

sions in different proportions, so [the] invention of money gave them the opportunity to continue and enlarge them.

The Beginning of Political Societies

Men being, as has been said, by nature all free, equal, and independent, no one can be put out of his estate and subjected to the political power of another without his own consent, which is done by agreeing with other men to join and unite into a community for their comfortable, safe, and peaceable living one amongst another in a secure enjoyment of their properties, and a greater security against any that are not of it.

The Ends of Political Society and Government

The great and chief end, therefore, of men's uniting into commonwealths, and putting themselves under government, is the preservation of their property; to which in the state of nature there are many things wanting [lacking].

First, there wants an established, settled, known law, received and allowed by common consent to be the standard of right and wrong, and the common measure to decide all controversies between them. . . .

Secondly, in the state of nature there wants a known and indifferent [impartial] judge, with authority to determine all differences according to the established law. . . .

Thirdly, in the state of nature there often wants power to back and support the sentence when right, and to give it due execution. . . . Thus mankind, notwithstanding all the privileges of the state of nature, being but in an ill condition, while they remain in it, are quickly driven into society.

The Extent of the Legislative Power

The great end of men's entering into society being the enjoyment of their properties in peace and safety, and the great instrument and means of that being the laws established in that society: the first and fundamental positive law of all commonwealths is the establishing of the legislative power. . . .

Though the legislative . . . be the supreme power in every commonwealth, yet . . . it is not, nor can possibly be, absolutely arbitrary over the lives and fortunes of the people. For it being but the joint power of every member of the society given up to that person, or assem-

bly, which is legislator, it can be no more than those persons had in a state of nature before they entered into society, and gave it up to the community. . . .

The supreme power cannot take from any man any part of his property without his own consent. . . . These are the bounds [limits] which . . . society, and the law of God and Nature, have set to the legislative power of every commonwealth, in all forms of government:

First, they are to govern by . . . established laws, not to be varied in particular cases, but to have one rule for rich and poor, for the favourite at court and the countryman at plow.

Secondly, these laws also ought to be designed for no other end ultimately but the good of the people.

Thirdly, they must not raise taxes on the property of the people without the consent of the people.

The Dissolution of Government

[Governments are dissolved] when . . . a single person or prince sets up his own arbitrary will in place of the laws which are the will of the society. . . .

There is . . . another way whereby governments are dissolved, and that is when the legislative or the prince, either of them, act contrary to their trust. . . .

The legislative acts against the trust reposed in them when they endeavor to invade the property of the subject and to make themselves or any part of the community masters or arbitrary disposers of the lives, liberties, or fortunes of the people. . . .

Whenever the legislators endeavor to take away and destroy the property of the people, or to reduce them to slavery under arbitrary power, they put themselves into a state of war with the people, who are thereupon absolved from any further obedience and are left to the common refuge which God hath provided for all men against force and violence.