United in Vision: Rooting the Present in the Past

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Abstract

The essay locates certain thoughts of the present generation of socio-political leadership in India on unity across religious and caste barriers in the intellectual history of India. Our treatment of historical figures is representative, rather than comprehensive. For the historical figures that we do consider we provide their exact words so that the reader can connect directly to these personalities. By bonding the present to the past, we hope to contribute in some small way to the process of building the edifice of ideas that sustain social unity.
Keywords: Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Babasaheb Ambedkar, Mahatma Gandhi, Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray, Rammohan Roy, casteism, religious harmony, women empowerment.

1 Introduction

In recent times an emerging section of the next generation of socio-political leadership of India is forcefully arguing the case for unity of the people of India cutting across socio-religious barriers.

A young leader, Neha Bora, who is presently the National President of the All India Students' Association has been quoted in various newspaper reports. For example, *Hindustan Times* quotes her views on solidarity across caste and religion as follows [14]:

> We now have this sense of solidarity that you can try to divide us by caste and religion and do whatever you want, but if someone is fighting alongside us, it doesn't matter which religion or caste they come from.

The same report also quotes her views on empathy among the people:

> '*Sarfaroshi ki tamanna ab hamare dil mein hai...*' If we truly want to build an India in which every human being has not hatred but empathy, solidarity and support for every other human, then we must make this slogan a part of our lives.

Another young leader, Abhijeet Dipke, who formed the socio-political front called the Cockroach Janta Party was quoted in *Frontline* on a joint Hindu-Muslim movement [20]:

> If India wants to progress, then it will progress only if Hindus and Muslims of India are united.

Regarding social and religious divisions, Dipke was quoted by *ABP News* [19]:

> The new generation does not want divisions based on religion or caste. We want good education, jobs and new technology.

While we have explicitly quoted only two prominent leaders of the present generation, their views are representative of the growing group of young people who respond to their calls for protest and activism. We would like to clarify that it is not our contention that such views of unity across caste, religion, and empathy towards fellow humans are being expressed only by the young generation. Indeed political leaders do regularly express such views. We note though that the public and forceful expression of basic ideals of socio-religious harmony and empathy from the young generation has an air of freshness and a tinge of sincerity which make such views stand out from the general background of present day political rhetoric.

Echoes from the past. The purpose of this essay is to peek into the intellectual history of India, and connect the thoughts of the present generation of young people with the strong and forceful strands of thoughts of leaders of the country in times past. We do not mean to say that the present generation of leaders is not connected to the intellectual history of India. The young leaders of the present generation are likely to be educated, well read, and well informed. They may have arrived at their ideals partly from their own perspectives, partly from some of the intellectual roots that we identify, and partly from possibly other intellectual roots. The specific quotations that we identify and provide below make some of the connections explicit.

In looking at the past thought leaders of the country, we have been limited by our knowledge. Nevertheless, the personalities that we do cover stand tall in the light of their own achievements. We hope other people will take up the work of providing further explicit connections of the present to the past.

In the rest of the essay we slowly slip into the past. Our starting point is around the late 1920s to mid-twentieth century and towards the end of the essay we move back to the early nineteenth century.

2 Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose

We start with one of the most dynamic political leaders in pre-independent India, namely Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose (23 January 1897–18 August 1945). While Bose's political journey went through various ups and downs, his core beliefs in certain socio-political ideals remained steadfast throughout his career. Below we take a look at some of these ideals through his own writings and speeches.

The first of such quotations is from Bose's presidential speech at the Maharashtra Provincial Conference in Poona on 3 May 1928 [3, pp. 35-36]. Several portions of the speech are relevant even today. So we directly quote passages from the speech. The first quotation below provides a clear enunciation of the principle of equality and the call for abolition of social privileges.

> Political institutions grow out of the social life of the people and are shaped by their social ideas and ideals. If we want to make India really great we must build up a political democracy on the pedestal of a democratic society. Privileges based on birth, caste or creed should go, and equal opportunities should be thrown open to all

> irrespective of caste, creed or religion. The status of women should also be raised and women should be trained to take a larger and a more intelligent interest in public affairs.

Bose next goes on to provide a prescriptive mechanism of achieving communal harmony by fostering 'cultural intimacy.'

> I would urge the necessity of discovering a deeper remedy for our communal troubles. It is necessary for the different religious groups to be acquainted with the traditions, ideals and history of one another, because cultural intimacy will pave the way towards communal peace and harmony. I venture to think that the fundamental basis of political unity between different communities lies in cultural rapprochement.

For achieving 'cultural rapprochement' and countering communal fanaticism, Bose underlines the importance of 'secular and scientific training.' He goes on to say that such education will also make people aware that their economic needs are a unifying factor that transcends religious boundaries.

> In order to facilitate cultural rapprochement a dose of secular and scientific training is necessary. Fanaticism is the greatest thorn in the path of cultural intimacy, and there is no better remedy for fanaticism than secular and scientific education. This sort of education is useful in another way, in that it helps to rouse our economic consciousness. The dawn of economic consciousness spells the death of fanaticism. There is much more in common between a Hindu peasant and a Muslim peasant than between a Muslim peasant and a Muslim zamindar. The masses have only got to be educated wherein their economic interests lie, and once they understand it, they will no longer consent to be pawns in communal feuds. By working from the cultural, educational and economic side, we can gradually undermine fanaticism and thereby render possible the growth of healthy nationalism in this country.

The presidential speech stressed the importance of youth movement in India. Bose mentions that the youth movement is 'the spontaneous self-expression of the national soul.' His message about the youth determining the future of the nation is not anchored to any particular period of time. It is as relevant to the youth movements of the present day as it was in 1928.

> One of the most hopeful signs of the time is the awakening among the youth of this country. The movement has spread from one end of the country to the other and, as far as I am aware, has attracted not only young men but young women as well. The youth of this age have become self-conscious, they have been inspired by an ideal and are anxious to follow the call of their inner nature and fulfil their destiny. The movement is the spontaneous self-expression of the national soul, and on the course of this movement depends the nation's future weal. Our duty, therefore, is not to attempt to crush this new-born spirit but to lend it our support and guidance.

Bose was a believer in the important role that women had to play in national politics. He outlined his vision in his speech. In 1928, i.e. the year of his speech, Bose formed a women's wing of the

Bengal Volunteers. So Bose was not only saying what needed to be done, but had already set out on that path himself.

> There is another aspect of our movement which has been somewhat neglected in this country — the women's movement. It is impossible for one half of the nation to win liberty without the active sympathy and support of the other half. In all countries — and even in the Labour Party in England — women's organizations have rendered invaluable service. There are various non-political organizations among women in different parts of the country, but I venture to think that there is room for a country-wide political organization among them. It should be the primary object of this organization, which will be run by women alone, to carry on political propaganda among their sex and to help the work of the Indian National Congress.

Our next quotation from Bose is from his presidential speech at the Rangpur Political Conference in 1929. Talking about Bengal, Bose proclaimed [3, p. 42]:

> Truth alone is our ideal and that explains why in spite of many inroads on Bengal in culture, civilization, literature and religion she always assimilated the truth of the newcomers, keeping her individuality intact all the while. As a result of this thorough 'revolution' Vaishnavism has flourished in Bengal. Efforts in this direction are still going on, but to achieve success we must abolish the entire caste system, or convert all castes into Sudras or Brahmins. It should now be decided which of these means is to be adopted.

Of particular significance in the context of the present essay is Bose's statement on the caste system. In effect, Bose was proposing either the abolition of the caste system, or the creation of an effectively casteless society where either everyone is a Sudra or everyone is a Brahmin. (The reading of "convert all castes into Sudras or Brahmins" as suggesting a two-caste system is patently incorrect as can be understood from the first part of the statement which calls for the abolition of the caste system.) With both options, the caste hierarchy would be demolished, so the second option is more of a rhetorical flourish. Abolition of untouchability is entailed by either the abolition of the caste system itself, or by the creation of a casteless society.

In his book *The Indian Struggle, 1920–1934*, Bose wrote that untouchability undermined the feeling of solidarity among Indians and was morally unjustified [4, p. 45]:

> This custom [untouchability] was a factor working against the solidarity of the Indian people and from the moral and human standpoint was quite unjustifiable.

As we saw above, the theme of solidarity among fellow humans was also voiced by Bora.

Bose became the President of the Indian National Congress in 1938. His presidential address at the Haripura Congress in 1938 laid out some of his more mature thoughts on what an independent India should look like. We focus on the Fundamental Rights that he outlined in his address. These rights were part of the Congress Resolution and date back to the Resolution at the Karachi Congress in 1931. It is instructive to know the Fundamental Rights that Bose stated in his speech [3, pp. 76–77].

(i) Every citizen of India has the right of free expression of opinion, the right of free association and combination, and the right to assemble peacefully and without arms, for a purpose not opposed to law or morality;

(ii) Every citizen shall enjoy freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess and practise his religion, subject to the public order and morality;

(iii) The culture, language and script of the minorities and of the different linguistic areas shall be protected;

(iv) All citizens are equal before the law, irrespective of religion, caste, creed or sex;

(v) No disability attaches to any citizen by reason of his or her religion, caste, creed or sex, in regard to public employment, office of power or honour, and in the exercise of any trade or calling;

(vi) All citizens have equal rights and duties in regard to wells, tanks, roads, schools and places of public resort, maintained out of state, or local funds, or dedicated by private persons for the use of the general public;

(vii) The state shall observe neutrality in regard to all religions;

(viii) The franchise shall be on the basis of universal adult suffrage;

(ix) Every citizen is free to move throughout India and to stay and settle in any part thereof, to acquire property and to follow any trade or calling, and to be treated equally with regard to legal prosecution or protection in all parts of India.

Bose's ideals of removing social barriers of caste and religion, as well as his call for active participation of women in national causes found expression in the Azad Hind Fauj, or the Indian National Army (INA) that Bose commanded in the last phase of his life. The INA by design did not have any caste or religious boundaries. Abid Hasan Safrani, who was an officer of the INA, described the composition of the INA as follows [5, p. 281]:

> Every region in India was represented and every religion and every caste, mixed inseparably together not only in bigger formations but even in small platoons and sections, each unit being a living tribute to the unity of India. We had our different private faiths and we had our different languages, but in our purpose and in our political belief we were a well-knit, determined and indivisible whole.

Further, the INA raised the Rani of Jhansi Regiment which consisted of women soldiers [5, p. 246].

3 Babasaheb Ambedkar

Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (14 April 1891–6 December 1956) was one of the foremost Indian intellectuals of the twentieth century. Of all the opponents of the caste system, Ambedkar held the most radical position, which he expounded in *Annihilation of Caste* written in 1936. He asserted that for political and economic progress, it is essential to get rid of the caste system [12, p. 47].

> [T]urn in any direction you like, caste is the monster that crosses your path. You cannot have political reform, you cannot have economic reform, unless you kill this monster.

Due to Ambedkar's well known position on the caste system, we say nothing further on this issue.

In several of his writings and speeches, Ambedkar addressed the complex communal problem that the country faced in great depth and analytical clarity. It is not possible for us to get into the rich and sophisticated arguments that he developed. We content ourselves with providing quotations about what Ambedkar believed to be the fundamental stumbling block to solving the communal problem. In an address titled *Communal Deadlock and a Way to Solve It* delivered at the session of the All India Scheduled Castes Federation in Bombay on 6 May 1945, Ambedkar stated [12, p. 366]:

> I am confident in my view that if the Communal Question has become difficult of solution it is not because it is insoluble, ... It has become insoluble because the approach to it is fundamentally wrong. The defect in the present approach is that it proceeds by methods instead of by principles.

Ambedkar then outlined the principles that he believed would lead to the solution to the problem [12, p. 367]:

> The approach I am making for the solution of the Communal Problem is therefore based upon two considerations:
>
> (1) That in proceeding to solve the Communal Problem it is essential to define the governing principles which should be invoked for determining the final solution, and
>
> (2) That whatever the governing principles they must be applied to all parties equally without fear or favour.

Ambedkar was saying that to solve the problem one must first lay down appropriate governing principles and then to ensure that these principles are applied equally to all. In other words, for people of different religions to live together it is essential for the executive to ensure that everybody is treated equally.

In his address at the Proceedings of The All-India Depressed Classes Women's Conference, Nagpur, 20 July 1942, Ambedkar stated [13, pp. 282–283]:

> I am a great believer in Women's organization. I know what they can do to improve the condition of society if they are convinced. In the eradication of social evils they have rendered great services. ... I made it a point to carry women along with men. I measure the progress of a community by the degree of progress which women have achieved, ...

The message in the above quote transcends class boundaries. He goes on to say

> let each girl who marries stand up to her husband, claim to be her husband's friend and equal, and refuse to be his slave.

Again, this message about women demading parity with their husband is relevant to women in general.

4 Mahatma Gandhi

Mahatma Gandhi (2 October 1869–30 January 1948) was the foremost among all pre-independence political leaders. Even if other prominent personalities did not agree with aspects of Gandhi's worldview, there was no doubt in the minds of all sections of right thinking people then and now that Gandhi was the focal person who had united the country in its struggle for independence from the British. In 1922, Gandhi expressed his view of *Swaraj* in *Young India* [9, p. 59]:

> [T]he four pillars of swaraj: non-violence, Hindu-Muslim-Sikh-Parsi-Christian-Jew unity, total removal of untouchability and manufacture of hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar completely displacing foreign cloth.

The four pillars were ideals that remained central to Gandhi's political outlook throughout his career. For the purpose of this essay, we highlight only the aspects of religious harmony, and the removal of untouchability. While we provide only one quotation, Gandhi conveyed his firm conviction in his ideal of socio-religious unity in both letter and spirit through his actions throughout his entire political career.

On women's capabilities, we quote from a speech by Gandhi at *Bhagini Samaj* in 1918 [8, p. 205]:

> Woman is the companion of man, gifted with equal mental capacities. She has the right to participate in the very minutest detail in the activities of man and she has an equal right of freedom and liberty with him. She is entitled to a supreme place in her own sphere of activity as man is in his. This ought to be the natural condition of things and not as a result only of learning to read and write. By sheer force of a vicious custom, even the most ignorant and worthless men have been enjoying a superiority over women which they do not deserve and ought not to have.

In a recent article in *The Telegraph*, Ramachandra Guha referenced [10] the above statements by Gandhi on Swaraj and women's capabilities, though in a somewhat different form. Guha also went on to make the following statement: "Unlike the other savarna leaders of the Congress — Nehru, Patel, Bose, et al. — Gandhi was keenly aware of how the prevalence of untouchability undermined the Indian case for freedom." This statement is not further developed by Guha in the article. As mentioned above, Bose advocated the abolition of the caste system for the formation of a 'political democracy', and within the INA actually implemented it. Also, the quotation of Bose regarding untouchability shows that he was indeed aware how this custom undermined solidarity among Indians.

5 Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray

We next move to a contemporary of Mahatma Gandhi, the eminent scientist Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray (2 August 1861–16 June 1944). He earned a D.Sc. in Chemistry from the University of Edinburgh in 1887, and is considered to be one of the two co-founders (along with Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose) of modern science in India. Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray was also a staunch nationalist. He founded the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works

(incorporated in 1901, and the earlier Bengal Chemical Works was founded in 1892–93) as the first indigenous chemical and pharmaceutical company that successfully competed against the erstwhile British companies. Ray was reported to have been in touch with revolutionaries of Bengal and provided them support. While the exact extent of his involvement with revolutionaries has not been unearthed, he was under police watch and was reportedly referred to in police files as a 'revolutionary in the garb of a scientist.' (See [1] for an account of police records on Ray's activities.) In his prolific writings, Ray was a staunch critic of casteism and advocated rationalism. Below we provide a glimpse of his ideas through a few quotations from his voluminous works.

One of the most influential writings of Ray was his long essay published as the booklet *Bengali Brain and Its Misuse* in 1910. This booklet was a translation of his 1909 Bengali essay. The following quotation from the essay shows how Ray viewed what a future independent India should be like [15, p. 30]:

> In the India of the future there should be a harmonious comingling of the new and the old, a fusion of the West and the East. There should be equal opportunity for the growth and development of the Hindu and the Mussulman; of the high and the low; of the Brahmin and the Pariah.

On human empathy, Ray categorically wrote [15, p. 15]:

> When a man ceases to feel for brother man, he ceases to feel for his country.

We record below two other statements from his essay *Bengali Brain and Its Misuse* which has timeless relevance. On rationalism [15, p. 3]:

> Rationalism is the very fountain of a nation's life.

On progress [15, p. 4]:

> Progress — social, political and intellectual — is the law of Nature. A nation which refuses to move with the altered condition of the times is doomed to stagnation and decay.

In 1917, Ray delivered his presidential address to the Indian National Social Conference. In this address, he laid bare his diagnosis of what ailed the country [16, p. 20]:

> [T]hanks to the cumulative effect of centuries of social inequalities and oppression, of the degradation of the condition of women and of large sections of the people, and the walls of differences raised between man and man by custom and tradition, India now lies at the feet of nations — powerless and helpless.

Towards the end of his address, Ray resorted to rhetoric to rouse the nation [16, p. 21]:

> India must wake up, shake off her degradation, put life and heart into every class of her people, elevate her women and depressed classes and remove the galling restrictions of caste and all social inequalities. When this is done she will enter into a new era of her life and then, like Prometheus unbound, she will be recognised as a great power in the world and will have a unique place in the comity of nations.

6 Rammohan Roy

To visit our last personality we step back two hundred years to the first three decades of the nineteenth century. Arguably the most prominent of Indian intellectuals of that age was Rammohan Roy (22 May 1772–27 September 1833). He is mostly known for his sustained campaign against the practice of *satidaha*, and for forming the Brahmo Samaj. Less known, but historically equally important, are Rammohan Roy's wide range of activities encompassing socio-religious issues to secular issues such as freedom of the press, constitutional liberalism, and protest against religious inequality in the administration of justice. Also, not well known is the fact that in his campaign against *satidaha*, Rammohan Roy did not limit himself to only writing tracts opposing *satidaha*. Prior to 1829, when *satidaha* was still legal, Rammohan Roy engaged in actual activism against *satidaha*. He reportedly used to visit burning grounds to try and reason with all concerned so that the *satidaha* was not carried out. See [6, p. 358] (in Bengali) for an account of one such visit.

For the purposes of this essay, we focus on Rammohan Roy's views on casteism, women's rights, and united Hindu-Muslim movements. Even though his views are two centuries old, they still appear fresh and relevant as they blow across the expanse of time to the present age.

In the Brahmanical Magazine (1821), commenting on the issue of castes Roy remarked (see [17, p. 146]):

> our division into castes, which has been the source of want of unity among us.

A more complete exposition of his views on how the caste system has adversely affected Hindu society can be found in a letter of his dated January 18 1828 [17, p. 929]:

> I regret to say that the present system of religion adhered to by the Hindus is not well calculated to promote their political interest. The distinction of castes, introducing innumerable divisions and sub-divisions among them has entirely deprived them of patriotic feeling, and the multitude of religious rites and ceremonies and the laws of purification have totally disqualified them from undertaking any difficult enterprise. .... It is, I think, necessary that some change should take place in their religion, at least for the sake of their political advantage and social comfort.

This shows that Rammohan Roy had grasped that social divisions in the Hindu society made it weak. Rammohan Roy put his conception about social equality into practice when he formed the Brahmo Samaj. The trust deed of the Brahmo Samaj was executed on 8 January 1830 which laid out the basic principles of the Samaj. In particular, the trust deed specified [18, pp. VI–VII, Appendix A] that entry was open to

> all sorts and descriptions of people without distinction.

Further, the permitted hymns and prayers in the prayer house of the Brahmo Samaj were to be only those that

> have a tendency to the promotion of the contemplation of the Author and Preserver of the Universe to the promotion of charity morality piety benevolence virtue and the strengthening [of] the bonds of union between men of all religious persuasions and creeds.

Note that the Brahmo Samaj trust deed refers to strengthening the bonds between people of different religious persuasions and creeds.

Along with Sanskrit, Rammohan Roy was also a scholar of Arabic and Persian. His knowledge of Islamic literature had earned him the moniker *Zabardast Maulavi* [2, p. 47]. An early example of inter-religious cooperation was an appeal in response to a famine in the Southern provinces in 1824. The following (unsigned) appeal by fourteen people cutting across religious lines appeared in Calcutta. Since the appeal was unsigned it cannot be definitely attributed to Rammohan Roy, though Collet mentions this appeal as an example that Rammohan Roy's views about inter-religious cooperation were spreading [7, p. 201]. The particular text of the appeal is also of interest, especially the allusion to "common Creator."

> We conjure those of the three faiths of Christians, Mussulmans, and Hindus, in the name of our common Creator and God, to show the affection that man, as a commoner of nature, should bear to his fellowman, by relieving so many individuals of those three religions who are dying daily for want of their usual sustenance.

In November 1826, Rammohan Roy led a mixed group of Hindus and Muslims to petition against the Juries Act of 1826. This Act introduced the possibility for Indians to serve as jurors in criminal trials, while previously Indians were not permitted to do so. However, the Act introduced a religious distinction, whereby Christians could serve as jurors on trials of Hindus or Muslims, but the jurors for trials of Christians would be composed only of Christians. Rammohan Roy wrote the petition against the Juries Act which was jointly signed by 128 Hindus and 116 Muslims [11, p. 370] and submitted to the British government. Subsequently, another petition from Bombay was submitted to the British Parliament and was signed by 95 people consisting of people from Hindu, Muslim, and Parsi communities [11, p. 374]. These petitions arguably represent the first joint movements by Indians across religious lines to protest against a particular British policy. While the petitions were not successful, and the subsequent evolution of the legal system is a fascinating story in itself, the important takeaway from the petition itself is that even two hundred years ago it was possible for people of different religions to find a common base and jointly protest against government injustice.

On the question of women's abilities, Rammohan Roy mounted one of the most forceful formulations for recognition of intellectual parity of women with men. In *A Second Conference Between an Advocate for, and an Opponent of the Practice of Burning Widows Alive* (1820) Rammohan Roy wrote [17, pp. 360–61]:

> Women are in general inferior to men in bodily strength and energy; consequently the male part of the community, taking advantage of their corporeal weakness, have denied to them those excellent merits that they are entitled to by nature, and afterwards they are apt to say that women are naturally incapable of acquiring those merits. But if we give the subject consideration, we may easily ascertain whether or not your accusation against them is consistent with justice. As to their inferiority in point of understanding, when did you ever afford them a fair opportunity of exhibiting their natural capacity? How then can you accuse them of want of understanding? If, after instruction in knowledge and wisdom, a person cannot comprehend or retain what has

been taught him, we may consider him as deficient; but as you keep women generally void of education and acquirements, you cannot, therefore, in justice pronounce on their inferiority.

We have mentioned above Rammohan Roy's physical activism in trying to prevent specific instances of *satidaha*, which points to his empathy for the life of a fellow human being. A more general nature of empathy towards other people that Rammohan Roy exhibited can be understood from the next quotation of his that we provide. The context of the statement was that in the early 1820s Rammohan Roy celebrated the liberation of South American colonies by throwing parties and reading out speeches. When pointed out that South America was a distant land and the people were in no way connected to India, Rammohan Roy countered (as per an 1823 report in the "Edinburgh Magazine and Literary Miscellany" [7, p. 162]):

> What! ought I to be insensible to the sufferings of my fellow-creatures wherever they are, or howsoever unconnected by interests, religion and language?

7 Wrapping Up

We visited five historically important figures and collected a few nuggets from their broad visions. The perspectives of these personalities on the questions of caste, communal harmony, and women empowerment are not all the same. Our journey has been very brief. In the short space of a few pages, it is not possible to cover the entire history of India on such important issues as the caste system, communal harmony and women empowerment. Also, the present author is limited by his knowledge. The purpose of the essay is not to be encyclopaedic. Rather it is to locate some of the roots of the ideals being voiced by the present generation of socio-political leaders. The important point is that these ideals provide the foundation for nation building. The explicit words of the five historical thought leaders that we visited, as well as similar views by other thought leaders, infuse life and vitality into this foundation. The present and future generations can take heart and derive strength from the knowledge of the rich intellectual support of history to the ideal of an undivided society as captured by the following poem (emphasis added) written by Rabindranath Tagore (7 May 1861–7 August 1941) in 1912 (the original Bengali version was written in 1901).

> Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
> Where knowledge is free;
> *Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls*;
> Where words come out from the depth of truth;
> Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
> Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;
> Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widening thought and action —
> Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.

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