CHAPTER THREE

HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL BACKGROUND

OF SECULARISM IN THE WEST

The Concept of Secularism in its modern form was originated in Europe in 13th century. But philosophical foundation of the Concept of Secularism can be traced in the writings of ancient Greek thinkers like Plato, and Aristotle, and the ancient Indian thinker like Kautilya. Impact of the ancient thought on the development of the theory of Secularism can not be neglected. However, while considering this, the thought on the relationship between the State and religion is more important than any other consideration.

Whether the Concept of Secularism is western or eastern in its origin is a point of debate and discussion. 'The Secular State is, in origin, a western, not an Asian Conception. This is not to deny the obvious fact that certain elements of the Secular State,--- have long traditions in Asia'.

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Greek Philosophy:

Greek Political Thought is of great importance in the development of political philosophy in general and the idea of Secularism in particular. 'The Greek city state is still of importance, and a living part of the living past, because it has left us a theory, expressed in writing of Plato and Aristotle, which still lives in our minds and colours our thoughts'. "Before Greek experience and analysis the only major dichotomy known to man, consciously or unconsciously, was that between the "sacred" and the "profane". Its evolution into that of "public" and "private" is part of Western Secularism that goes back directly to Greek life and thought."

Greek City States:

Athens, Sparta, Corinth, Argos, Thebes were some of the important city States. Among the city States, Athens


was the greatest. The Greek used the term 'Polis' for these city States. The City State was not only a social, economic and political unity but also a spiritual and religious one. It was Omni-competent. 'It was State and society in one, without distinction or differentiation. It was a single system of order, or fused 'Society State'\(^4\). The population of the city State was divided into three main classes which can be described as nobles, middle and slaves. Slavery was a universal institution in the city States. Each city-State had its own customs, institutions Gods and religion. 'Each city State was the city of a God. Thus, Athena was the God of Athens, Demeter of Eleusis, Hera of Samos, Artemis of Ephesus, Poseidon of Poseidonia and Apollo of Apollonia'\(^5\).

'Each city State had a cult, or a number of cults of its own, and the gist of each cult was outward ceremony. Greek religion in general was no spiritual influence directing an in-ward life. It was a matter of oblation


and sacrifice.—— A citizen might worship Gods under other than those received by the State; what he might not do was to omit to worship those who it had received. —— Religion was an aspect of the political life of political society. It was not another life, and it entailed no other society. 6.

Monarchy, Aristocracy, Oligarchy, Tyranny and Democracy were the forms of Government in the city States. The aim and function of the city State was to maintain justice, and well-being of its citizens. We find this in Plato's 'Republic' which is a treatise concerning justice, and Aristotle's 'Politics' which is a work on science and art of Government. Both Plato and Aristotle represent Greek Political thought but they represent two opposite viewpoints. Plato represents idealism, while Aristotle represents realism. Plato was imaginative and synthetic, Aristotle was analytic. It is, therefore, Plato is regarded as father of Political Philosophy while Aristotle is regarded as father of Political Science. It is, Aristotle who separated politics and Ethics.

Roman Empire:

Originally Rome was a city State and in the course of time it became the Empire. The city-State of Rome, in its form was similar to Greek city State, but it differed in its contribution. Greek city States remained small city-States and gave great political thinkers. Rome city-State on the other hand, became empire and produced great Emperors, Lawyers, Jurists and administrators.

About the Political institution and political life of Romans, Professor Dunning writes 'Rome made her appearance in history as a monarchic city State. As a republican city-State she achieved her greatness, but in her decline she was in the fullest sense imperial and despotic. The Royal period lasted from prehistoric times to about 500 B.C. The governmental organs were an elective king, with the ultimate civil and military authority, an advisory council called senate, and an assembly the comitia Ciruata, whose chief function was the election of the king and the formal bestowal of supreme and the life long authority upon him. The political rights pertained to only part of the population known as patricians, the remaining
part, --- was known as plebs. The pressure of this latter element for some share in the Government became strong under the later kings and resulted in the organisation of a new assembly, the comitia centuriatia, in which plebs as well as patricians had a part. The Purely Patrician assembly, the comitia Curiata, continued to exist.

In 510 B.C. Tarquinius Superbus was expelled from the State and the Republican era began. For two centuries Rome's Constitutional development turned chiefly upon the conflict between patricians and plebians for control of Government. The ultimate result was the amalgamation of the two classes into a single body of Roman citizens enjoying entire equality in political as well as in civil rights.°

Then Roman began to look outside her borders and embarked upon its career of conquest and expansion by incorporating the neighbouring States. By the close of the

first century B.C. Rome had become a world empire. The Emperor became all powerful. Popular assemblies ceased to have important functions. The emperor's decrees came to be recognized as law. Eventually worship of the emperor became a patriotic duty.

By the end of the second century, Roman citizenship was extended to the provinces. During this period, the Divine Origin Theory came into existence. Imperial authority came to be viewed as of Divine Origin. For a time, the Emperor himself was worshiped as God. Roman Empire ended in 1453.

Christianity and Dualism :-

The rise and spread of Christianity produced a new pattern of relationship between the State and the religion. After the development of an organised Church, it raised the problem of the relationship between the Church and the State. "From its inception, Christianity recognized and taught a basic duality - the spiritual and temporal each with its appropriate loyalties". This teaching

led to the doctrine "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's" (Reddite --- quae sunt Caesaris, Caesari etque sunt Dei, Deo.) Ultimately, it meant the sundering of the sphere of society from the sphere of the State.\(^9\)

In course of time, there was a conflict between loyalty to the State and loyalty to the God, and those Christians who refused to render their religious loyalty to the State (Caesar) were subjected to severe persecution.

About 337 A.D., the Roman Emperor, Constantine embraced Christianity. The Christianity became the State religion and the Church became a great force in Europe. "With the conversion of Constantine, and under successive Christian emperors, the old relationship were completely reversed - Christianity became established, as the State religion, and the faith which had once been persecuted, then tolerated, then granted equality, finally emerged triumphant and began to persecute its rivals. So in the year 346 A.D., the State --- ordered all non-Christian temples to be closed and imposed the death penalty

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for the crime of offering sacrifices to the Gods.¹⁰

**Doctrine of Two Swords:**

The partnership between Emperor and Pope was not all the time advantageous, there was, for some time, conflict between the two. Here, the new theory which is called 'Doctrine of Two Swords' was expounded by Gelasius I in the fifth century. 'His doctrine of the two swords implied the dual organisation of human society - the Church to conserve spiritual interests and to mediate eternal salvation, and the State to maintain peace and order, and justice in temporal affairs.'¹¹

Thus, the theory of 'two swords' explains that, there were two different authorities namely the religious authority which belongs to the Church and temporal authority which belongs to the State. Each authority was independent of the other in its sphere of action. In short, this theory laid the theoretical foundation of the separation of the State and the Church.

¹¹ Ibid., P. 10.
Though the theory of 'two swords' was expanded and supported by the Pope and the Emperor, it was not implemented into practice for a long time. Both the State and the Church continued to be intertwined in their affairs. 'The Church was involved in numerous functions of the State and the State, in turn was involved in many matters relating to the Church.'

The original idea of the theory of 'two swords' was modified, because in the beginning the Church claimed its own jurisdiction in religious affairs over all Christians, then it demanded the authority to regulate even their secular affairs and finally it claimed to control the secular ruler themselves. As Smith remarks 'the Papalists later insisted that all authority, spiritual and temporal was originally given to the Church, retaining the spiritual power, exercised the Church handed down the temporal authority to be exercised by the State. But the original and ultimate title to all temporal power belong to the Church. The imperialist, or antipapalist position was

simply that both powers were handed down directly from God to Church and State.\textsuperscript{13}

**Theory of 'Two Cities':**

St. Augustine (354-430 A.D.), expounded his theory of the 'Two Cities', in his greatest work 'City of God' (Civitas Dei). This was written in a defence of Christian religion against those who charged it with the responsibility for Rome's fall. But this book has a everlasting influence on Christianity and State-Church relationship in the following years. Augustine's influence on Imperialist and Ecclesiastical thinkers cannot be denied.

St. Augustine says, there are two cities, 'the earthly City' - (Civitas Terrena) and the 'City of God' (Civitas Dei). 'Civitas' can be translated as 'State' in English. Augustine describes the earthly City (Civitas Terrena) is the kingdom of Satan, and of all wicked men. It is temporary. There is no peace in this kingdom. The City of God

(Civitas Dei) is the opposite of the earthly city. The City of God is permanent and immortal. Only in this City true peace is possible. 'All merely earthly kingdoms must pass away, for earthly power is naturally mutable and unsuitable, it is built upon those aspects of human nature which necessarily issue in war and the greed of domination. 14.

Augustine's theory has been interpreted variedly. As Sabine notes 'But what he put beyond question for many centuries was the Conception that, under the new dispensation, the State must be a Christian State, serving a community which is one by virtue of a common Christian faith, ministering to a life in which spiritual interests admittedly stand above all other interests and contributing to human salvation by preserving the purity of faith. As James Bryce said, the theory of the Holy Roman Empire was built upon Augustine's City of God. But the Conception by no means disappeared with the decadence of the empire.' 15. Thus, St. Augustine was the prophet of the

15. Ibid., P. 186.
Supremacy of the Church over the State. He also advocated the Catholic ecclesiastical hierarchical order of Society.

The Dark Age :-

Rome gave to the world the first well-organised and well-governed State. Roman rule lasted five centuries in the West and fifteen centuries in the East. Roman power was well-known for her imperial system, idea of a universal empire, methods of colonial and municipal administration, ideals of sovereignty and citizenship, and political unity. Inspite of these great achievements, the Roman Empire declined. 'The decline was mainly due to the failure of the ruling classes of antiquity to civilize the mass of slaves and subject peoples on whom their generally callous way of life depended.'

During this period, there was degradation in all fields of life. It produced no new political theory, no new art, no new literature, etc. Importance was given to form

16. Bowle John, Western Political Thought, University Paperbacks, (1961), P.139.
and content of religious beliefs, it produced confusion, chaos everywhere which remained more or less till the age of renaissance.

**Conflict between Emperor and Pope:**

In the eleventh century, the controversy arose over the right of Secular Emperor in the choice of Bishops. The struggle between the Emperor Henry IV and Pope Gregory VII was notable. The Emperor Henry IV proceeded to sell high ecclesiastical appointments to the highest bidder. Pope Gregory VII challenged this. Pope claimed great authority for the clergy on the ground that spiritual power was higher than the Secular power. The Pope, therefore, had power even to depose an unworthy Christian ruler. The conflict between the two resulted into Henry's defeat. Then, Henry IV marched on Rome and defeated Gregory VII by setting up rival Pope.

Then temporary solution was found. It was agreed that, 'the Pope should appoint bishops, but that they should be invested in office by the touch of Emperor's scepter'.

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'With Innocent III (1190-1216) whose pontificate marks the climax of Papal bureaucratic efficiency and economic power, the theocratic position is clearly stated, he claims a direct authority from God'.

In the Empire he openly claimed the right to judge finally between the rivals in a disputed succession, and actually determined the occupation of the throne in turn by Philip, Otho IV and Frederick II'. Both Philip Augustus of France and John of England had to surrender to the Pope. Thus, as Dunning remarks 'in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the conflict of Secular and spiritual powers was centred in the conflict of Papacy and Empire'.

Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) was the dominant thinker of the middle ages. He was Champion of the Church and expounded the principle of the catholic theocracy. He recognised both the Secular and ecclesiastical organization in

20. Ibid., P.147.
the society. But he regarded that the Secular organisations are subordinate to the ecclesiastical organisation. Thus, he advocated the supremacy of the Church over the State.

'Aquinas expounds this relation between the State and the Church in the following passages, in which the function of temporal ruler is compared with that of Ship's Carpenter, whose task is to keep the ship in repair while on Voyage. The task of the Church is like that of the Pilot, who has to steer the ship to the goal of its voyage.'

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Feudalism :-

After the decline of Roman Empire and during the dark age, the feudalism developed and it remained up-to around the fifteenth century. In the feudal system, the feudal State was not even a State in the real sense of the term, as there was no central authority, no uniform

laws and no common citizenship. But the titles of 'Kings' and 'Emperor' remained.

In feudal State, in the absence of the strong Government the Church took itself many functions of the State. The Church became a powerful temporal authority, the Church possessed considerable landed property, and preservation of peace and order was largely in its hands. The Pope as the head of the Church claimed superiority over all the princes. The Church was interested in keeping Western Europe divided with no common superior. So long as there were able Popes and weak Kings and Emperors and so long as the common people were under the influence of religious beliefs and superstitions, the authority of the Pope continued and prevailed. However, there were conflicts between the Pope and the King. Sabine remarks that, 'the controversy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries served to show the instability and vagueness of the relation between the temporal and spiritual powers in the Gelasian tradition. The two sides stressed different aspects of the tradition, both of which, were equally well established. The Papalists emphasised the moral superiority of the
spiritual power and the Imperialists the independence of the two powers from one another. Both positions continued to be an intrinsic part of the argument as the debate was continued into the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.  

'The thirteenth century saw a widespread elaboration of political theory and practice, and in particular, the development of representative institutions, transmitted as an original legacy to modern times.'  

At the end of the thirteenth century the struggle between spiritual power and Secular power became acute, and took a dramatic turn. Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303) came into conflict with Philip the fair of France (1285-1315). "Philip succeeded in imposing taxes on French Clergy despite the Pope's objections and went so far as to call a session of the States-General at which Boniface was arraigned as a criminal and heretic. This dramatic incident marked a decisive and permanent victory of State over the Church in contest for temporal supremacy."  

Further, Philip

carried out war into Pope's territory. It is called "Babylonish captivity" during which the Papacy, having removed its abode from Rome to Avignon. Pope was compelled to stay there. This definitely reduced the prestige of Pope. Italian people also did not like this. Later on, they chose their new Pope. The result was that, there was conflict between the two Popes.

**Later Middle Age** :-

Dante Alighieri, Marsiglio of Padua, and William of Occam were the great political thinkers of the Later Middle Age. They were hostile to the Papacy. Dante (1265-1321) was the greatest Poet of the medieval period. He, in his chief political work, 'De monarchia', raised three questions, (1) whether a world government, ruled by a monarch, is necessary for the welfare of human race? (2) Whether the Roman people acquired world domination by the right? (3) Whether the authority of the Emperor derives directly from the God or from some minister or Vicar of God that is, the Pope. For the first and second question, Dante answered positively. His explanation to the Third question is controversial. He tried to show that im
Imperial authority was derived immediately from God. He argued that God has directly created the two distinct species of authorities that are necessary to human welfare and has directly bestowed one species on the temporal world-monarch.

In this connection, Sabine remarks 'It sought to show that imperial authority was derived immediately from God and to refute the arguments of the Papalists, who held that it is derived mediately through the Pope.'\(^{25}\). Thus, in Dante's thought, we find that idea of separation of the Church and State. But as Ebenstein remarks, 'Dante's separation of philosophy from theology is more important, from the long term-view point, than his separation of Church and Empire.'\(^{26}\).

Marsiglio of Padua (1275-1343) was one of the most influential thinkers of fourteenth century. He made a significant contribution to the Concept of Secularism and Secular State. He was concerned with the good Government of a City State, and was willing to push the theocratic


influence out of politics to attend it. 'He developed a
theory of Secular Government based upon the Conception
of the Italian City-States. He conceived of the State as
a self-sufficient and omnipotent community with a power
to regulate the temporal concerns of the Church much in
the same way as it, controlled agriculture or trade.'
Marsiglio, in his great work, 'Defensor Pacis' (1324) tried
to undermine the whole Papal position by relegating the
spiritual power to the next world and regarding the pele
clergy simply as interpreters and advisers, a branch of
Secular Society.'

Thus, he wanted to place the Church under the autho-
rity of the State. He also regarded that "the rights of
citizens are independent of the faith they profess and
no man may be punished for his religion." About Marsig-
lio, Sabine remarks that "no other writer in the Middle
Ages went so far as Marsiglio in thus, setting apart the
spiritual and religious from the legal.'

William of Occam (1280-1347) was the last medieval thinker who opposed the Papal claims. He was a theologian, therefore, the political theory was never a primary object with William. As Sabine remarks, 'His primary purpose was to assert the independence of the whole body of Christian believers against the pretensions of an heretical Pope'\(^\text{31}\). To limit the absolutism of the Pope, William developed the theory of the General Council of the Church; chosen indirectly by the electoral assemblies of Kingdom or other political divisions. He held that 'such a council would truly represent the Church, even though there should be no Pope to Summon or to preside over it'\(^\text{32}\).

The Conciliar Movement:

Wycliffe (1320-1384) in England and John Hus (1373-1415) in Bohemia, were mainly associated with Conciliar movement. They demanded the reform and purification of the Church by means of Church Council. They had faith in God and Church. But they were against the Papacy. They

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held that the Pope was only an administrator and not a law making authority. Law making authority belongs to the Church and it is exercised by the 'General Council'. In short, sovereignty belongs to the Church and not to the Pope.

Wycliffe did not recognised the authority of the Pope or any Priest to be intermediary between God and the man. He also translated Bible in English, and made it available for reading to the common people. Wycliffe's movement was definitely an attack on Papacy.

During the period of 1409 to 1443, various meetings of the 'Councils' were called to evolve a practical solution. Gerson (1368-1429), Pierre and Nicolas of Gusa (1401-1465), were the leaders of this movement. But this movement could not achieve the expected success. It could not stop corruption and abuses within the Church. It could not reform the Church. But the importance of this movement can not be denied, as it was an attack on the Papacy. As Bowle remarks 'this movement failed, and the disintegration already on the way was accelerated; the protestant revolt and the counter reformation were sequel'.

Modern Age began with two movements known as the Renaissance and the Reformation. 'The Renaissance was a rediscovery of pagan antiquity. It was, as its name implies, a rebirth of that ancient culture which Christianity has conquered and suppressed.'\textsuperscript{34} The period of Renaissance marked the various inventions in different branches of science and discovery of new territories, which influenced and changed the whole system of life. New knowledge created new values of life.

'The most important discovery of the Renaissance — more significant than any single work of art or any one genius — was the discovery of man.'\textsuperscript{34} The Renaissance views man in his totality, in his flesh and blood as well as in his mind and spirit, man in relation to himself, to society, to the world, Displacing God, man becomes the centre of the universe, the values of this new solar system are inevitably different from those of the God centred universe.\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{34} Foster Michael B., Masters of Political Thought, Vol. I, (1963), P. 266.

The Renaissance movement began in Italy, and Florence was the first among the centres of it. Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) represents the Renaissance in the arts, science, engineering, painting, Kepler, Galileo, Copernicus, Newton, were among the other scientists of his time. Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527) represents the Renaissance in the study of politics.

Machiavelli is considered as the first modern thinker. His thoughts are totally different from that of the former thinkers. Before, Machiavelli, all political writing from Plato to Aristotle, through Middle Ages to the Renaissance had one central question: the end of the State. The political power was assumed to be a mean only — a means in the service of higher ends, such as justice, the good life, freedom, or God. Machiavelli ignores the issue of the end of the State in extra political (ethical, religious, cultural) terms. He assumes that power is an end in itself, and he confines his inquiries into the means that are best suited to acquire, and expand power. Machiavelli thus, separates power from morality, ethics, religion, metaphysics, and sets up the State as an autonomous systems of values independent of any other source.36.

Machiavelli rejects the doctrine of natural law, and the supremacy of Church over the State. But his theory is not hostile to religion. He thinks that religion is essential for the health and property of a State. He gives religion an important place within the state, but a place within the State, not above it or beside it. 'Machiavelli prizes religion as an instrument to the ends of the State, and the Church as an organ of the State. That is to say he values religion in its pagan form, but rejects the Christian principles.' Thus, Machiavelli made a significant contribution to the Concept of Secularism and the Secular State.

**Reformation Movement:**

'The Reformation was a movement within Christianity itself. It was in no sense anti-Christian, but claimed to be nothing else than a purification of the Christian faith from alien elements with which it had become confused.'


38. Ibid., P. 266.
Reformation was a religious movement and it was to reform the Roman catholic Church. 'Reformation gave a death blow to the power of catholic Church, to the authority of the Pope and to the universality of the catholic religion. The worship of the Pope came to an end and his reverence suffered much.'

This movement is also described as the Protestant Reformation. This movement began in 1517, and found its expression through the political doctrines of Martin Luther (1483-1546) and Calvin (1509-1564). Both Luther and Calvin asserted the freedom of individual conscience, and supremacy of the State over the Church.

The Reformation movement did not aimed at the separation of the State from the Church. But this movement definitely created a situation conducive to the establishment of a Secular State. As a result of the Reformation, the two powerful conception of the Middle Ages – the universal Empire and the universal Church received a death blow. The teaching of the Reformers gradually resulted in

the movements in favour of individualism and nationalism.

The immediate consequence of the Reformation was to strengthen the hands of national monarchs. The Reformers held that the political authority came ultimately from the will of the God, and the king is to rule by Divine Right. This Divine Right theory took root in England and in France and led to the Tudar and Stuart despotism in England and Capetian absolutism in France. Louis XIV of France went so far as to say, 'I am the State'. But such absoluteism did not remain unchallenged for a long time. With the growth of enlightenment and understanding and realization of their power and importance, the common people began to question the absolute right of the ruler and to demand more and more political right and privileges. Of course, there was a prolonged conflict between the king and the people. However, in the transition from the absolute monarchy to democracy the Reformation idea of individual conscience, and dignity of human being played a very important part. Thus, the Reformation ultimately effected the cause of individual liberty and democracy.
There was conflict between the Protestant and the Catholics. This led to the statement of 'Concrete policy by the Peace of Augsburg (1555), which produced a compromise between Lutherans and Catholics, in the German States. The formula was (Cujus regio, ejus religio) whatever the religion of the ruler, that would be the religion of the State. Religious minorities were encouraged or compelled to emigrate to States professing their own religion'.

Reformation movement destructed the universal Christiandom and produced religious diversity in most of the parts of Northern Europe. The multiplicity of religious sects resulted in the strong religious minorities in the State, and created entire different situation.

Religious diversity necessiated the principle of toleration. Sabine has described this 'only slowly and under the compulsion of circumstances that permitted no other solution did a policy of religious toleration emerge, as

it was discovered that a common political loyalty was possible to the people of different religions. The State could not recognised or enforced a particular religion. Similarly, the State could not impose religious uniformity because it would merely lead to civil war in the State.

Thinkers like Hugo Grotius, John Locke, Robert Brown, Milton and others profounded the ideas of liberalism and toleration. John Locke, in his famous book 'Letters concerning toleration' clearly expressed the idea of toleration. He thought that complete toleration of all sects, complete freedom from control by the civil Government would solve the problem of State-Church relationship.

In the changed situation some new patterns of State-Church relations were evolved. In England, the established Church was with the royal headship, and was given certain special benefits and privileges. However, the Church was under the control of the State. In other European States, like Holland, the system of 'Jurisdictionalism' evolved.

Under this system equality of Churches, and freedom of all religious groups was recognised, but the State was not separated from the Church. 'But the State under both of these systems was not Secular. It was not so, because it was not separated from religion.'

The struggle for sovereignty between the king and Parliament was the main feature of seventeenth century. In England, Parliamentary supremacy was established as the result of Glorious Revolution of 1688. This was one of the important landmarks in the direction of the development of Secular State.

French Revolution (1789):

The development of political theory in France, also influenced the growth of Secularism. Of all the French political thinkers in the eighteenth century the most important were Montesquieu (1689-1755), Voltaire (1694-1778), Rousseau (1712-1778).

Montesquieu in his famous work 'The Spirit of the Laws' forcefully attacked the old idea of religion that, there ought to be religious uniformity for political unity.

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42. Dr. Luthera V.P., Op. cit., P.22
He gave greater importance to individual liberty and reason. He recognised more than one religion in a State. He also opposed the Papal authority in the Church. The Church for him, was like a department of the State. Thus, Montesquieu advocated individual liberty, toleration among the different religions and subordination of the Church to the State. His thought has made a great influence on political developments throughout Europe and America.

Voltaire protested vigorously against the religious prejudice and bigotry of his day. He also attacked on inequalities before the law. He had a faith in the reason and believed that there will be triumph of reason.

Rousseau differed from his contemporaries in everything. He did not appeal to reason. On the contrary, he attacked on reason and gave importance to emotions. Rousseau had a faith in Christianity but he was against clericalism. He also attacked on intolerance in Christianity of his day. Rousseau also provided a new theoretical basis for popular sovereignty. 'By introducing the Concept of the General Will, Rousseau fundamentally alters the mechanistic Concept of the State as an instrument (shared by both
Hobbes and Locke), and revives the organic theory of the State which goes back to Plato and Aristotle. Rousseau's philosophy has greatly influenced the later political thought of Europe.

French Revolution of 1789 was one of the main landmarks in the direction of Secular State. Smith remarks, 'the French Revolution overthrew the established Catholic Church along with the hated monarchy.'

It is also argued that 'The French Revolution brought the total change and a brand new idea of mutual brotherhood prevailed amongst the middle and proletariat classes. The Papal authority was wipped off and the nationalistic views prevailed and Secularism came into being. It brought in Europe a new and Secularised type of universalism known as the enlightenment.'

Development of Secularism in the U.S.A. :-

The United States of America came into existence as

a result of the revolution against British colonialism. The Declaration of Independence was adopted in July, 1776. Most of the inhabitants of various colonies had come from England, while some were from France, Sweden, Norway, Holland, Prussia, Poland and other countries. These people were of different races, and they had different religious beliefs and interests. There were Roman Catholics, Protestants, Anglicans, Dissenters, Latherans, Quakers, Jews and others. Similarly, there were Farmers, traders, merchants, slaves etc. Thus, the U.S.A., had diversity of race, religion and economic interest.

Before the foundation of the U.S.A., most of the colonies had followed European Pattern in the State-Church relationship. That is to say, there was a close union of the State and the Church. The colony of Rhode Islands, however, had different pattern. Roger William, the founder of the Rhode Island colony, followed the principle of religious liberty and separation between the State and the Church. As a result of religious diversity throughout the thirteen colonies, the principle of separation of the Church and State received wide acceptance as at the time of making of the Constitution of the U.S.A.
'The United States is the Child of the only Secular ideology that has created a huge country and kept it in tact'. The separation of the State and the Church was finally effected soon after 1776 vide the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The Amendment provided that: 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof'. With the incorporation of this amendment in the U.S. Constitution, the first Secular State had come into existence.

Since the adoption of the principle of separation of the State and the Church; in 1791 different authorities have expressed their views on its meaning. Madison referred it as 'Separation between Religion and Government!', President Jefferson, in 1802, referred to the First Amendment as 'Wall of Separation between the Church and the State'.

The Supreme Court of the U.S.A., has also dwelt upon

the subject of the separation of the State and the Church in many cases like Everson V. Board of Education, Zorach V. Clauson, Watson V. Jones, and Kedroff V. St. Nicholas Cathedral and McCollum V. Board of Education.

**Industrial Revolution:**

The Industrial Revolution (1750-1850), which began in England spread all over the Europe and America and then everywhere in the world had a great effect on economic, social and political life. 'Economically, the Industrial Revolution created the factory as its most characteristic institution which replaced the farm or landed estate as the key unit of production and wealth. Socially, the Industrial Revolution was responsible for three complementary developments. First, the growth of new and the repaid expansion of old towns and cities, second, the increase in population, made possible by higher living standards and improved the conditions of health, third, the destruction of the existing social hierarchy headed by the landed aristocracy, and its gradual replacement by the manufacturers,

financiers, merchants, and professional men as the new
dominant social class.\footnote{49}

With the Industrial Revolution, the whole traditional
order of society was changed. As a result of Industrial
Revolution, political theory and politics became more and
more coloured by economic considerations. Capitalist class
tried to dominate the policies of the Government. The In-
dustrial Revolution widened the gulf between the capita-
list class and labour class. This prepared the ground for
socialism in one form or the other.

Various 'Isms' - Individualism:--

In the eighteenth century, the doctrine of individua-
ism developed against the State intervention in the eco-
nomic activities of life. The Physiocrats of France Veh-
mently condemned State intervention in the economic sphere
of life, and championed the cause of 'natural order',
which was synonymous with non-intervention.

In England, Adam Smith profoundly the doctrine of
'Laissez Faire'. His publication 'Inquiry into the nature

and causes of Wealth of Nations' (1776) became the Bible of the supporters of Free Trade. Later, the doctrine of 'Laissez faire' was supported by other English economists, mainly Cairnes, Ricardo, and Malthus. Individualism was also supported by Bastiat, De. Tocqueville in France, and Kant, Fichte and Humboldt in Germany.

The doctrine of individualism came to be classified as traditional individualism and modern individualism. John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, Friendrich A. Hayck, were the chief exponents of traditional individualism. They justified individualism mainly on ethical; economical and biological grounds. Maximum individual freedom and minimum State control was the central theme of traditional individualism. Towards the close of the nineteenth century, traditional individualism declined and gradually the doctrine of modern individualism developed.

Grahm Wallas, Norman Angell, and Miss Follett Cham pointed the cause of modern individualism. At that time, it was accepted that State control and regulation of trade, commerce and industry alone would ensure individual freedom as well as social welfare in the society. In modern individualism, emphasis was given on associations and groups of
all kinds, rather than an individual. To modern individualist, the State was merely as an association of associations, and it was not omnipotent association. It was merely a co-ordinating agency functioning to co-ordinate and adjust the activities and the conflicting claims of the various different associations and groups.

Liberalism :-

The origin of Liberal ideas can be traced in the Reformation Movement in seventeenth century. But political liberalism rose in Western Europe and America in the nineteenth century. However, it made striking progress in England, Holland and Spain. Liberalism was the reaction against the arbitrary authority of the feudal barons, the Government by aristocrats and power of the clergy. Its main themes were: free expression of individual personality, the rule of law and free enterprise.

Locke (1632-1704), was the first great European liberal in modern times. The doctrine of 'Natural Rights', 'Theory of Consent' and 'popular sovereignty' and principle of 'religious toleration' were the most distinctive contributions of Locke to Political Philosophy. He profoundly influenced the latter political thought,
J. S. Mill, in his 'On Liberty' (1859) advocated the principle of liberalism. He championed the cause of individual liberty, freedom of thought and expression and freedom of organisation. He also pleaded for the extension of civil rights to all classes and women. However, the principles of liberalism were not applied to the workers at home and colonial people abroad. In course of time, old liberalism lagged behind and modern liberalism developed.

Modern Liberalism is different from traditional liberalism in the sense that, it does not regard State intervention as a threat to the freedom of individual. Modern liberalism stands for a democratic, Constitutional world free from all forms of tyranny and exploitation. However, due to the various factors, liberalism lost its vigour in the twentieth century, though it had some influence till the end of world war I. Later in the inter-war period, liberalism declined as the liberal parties all over the Europe lost their strength and influence. The socialist ideas aiming at to satisfy the needs of the people gained popular support. Similarly, some of the democratic parties accepted liberal ideas. All these factors led to the decline of liberalism.
Utilitarianism :-

Utilitarianism was essentially an English School of thinking. In the nineteenth century, classical liberals along with their doctrine of liberalism, also championed the cause of utilitarianism.

Utilitarianism was primarily an ethical Theory - based upon Hedonism, which teaches that every man, as a matter of fact seeks pleasure and avoids pain. Utilitarianism was a doctrine of ethics proclaiming that what is useful is good, and that usefulness can be rationally determined.

The chief exponents of utilitarianism were Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), James Mill (1773-1836), John Austin, (1790-1859), J.S. Mill (1806-1873), George Grote (1794-1871), Alexander Bain (1818-1903). Among these thinkers Bentham made a rich and substantial contribution to Utilitarianism. He is called the founder of Utilitarian School. In 1789, he published his 'Introduction to the principles of morals and legislation' which contains all essentials of his theory, which is based on the principle of pain and pleasure, and principle of utility. He upheld the democratic system and the principle of "the greatest good of the greatest number".
J.S. Mill was the last great utilitarian thinker. J.S. Mill was also one of the foremost individualist of all times. He was the champion of individual liberty. His well-known essay 'On Liberty' was one of the most notable défences of freedom of individual. As he was much interested in political and social reforms, he advocated universal suffrage, including women's suffrage, proportional representation and compulsory education for all, and labour reforms.

During the nineteenth century, utilitarianism had a great influence and it served as moving spirit behind political thinkers and law makers in England. The influence of utilitarianism was felt in several countries like Russia, America, Spain, Portugal and India.

Socialism :-

Industrial Revolution in England and Intellectual Revolution in France prepared the ground for socialist Thought in modern times. Industrial Revolution accelerated the growth of trade and industries, and individualism emphasized on Laissez Faire policy. These two factors led to the Capitalism, which gave birth to social and economic
anarchy in the society. Capitalism created many problems such as, class conflict between Capitalist and workers or between the 'haves' and 'have not', exploitation, unequal distribution of wealth, child labour etc. Thus, Capitalism posed a serious threat to the social and economic order in the society. Therefore, the State interventions and control became an unavoidable necessity for the welfare of individuals as well as of society. Thus, socialism is a product of Capitalism and it is opposed to doctrine of individualism, particularly, the Laissez Faire doctrine. Socialism is a theory which holds that the social or State control of the means of production and distribution is essential for the welfare of individual and society.

In modern times, socialism is classified into Utopian Socialism and Scientific Socialism. Saint Simon (1760-1825), Robert Owen (1771-1858), Charles Fourier (1772-1837), were the principal exponents of Utopian Socialism. They were called Utopian socialists because they put forward socialistic ideas and proposals but they were not interested in political action for creating socialist society. Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820-1895) were the chief exponents of scientific socialism or as they termed it 'communism'.
In 1848, they published their famous 'Communist Manifesto', in which they refined socialism and made it scientific and revolutionary in character. Since then, various schools or forms of socialism under different names such as, Fabianism, Guild socialism, Syndicalism, Collectivism, Marxism, State Socialism, Leninism, Maoism, Democratic Socialism developed in different countries.

Various 'Isms' in modern times, such as, Individualism, Utilitarianism, Liberalism, Capitalism, Socialism, are Secular rather than religious faiths, because their ideal is not a life hereafter, but a life on the earth. These secular ideologies have played an important role in the revolutionary changes of the past two hundred years.