, but also towards one another; and thereby in the kingdom of G-d, the policy and laws civil are part of religion; and therefore the distinction of temporal and spiritual domination hath there no place. It is true that G-d is king of all the earth; yet may he be king of a peculiar and chosen nation. For there is no more incongruity therein than that he that hath the general command of the whole army should have withal a peculiar regiment or company of his own. G-d is king on all the earth by his power; but of his chosen people he is king by covenant. But to speak more largely of the kingdom of G-d, both by nature and covenant, I have in the following discourse assigned another place.³⁴

³⁴ Thomas Hobbes, "Chapter xii: Of Religion" in *Leviathan* (1688) edited by Edwin Curley (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 1994), 71.

Primary Source #5, "Chapter XVIII: Of Tyranny" in John Locke's Second Treatise of Government (1690)

In "Chapter XVIII: Of Tyranny," from John Locke's **Second Treatise of Government** (1690), Locke distinguishes between the exercise of power, which man has a right to, and **tyranny**, when someone exerts hegemony in a manner that is "power beyond right." Locke elaborates on his definition of tyranny when leaders (including politicians and monarchs) exploit their citizens' rights ultimately reducing them to subjects. When leaders unethically (or illegally) change the law without the consent of the government to the rule, this not only hinders certains freedoms (such as **civil liberties**) but gives more authority to individuals in power.

[199] AS usurpation is the exercise of power, which another hath a right to; so *tyranny is the exercise of power beyond right*, which no body can have a right to. And this is making use of the power any one has in his hands, not for the good of those who are under it, but for his own private separate advantage. When the governor, however intitled [sic], makes not the law, but his will, the rule; and his commands and actions are not directed to the preservation of the properties of his people, but the satisfaction of his own ambition, revenge, covetousness, or any other regular passion...

[201] It is a mistake to think this fault is proper only to monarchies; other forms of government are liable to it, as well as that: for wherever the power, that is put in any hands for the government of the people, and the preservation of their properties, is applied to other ends, and made us to impoverish, harass, or subdue them to the arbitrary and irregular commands of those that have it; there it presently becomes *tyranny*, whether those that thus use it are one or many.³⁵

22

³⁵ John Locke, "Chapter XVIII: Of Tyranny," in *Second Treatise of Government* (1690) edited by C.B. Macpherson (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 1980), 101-102.

Primary Source #6, Image of Leviathan by Abraham Bosse (1668)

Thomas Hobbes named his magnum opus after the **Leviathan**, the mythical sea monster from the **Hebrew Bible** which appears in Psalms, the Book of Job, and the Book of Isaiah. Below is the image from **Abraham Bosse**'s engraving used for the cover of the 1688 version (Latin translation) of Hobbes' 1651 text. When analyzing the artwork more closely, there is a bifurcation splitting the balances of power: the authority of the Church of England (on the right) and human authority (on the left). Above the civilization is the King who represents **sovereign authority**. The anthropomorphized king is wearing a crown and holding a sword in his right hand. The King serves as a **visual allegory** for the biblical Leviathan and is composed of **citizens** who are co-signers of the **social contract** with their sovereign ruler, the king.



Source:

https://www.college.columbia.edu/core/content/frontispiece-thomas-hobbes'-leviathan-abra ham-bosse-creative-input-thomas-hobbes-1651.

Primary Source #7, The Declaration of Independence (1776)

Thomas Jefferson (VA) and the other four members of the "Committee of Five" (John Adams (MA); Benjamin Franklin (PA); Robert Livingston (NY) and Roger Sherman (CT)) were heavily influenced by Locke's Second Treatise of Government when writing the Declaration of Independence (July 1776), below. The Founding Fathers allude to Lockean notions of classical liberalism in The Declaration such as natural rights and the right to resist tyrannical government as justification for opposing King George III and British rule.

Declaration of Independence: A Transcription

Note: The following text is a transcription of the Stone Engraving of the parchment Declaration of Independence (the document on display in the Rotunda at the National Archives Museum.) The spelling and punctuation reflects the original.

In Congress, July 4, 1776

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America, When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.--That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, -- That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty. to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.--Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the

establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harrass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For Quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our Brittish brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our

common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

Source:

https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/declaration-transcript

Primary Source #8, "Chapter II: Of the State of Nature" in John Locke's Second Treatise of Government (1690)

In the passage below from Locke's **Second Treatise of Government** (1690), Locke breaks down the morality of political power first by explaining that in nature ("a state of perfect freedom"), a society without government, all people are equal. Upon closer examination of the text, there are biblical references alluding **Christian Old Testament** and **Genesis** in which Locke discusses rank among animal species; yet, among man (humans) "no one having [equality] than another." Locke also mentions how G-d is the ultimate sovereign reminiscent of a king. Locke also alludes to individualism, specifically how "everyone....is bound to preserve himself...[in order] to preserve the rest of mankind."

[4] TO understand political power right, and derive it from its original, we must consider, which state all men are naturally in, and that is, a *state of perfect freedom* to order their actions, and dispose of their possessions and persons, as they think fit, within the bounds of law and nature, without asking leave, or depending upon the will of any other man.

A *state* also of *equality*, wherein all the power and jurisdiction is reciprocal, no one having more than another; there being nothing more evident, than that creatures of the same species and rank, promiscuously born to all the same advantages of nature, and the use of the same faculties, should also be equal one amongst another without subordination or subjection, unless the lord and master of them all should, by any manifest declaration of his will, set one above another, and confer on him, by an evident and clear appointment, an undoubted right to dominion and sovereignty...

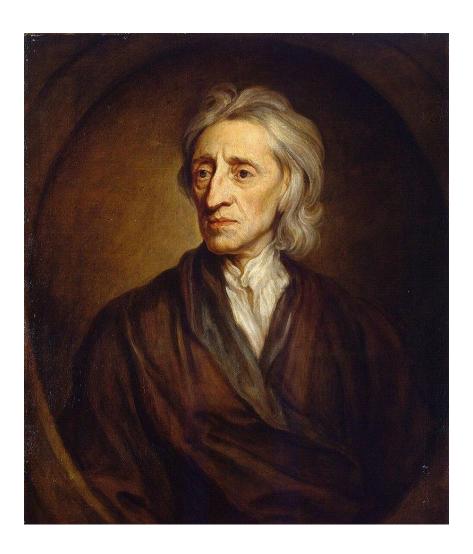
[6]...The *state of nature* has a nature to govern it, which obliges every one: and reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind, who will but consult it, that being all *equal and independent*, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty, or possessions...Every one, as he is *bound* to *preserve himself*, and not to quit his station willfully, so by the like reason, when his own preservation comes not in competition, ought he, as much as he can, to *preserve the rest of mankind*, and may not, unless it be to do justice on an offender, take away, or impair the life, the liberty, health, limb, or goods of another.³⁶

28

³⁶ John Locke, "Chapter II: Of the State of Nature," in *Second Treatise of Government* (1690) edited by C.B. Macpherson (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 1980), 8-9.

Primary Source #9, Portrait of John Locke (1697) by Godfrey Kneller

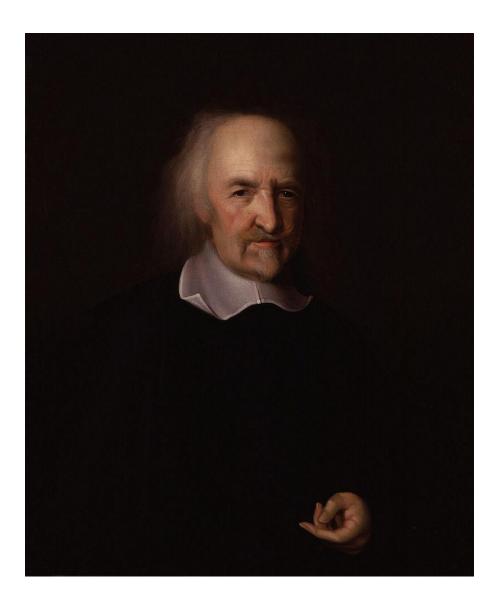
In Godfrey Kneller's portrait of John Locke (1697), Kneller captures the sixty-five-year-old English philosopher in a stoic pose gazing to his right. In the colorized painting, Locke is depicted with his natural hair as opposed to a powdered wig, a popular look among distinguished men of the seventeenth century. Shortly before Kneller painted this portrait of Locke, Locke wrote and published his magnum opus, the Second Treatise of Government (1690).



source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John Locke#/media/File:John Locke.jpg

Primary Source #10, Portrait of Thomas Hobbes (1669-70) by John Michael Wright

In **John Michael Wright**'s portrait of **Thomas Hobbes**, Hobbes is eighty-two years old. Hobbes' dark clothing and white neckpiece combined with his closely-trimmed facial hair was a popular look among high-society European men in the seventeenth century. Wright painted this portrait of Hobbes the year after the Latin translation of Hobbes' Leviathan was released in 1668.



source:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Hobbes#/media/File:Thomas_Hobbes_by_John_Michael_Wright_(2).jpg

IV. Textbook Engagement

A. Textbook(s) critique

Unsurprisingly, references to John Locke are minimal in high school US history textbooks and they are mostly in passing, referring to Locke's influence on the Founding Fathers and the Declaration of Independence. In Houghton Mifflin Harcourt's (HMH's) 2018 American History textbook when discussing American Independence and Thomas Jefferson's drafting of The Declaration of Independence, there is only a brief three-sentence paragraph describing Locke's role in the founding document. The textbook says, "Jefferson's masterful **Declaration of Independence** drew on the concepts of the English philosopher John Locke. Locke maintained that people enjoy 'natural rights' to life, liberty, and property. Jefferson described these rights as "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." ³⁷ Although the excerpt from the textbook involving Locke's influence on Jefferson and The Declaration of Independence is factually correct, it only scrapes the surface of how Locke's Enlightenment philosophies shaped The Declaration. While the textbook references Lockean notions of classical liberalism including maintaining one's "natural rights" and access to private property, there is no mention of the right to resist tyrannical government either.

In the same US history textbook, *HMH's Social Studies*, there is no mention whatsoever of Hobbes. While there is unequivocal evidence of Locke's influence on the Declaration of Independence, Hobbes' role in the Early American Republic is less clear, so it is unsurprising (especially at the high school level) that the HMH textbook excludes Hobbes. Another possibility is that Hobbes' prose is too dense and opaque (even compared to other eighteenth-century political theorists) for high school students.

_

³⁷ Holt McDougal, *HMH Social Studies: American History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2018), 117.

In an AP World History textbook used at Hudson Senior High School, *World Civilizations: The Global Experience, 4th Edition*, co-authored by Peter N. Stearns, Michael Adas, Stuart B. Schwartz, and Marc Jason Gilbert, there is reference to John Locke during the 1680s in the context of the Scientific Revolution. The excerpt from the textbook says:

By the 1680s writers affected by the new science, though not themselves scientists, began to attack traditional religious ideas such as miracles, for in the universe of the Scientific Revolution there was no room for disruption of nature's laws. Some intellectuals held a new conception of G-d, called **Deism**, arguing that although there might be a divinity, its role was simply to set natural laws in motion. In England, **John Locke** argued that people could learn everything they needed to know through their senses and reason; faith was irrelevant. Christian beliefs in human sinfulness crumbled inthe view of these intellectuals, for they saw human nature as basically good.³⁸

Although the above passage on John Locke appears more cumbersome compared to the excerpt from the HMH US History, it is equally as rudimentary in its analysis and application of Locke. The first sentence is somewhat misleading that Locke challenged seventeen-century notions of science although Locke was not a scientist. This is both a fallacy and a presentist argument; there was less of a distinction between scientists and intellectuals who studied the humanities (social sciences) than there is today.

When further deconstructing the passage from *The Global Experience*, paying close attention to the textbook's definition of *deism*, it reads as if Enlightenment philosophers (such as Locke) rejected G-d altogether replacing it with secular science. It appears the textbook removes some of the nuance involving Locke's stance on Christianity in order to explain *deism* to high school students. Regardless of the textbook authors' intentions, this inaccurate definition of *deism* detracts from Locke's notion of G-d given "natural rights." ³⁹

32

³⁸ Michael Adas, Marc Jason Gilbert, Stuart B. Schwartz and Peter N. Stearns, *World Civilizations: The Global Experience*, 4th ed. (London: Longman, 2003), 390.
³⁹ Ibid.

B. New Textbook Material

Enlightenment philosophers, such as **Thomas Hobbes** and **John Locke**, were inspired by ongoing regional geopolitical conflicts including the **English Civil War** (1642-51) and the **Glorious Revolution** (1688-89). The **English Civil War** was part of a series of wars mostly fought over religious freedom and for citizens to replace the existing English monarchy with a parliamentary-style government. The **Glorious Revolution** was fought to overthrow the Catholic monarch, King James II, ultimately resulting in the **Bill of Rights** (1689) which granted citizens of England basic civil rights and clarified who inherits the Crown.

Although both Hobbes and Locke are known for their contributions to political philosophy, during the seventeenth-century (1600s) both Hobbes and Locke were the "Renaissance Men" of their time also specializing in science, mathematics, religion, and medicine. Hobbes is best known for the *Leviathan* (1651) in which Hobbes addresses issues of **sovereignty** and **social contract theory** while Locke's most famous book is his *Second Treatise of Government* (1690) which discusses man's **natural rights** and **private property.** The term **sovereignty** refers to who controls power within a society whether it is a monarch (like a king or queen) or a nation state. A **social contract** is a document, specifically an agreement, in which members of a society sacrifice some of their freedoms for protection from the state. Finally, one's **natural rights** are civil liberties (or freedoms) granted by a divine power (G-d) not by government.

John Locke's most famous work is his *Second Treatise of Government* (1690), the latter half of Locke's *Two Treatises of Government*, which places sovereignty in the people (citizens) as opposed to a monarch and articulates the significance of **natural rights**, **contract theory** and **private property**. Other important themes in Locke's *Second Treatise* include the **state of**

nature, the concept of life before societies and government came into existence, and **tyranny**, which is the oppressive use of power resulting in a police state.

Many of Locke's ideas from his *Second Treatise* can be found in the **Declaration of Independence** (1776) including Americans' "unalienable rights," alluding to Americans' **natural rights. Thomas Jefferson** and the "Committee of Five" (John Adams, Benjamin

Franklin, Robert Livingston, and Roger Sherman), who co-authored the Declaration of

Independence, were heavily inspired by Lockean notions of **civil liberties** in Locke's *Second Treatise* when drafting the founding document. The **Founding Fathers** were also inspired by

Locke's assertion that an individual has the **right to resist tyrannical government**, which

Americans saw as analogous to the British Empire's abuse (and exploitation) of power against the colonists.

Bibliography

- Adas, Michael, Marc Jason Gilbert, Stuart B. Schwartz and Peter N. Stearns. *World Civilizations: The Global Experience*. 4th ed. London: Longman, 2003.
- Downes, Paul. *Hobbes, Sovereignty, and Early American Literature*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Dworertz, Steven M. *The Unvarnished Doctrine: Locke, Liberalism, and the American Revolution*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1990.
- Handlin, Oscar and Lilian Handlin. "Who Read John Locke? Words and Acts in the American Revolution." *The American Scholar* 58, no. 4 (Autumn 1989): 545-556. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41212380.
- Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan*. Edited by Ewin Curley. Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 1994.
- "The Fundemental [sic] Constitutions of Carolina: March 1, 1669," The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy. Yale University Law School: Lillian Goldman Law Library. https://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/nc05.asp.
- Locke, John. *Second Treatise of Government*. Edited by C.B. Macpherson. Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 1980.
- Mack, Eric. *John Locke: Major Conservative and Libertarian Thinkers*. Edited by John Meadowcraft. New York and London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2009.
- Martinich, A.P. *Hobbes: A Biography*. New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- McDougal, Holt. *HMH Social Studies: American History*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2018.
- Skinner, Quentin. *Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Tosh, John. *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of History.* 6th ed. London: Routledge, 2015.
- Woolhouse, Roger. Locke: A Biography. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Worthen, Molly. "A Rise in Secular Libertarianism, Not Liberalism, in the U.S." *NYTimes* online. June 29, 2015. https://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2015/06/29/red-white-and-bluer/a-rise-in-secular-libertarianism-not-liberalism-in-the-us.