

AP[®] EUROPEAN HISTORY
2008 SCORING GUIDELINES (Form B)

Question 7

Compare and contrast the political ideas of Hobbes and Locke.

9–8 Points

- Thesis clearly compares and contrasts the *political* ideas of Hobbes and Locke, either in general terms or in specific ways.
- Organization is clear, consistently followed, and effective in support of the argument.
- Essay is well balanced; the *political* ideas of these thinkers are both compared and contrasted.
- At least multiple (three to four) *political* ideas of each man are discussed when comparing and contrasting these thinkers.
- May contain minor errors that do not detract from the argument.

7–6 Points

- Thesis clearly compares and contrasts the *political* ideas of Hobbes and Locke, either in general terms or in specific ways.
- Organization is clear and effective in support of the argument but not consistently followed.
- The *political* ideas of these thinkers are both compared and contrasted, but equal attention may not be given to both areas.
- At least several (two to three) *political* ideas of each man are discussed when comparing and contrasting these thinkers.
- May contain a major error or several minor errors that detract from the argument.

5–4 Points

- Thesis is clear but not fully responsive to the question; the *political* ideas may be compared OR contrasted.
- Organization is clear and effective in support of the argument but not consistently followed.
- Essay shows some imbalance; may examine similarities OR differences in the *political* thought of the two men.
- May describe the political thought of Hobbes and Locke with no effort at comparison OR contrast.
- May examine similarities and differences in a balanced but superficial manner, with few or no details.
- May contain a few major errors that detract from the argument.

3–2 Points

- No explicit thesis or a thesis that merely repeats/paraphrases the prompt.
- Organization is unclear and ineffective.
- Essay may confuse the two figures OR their political ideas or may discuss only politics in the seventeenth century.
- No attempt at analysis; factual information is limited.
- May contain several major errors that detract from the argument.

1–0 Points

- No discernable attempt at a thesis.
- No discernable organization.
- One or none of the major topics suggested by the prompt is mentioned.
- Little or no supporting evidence is used.
- May contain numerous errors that detract from the argument.

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Question 7 Historical Background

This is a traditional question. It asks students to identify the differences and similarities in the political writings of Hobbes and Locke. Students need to understand the writings as well as be able to compare and contrast their content. Students might do this by using context as a vehicle and focusing their discussion on direct comparisons of major points in the works of the two writers. This is, in many respects, a Palmer question.

Although a traditional question, it is more challenging than it seems at first glance. It is far easier for students to contrast than to compare the political ideas of Hobbes and Locke. An acceptable comparison is one that discusses, for example, the fact that each man believed that government was necessary. In addition, the question asks about the political ideas of each man. Many students will include information on each man's views regarding human nature. As long as they show how these ideas shaped the political ideas, this information is relevant. An essay that deals only with their views on human nature is off task entirely, however.

Textbook Material

Burns et al., *Western Civilizations* (9th edition, 1980)
Chambers et al., *The Western Experience* (9th edition, 2007)
Hause and Maltby, *Essentials of Western Civilization* (2nd edition, 2008)
Hunt, *The Making of the West* (2nd edition, 2005)
Kishlansky, *Civilization in the West* (7th edition, 2008)
Kagan, *The Western Heritage* (9th edition, 2007)
Lerner and Burns, *Western Civilizations* (1st edition, 1993)
Merriman, *Modern Europe from the Renaissance to the Present* (2nd edition, 2004)
Noble et al., *Western Civilization: Beyond Boundaries* (4th edition, 2007)
Palmer et al., *A History of the Modern World* (12th edition, 2007)
Spielvogel, *Western Civilization Since 1300* (6th edition, 2006)

The textbooks do not present the same interpretations of the two thinkers. There is even an instance of contradiction. We need to be careful as we score this question that students are not penalized for the textbook they have used. The books tend to emphasize differences, but many books also note their similarities. Even the better essays will have more to say about the differences than the similarities. Locke may be wrongly identified as a supporter of democracy.

Hobbes' *Leviathan*

- *Kishlansky*: Government formed for self-preservation and to escape the brutal state of nature. Rulers rule; subjects obey.
- *Palmer*: Sees Hobbes as materialistic and atheistic. Hobbes believed men were unable to govern themselves. From fear and to retain order, men make a contract giving up personal freedom to the ruler who has absolute unrestricted power in return for security, peace, and the rule of law. Government was created by and for humans.
- *Burns*: Compares Hobbes and Bodin. There is no limit on the ruler's authority. Burns uses words like "ruthless," "trample on," and "tyrannize" to illustrate the power of the ruler.
- *Hause and Maltby*: See *Leviathan* as a consequence of the English Civil War requiring an autocratic superstate.
- *Kagan*: All people have the right to everything, and equality breeds perpetual enmity. Hobbes' politically organized society and state was to deliver people from a corrupt government: social contract.

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Question 7 Historical Background (continued)

- *Noble*: Hobbes compared the state to a machine running by laws and maintained by the ruler. Citizens were seen as potentially equal and constrained neither by morality nor natural obedience.
- *Merriman*: Compares Hobbes and Locke. Both believed government is for the good of mankind. Hobbes says individuals surrender rights for protection. In analyses of Hobbes, many variations of his statement that life outside of government was “solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short” can be seen.

Locke's *Two Treatises on Civil Government*

- *Kishlansky*: Locke developed the contract theory of government. Individuals join for their own well being. Government protects natural rights: life, liberty, property.
- *Palmer*: Like Hobbes, Locke sees government for human good and as a contract. But since people learn from experience, they can be enlightened by education. Government is established to enforce natural rights. The social contract has mutual obligations: rationality and responsibility. Locke admits the right of people to resist bad government.
- *Burns*: Via the social contract, people bestowed on government the executive power of the law of nature. Rights not expressly surrendered are reserved for the people. The right to overthrow a tyrannical government exists.
- *Chambers*: Locke learned from Hobbes. The state of nature is a state of war. Contract government ends anarchy that preceded civil society. However, three rights (life, liberty, and property) are inalienable without the consent of the governed. Consent is granted through the representative assembly of men of property.
- *Kagan*: The law of nature creates everyone equal and independent; people in nature are reasonable and able to function but establish government to solve problems and facilitate social life. Government should primarily protect property.
- *Hunt*: Hobbes and Locke saw all people have a state of nature; Locke's definition of nature is peaceful. Locke emphasized the importance of property.
- *Spielvogel*: The state of nature, according to Locke, is equality and freedom: “community perpetually retains supreme power.”
- *Noble*: People, according to Locke, were capable of self-restraint and mutual respect in the pursuit of self-interest. Locke envisioned a political society based on human rights.
- *Merriman*: Locke concluded that the rights of individuals are protected by parliamentary limits on monarchical prerogatives.

Major Points of Comparison between Hobbes (1588–1679) and Locke (1632–1704)

Political ideas

- Both agree that governments do not originate from God.
- Both agree that governments must be created by man.
- Both agree that governments should be established in accordance with natural laws.
- Both agree that governments should be rationally, ethically, and consciously conceived.
- Both agree that governments must be based on a contract between those governed and the government.

Other ideas (Some of these may be used to explain the underpinnings of each man's political thought.)

- Both reject the cynicism of Machiavelli.
- Both wrote in the seventeenth century.
- Both were heavily influenced by the rationality of the Scientific Revolution, 1600–1700.

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Question 7 Historical Background (continued)

- Both were heavily influenced by the events of the English Civil War, 1642-49.
- Both backed a specific side in the English Civil War.
- Both agree that governments are necessary.
- Both agree that man's true character can be found in a "state of nature."

Major Points of Contrast between Hobbes and Locke

Political ideas

- Hobbes argued for royal absolutism, while Locke argued for constitutionalism.
- Hobbes believed that once governments are established, they may not be challenged and overthrown, while Locke believed that if the social contract is violated, the governed have the right to overthrow the government.
- Hobbes backed the king, while Locke backed Parliament in the English Civil War.

Other ideas (Some of these may be used to explain the underpinnings of each man's political thought.)

- Hobbes backed the losing side, while Locke backed the winning side in the English Civil War.
- Hobbes believed that man's state of nature was violent and selfish, while Locke believed that man's state of nature was peaceful and reasonable.
- Hobbes had little interest in private property, while Locke argued that private property was a cornerstone of government.

Key Dates

1642-49: English Civil War.

1649: Execution of Charles I.

1649-59: Interregnum (Republic, then Protectorate).

1658: Death of Cromwell.

1660: Restoration of the monarchy (Charles II returned from France).

1685-88: Reign of James II.

1688-89: "Glorious Revolution."

Write in the box the number of the question you are answering on this page as it is designated in the examination.

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Thomas Hobbes and John Locke ^{were} ~~are~~ two very different men. ~~One~~ One might say they are a product of their times; Hobbes wrote during ^{England's} ~~the~~ Cromwell's rule, when King Charles I was executed. Locke wrote after the Glorious Revolution, when William and Mary had ^{assumed} ~~take~~ the throne without bloodshed. ^{After seeing a revolution lead to civil war and the execution of a king,} Hobbes believed that government's purpose was to restrict people and their passions. ~~He~~ He felt that people cannot, under any circumstances rebel. ^{Locke, who had just witnessed a} ~~He~~ ~~did~~ ~~not~~ ~~believe~~ ~~that~~ ~~people~~ ~~could~~ ~~rebel~~ ~~without~~ ~~bloodshed,~~ ^{which} ~~without~~ ~~bloodshed,~~ ^{oppressed} ~~people~~ ~~do~~ ~~not~~ ~~have~~ ~~the~~ ~~right~~ ~~to~~ ~~rebel,~~ and ~~overthrow~~ ^{the} ~~monarch~~.

However, there is one way in which these seemingly antipodal men were similar; both believed that the power of the monarch came from the people.

^{Both} Hobbes ^{and} ^{Locke} believed that the power to rule came from the people. Locke believed that in a state of nature people have natural rights (life, liberty, property). ^{to} ^{ensure} ^{the} ^{protection} of these rights, they elect a ruler to settle their disputes. Hobbes believed, like Locke, that a ruler obtains his power from the people. Hobbes, however, ^{believed} ~~felt~~ that in a state of nature there are no natural rights, there is simply ^{chaos.} ~~chaos.~~ The reason they choose to be governed is to end the chaos. In taking a ^{ruler} ~~leader~~ they ~~lose~~ ~~any~~ rights they may have had and put themselves at his mercy. Hobbes believed that ~~tyranny~~ tyranny is better than anarchy. Despite their differences in a monarch's rights, they both agreed that the monarch's power came from the people.

Hobbes and Locke differed in their ideas of the rights of people being governed. ~~Also~~ Due to his idea that people submit all rights to a monarch, Hobbes believed that people ^{do not} ~~do not~~ have, under any circumstances,

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the right to overthrow a ~~government~~^{monarch}. Locke's belief differed from Hobbes. Locke argued that when a monarch fails to protect the people's natural rights, the people have the right to overthrow him. ~~He~~^{Locke} believed that the true power behind a government was in the legislature, so when a ~~gov~~ monarch fails to protect the natural rights of its citizens, the people can rebel.

~~He~~ Locke and Hobbes disagreed in the purpose of government. ~~Locke~~^{Hobbes} felt that all people were inherently bad, greedy, lazy and selfish. Thus, a tyrannical government ~~is~~^{is} but its worst would be better than people without anything to ^{put a} check on their behavior. Locke, however, felt that people were born with a blank slate, or "tabularassa", and thus they weren't inherently bad. ~~While they needed a~~^{The purpose of government was to} ~~government~~^{should} protect their natural rights. A ~~if~~^{if} that monarch failed to do so, they could overthrow him and elect a new monarch. ~~He~~^{Locke} believed that most people (nurtured in a good environment) were capable of maintaining order during revolutionary times, and wouldn't turn to anarchy or chaos as Hobbes feared.

~~Both~~ Hobbes and Locke had ~~very~~ conflicting views about government, ~~its~~^{its} purpose, and the right of the people to overthrow a government. Hobbes felt that ppl ^{never} had, under any circumstances, the right to rebel. Locke ^{believed} that if a ~~gov~~ government should fail to protect the natural rights of the people it governed, the people had the right to rebel, and overthrow

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the monarch. However, despite the differing ideologies of these two men, they ~~do~~ have one, very important view in common. ~~It is that~~ ^{It is that} the power of a monarch to rule comes from the people, not ~~God~~ ^{God} in a state of Nature, both men believed that people ~~choose~~ ^{choose} to surrender ^{their} rights to a ruler. In this way, these two men who appeared to have contradictory political views actually had one in common.

There were many great philosophers in history, but in the realm of political philosophies, few rival the insightful and revolutionary ideas of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke. Both had great influence on the development of the governments of nations such as the United States of America and Great Britain. Their ideas differed in many ways though, as John Locke believed the government and the people are part of a "social contract" where people give up rights to a ruler for protection, and Hobbes believed people are naturally chaotic and form governments to have a community of order.

John Locke's ideas centered around the idea of a ~~and contract~~ person being able to strive for life, liberty, and property (used by Thomas Jefferson and his American belief of a person being able to strive for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness). Locke believed in the idea of a "social contract" between a ruler and his people in which the people give up some of their rights in order to be protected. This contrasted with Hobbes, who believed in a more democratic style of government in which people band together to survive in an otherwise chaotic world. This contrast between the belief in the power of a single ruler and the belief in a democratic government is a central difference between the political ideas of Hobbes and Locke. John Locke also believed that people are born tabula rasa (a clear slate), in which a person's personality and life is shaped only by experience, whereas Hobbes believed people are born chaotic and need to be with a group in order to live in order.

What these two great thinkers did agree on is that the people have a right to revolt and cause revolution when a government is not being just to its citizens. Locke believed that if a ruler broke the social contract with his people by being cruel or unjust, the people have a right to topple the ruler and relieve him from power. Hobbes thought echoed this, as he believed ~~that~~ that if a person should become too strong and become unjust, the people have the right to remove him. The ideas of these two men lead to revolutions in Europe, most notably France and England, as well as the United States.

Essay # 7

Write in the box the number of the question you are answering on this page as it is designated in the examination.

During the 17th and early 18th century, two founders of the Enlightenment, John Locke & Thomas Hobbes, published their writings on their thoughts of philosophy. While Thomas Hobbes had a rather negative view of life and wrote about the negative aspects of life. John Locke on the other hand had a different outlook on life. He believed that people were naturally good, and ~~that~~ ~~was~~ ~~was~~ had a positive view on government and people.

Thomas Hobbes wrote the book Leviathan in which he was critical of people and government. Hobbes claimed that people were naturally evil and that they had evil intentions for others. Unless their desires for evil were restrained and controlled, chaos would result. Hobbes naturally concluded that an absolute monarchy was the best institution for initiating such a control.

John Locke held the exact opposite view. He believed that man was born good and free, to Locke, it was society that corrupted man. In order for man to remain good and free the constraints of an absolute monarchy could not be imposed on him. Rather, a democracy where people were free was the preferred method of government.

In conclusion, John Locke and Thomas Hobbes had conflicting ideas of the best fit government. Their ideas helped set up the future of the Enlightenment. Thomas Malthus was one example of a later philosopher that followed in the steps of Hobbes, while Baron de Montesquieu was a follower of ~~the~~ Locke's reflections on democracy. The difference in opinion between the two set up one of the greatest revolutions in thought in history: the Enlightenment.

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2008 SCORING COMMENTARY (Form B)

Question 7

Sample: 7A

Score: 9

This is a beautifully written essay. It compares and contrasts the political ideas of the two thinkers with plenty of specifics; it also gives relevant historical information to show why the two men had different philosophies about human nature and government. The coherent argument and wealth of supporting detail makes this one of the superior essays that unquestionably merits a score of 9.

Sample: 7B

Score: 4

The thesis of this essay compares the two thinkers' ideas in general terms and contrasts them in specific terms. However, the student understands Locke better than Hobbes, stating that Hobbes believed in a democracy and thought people retained the right to revolt. Thus, there is only a minimal amount of correct information on Hobbes (all in the first paragraph), which lowered the score to 4 rather than 5.

Sample: 7C

Score: 3

This essay's thesis focuses on Hobbes's and Locke's different views of human nature, and the rest of the response attempts to show how these views influenced their political ideas. There is minimal discussion of political ideas, however, and Locke is incorrectly identified as a supporter of democracy, although correctly described as an opponent of absolute monarchy. The essay attained a score higher than 2 because it moves from ideas about human nature to ideas about government, so it provides some factual information. It did not earn a 4 because it describes the two men's political thought in overly reductionist form.