

Muhammad Ali Shaikh

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Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah

Education, Struggle & Achievements

By Muhammad Ali Shaikh





SMI University Press Karachi

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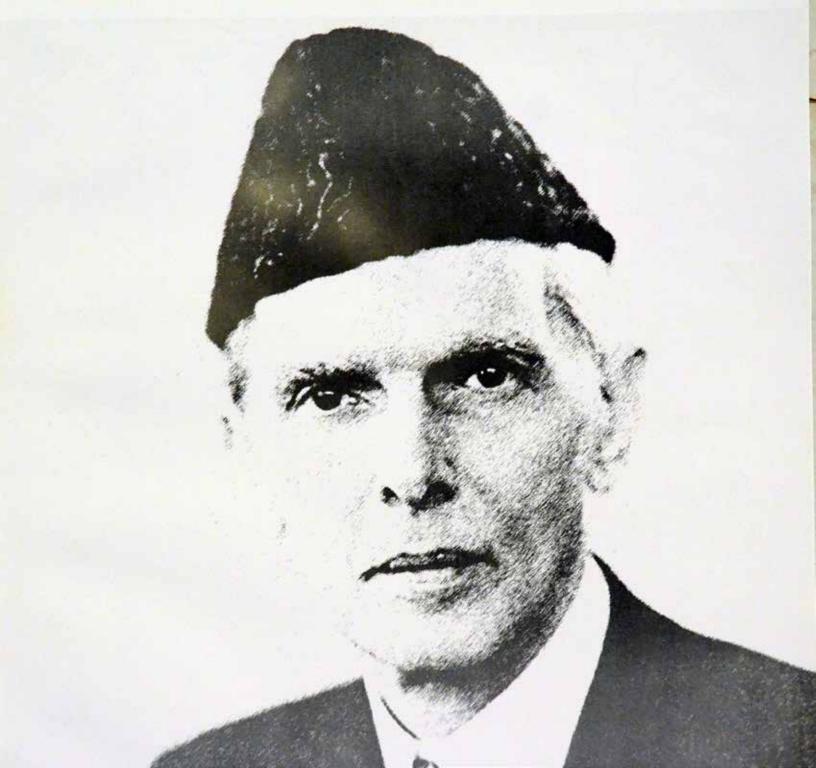
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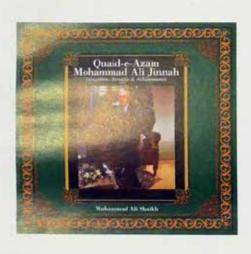
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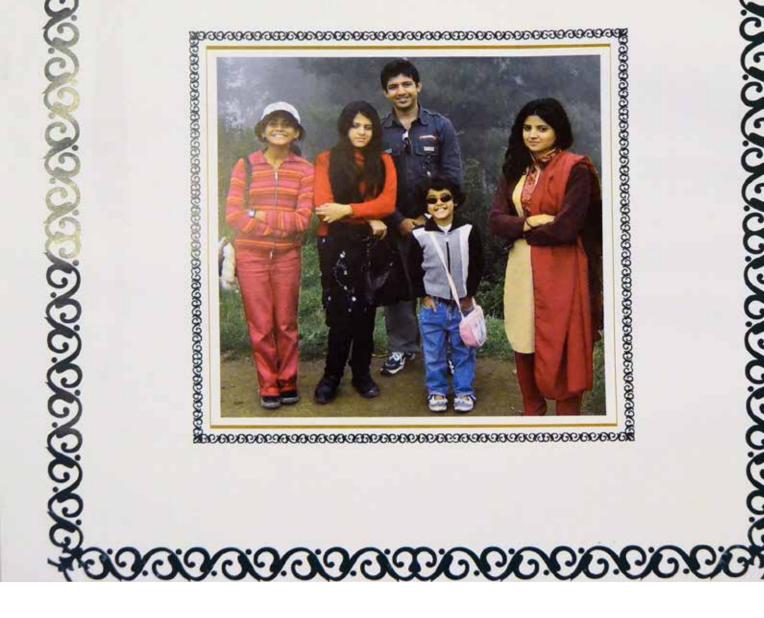


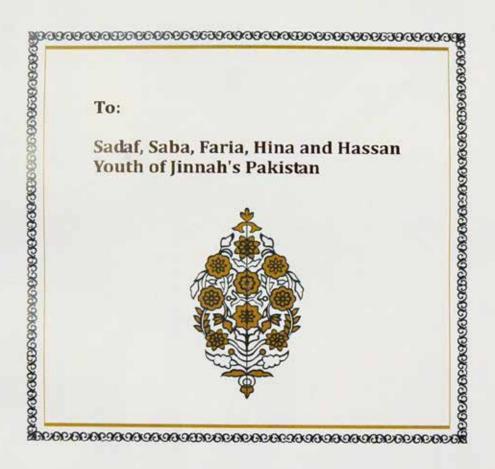


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Introduction



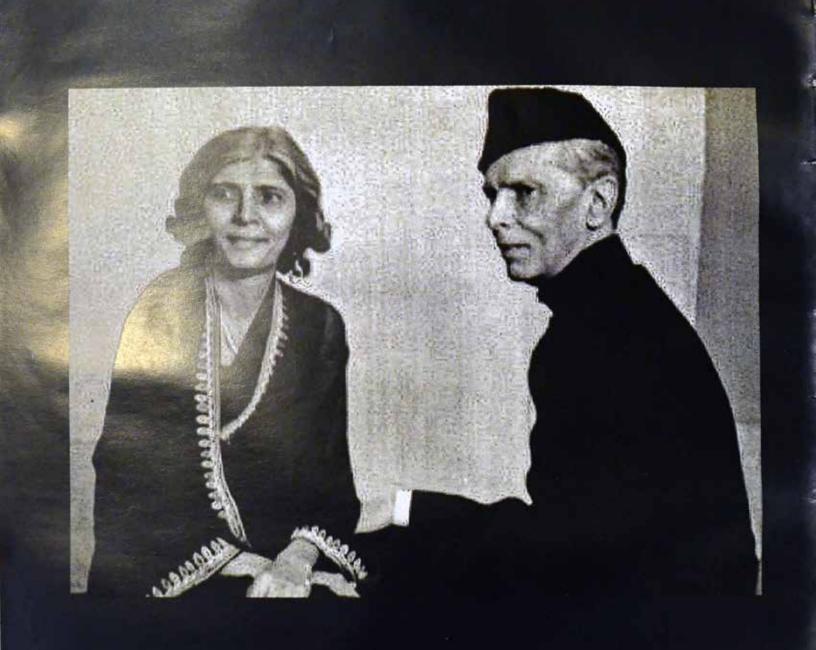


There are many aspects of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah's life, which are still shrouded in mystery and need further research. One such aspect is his early life and education. This part of life is very important as it provides the foundation on which the edifice of one's future life is based.

Being the custodian of the records at Sindh Madressatul Islam, where Quaid-e-Azam studied for the longest period of his academic life, from 1887 to 1892, I was astonished to notice inaccuracies in his life accounts given by his several biographers. For instance, Hector Bolitho stated that he had passed his matriculation examination which, in fact, he did not. Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah wrote that a part of his primary education was acquired at Sindh Madressah, which is also contrary to the facts in light of the record. Then, Mohammad Ali Siddiqui wrote that he was admitted in Sindh Madressah in 1883, ignoring the fact that the institution came into being on 1st September 1885!

In addition to such lapses in narration, not many authors or researchers have dug deep to understand the atmosphere and environment in which Mohammad Ali Jinnah spent the formative years of his life. For example his biographers have not been able to tell their readers when and where Mohammad Ali Jinnah acquired proficiency in English. It has been usually attributed to his stay in London, ignoring the fact that when he arrived in London, he had command over English to such an extent that he passed the entrance examination for his admission in Lincoln's Inn.

Similarly, there have been different versions about the place of his birth. On his part, he said in October 1938 that he was proud to be Sindhi and that he was born in Sindh when it was part of Bombay Presidency. On another occasion he further pointed out that he was born in Karachi, which was and is the capital of Sindh. But the question arises that in which part of Karachi he was born. Whether it was in Kharadar in the old city area or a place called Jhirrak in the







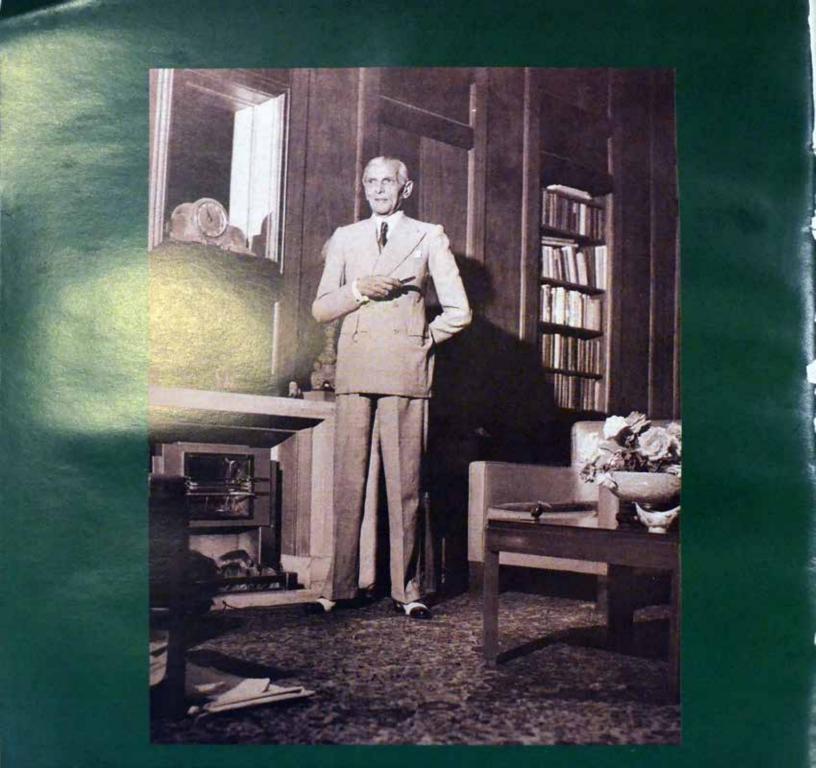
district of Karachi. Both the theories about his birthplace have their proponents and opponents, but, unfortunately, little scholarly work has been carried out on this aspect as well.

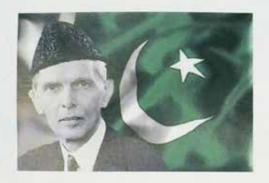
His stay and studies in London from 1893 to 1896 are also very important part of his life. But, this part of his life also needs thorough research as many inaccuracies have cropped up in the narrations. For example, many of his biographers, including his sister, write in detail about his participation in the election of Dadabhai Naoroji to the House of Commons from a London constituency that made Naoroji the first Indian member of the British Parliament. The fact remains that the election in which Dadabhai Naoroji participated was held in July-August 1892, several months before Mohammad Ali Jinnah's arrival in London. At the time of said elections, he was still studying at Christian Missionary Society (CMS) School in Karachi, where he remained enrolled from 8th March 1892 to 31th October 1892.

In view of this I decided to share relevant historical records and information about Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah available at Sindh Madressatul Islam with the scholars and researchers for further research on various aspects of his life. I also included the information and records available at his two other alma maters, CMS and Lincoln's Inn, as well as other sources on his early life to portray a better picture about the beginning stages of his life.

Just to present an account of the early life of a giant personality like Mohammad Ali Jinnah, without describing his struggle and his achievements would not have been fair. He is a rare personality who is credited with the creation of a new country on the map of the world. It is his distinction that he led the Muslim community of South Asia to carve out the largest independent Muslim state in the world! Further, the creation of Pakistan at his hands in 1947 set into motion liberation movements all over the Muslim world, and within next ten to fifteen years of creation of Pakistan, more than thirty new Muslim states appeared on the map of the world. In addition to being a great leader, Jinnah through his sheer struggle also earned professional distinction as one of the top-most lawyers in undivided India.

In this backdrop, I desired to produce an account of his life, sharing information on his early life, education, struggle for his career, his achievements as a leader, his vision about Pakistan, his last will and few glimpses of his personal life including his marriage with Rattanbaie. The volume has been enriched with his pictures, making it more illustrated and readable for the general reader and particularly the youth of the country he founded. The result





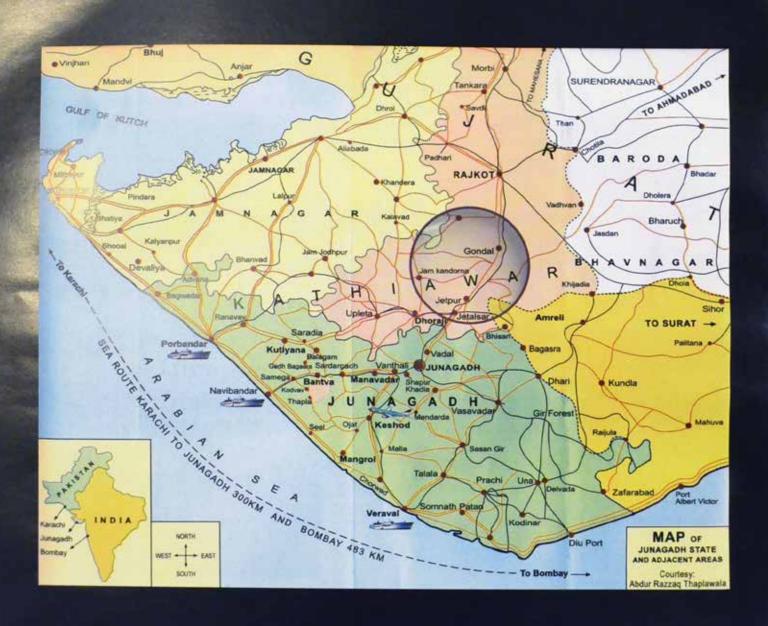
is this book.

In compilation and production of this book, many persons have played their role. Due to constraints of space, it is not possible to thank them individually for their painstaking work and labour. Taking this opportunity, however, I thank them all, particularly Shaista M. Ali, for designing the book; my colleagues at SMIU: Majid for assistance in designing the book; Zahid Islam for proofreading; Anwer Abro for his suggestions; Suresh for making available the old records from the Museum; Yousuf for accessing the books from the library; and Qasim, Saeed, Shams and Aijaz for typing the notes.

Karachi: August 11, 2013

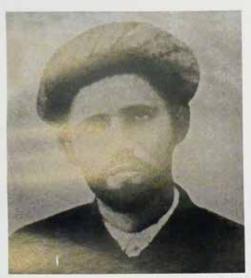
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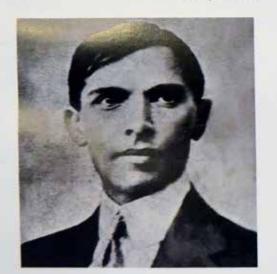


Chapter 1

Parentage and Childhood



Father: Jinnabhai



Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah's ancestors belonged to the princely state named Gondal in Kathiawar region of Bombay Presidency¹. His grandfather, Poonjabhai, was an Ismaili Khoja and lived in village Paneli in Gondal state¹. While the majority of Gondal state's population was engaged in agriculture, producing cotton, wheat and most importantly the state's famous chilies, Poonjabhai worked on the few handlooms that he owned. "He produced coarse hand-woven cloth, by sale of which he made enough money to entitle his family to be ranked among the well-to-do families of that small village," wrote his granddaughter Fatima Jinnah³. He had three sons and one daughter: Valibhai, Nathoobhai, Jinnabhai and Manbai⁴.

Poonjabhai's youngest son, Jinnabhai, was born around 1850⁵. As he grew, the prospects of working on the few handlooms with his father and two brothers in the small village, Paneli, did not attract him and he decided to venture in the capital city of the state, Gondal. His father could give him 'little cash but much advice' for starting a new business in Gondal. "Having an analytical and cautious mind and meager purse, my father was not a man to rush into a venture in a hurry," remarked Fatima Jinnah several decades later. Jinnabhai's business acumen and hard work soon helped him to emerge as a successful trader of commodities in the town. Once established in his business, Jinnabhai's parents got him married in 1874 to a girl from another Ismaili Khoja family, Mithibai, living in Dhraffa village, about ten miles from Paneli⁷.

Five years before Jinnabhai's marriage with Mithibai, in 1869, construction of the Suez Canal had been completed. It resulted in Karachi becoming the closest port of British India to Europe". Through Suez Canal, Karachi came about two hundred nautical miles before Bombay from European ports, saving time, money and fuel. Additionally, the route through Sindh provided an easier access to the Punjab, northern India and even Afghanistan. In this backdrop, Karachi's fortunes as a port city were getting an unprecedented boost and Jinnabhai decided to shift to Karachi along with his wife and to establish his business there".



Rich Architecture of Gondal



Brother: Ahmed Ali with his wife Emmy



Another view of Gondal Architecture

Here there are two theories about Jinnabhai's coming and settling in Karachi. One theory puts him directly coming to Karachi city and hiring an apartment in a building presently known as Wazir Mansion in the old part of Karachi. The other theory puts Jinnabhai first coming to Jhirrak, a town within the then Karachi district (presently in Thatta district), and then shifting to Karachi city after a few years.

Here it may be added that Jhirrak, situated on the bank of River Indus about seventy miles from Karachi city, served as headquarters of an elaborate navigational system based on River Indus called 'Indus Flotilla'. The place offered business opportunities in abundance and a large number of Jinnabhai's fellow Ismaili Khoja families lived there, including their community head's leader, Prince Aga Khan, who had built his palace in the town as far back as in 1843. It is said that Jinnabhai acquired a piece of property in the town, adjacent to the palace of Prince Aga Khan, which has been preserved by the community and is still there, next to Jinnabhai's supposed plot.

Next to Jinnah's supposed ancestral home is located a primary school, which was established by the British in 1870. The school is still functional but all the old records are lost¹². The establishment of a school in 1870 in Jhirrak itself speaks volumes about the importance of the town in the early decades of British colonial rule. It may be noted here that the school in Jhirrak was established even five years before the establishment of Aligarh institution by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in 1875 and fifteen years before the foundation of Sindh Madressatul Islam by Hassanally Effendi in 1885.

Some quarters suggest that Jinnah was born at Jhirrak and received his primary education in that primary school of Jhirrak. However, this could not be verified due to absence of any record. Jinnah himself had said that he was proud to be Sindhi and that he was born in Sindh. "Mr. M.A. Jinnah stated that he was proud to be a Sindhi and also that he was born in Sindh. He referred to Sindh when it was still a part of the Bombay Presidency, very different from the rest of the province, geographically, physically and even naturally. He was glad that now it was an autonomous province," Jinnah was quoted.¹³

On the other hand some scholars point out that Jinnah himself had mentioned 'Karachi' as his birthplace. But the counter argument has been that Jhirrak was also a part of Karachi district in those days. In any case, it does not make much difference whether he was born in Karachi city or in the town of Jhirrak in the district of Karachi.



Remnants of some beautiful colonial buildings in Jhirrak



His three sisters



His sister: Shirin Peerbhai

Jinnabhai and his family shifted to Karachi where he hired an apartment in a three-storey building on Newnham Road, in the commercial heart of the city. "My father rented a modest two room apartment on Newnham Road in Kharadar, a locality which was the business heart of the city. Here lived numerous business families, some of them having come from Gujarat and Kathiawar..... The building was of stone masonry and lime mortar; its roof and floorings of wooden planks. The apartment taken by my father was on the first floor, where a spacious wooden and iron bakony projected above the pavement, providing a cool and airy place for sitting during the day and to spread a *charpoy* to skeep at night. The bakony and the rooms faced west, which is the best direction in Karachi to face in order to ensure a full blast of cool sea breeze practically throughout the year" recalled Jinnah's younger sister Fatima Jinnah'¹⁴.

Describing the languages spoken at Jinnah's home Fatima Jinnah wrote: "Being from Kathiawar, the language spoken in our house was Gujrati, but after settling down in Karachi, the members of our family became quite at home with Cutchi and Sindhi also¹⁵."

Jinnabhai ventured in different businesses at Karachi. He learnt English, which proved to be a source of success for him in the business of trade and commerce. "There were at that time in Karachi a few British firms, which exported the produce of Karachi and the hinterland to Europe and the Far East and imported consumer goods from England. Grahams Trading Co. was one such firm, and it was one of the leading import and export houses in Karachi. Although my father had not had regular education at school in English, his diligence and natural aptitude had enabled him to be fairly conversant with the English language. This was then considered as quite an accomplishment, few of the merchants in Karachi being able to converse in English. It is likely that it was his ability to speak English that brought him close to the General Manager of Grahams Trading Co., and this proved to be a great blessing for the rapid expansion of his business," opined Fatima Jinnah about the success of her father in business.

Jinnabhai established his company under the title of Jinnah Poonja and Co. and had "business relations with a number of countries, in particular with England and HongKong" remembered his daughter. In addition to that he was also in the business of informal banking. Recalling, his daughter wrote: "In those days some of the merchants of Kharadar acted not only as businessmen, but also as bankers. The entire trade of the hinterland of Sindh, Baluchistan and the Punjab passed through the port of Karachi and, in absence of adequate



The "Mehlat" (palace) of Aga Hassan Ali Shah, Aga Khan-I in Jhirrak



Outcome Colored built to 1020 to this such



His Highness Aga Hassan Ali Shah, the Aga Khan-I



A stamp of Gondal State

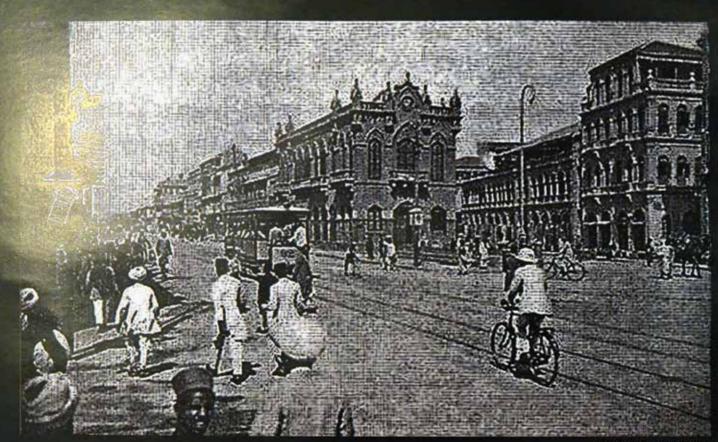
banking facilities, monetary transactions and transfers were usually conducted with the assistance of these firms. Many families deposited on trust their private savings with those merchants, using their offices as we use banks in our times. Of course, all the modern paraphernalia that goes with the modern banking did not exist then, but these merchants were scrupulously honest, and their word was as good as a bond. Jinnah Poonja and Co., my father's firm, was one such concern, doing a big and flourishing trade, and enjoying the trust and confidence of the people and of the business community", wrote Fatima Jinnah¹⁸, Jinnabhai's successful business ventures brought the family a degree of prosperity.

Mohammad Ali was born as the first child of Jinnabhai and Mithibai on 25th December 1876. Here it may be mentioned that his date of birth as mentioned in at least three school registers has been 20th October 1875 (details are given in next chapter). However, at a later stage he could perhaps ascertain his correct date of birth as 25th December 1876. When an astrologer requested Jinnah in 1946 to provide him with the information regarding time, date and place of his birth for preparing his horoscope, the Quaid-e-Azam replied: "Time: Early Morning", "Date: 25th December 1876", "Place: Karachi" This is the date that is mentioned in his passport as well and is celebrated as his official birthday.

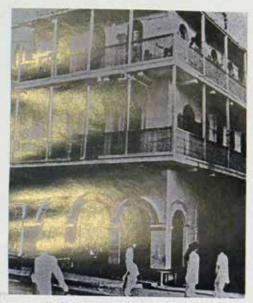
At the time of birth, Mohammad Ali was "weak and tiny, having slim, long hands, and a long elongated head," which worried his parents about his health and his chances of survival²⁰. However, the doctor allayed their fears telling them that though the boy was little underweight, he was quite normal.

The next step was naming the child. While in Kathiawar, "names of the male members of our family had been so much akin to Hindu names. But, Sindh was a Muslim province, and the children of their neighbours had Muslim names. The two were agreed that Mohammad Ali would be an auspicious name for their first born, and this was the name they gave him," wrote Fatima Jinnah²¹. When he was barely six months old, the family took him and traveled back to their ancestral place in Kathiawar to celebrate his aqiqah ceremony at the shrine of a local saint known as Hassan Pir ²².

Mohammad Ali was followed by six siblings: two brothers and four sisters. In all, Jinnabhai and Mithibai had seven children: Sequence-wise they were: Mohammad Ali, followed by two sisters namely Rehemat and Maryam, then a brother Ahmed Ali, again two sisters Shireen and Fatima, followed by the youngest brother Bundeh Ali²³.



A view of Karachi in 1880s



Building known as Wazir Mansion in Karachi



Karachi in 1880s

There is no record available regarding Mohammad Ali's primary education at any school in Karachi. As discussed earlier, if he was not educated at the primary school in Jhirrak, he must have been tutored at home for his basic learning. His sister Fatima Jinnah wrote that when Mohammad Ali turned about six, their parents hired a tutor to teach him Gujrati at home. However, Mohammad Ali was more interested in playing games in the streets of his neighborhood than studying. Mathematics was the one subject that he loathed the most. His attitude towards his studies, particularly his weakness in mathematics, disturbed his father a lot who had pinned high hopes in him for taking over the family business in due course of time. She says when he was about nine, he was enrolled in a local school, but there also his aversion to education continued.

Giving her opinion about Mohammad Ali's aversion to studies and fondness for sports, Fatima Jinnah opined that in school he had to "compete with his classmates at the time of examination. He was disappointed to find that other boys defeated him, securing more marks than he did. He, who had always looked upon himself as superior to other boys at play, found that he could not be the first in his class. On the one hand, he had to abandon his play for so many hours a day to attend school, and on the other hand these hours at school did not yield to him the honor of being the topmost pupil" "55".

Jinnabhai, perturbed over his eldest son's attitude towards education, once sat with him to sort the matter out. On query, young Mohammad Ali told his father that he was more interested in working in his father's business office than going to school and studying. Jinnabhai told him that he was ready to have him in his office on the condition that he would follow the timings and discipline of the office. Mohammad Ali agreed and started going to his father's office. The timings of the office were from eight in the morning till nine at night, with a break of two hours for lunch and rest from two to four in the afternoon. True to his word, Mohammad Ali observed this routine for a while, but realized that being unable to read, write and do sums, he was sidelined in all the important business deals and matters and was given only odd chores to do in the office. Within about two months, he told his father that he wanted to get enrolled in school. **In the content of the cont



Sindh Madressatul Islam in 1890s

Chapter 2

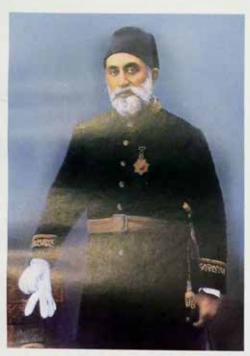
Education at Sindh Madressatul Islam

Mohammad Ali was enrolled for his secondary education at Sindh Madressatul Islam in July 1887 and studied there till January 1892, with two brief intervals. His period of studies at Sindh Madressatul Islam constitutes the longest spell of his academic life, spanning over about four-and-a-half years.

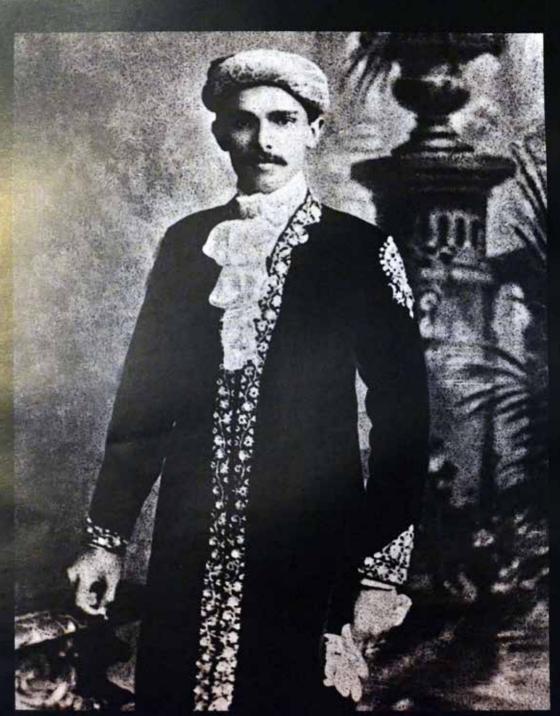
The available record at Sindh Madressatul Islam shows that he was admitted to secondary school section, in Standard I (fifth year of education -- after four years of primary) in the English branch on 4th July 1887. "Khoja" was mentioned as his sect and "Karachi" was recorded as his birthplace. In the column under "previous instructions", he was shown to have passed his four classes of primary education in Gujrati. The date of birth was not mentioned, but his age had been put at "14 years". He left the institution on 30th January 1892, while studying in Standard V of English (class 9th), with the remarks in the General Register: "Left for Cutch on marriage".

The period spent at Sindh Madressah during his formative phase of life must have left its marks on Muhammad Ali's mind. How he viewed his Alma Mater could be gauged from his speech on 21" June 1943, when he came to inaugurate "Sindh Madressah College". On that occasion he was overcome by his sentiments, which was very unusual for him. The news account of the event published in the following day's Daily Morning News and Daily Star of India also highlighted this. The news appeared as under: "Karachi June 21: Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, today opened Sindh's first Muslim College.

"The college is situated in the premises of the Sindh Madressah, a premier Muslim educational institution in Sindh. Mr. Jinnah was born in Karachi and himself passed out of this school 55 years ago. Recalling this fact, Mr. Jinnah said: 'I know every inch in the splendid grounds of this institution and it is no wonder if I am a bit sentimental in opening a college here although after 55 years. Mr. Jinnah added that after the death of the founder of the Madressah, there was nobody to look after his creation with the care it deserved. That must not happen. There must always be continuity of the programme of work of any institution. Continuity must be maintained not only in educational but in all departments of life of Mussalmans, he said. Speaking in a reminiscent mood. Mr. Jinnah said he was overcome by sentiment to be present at the development into a college of his Alma Mater where 55 years ago he had played and studied as a schoolboy. 'Every inch of these splendid grounds where I took part in various



Khan Bahadur Hassanally Effendi



in a traditional costume



A view of Sindh Madressatul Islam



Inner courtyard of the SMI Main Building

games, I know,' said Mr. Jinnah. He particularly stressed the importance of building up a strong endowment fund for the college and he hoped that patrons of education would come forward to provide funds not merely for the new college but for many more colleges of its kind. Mr. Jinnah himself led with a donation of Rs. 5,000 and a total of Rs. 62,000 was promised on the spot by other donors".

Another occasion when Quaid-e-Azam showed his love and affection for his Alma Mater was at the time of writing his last will, wherein he bequeathed one third of his entire property to Sindh Madressah. At paragraph number 12 of his Will, dated 30th May 1939, he declared: "Subject to above, all my residuary estate including the corpus that may fall after the lapse of life interest or otherwise to be divided into three parts and I bequeath one part to Aligarh University, one part to Islamia College, Peshawar, and one part to Sindh Madressah of Karachi".

Here it is pertinent to understand the atmosphere within Sindh Madressatul Islam during the days of his studies there as well as the course of events taking place in his home life: both the currents influencing each other.

Sindh Madressatul Islam was established as a secondary school little less than two years before Muhammad Ali's enrollment there, in September 1885. It was founded by the Muslims of Sindh, under leadership of Khan Bahadur Hassanally Effendi (1830-1895), with the objective of providing a combination of modern and religious education. "The Sind Madresseh-tul-Islam, an institution which was established at Karachi on the 1" September 1885, aims at imparting secular (primary and Secondary) as well as moral and religious education to the Mohammadan youth of the Province" read one of the early annual report of the institution. The school was about a mile away from Muhammad Ali's home.

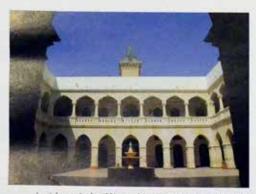
The Madressah was divided into four departments, i.e. English, Anglo-Arabic, Vernacular and Technical. "The English department aims at teaching up to the Matriculation or Entrance Examination of the Bombay University; the Anglo-Arabic Department aims at teaching Arabic to high proficiency with English as a second Language; while the vernacular Department which acts as a feeder to the English, teaches up to the Vernacular 4th Standard and is divided into three branches, viz., the Sindhi, Urdu and Gujrati."

During Muhammad Ali's period of study at Sindh Madressatul Islam, the accumulative number of students in all the branches remained between four

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Foundation stone of Sindh Madressatul Islam



Inside main building of Sindh Madressatul Islam

hundred and five hundred. It was open to non-Muslims also, but understandably their number was less. "I may state, gentlemen, that on the 31" March, 1889, we had 442 students in the Madresseh, while at the end of the year under report we had a grand total of 459, showing an increase of 17. Out of the 459 boys above mentioned, 427 were Mohammadans of all denominations against 415 the year previous. The remainders, viz., 32 were non-Mohammadans, chiefly Hindus against 27 in the former year," reported Hassanally Effendi at prize distribution ceremony of the institution held on 14th August 1890.

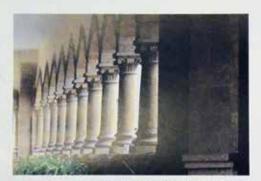
Though the institution was open to entire province of Sindh, students from Karachi outnumbered those from rest of the Sindh. "We accordingly divide the whole number into those that are inhabitants of Karachi, and those that belong to up-country. We find that 365 belonged to the former against 256 the year previous; while 94 belonged to the latter class against 86 in March 1889. Of the above 94 outsiders 51 were boarders residing in these premises against 63 in 1889." The English department in which Muhammad Ali was enrolled was like a crown of the institution, with less than one hundred and fifty students studying in all the classes. "Of the total number of 459 students learning in the several branches of the Madressah, 146 belonged to the English Department, and 313 to the Vernacular, against 145 and 297 respectively in March 1889," read the report."

The academic atmosphere at Sindh Madressatul Islam compelled students to study hard. On the other hand, Muhammad Ali also after working at his father's office had become very serious towards his studies. "He wanted to make up for the lost time, as boys of his age and even younger than him had gone ahead of him. He took to his lessons with a vengeance, studying into the late hours of the night at home, and determined to forge ahead. My father was very happy to see Mohammad Ali take seriously to his studies," remembered Fatima Jinnah.

However, despite all efforts, Muhammad Ali continued to remain weak in mathematics. Fatima Jinnah narrated a story stating that one day her father "encountered his boy's class teacher on the road and asked him how his son was faring at the school The teacher said, 'He is coming up. But I must tell you the boy is horrible in arithmetic" Jinnabhai was furious over learning about his son's weakness in mathematics as he considered full command over the subject a must for running a successful business.

Around this time, Jinnabhai's only sister, Manbai, who was married to businessman living in Bombay, came to visit her brother's family in Karachi.

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Arches of Sindh Madressatul Islam



Main Building of Sindh Madressatul Islam

Known to Jinnabhai's children as "Manbai *Poofi*" (Urdu word for paternal aunt), she was very close to her youngest brother as well as his children. Fatima Jinnah remembered her fondly in her memoirs stating: "She was a great story-teller, and I wonder to this day how she was able to remember hundreds of tales by heart, as she had never gone to school and therefore, could not have read them from books... She was the center of our eyes and ears, and we listened to her, enraptured by the bewitching way in which she would narrate her stories, night after night. She told tales of fairies, and the flying carpet; of jins and dragons; and they seemed to our childish minds to be wonderful tales, stories out of this world." Muhammad Ali, like his siblings was very fond of her and her fairy tales.

On Manbai's return to Bombay, Muhammad Ali also went with her to Bombay for reasons unknown to us. It may be because of his fondness for his aunt or his father's dissatisfaction with his performance with mathematics or some other reasons. In Bombay, Manbai got her nephew admitted at Anjumane-Islam School, where he was enrolled in the same class in which he was studying at Sindh Madressatul Islam, Standard I. The exams were due in November, which he was able to pass. In the meanwhile, Muhammad Ali's mother could not sustain her son's being away from her and convinced Jinnabhai to bring Muhammad Ali back to Karachi¹¹.

After an absence of about two months, Jinnabhai brought Mohammad Ali back to Sindh Madressatul Islam on 23nd December 1887 for his readmission. This time he had brought a certificate from Anjuman-e-Islam School, Bombay, showing that Mohammad Ali had passed his Standard I examination there. Accordingly Muhammad Ali was enrolled for the second time in the General Register of the institution. On this occasion, his exact date of birth was also recorded in the register of the institution as 20 October 1875, presumably on the basis of the certificate that he had brought with him from Bombay. He was admitted to Standard II¹⁵.

He continued to study without an interruption for over three years, and then took a break for about a month from 5th January to 9th February in 1891. When he came back from his absence, he was enrolled for the third time at serial number 430 in the General Register¹⁶.

One of the greatest gifts that Muhammad Ali got from his studies at Sindh Madressatul Islam was his command over English. In 1887, the year in which Jinnah got admission in Sindh Madressah, the Government of Bombay Presidency appointed Mr. H.P. Jacob as Educational Inspector in Sindh. The

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An artifact in his use



Another Artifact in his use

officer was known for his love for pure literary English. He was a frequent visitor to Sindh Madressah and usually spent an entire day evaluating the progress made by students in English literature and speaking skills as well as other subjects. The Sindh Madressah Chronicle records:

"He (Mr. H.R. Jacob) hated nothing so much as cockney English, as the phrase goes. Such a word uttered carelessly but innocently by a pupil would make him look quite dissatisfied with the work of class-master. To mark his dislike and disapprobation of the liberties taken with the English language he would stare and make faces at those who could be guilty of such gross barbarism! Nothing but a spirited piece of declamation would restore him to good humour on such an occasion. Careful inspection of the pupil's exercise books was another hobby of him."

During the initial days of Muhammad Ali's studies at Sindh Madressah, H.P. Jacob was not satisfied with the performance of students in English reading and writing ¹⁹. However, instead of giving up, he decided to first train the language of teachers. "With a view to enable the teachers to teach English reading and recitation with a more correct expression, taste, and feeling, Mr. Jacob organized a Sunday morning class at the Government High School prior to his leaving for the districts. At these meetings, readings and recitations were delivered by School Masters. Mr. Jacob very kindly and at great sacrifice guided and corrected them in their task. Our teachers, we are glad to say, always attend such meetings, and we have no doubt that Mr. Jacob's guidance and advice in this matter will bear fruit."

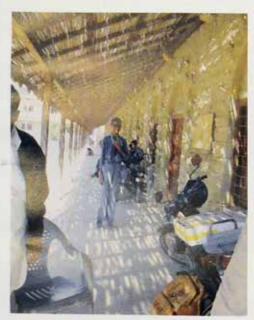
Due to Mr. Jacob's uncompromising attitude towards learning of proper and literary English, the administration and the teachers at Sindh Madressah went an extra mile to improve and polish the language skills of their students. These efforts were also taken so keenly because the satisfactory recommendations of Mr. Jacob held the key for release of grant-in-aid to the institution. The academic evaluation reports of the institution, particularly the students' English reading and writing skills continued to improve. During the final year of Muhammad Ali's studies at Sindh Madressah, Mr. Jacob remarked:

"The Madressah has made satisfactory progress during the year. In the High School classes there is improvement all along the line. I was particularly struck with the boys' spirited recitation of English and Persian verse. Great pains had evidently been taken by the teachers to ensure clear and correct pronunciations."

Perhaps, due to Mr. Jacob's taste for poetic English, the Sindh Madressah



With luminaries of Sindh after inaugurating "Sindh Madressah College" on 21st June 1943



A recent view of CMS School

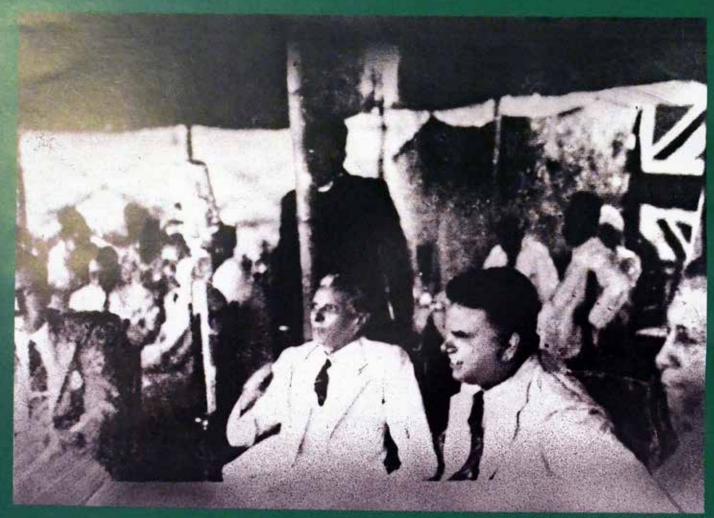
library acquired quite a good number of books relating to English poetry, particularly Shakespeare: some of which are still available in the archival section of SMIU library. It could be safely assumed that Mohammad Ali was first introduced to Shakespeare at Sindh Madressah, which resulted in his lifelong admiration for the poet. "Even in the days of his most active political life, when he returned home late tired after a grueling day's work, he would take a play of Shakespeare and quietly read it in his bed. Sometime, when the two of us would sit in the drawing room after our dinner, he would read out to me aloud his favourite passages from the plays of Shakespeare."

The superior quality of education at Sindh Madressah during Muhammad Ali's period of studies there was also appreciated and remarked upon by the then Commissioner in Sindh, Mr. M. James, who wrote on 22nd August 1891: "No visit that I have ever paid to an Educational Institution, has given me more unqualified pleasure [than visiting SMI] May it [their effort aimed at education of young generation] bring them well to the front!"²³

Similarly, when Lord Harris, the Governor of Bombay Presidency visited SMI, he congratulated the students of SMI [including Jinnah] for having the privilege of studying in such a beautiful building and in such an elegant atmosphere. His words were: "I congratulate Mr. Hassanally and his colleague in this work, through whose efforts the Mohammedans have been able to acquire education. I have not seen such a beautiful building as Mr. Hassanally and his colleagues have been able to erect, in the whole Bombay Presidency. I congratulate the students on their having got such a beautiful building to live and to receive education in."²⁴

In addition to the efforts being made at Sindh Madressah, Muhammad Ali himself was also taking keen interest in his studies. One of his biographers, Hector Bolitho, interviewed a lady, Fatima Bai, who had been married into Jinnabhai's family in 1880s and had seen Muhammad Ali during his childhood. "He was a good boy; a clever boy. We lived, eight of us, in two rooms on the first floor of the house in Newnhan Road. At night, when the children were sleeping, he would stand a sheet of cardboard against the oil lamp, to shield the eyes of the children from the light. Then he would read, and read. One night I went to him and said, 'You will make yourself ill from so much study,' and he answered, "Bai, you know I cannot achieve anything in life unless I work hard." 25

The result of these efforts aimed at command over English language on part of the school, as well as the individual student, are quite visible in case of Muhammad Ali, who had entered Sindh Madressatul Islam just after



At Sindh Madressatul Islam on 21" June 1943



A shield presented to him during Pakistan movement



An item of his personal use

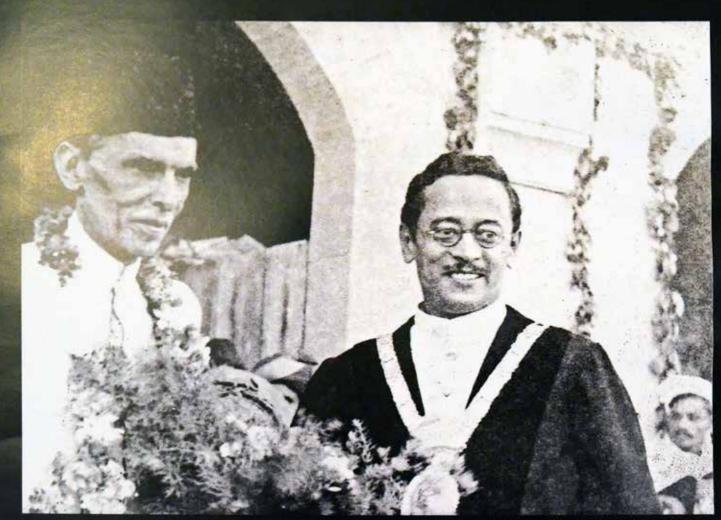
completing his primary education in Gujrati language, but was able to pass the entrance examination of Lincoln's Inn in London, soon after completion of his studies at Sindh Madressah.

In addition to his education, his school helped Mohammad Ali to polish his skills in the field of sports. As per his own admission, "it was on the sands of Karachi that I played marbles in my boyhood." On the other hand, Sindh Madressah was making all efforts to familiarize and encourage students to take up cricket, tennis, hockey and other such sports which had been introduced in the subcontinent only recently and were not much popular. Top priority amongst these sports was given to cricket and a Cricket Club was established in Sindh Madressah. The institution went to the extent that "Once a fortnight the whole Madressah gets a half holiday for cricket." But, Mr. Jacob was not satisfied with the performance of the club.

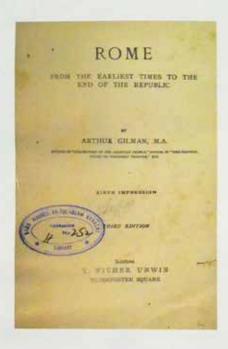
One of the early annual reports of the institution records the deficiencies pointed out by Mr. Jacob in school cricket, the endeavors made by Sindh Madressah to popularize cricket among its students and the obstacles being encountered in this regard: "Mr. Jacob also found fault with the cricket of the school. This deficiency, however, was not due to any lack of interest on the part of the students; but to their inability to contribute towards the expenses of the game which is rather costly. Mr. A.C. Trevor, late Commissioner in Sind, kindly contributed Rs.50 towards the club some time ago, which sum has been exhausted."

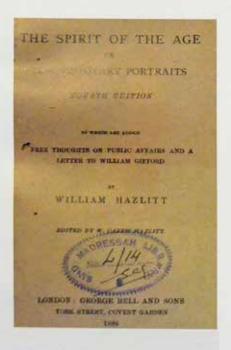
The efforts of the school to popularize cricket among its students bore fruit and several students took up cricket as their favorite sport. Mohammad Ali was one of them who gave up playing marbles and took up cricket. One of his boyhood friends, Nanji Jafar, told Hector Bolitho: "I played marbles with him in the street." Then one morning, when Nanji Jafar was playing marbles in the street, Mohammad Ali, "then aged about fourteen, came up to him and said, 'Don't play marbles in the dust; it spoils your clothes and dirties your hands. We must stand up and play cricket." "

Around this time, Mohammad Ali also developed fascination with horse riding. "My father owned a number of carriages, which was the aristocratic way of transportation in those days, the era of combustible engine motor cars being still far away. In the stables of my father were a number of fine horses, and Mohammad Ali was quick to learn horse-riding, a sport he immensely enjoyed. He had a school friend, Karim Kassim, son of another merchant at Kharadar, and the two boys would go horse-riding for long distances every day," remembered



With Mayor of Karachi, his co-alumnus, Hatim Alvi





Fatima Jinnah.31

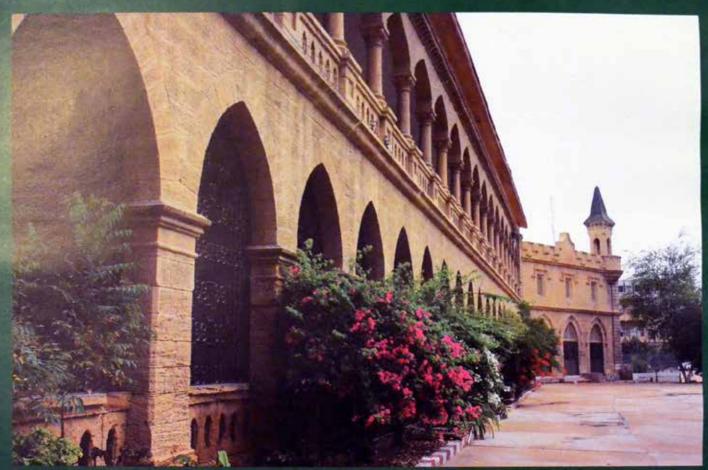
Mohammad Ali, while at Sindh Madressah, also got ample opportunities of exposure with the top-ranking British functionaries of colonial India. During Mohammad Ali Jinnah's period of studies at Sindh Madressah, at least four grand programs were held which were attended amongst others by the Viceroy and the Governor General of British India, the Governor of Bombay Presidency and the Commissioner in Sindh.

One of those grand programs was held a few weeks after Jinnah got admitted in Sindh Madressah in August 1887. The occasion was the first prize distribution ceremony for the students. Lord Reay, Governor of Bombay Presidency, which also included Sindh, attended the function as the chief guest. An excerpt from the report of the program, as recorded in the Sindh Madressah Chronicle, is added here:

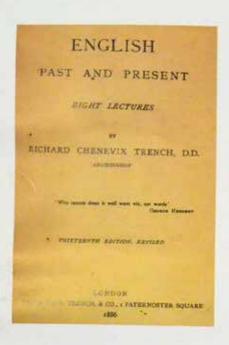
"A beautiful dais was erected for the occasion and on the appointed day and hour the Mohammedan gentry of Karachi mustered strong to greet the kind Governor and participate in the prize distribution of their school. The honored guest boked about forty years of age at the time of his visit. He proved quite an orator and very happy speaker. The proceedings began with the recitation of Surah Al-Rahman from the Koran, followed by Sindhi verse to wekome him The welcome address pointed out in plain terms, the deplorable condition of the Sindh Mohammedans and the efforts that were being made to ameliorate their condition by the establishment of Sindh Madressah... Lord Reay then stood up to reply to the above address. He thanked the Association for their heartfelt welcome, and kind address presented to him. He appreciated the services that the Madressah was destined to make on behalf of the backward Mohammedan community. He recognized the need of assisting the low finances of the institution, and announced a Government recurring grant of Rs. 6000/per annum.... The prizes were then given away and a hip-hip hurrah for the Governor and visitors brought the proceedings to a close."32

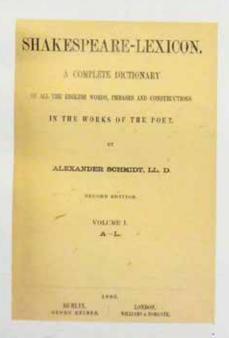
Few months later, on 14th November 1887, the grandest event in the history of the institution was held when Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy and Governor General of India, came from British India's capital at Calcutta to Karachi to lay the foundation-stone of the main building of Sindh Madressatul Islam. Principal Wali Muhammad Effendi later recorded that: "Almost the whole of Karachi attended the function; the like of which I have never seen again in the city" ¹³.

Another important function during Quaid-e-Azam's studies at SMI was



A view of Sindh Madressatul Islam





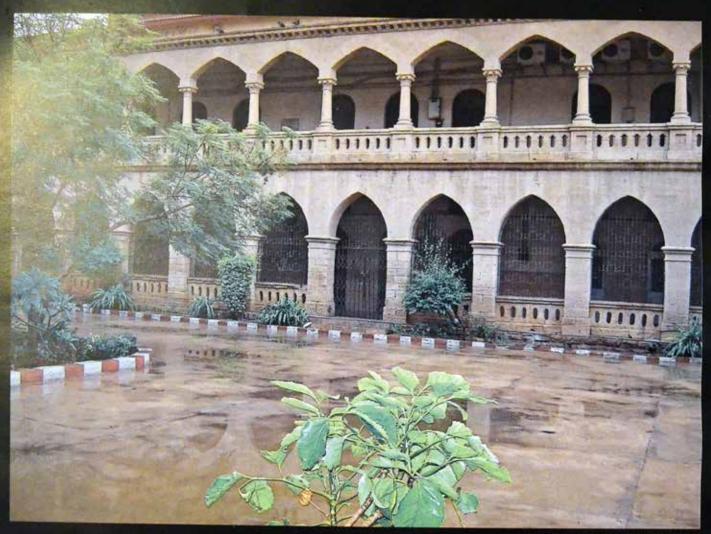
held on 14" August 1890 when another prize distribution ceremony was held, which was attended amongst others by the Commissioner-in-Sindh as well as other important people in Sindh³⁴.

While he was in the fifth year of his education and grooming at Sindh Madressah, Mohammad Ali's parents decided that it was the time that their eldest son should get married. In those days early marriages were the norm rather than the exception. Accordingly, he left Sindh Madressah on 30th January 1892, to solemnize his first marriage with Emibai, a daughter of an eminent Ismaili Khoja, Mr. Leera Khemji, at their ancestral place in Gondal. The entry in the General Register of Sindh Madressatul Islam reads: "Left for Cutch on marriage."

After about five weeks since leaving Sindh Madressah, a newly wedded Mohammad Ali returned back to Karachi and, this time, sought admission in Church Missionary Society (CMS) High School, where he was enrolled in Standard VI on 8th March 1892. His admission was recorded at General Register No. 483. The last school attended has been recorded as "Madressa" (i.e. short for Sindh Madressah). The date of birth has been mentioned same as at Sindh Madressah, i.e. 20th October 1875. His age has been recorded as 16 years, four months and eleven days. But, his stay at CMS School was confined to a few months as he left studies in October the same year, while studying in the same class, i.e. Standard VI. The remarks in the General Register do not elaborate the reason for his leaving the school: which only read "Left" in the same class.

Much later in his life, three years after he had already upgraded his Alma Mater Sindh Madressah to college, the Principal of CMS High School, Rev. S.N. Spence, invited Mohammad Ali Jinnah to attend the week-long centenary celebrations of the School scheduled from 9th to 16 November 1946, vide his letter dated 23th October 1946. Addressing him as "Mr. Jinnah," the principal wrote: "We are proud to number you among our former pupils and to know that this school had had at least a part in the early training of one of India's most distinguished sons. I shall be most grateful if you can inform me when you studied in this school and of details of interest of those days here. Perhaps you would kindly refer me to a good biography for further information on your life.... I shall look forward to news of your acceptance of our invitation... We shall be delighted if your sister, too, will accompany you to the opening of prize distribution."

Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah replied him on 11th November 1946, expressing his inability to attend the program, but acknowledging the fact



Sindh Madressatul Islam on a rainy day



A corridor of Sindh Madressatul Islam



He learnt playing cricket at the ground of Sindh Madressah

that he had attended the school. He wrote: "I am in receipt of your letter of the 23" October and thank you for it. How I wish I had been in Karachi from the 9th to 16th of November, so that I could have participated in the centenary celebrations of the School, where I had the privilege of receiving my early education. As one of the old pupils of your school, I whole-heartedly rejoice in the celebrations of the centenary... Miss Jinnah and I both thank you most heartily for your kind invitation." 3th

As stated earlier, Mohammad Ali left his studies at CMS High School in October 1892, more than a year short of being eligible to appear in matriculation examination, conducted by the Bombay University. The eligibility for appearing in matriculation examination at the time of leaving his school required him more than one year of further school studies to be eligible for the examination, which was taken after completion of Standard VII of secondary school (plus four years of primary education in native languages). He left his studies at CMS School while he was studying in Standard VI, which means he had to complete Standards VI and VII before he could have appeared for the matriculation examination.

Fatima Jinnah has explained that one of her father's English friend and trade partner had convinced him to send Mohammad Ali to the head office of Grahams Trading Company in London as an apprentice to learn the basics of business there. "The General Manager of Grahams Trading Co., an Englishman, who had now become a great friend of my father, offered to get young Mohammad Ali admitted in his Head Office in London as apprentice for three years, where he would learn practical business administration, which would best qualify him to join his father's business on return from London. The General Manager was sure that the young man could then be a great asset to his father, helping him to further expand his business. This tempted the heart of a flourishing businessman, who was convinced that after such rich experience in London, his son would surely add quite a few new and lucrative lines to the family business."

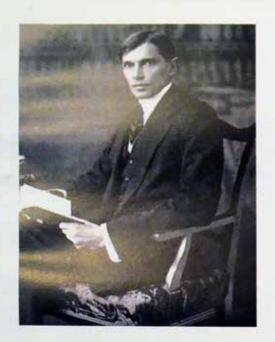
Jinnabhai arranged for the finances to be incurred on his son's threeyear stay in London. Mohammad Ali's mother was initially reluctant to send her beloved son to a faraway place like London, but was convinced by her husband citing the greater good that the separation between her and her son was going to bring to the future of their son. Amidst the tears of separation and high hopes about his future, Mohammad Ali left his parents, a wife for ten months, siblings and other loved ones in Karachi for London in January 1893***



A view of London in 1890s

Chapter 3

Studies in London

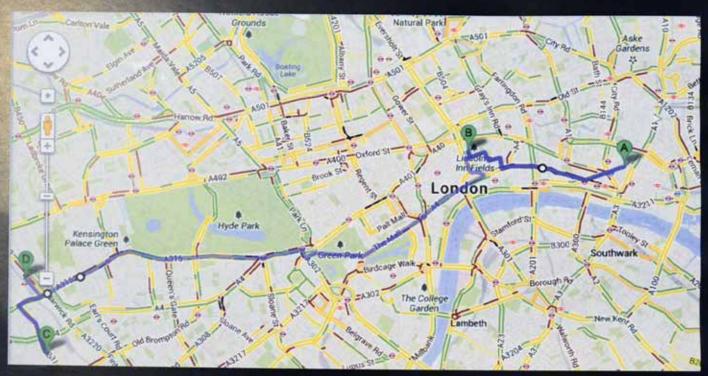


The journey by ship from British India to England usually took from two to three weeks. On its way, the ship carrying young and unaccompanied Mohammad Ali stopped at some ports, including the Port Said, which was notorious for its pickpockets. Before disembarking at the port as a transit passenger, an elderly fellow Englishman passenger cautioned him to be careful with his wallet. "You must be careful at Port Said. People here have nimble fingers and they may pinch your purse, without you being aware of it," narrated Fatima Jinnah¹. He took that advice seriously; but also a challenge. He carried only a small amount but was fully alert while he roamed around at the port. On safely retuning to the ship, he proudly told his well-wisher: "You see, Sir, my wallet is still safe with me. I was very careful."

Mohammad Ali reached England in February 1893. It was the closing phase of Victorian Era in England (1837-1901): a period marked with peace, prosperity and refined sensibilities. He disembarked at Southampton and took a train to London, one of the most beautiful cities of the world in those days. He rented a room in a hotel. Though it was February, the winter had not yet subsided much. Above this depressing cold, he, accustomed to large families since his birth, had to experience the pain of loneliness in London. "It was quite an experience. I was young and lonely. Far from home: far from my parents. I was in a new country where life was so different from the life I had known in Karachi."

He reported for his training at the head office of Grahams Shipping Company. His father had already transferred enough money to his account through the Royal Bank of Scotland to cover his expenses of his stay in London for about two years. He lived in the Kensington area of London, and traversed to the head office of the company located at Threadneedle Street. He was given a table and a chair with account ledgers to study and work on. The work did not interest him much.

By April 1893, he was living at 40-Glasbury Road in West Kensington



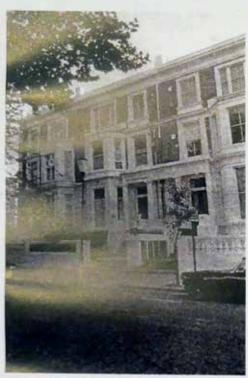
His likely route in London:

A: the head office of Graham Trading Company on Threadneedle Street

C: place where he lived initially

B: Lincoln's Inn -- on his way from his residence to his work place

D: 35-Russell Road in Kensington Area of London, where he shifted after his admission in the Lincoln's Inn



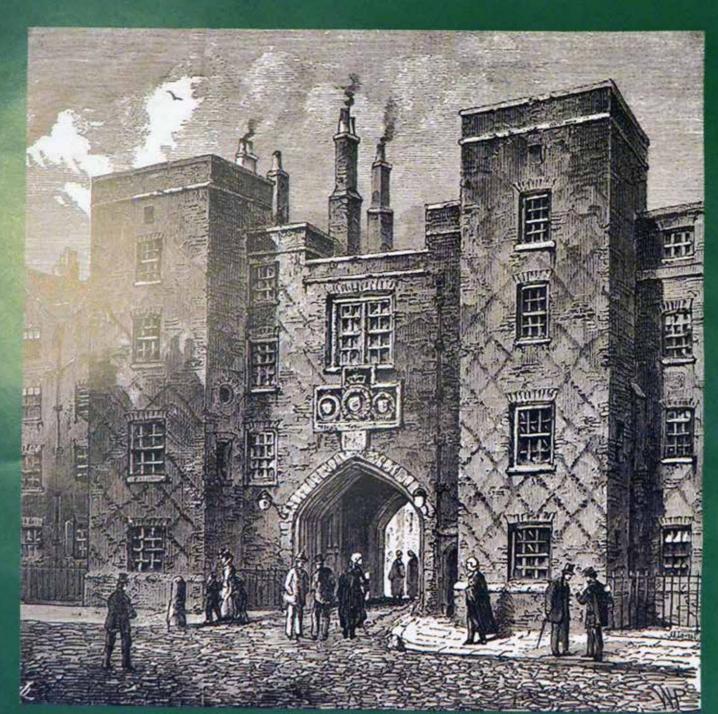
35 Russell Road, West Kensington where he lived as a paying guest

area of London⁵. The five-mile (eight kilometers) route between his residence and office was close to the area where the famous Inns of London were located⁶. Lincoln's Inn is situated in the heart of central London, in the vicinity of the place where Mohammad Ali worked. It is one of the most prestigious institutions, said to have been founded in A.D. 1292 through an Ordinance by King Edward I. The available records of the Inn go as far back as A.D. 1422. It is the oldest amongst the famous four Inns: Lincoln's, Inner Temple, Middle Temple and Gray's Inn⁷. It is likely that Mohammad Ali came across Lincoln's Inn while moving around in the neighborhood of his office.

Why and how he changed his mind to go for the Bar instead of continuing with his training in business administration is anybody's guess. Fatima Jinnah opined that he had come to the conclusion that "it did not suit his genius to prepare himself for a business career, where the highest ambition in life was to see that from year to year one's assets exceed one's liabilities, enabling one to gradually amass a big fortune."

On the other hand, he had been studying about the lives of great political leaders as well as their views on various aspects of public issues. He got impressed with that outlook to life. "As this thought cast doubts in his mind about the appropriateness of a career for which he was equipping himself, he began to study and discuss about the lives of the great contemporary and past leaders of English public life. He discovered that many of them had studied for the Bar, and that a sound knowledge of law had stood them in good stead in their public life." There is an anecdote confirmed by Mohammad Ali himself that during his childhood, he had visited a court of law along with his father. There he had seen an advocate, dressed in gown and band, and he had declared, "I want to be a barrister."

Whatsoever the reason, he decided to seek admission in the Lincoln's Inn. The first record available about him is a hand-written application dated 25th April 1893, wherein he has requested to be exempted from the Latin portion of the entrance examination of the Inn, also known as "Little Go". It was the last year when one could get admission at Lincoln's Inn without any formal education, on the basis of passing an entrance examination. Jinnah later recalled: "Fortunately for me, that year was the last when one could obtain admission by passing the examination known at that time as 'Little Go'. The following year regulations were to be changed, and it would take me two additional years to be called to the Bar. So I decided to give up my apprenticeship with Grahams and to study hard to get through the 'Little Go.'



A view of Lincoln's Inn in 1890



Another view of Lincoln's Inn

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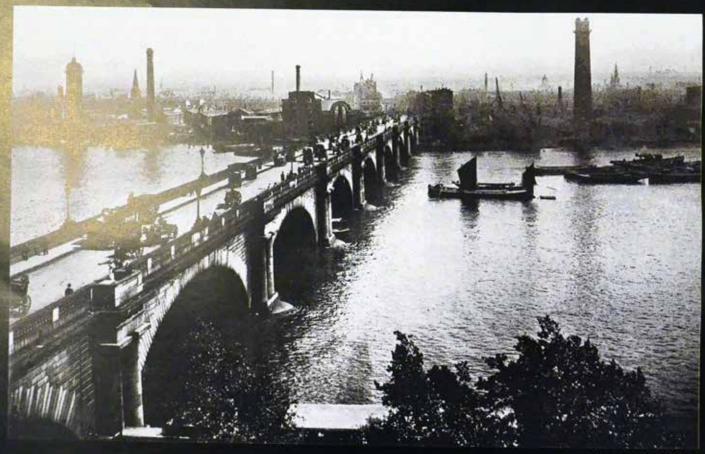
His hand written note to the Librarian of British Museum

But, there was a problem: the entrance Examination contained a portion relating to Latin language, of which Mohammad Ali knew nothing. He decided to seek an exemption. Addressing the application to the "Masters of the Bench of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn" he wrote: "I humbly and respectfully beg to inform you that I intend to appear for the preliminary examination... Having learnt that I shall be examined in the Latin Language I request you in this petition to grant me dispensation for the following reasons: (I) Being a native of India I have never been taught this language. (II) I know several of Indian languages, which we are required to learn as our classics or second languages. (III) Thus having spent my time in learning other languages which are required there I have not been able to learn the Latin language and which if I be compelled to learn will take some years to pass the required exam... I hope you will kindly comply with my request considering the reasons to be satisfactory." ¹²

He was granted exemption; he worked hard on remaining subjects and qualified the examination. Accordingly, he was admitted to Lincoln's Inn on 5th June, 1893. His admission has been recorded at page number 444 of the Admission Register for 1420-1893. The entry in the register reads: "Muhamedali Jinnabhoy, of Karachi, India (19), i. s. Jinnabhoy of Karachi, Sindh, India, afsd. merchant." Here "(19)" denotes his age of nineteen years; "i. s." denotes that the admitted student was the first son of his father.

Mohammad Ali's father was upset with his son's decision to change his career plans from apprenticeship in Business Administration to his enrollment in the Lincoln's Inn for Bar at Law, which was to take three years. "My father wrote to him to give up this unprofitable pursuit and to return home immediately. In spite of a strongly worded letter, the Quaid wrote back in pleading tone and words to my father to allow him to remain in England and to complete his studies for the Bar. He further assured that he would not ask my father to send him any more money, for, he would work in England while studying, and spend as little as possible so that he would be able to stagger his two years' allowance that father had given him to last for four years. Although my father was not happy at the decision of his headstrong son, he reconciled himself to the situation and hoped and prayed for the best"."

After his enrollment, Mohammad Ali shifted his new residence at 35 Russell Road in Kensington area of London till the end of his stay. All his subsequent correspondences with the Lincoln's Inn have been bearing this address. His sister states that he lived there as a paying guest of Mrs F.E Page-Drake at an amount of ten pounds per month. "In later years he recalled that



A view of London in 1890s

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led to inform you that I british to separately, beg to inform you that I british to the person of the person to grant by examined in the hatin Comparage I request you we this persison to grant me dispursation for the following tragons.

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I show have so for the following to leave as sure classes a second language.

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His application seeking exemption from Latin part of entrance test Mrs. Drake was a very kind old lady, having a large family, and that she was particularly fond of him and treated him as her own son*15.

He was fully devoted to his studies now. One of his teachers at Lincoln's Inn, Sir Howard Elphinstone, later wrote about him: "I have much pleasure in stating that from what I have seen of Mr. Jinnah Bhai, who attended my lectures and classes in 1894 and part of 1895 and from the result of the examinations, he is an able man and likely to do well in anything that he turns his attention to." 16

Similarly, another of his teachers, Barrister Douglas Edwards, remembered Jinnah as a diligent, quick and intelligent student. He wrote: "Mr. M.A. Jinnah Bhai was a pupil of mine during part of the year 1894, and while he was studying Roman and English Law in preparation for the examinations for the Bar held by the Council of Legal Education... Mr. Jinnah Bhai, while under my tuition, displayed much diligence, quickness and intelligence in the ... examinations after a comparatively short course of work. I was thus led to form a decidedly favorable opinion as to his intellectual ability and as to the probability of his success in any pursuit in which his talents can be profitability employed."

Around this time Mohammad Ali's interest in reading books had enhanced and he desired to avail membership of the Reading Room of British Museum. For that he required a reference, which he got from Barrister at Law, Mr. R.H. Smith, who writing from 4 Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn on 7th January 1895, wrote to the Principal Librarian of the British Museum: "I beg to state that I am acquainted with M. A. Jinnah of Lincoln's Inn, student at law, and feel sure that he will make a proper use of the Reading Room if he is admitted as a reader" 18.

Mohammad Ali forwarded this reference letter with his hand written note stating: "Sir, I beg to enclose herewith a letter of recommendation and beg to inform you that I seek admission to the Reading Room for references, etc". As this note did not divulge much information about his address as well as a particular object for seeking permission to Reading Room, he wrote another letter, this time giving his address as 35 Russell Road, Kensington. He wrote: "Sir, I beg to reply (to) yours that my *Particular* object for admission to the Reading Room is for *references* [he underlined two words given in italics here] generally and especially to some oriental works... My private address at present is above.... Hoping you will oblige me by sending the ticket to the Common Room, Lincoln's Inn."



Another view of London in 1890s

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> His application requesting to drop "Bhai" from his surname

His request was accepted and the Principal Librarian of the British Museum issued a letter on 9th January 1895, vide number 249, informing him that the "Principal Librarian of the British Museum begs to inform Mr. Mahomed Alli Jinnah that a Reading Ticket will be delivered to him on presenting this Note to the Clerk in the Reading-room, within Six Months from the above date." However, there was a condition printed at the bottom of the note that the reader ought to be minimum twenty-one years old in order to avail the Reading Room facility. Accordingly, Mohammad Ali signed a declaration stating: "I have read the "Declarations" respecting the Reading Room, and I declare that I am not under twenty-one years of age" the state of the British Museum begs to inform Mr.

His interest in books was beyond just those available in the libraries of Lincoln's Inn as well as British Museum. He bought several books himself, and developed a good collection of his personal books, despite of his tight budget. The books were on a wide variety of subjects; Thomas Carlyle's 'Past and Present' (1894) to Andrew Lang's 'The Politics of Aristotle' (1880); and from John Stuart Mill's 'Principles of Political Economy' (1893) to Isaac Disraeli's 'Literary Character of Men of Genius'. Some of his books are still available in Quaid-e-Azam Library at the University of Karachi. On one such book, 'On Morality' authored by Sir Walter Scott, he has written "This book is mine till I am dead. Steal not this for fear of shame. So here's the owner's name. M.A. Jinnah, 10 September 1895."²³

In addition to his studies in law, and reading books on a variety of subjects, it was in London that the seeds of his future as a political leader were sowed. He was particularly impressed with Dadabhai Naoroji, a Bombay born Zoroastrian, who had moved to London, joined politics from the platform of Liberal Party, and won a seat from a local London constituency to the House of Commons, becoming the first Asian member of the British Parliament²⁴.

Dadabhai Naoroji had contested election for the first time from a London constituency as a Liberal candidate in the General Elections of 1886, wherein he was defeated. Two years later, in 1888, his opponent, Conservative Party's Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, remarked about his defeat saying that an English constituency was not ready to elect a 'Blackman." This racist remark generated a wave of sympathy for him amongst the Liberals, who were gaining ground by then in UK's politics under the leadership of William Ewart Gladstone. When the next general elections were held in July 1892, he was given a ticket from a relatively progressive constituency of Central Finsbury as a candidate of the Liberal Party. This time he won the election with a narrow majority.

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Another view of London in 1890s

RECORDS OF THE HONORABLE SOCIET

Lincoln's Inn.

Vol. II.

ADMISSIONS

FROM

A.D. 1800 to A.D. 1893.

CHAPEL REGISTERS.

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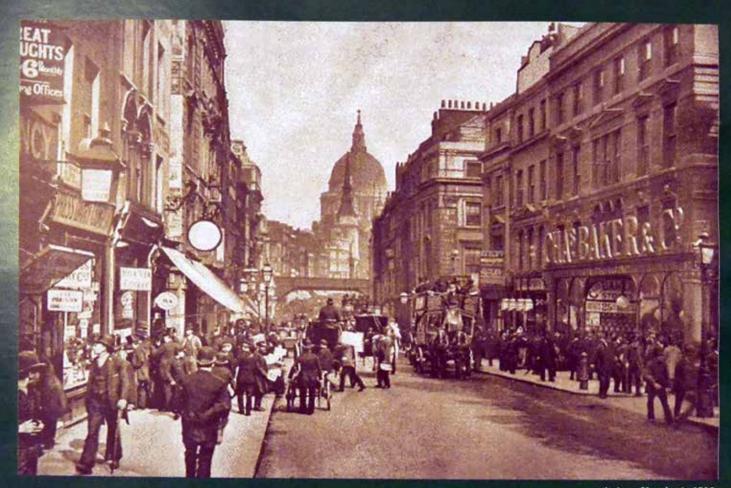
LINCOLN'S INN

Cover page of the Admission Register of Lincoln's Inn containing his name The remarks made against him by Lord Salisbury had endeared Dadabhai Naoroji to the Asian community living in England who considered them as their collective insult. Mohammad Ali was one amongst them, who felt indignation. "When I learnt that Lord Salisbury in one of his speeches had ridiculed Dadabhoy as a 'black man', thereby warning Finsbury constituency not to elect him, I was furious. If Dadabhoy was black, I was blacker; and if this was the mentality of our political masters, then we could never get a fair deal at their hands. From that day I have been an uncompromising enemy of all forms of colour bar," Fatima Jinnah quoted him.

It was perhaps at this stage that he adopted liberalism as his motto as well as a way of living. He also decided to play a leader's role. "During the last two years in London, his time was 'utilized for further independent studies for the political career' he already 'had in mind," Hector Bolitho quoted Dr Ashraf. "Jinnah also said, Fortune smiled on me, and I happened to meet several important English Liberals with whose help I came to understand the doctrine of Liberalism. The Liberalism of Lord Morley was then in full sway. I grasped that Liberalism, which became part of my life and thrilled me very much."²⁷

It was also in London during these years that he got an exposure to performing art through acting in Shakespearian plays. "He sometimes went to see Shakespearean plays at the Old Vic, where he fell under the spell of the great Shakespearean actors of those days. For some time he toyed with the idea of taking to the stage seriously, but the only offer he got was to work in a minor capacity with an unimportant theatrical company that sometimes put Shakespearean plays on the stage. His ambition in those days was to play the role of Romeo at the Old Vic, a dream that remained unfulfilled not only in the limited field of the stage, but also in the wide arena of the stage of life.... "Whenever he recited Shakespeare, his voice would take on the richness and correctness of tone and the proper intonations that are characteristic of people who have under-gone some training in the art of stage-acting." remarked Fatima Jinnah.

With these good things happening in his life, Mohammad Ali had his share of grief and setbacks during his stay in London. The greatest emotional blow came in form of news about his mother's demise in Karachi, while giving birth to child, Bundeh Ali, Mohammad Ali's youngest brother. He had been immensely attached to his mother, hence was devastated with this sad news. Before this, he had already received the news about the death of his wife Emibai, who had died shortly after his departure for England. Then his father had been telling him about the collapse of his business in Karachi and consequent



A view of London in 1890s

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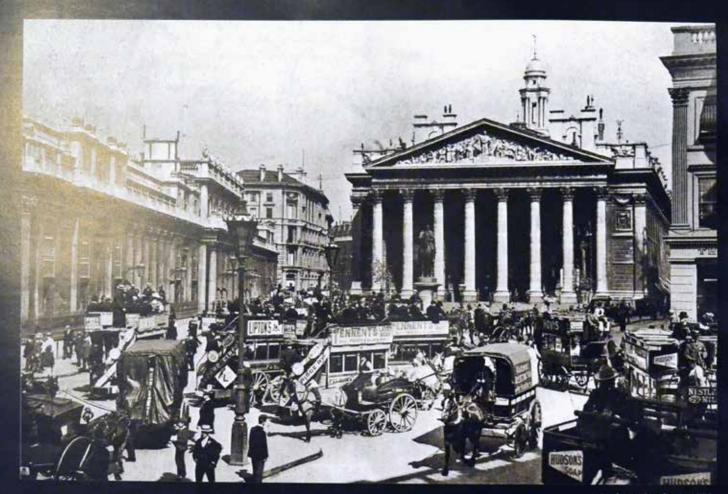
The page containing his admission record at Lincoln's Inn litigations against him, which had ruined his health and put his family in deep economic crisis. But Mohammad Ali withstood all these setbacks with courage and determination, focusing only on the goals he had set for himself to achieve in London.

The years went by and he completed all the requirements for being called to the Bar in April 1896. But, before the formal closure of his studies at the Inn, he formally requested the authorities for dropping 'bhai' from his surname. In a letter dated 30th March 1896, addressed to the Steward of Lincoln's Inn, from his residence, 35 Russell Road, Kensington, Mohammad Ali wrote: "Sir, I beg to inform you that I am desirous of dropping the ending of my name, namely bhai, meaning Mr.-- as I explained to you. It being customary in India, at the time of my admission, I happened to give the name after that fashion. I shall feel much obliged if you can and will alter it without causing you any great inconvenience. The name should be M.A. Jinnah and in full Mahomed Alli Jinnah.... Hoping you will see that it is altered at any rate before my call."

His request for change of name was considered at a meeting of the Council of Lincoln's Inn, duly attended by about two dozen members, on 14th April 1896. The resolution passed on the occasion read: "The Petition of Mahomed Alli Jinnahbhai Esq., a student of this Society to have his name altered on the books of the Society to Mahomed Ali Jinnah was granted." ¹⁰

At the end of the Easter Term of 1896, he submitted his petition and declaration for Call to the Bar to the "The Worshipful Masters of the Bench" on a prescribed format. The first portion of the format required to "state condition of life and occupation". Jinnah filled: "The Petition of Mahomed Alli Jinnah (Admitted as Mahomedalli Jinnahbhai) of Karachi India, The First son of Jinnahbhai of Karachi, Sind, India, aforesaid, Merchant"¹¹.

The petition went on say: "That your Petitioner was admitted of this Society on the 5th day of June 1893 and is now desirous of being Called to the Bar, having attained the age of Twenty one years kept Twelve Terms Commons, passed a Public Examination to the satisfaction of the Council of Legal Education, and conformed himself to the Rules of this Society... Your Petitioner therefore prays that your Worships will be pleased to Call him to the Bar this Term on paying all his arrears of Commons and Dues with the Customary Fines and Composition to the Treasurer of this Society". He signed the petition as well as a formal Declaration of about 470 words as "Mahomed Ali Jinnah" on 21sth April 1896 to be eligible for Call to the Bar 12st.



A vibrant London in 1890s



A Gate to Lincoln's Inn

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Letter of introduction from R.H. Smith to British Museum

His request was endorsed by a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn, Graham Hastings, who in a note addressed to the Steward of the Inn, wrote: "I have undertaken to move the call of Mr. Mahomed Alli Jinnah (who was admitted as Mahomedalli Jinnahbhai) at the Special Council appointed to be held at ½ past 5 o' Clock on Friday the 24th Of April 1896***. The next record available at Lincoln's Inn is the entry in the Bar Book of 'Mohammad Ali Jinnah's call duly signed by him as "M.A. Jinnah" above a fifty pound stamp. It reads: "Proposed by Graham Hastings, Esq. Published to the Bar by Edward Henry Pember, Esq., Q.C., Treasurer on the 29th Day of April 1896 in the presence of John Westlake, Esq., George Wirgman Hemming, Esq., Frank Whittaker Bush, Esq., Edward Parker Wolstenholme, Esq., William Phipson Beale, Esq. and David Lindo Alexander, Esq. Pursuant to Order of Council of 28th April 1896.

After completion of all these formalities, Barrister Mohammad Ali Jinnah, applied for a formal certificate. Addressing a petition to the Masters of the Bench, he wrote: "That your Petitioner was admitted on the Fifth day of June 1893, and called to the Degree of Barrister-at-Law on the 29th day of April, 1896, hath conformed himself to the Rules of this Society, and is now desirous of taking a certificate of his standing and deportment in this Society... Your Petitioner therefore prays that your worships will be pleased to grant him a Certificate of such his Admission, Call to the Bar, and of his deportment in this Society, on paying all his Arrears of Dues and Duties to the Treasurer within one Month from the date of the Order made hereon; your Petitioner undertaking to pay all Dues hereafter to accrue due from him."

His petition for grant of certificate was discussed at the meeting of Council of the Inn on 11th May 1896, where it was approved. Accordingly, Mohammad Ali Jinnah was issued a certificate, marking completion of his studies at Lincoln's Inn. With this academic career at Lincoln's Inn, as well as anywhere else, came to an end.

It was time for this young Barrister to pack up for his journey back home. But, before that he did not forget to clear all his outstanding dues. Fatima Jinnah, who had in her possession his bank passbook, gave details of the last four cheques that he issued in London. "One was issued on 14" July 1896 to Mrs F.E. Page-Drake for £3; this would probably be the amount that he had to pay to finalize his outstanding accounts with her as a paying guest of the family. On the 15th of July he had drawn three cheques. One is cheque for £71.1.10 in favour of National Bank of India Ltd., Bombay, indicating that he had already decided, while in London, to settle down in Bombay and not in Karachi. The other is to Thomas Cook and Sons for £42.18.12, his passage money for his trip back from



His residence in London

London to Karachi. The last is a self cheque for £10.9.8, to finally close his bank account."

Here it may be interesting to note that during his entire stay in London for over three years, he spent about £800, as is evident from his bank records³⁰. One British Pound in 1890s has been calculated to have the value equal to 66.4 Pounds sterling of today³⁰. If we convert the value of £800 in 1890s to present value, it comes to £53120. With the present exchange rate of one £ equaling to 1.52 US\$, the value of the money spent by Jinnah in London, in present day US dollars comes to around 80,750. Jinnah's total stay in London was for about thirty-nine months, which means he used to spend an amount equal to present US\$2100 each month. And this amount was enough for a person like Jinnah, who did not believe in extravagance, to have a comfortable and respectable life in London.

Having completed his task and fulfilling his objectives in London, Barrister Mohammad Ali Jinnah sailed back to Karachi in the summer of 1896.

Proposed by Iraham Hastings, Esq.

Published to the Bar by Edward

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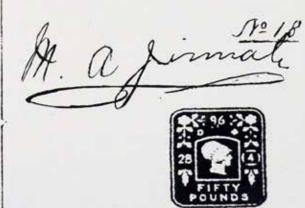
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Chapter 4

Offer of PhD





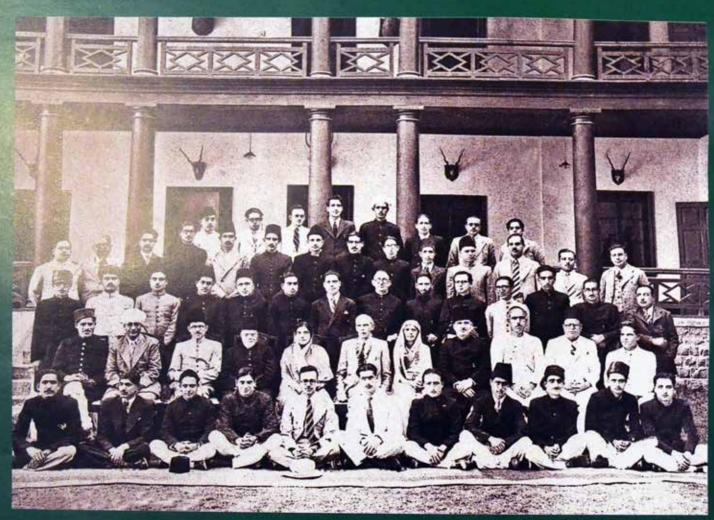
Aligarh Muslim University

After decades of sheer struggle, Mohammad Ali Jinnah had emerged as the Quaid-e-Azam of the Indian Muslims. Under his leadership, Pakistan Resolution had already been passed at Lahore in March 1940. In this backdrop, the Aligarh Muslim University took a decision on 12th April 1942 to confer an honorary degree of Doctor of Law on Mohammad Ali Jinnah as to recognize his services for the Muslim cause.

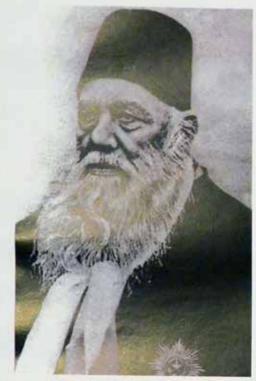
Accordingly, Vice Chancellor, Dr Ziauddin Ahmed, wrote a letter dated 23rd April 1942 to Quaid-e-Azam conveying the decision of the court of the university. He wrote: "My dear Mr. Jinnah... The court of this University at its last meeting held on the 12th April, has authorized me to take necessary steps for the conferment of an honorary Degree of Doctor of Law on any date that may be convenient to you. Will you please let me know what time will be convenient to you so that I may take necessary steps?" I

Jinnah did not respond. Dr Ziauddin tried to meet him at his residence in Delhi two times, but was not able to see him due to Jinnah's engagements. After waiting for about six months since his first letter, the Vice Chancellor wrote another letter to Jinnah on 30th September 1942. He wrote: "My dear Mr. Jinnah... I am sorry that I did not have the opportunity to meet you in Delhi. You were busy in the first week. I went twice to your house, but you were engaged and I myself fell ill during the last four days of my stay, so much so that I had to deliver my speech on the *Khaksar* question with a temperature of 102. There were several points I wanted to discuss with you... I sent you a letter on the 23th April 1942, a copy of which is enclosed herein for ready reference, and I spoke to you personally. I will have to lay your reply before the next meeting of the Executive Council We want some notice for holding the Special Convocation. You may please let me know the time that may be most convenient to you."

To this, Jinnah replied from Delhi on 4th October 1942, declining to accept the honour, stating that he was happy to be plain 'Mr. Jinnah' rather than with any other prefix. He wrote: "Dear Dr. Sir Ziauddin... I am in receipt of your



With alumni of Muslim University Aligarh



Sir Syed Ahmed Khan: the Founder of Muslim University Aligarh



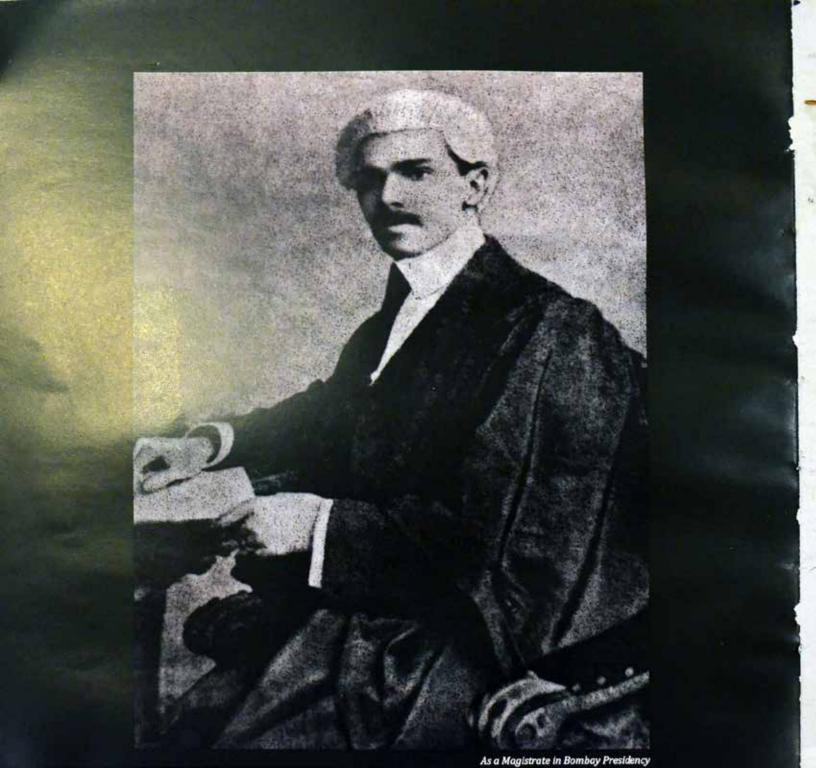
Another view of Aligarh University

letter of the 30° September, and I am thankful to the Court of the Muslim University Aligarh, for having decided to confer an honorary Degree of Doctor of Law on me. While I appreciate very much indeed the spirit which has actuated the court to take this decision, I have, most reluctantly, to say that I have lived as plain Mr. Jinnah and I hope to die as plain Mr. Jinnah. I am very much averse to any title or honours and I will be more happy if there was no prefix to my name... I therefore, hope that the court will in deference to my feelings and sentiments, be good enough to reconsider their decision, although I fully realize that no greater honour can be done to a man than what is proposed to be conferred upon me by the court of the Muslim University".

This reply from Jinnah was reviewed by the Executive Council of the university, which resolved to request Jinnah to reconsider his decision as the university wanted Jinnah's name on the list of the recipients of its degrees. The Vice Chancellor was again entrusted the responsibility to persuade Jinnah to accept the degree. Accordingly, the Vice Chancellor wrote again to Jinnah on 3rd December 1942, stating: "My dear Mr. Jinnah... Haid your letter of the 4rd October 1942 before the Executive Council, and the Council unanimously asked me to request you to reconsider your decision. Your non-acceptance will be a great disappointment. The inclusion of your name among the recipients of honorary Degrees will be a great honour to the University."

But, Jinnah still remained unmoved. Writing from Delhi on 6th January 1943, he again declined to accept the degree, saying: "Dear Sir Ziauddin... Many thanks for your letter of the 3th of December 1942. As requested by you on behalf of the Executive Council to reconsider my decision, I have again thought over the matter in deference to their wishes and I can only say that I am unable to accept the great honour that the Council proposes to confer upon me. It is not that I do not appreciate the feelings behind it, but there are various reasons and I have reluctantly to say that really I am unable to concede to this well-meant request.... Please convey my deepest thanks and appreciation of the decision of the Executive Council to confer upon me this great honour. I hope, however, that the Council will not misunderstand me for the conclusion that I have come to so unwillingly."

With this the chapter of getting an honorary PhD came to a close in Jinnah's academic life.



Dan Langa - 18th oct 1913

application for Membership under Section 6 of the Counties tion and Ander of the LE-India Madim League.

THE HONORARY SECRETARY,

All-India Muslim League,

LOCKBOW.

DEAR SIE

I desire in be elected a member of the All-India Muslim Degree, and in over I am elected I hereby declarathes I shall sellers to the objects and Stules of the League as mentioned in its Constitution.

> (84) M. a: Jumah Malatan Hill Bonting

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Membership Form of AIML duly signed by him



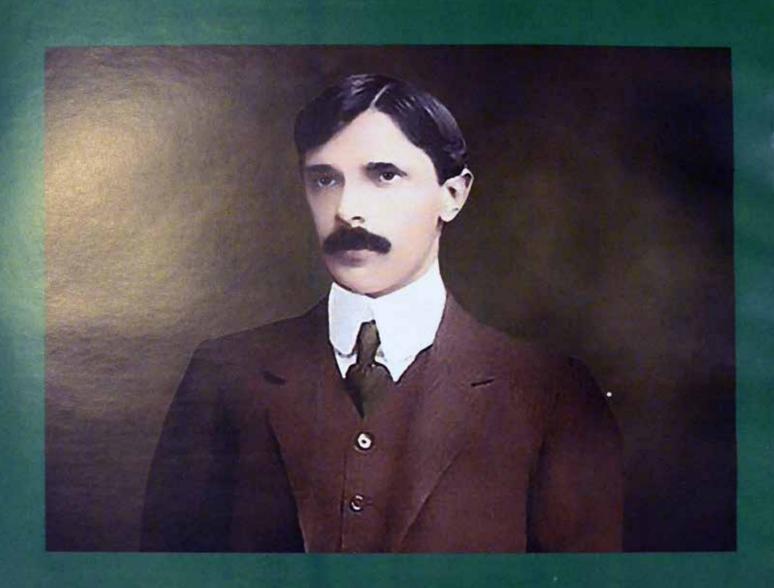
Chapter 5

Career in Law and politics

After his Call to the Bar, Jinnah returned back to Karachi in the summer of 1896, where a number of problems were waiting for him. He learnt firsthand from his father that their family business had collapsed and that they were facing cases in courts of law for payment of business debts. "On reaching home, my father was soon in conference with him, explaining to him that the family business was in ruins, and that he had to pay large sums of money to a number of business houses, some of whom had filed cases in law courts." His father tried to persuade him to begin his law practice from Karachi. But he had made up his mind to try his luck in Bombay, finding Karachi too small for his career in law and politics.

Upon reaching Bombay, he rented a hotel room in vicinity of the high court and applied for his enrollment there as an advocate. In his letter dated 18th August 1896 addressed to the Registrar of the Bombay High Court, he wrote: "I beg to inform you that I am desirous of being admitted to the High Court of Bombay as an advocate. I have kept twelve terms and was called to the Bar on 29th April 1896. I intend practicing at the above court and herewith enclose two certificates of eligibility: one from Sir Howard W. Elphinstone and the other from Mr. Douglas Edwards, which please find.... As to the certificate of character, not being aware of the rule I cannot produce; but if Honourable Chief Justice and the Judges will be good enough to admit me permanently I shall be pleased to undertake to produce the same from a Barrister in England with whom I was reading, within three months." The Registrar put up the file on 24th August 1896 to Judges in-charge of enrollment, who remarked: "May be permanently admitted," thus laying the foundation of a long and successful career in law of Barrister M.A. Jinnah.

Perhaps the first case in which he appeared as an advocate was the litigation cases in the district court of Karachi, for which he came from Bombay in September. On 9th December 1896, the court gave verdict in his favor.³ He returned back to Bombay in January 1897 and rented an apartment at Apollo Bandar. For the next three years, there were not many cases coming his way,



except the ones where he appeared with the Mehta group of lawyers."

Being a smart and well groomed person, his social and professional circle began widening. One of his friends introduced him to John Molesworth MacPherson, the officiating Advocate General of Bombay, who was impressed with him and invited him to work in his chambers. Jinnah accepted the offer and was able to prove his worth. During the initial years of his career as a lawyer, Jinnah also worked in the Chamber of Sir George Lowendes. It was a rare distinction for an Indian to be part of such renowned law chambers.

During his association with John MacPherson's chambers, some temporary posts of judicial magistrate fell vacant in the Judicial Department of Bombay Presidency, under Sir Charles Ollivant. With his strong professional references, he was appointed as Third Presidency Magistrate, Bombay in May 1900°. This was an opportunity as well as a challenge for young Jinnah: an opportunity to gain experience of a magistrate in British India and a challenge to come up to expectations of his peers and seniors. He performed very well.

On expiry of the six month appointment, he was offered to continue with his judicial appointment, which carried a salary of one thousand and five hundred a month: a big amount in those days. But, a confident Jinnah declined the offer, saying: "No, thank you, Sir. I will soon be able to earn that much in a single day."

Jinnah started practicing law again, specializing in the forensic field. His expertise in his chosen field reached to such an extent that he was known as "Lord Simon of Bombay Court" referring to Lord Simon of English Bar's profound expertise in the field of forensics. When Sir Ollivant met Jinnah some years later, he congratulated him on his correct decision of not joining the government service. 'He congratulated me on my determination and courage, saying that I had done well to refuse his offer,' Jinnah recalled later in his life.

Once out of financial blues, Jinnah brought his father and siblings from Karachi to Bombay and accommodated them in an apartment in Khoja Mohalla. He himself lived in a separate place, but made it a point to visit his father and siblings regularly, mostly on Sundays. His father died on 17^{th} April 1902^{th} . At that point he assumed full responsibility of his siblings to the extent that he even catered for them in his last will dated 30^{th} May 1939.

Once established in his career in law, Jinnah turned his attention to his political career. The beginning was made in 1903 by his active involvement





At the joint session of AIML and INC in Lucknow in 1916

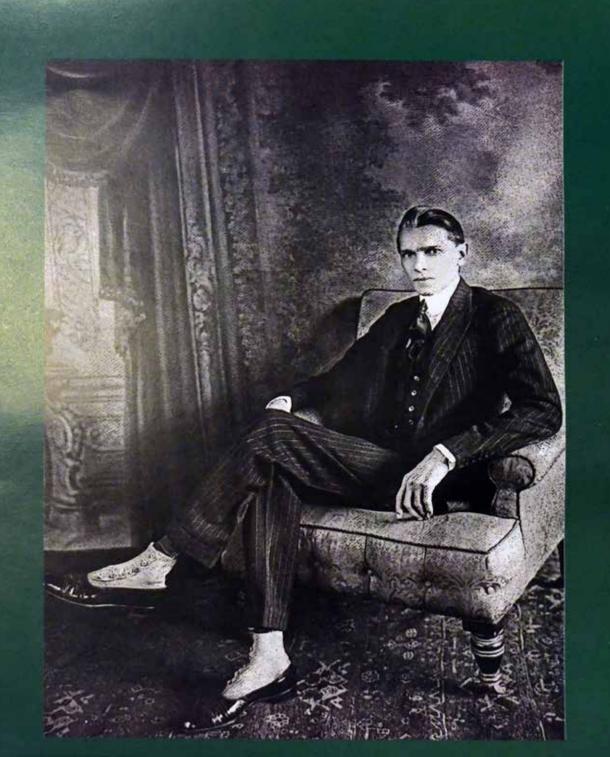


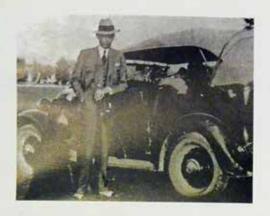
with the affairs of Bombay Presidency Association, an organization established in 1885¹⁰. In March 1904, he contested perhaps the first election of his life for a political position, the membership of Bombay Municipal Corporation, and was returned as one of the sixteen elected members¹¹. Few months later, in July 1904, he attended the meeting of Indian National Congress's Reception Committee in Bombay.¹²

By 1906, already established as a top-notch lawyer, thirty-year old Jinnah started emerging as a leader of Indian National Congress. That year Jinnah went to Bengal to attend the Congress's annual session at Cakutta. With him were seasoned Indian political stalwarts including Sir Dadabhai Naoroji, whom he served as political secretary. By the close of the year, on 30th December, in another city of Bengal, Dacca, another assembly of men gave birth to All India Muslim League, the organization, which Jinnah would join many years later and would lead it to found Pakistan. But, in 1906, the Muslim League was being born at the hands of a battery of leading Indian Muslims considered to be under influence of British rulers. This meeting was presided over by Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk who moved a Resolution, which created the Muslim League with the objective to "protect and advance the political rights and interests of Musalmans of India, and to respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to the Government."

In 1909 came the Indian Councils Act of 1909, commonly known as Morley-Minto Reforms. The Act also provided for an increase in the number of Indian representatives in the Imperial Legislative Council of Cakutta. Jinnah was elected as one of the sixty members as 'Muslim member from Bombay.' Soon afterwards a resolution was moved in the council to end the export of indentured Indian laborers to South Africa. The issue was very important as the Indian public opinion wanted an end to sending Indians to South Africa, another British colony.

The matter came for a debate before the Imperial Legislative Council in Calcutta on 25th February 1910. Jinnah took up the floor and said: "It is a most painful question, a question which has roused the feelings of all classes in the country to the highest pitch of indignation and horror at the harsh and cruel treatment that is meted out to Indians in South Africa." Viceroy Minto, who was presiding over the session, could not remain silent over the use of such strong words like 'cruel treatment,' which he deemed 'too harsh to be used for a friendly part of the Empire.' But, Jinnah was adamant. He said: "My Lord! I should feel much inclined to use much stronger language. But I am fully aware of the constitution of this council, and I do not wish to trespass for one single







His passport

moment. But I do say that the treatment meted out to Indians is the harshest and the feeling in this country is unanimous."14

In 1912, the Aga Khan resigned from the presidency of Muslim League. The change of guards at the top level resulted in change in the policies of the League. On the other hand, there were certain British actions and policies which had aggrieved the Muslims. Major Muslim grievances at that time were the annulment of the partition of Bengal, hindrances in elevation of Mohammedan Anglo Oriental College to the level of a university, demolition of Cawnpore Mosque and the British overseas policies in respect of the Balkan War. These issues gave birth to discontentment amongst Muslims. The Muslim public opinion was expressed by journals and newspapers like Zafar Ali Khan's Zamindar, Maulana Mohammed Ali's Comrade and Hamdard and Abul Kalam Azad's Al-Hilal.

It was in this backdrop that Muslim League decided to change its creed and adopt a new Constitution. Thus on 23rd March 1913 at Lucknow, the League resolved to work for 'the attainment under the aegis of the British Crown a system of self-government suitable to India ... By fostering public spirit among the people...and by cooperating with other communities for the said purpose.' This modified creed made the League more acceptable to the class of enlightened Indian Muslims including Jinnah.

In September 1913, the League's two stalwarts, Maulana Mohammed Ali and Syed Wazir Hassan, went to England to apprise the English authorities of the Muslims' point of view regarding the Cawnpore mosque issue. At that time Jinnah was also in London. Both the delegates met him and requested him to join the League. Jinnah agreed on the condition that his joining All India Muslim League would not in any way "imply even the shadow of disloyalty to the larger national cause to which his life was dedicated," i.e. his association with the Congress. His condition accepted, he became member of All India Muslim League while retaining his membership of Indian National Congress. This way he became a bridge between the two parties and was hailed as an ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity.

In 1914, Jinnah met Gandhi for the first time at a garden party given on Gandhi's return to India from South Africa. The World War had also begun that year bringing a sluggish period as far as the political activities were concerned. However the following year, he convinced both the parties to hold their respective sessions on the same dates at Bombay in December 1915. Jinnah moved a resolution in the League session seeking formation of a committee to



At a session of Home Rule League in March 1918



draw a scheme of political reforms for India. Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, who became the president of the Congress in later years, was at that time a member of the Muslim League, supported the resolution, which was passed and a committee was formed. On the other hand, the Congress also resolved to set up a committee for the same purpose. The ice started to melt between the two major political parties of India due to Jinnah's efforts.

By the end of 1916, both the committees convened their meetings jointly at Cakutta and drafted an agreed draft of reforms, known in history as the Lucknow Pact. This pact accepted separate electorates as the basis of representation of Muslims in various representative assemblies as well as in the local bodies. It also resolved amicably the thorny issue of Muslims' share in the legislative councils of the country. "He was responsible for the Congress-League Pact of 1916 the only pact ever signed between the two organizations, the Congress and the Muslim League... Scheme embodied in this Pact was to become the basis for Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, also known as Government of India Act of 1919." In December 1916, Jinnah presided over the Muslim League session held at Lucknow, which endorsed the understanding reached between the two parties.





His wife: Rattanbaie

Marriage with Rattanbaie

In April 1918, one of the most important events in Jinnah's private life took place: his marriage with Rattanbaie, a young girl from Zoroastrian family, who converted to Islam one day before their marriage. Jinnah was living a bachelor's life since the death of his first wife in 1893. "Miss Rattanbaie, only daughter of Sir Dinshaw Petit, yesterday underwent conversion to Islam and is today to be married to the Hon. M.A. Jinnah," read the announcement in the daily Statesman of Calcutta on 19th April 1918. The Islamic name given to Rattanbaie was Marium, but she remained known mostly by her old name.

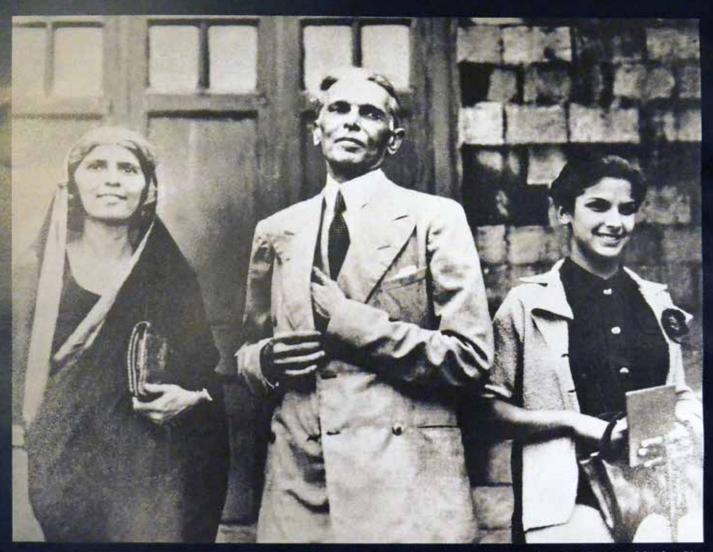
Unlike the oriental traditions of arranged marriages, this marriage was purely based on free choice of both the partners. Rattanbaie, popularly known as Rattie, was "warm, intelligent and wonderful She was humorous and loved poetry and arts." She was a social worker by nature and campaigned against social evils like prostitution and cruelty against animals. Both the Jinnahs made a wonderful couple and were greeted enthusiastically in the social circles of Bombay.

However, in subsequent years, the marriage went through some uneven patches. The distance between both the partners increased as their interests and intellect started moving in divergent directions. Nevertheless, both of them retained a degree of love and respect for each other till the end. The differences between them melted away when Rattie fell terminally ill. She was taken to Paris for treatment. Jinnah followed her and stayed with her in a nursing house for over a month.

On her part, she also loved him very much. In her letter to him written in October 1928, few months before her death, she wrote: "Darling, thank you for all you have done... When one has been as close to the reality of life -- (which after all is death), as I have been, dearest one only remembers the beautiful and tender moments and all the rest becomes a half veiled mist of unrealities. Try and remember me beloved as the flower you plucked and not the flower you treaded upon.... Darling, I love I love you and had I loved you just a little less I



Another picture of Rattanbaie



With his sister Fatima and daughter Dina



An adolescent Dina



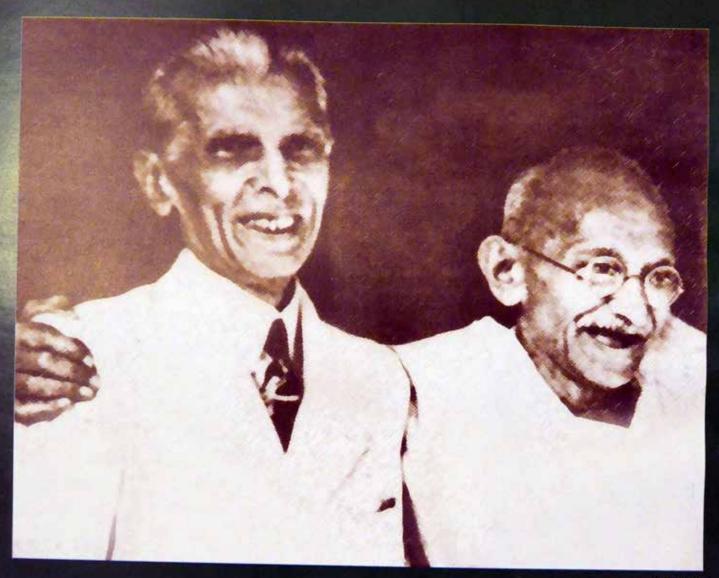
With his mother-in-law Lady Petit

might have remained with you... I have loved you, my darling, as it is given to few men to be loved. I only beseech you that the tragedy which commenced with love should also end with it. Darling, good night and good bye".

Rattie could not survive and died in 1929 due to illness in little less than eleven years of their married life. She was buried in Bombay in accordance with Islamic rituals.

She had given birth to her and Jinnah's only chikl, a daughter, Dina. She was born on 15th August 1919. When she was around ten years okl, her mother died. Jinnah took care of her with the help of his sister Fatima Jinnah.

Extract from the Nikkah Register (in Persian) solemnizing his marriage with Rattanbaie



With Gandhi

Parting of Ways

Coming back to the political scene in India, in July 1918, the Government published the draft of Montague-Chelmsford Reforms scheme in order to gauge the reaction of the people. Both the Congress and the Muslim League called their respective sessions in Delhi to formulate their responses. The Muslim League met with Moulvi Fazlul Haq in chair, while the Congress with Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The League adopted a resolution, partly accepting the scheme of reforms, while the Congress rejected them entirely. This gave birth to a wave of agitation and anti-government demonstrations all over India.

To restore law and order in the country, the colonial administration enacted the 'Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act,' popularly known as Rowalt Act, after the name of Justice SA Rowalt, who headed the committee which proposed the legislation. This Act provided for the conviction of political suspects without proper trial Jinnah opposed this dictatorial piece of legislation. During a debate on the bill, he said, "My first ground is that it is against the fundamental principle of law and justice, namely that no man should lose his liberty or be deprived of his liberty, without a judicial trial in accordance with the accepted rules of evidence and procedure."

The Government remained adamant. Jinnah again appealed in a strongly worded open letter to the Viceroy, urging him to withdraw the antipeople and anti-constitutional legislation. He wrote to him: "A Government that sanctions such a law in time of peace forfeits its claim to be called a civilized Government." His appeal went to deaf ears again. Finally he decided to say good bye to his association with the highest British Assembly in protest and resigned from the membership of Imperial Legislative Council².

The protest against this law continued throughout India. The Congress gave a call for strike on 6th April 1919, which engulfed the entire country in riots. In retaliation government forces rounded up a large number of political workers. In Amritsar city of the Punjab, a crowd gathered outside a police station on 11th April, demanding release of the arrested political workers. The following day, a protest meeting was called at Jalianwalla Bagh to urge the government to withdraw the Act and release the political prisoners.

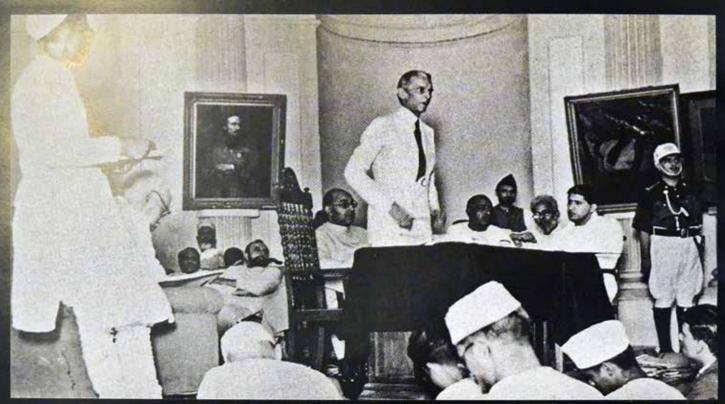
The administration decided to use full force to deal with the situation.



With Fatima Jinnah and some friends



After taking a walk



Addressing an AIML session



With some leaders of AIML in Simia

Control of the city was handed over to General Dweyer, who deployed armed troops in the city. When some twenty thousand protesters assembled there, the General commanded his troops to open fire on them resulting in heavy loss of life. The tragedy gave birth to unprecedented anger all over India. The desperate government imposed martial law in the province of the Punjab, which further aggravated the situation. In 1920, the Government admitted in a White Paper that the martial law in the Punjab had been 'intensive.' A number of villages were bombed from the air; and several village headmen were flogged and whipped publicly. This put entire Punjab in flames. The Muslims being in majority in the province suffered more. Jinnah was shocked at this situation.

Though Jinnah and Gandhi had been working together, with difference of opinion on certain issues, the gulf between them was growing fast. At that time, Gandhi sat at the top of the two important political organizations of India: the Congress and the Home Rule League. Jinnah was associated with both these organizations. On 3rd October, the first parting of ways came when Jinnah resigned from the Home Rule League when Gandhi, who was presiding over the meeting, gave a ruling in contravention of Jinnah's views.

Soon afterwards, Congress's session was called at Nagpur. Gandhi moved a resolution asking for non-cooperation with the Government. The move was supported by most of the delegates. Jinnah alone rose to oppose the resolution and demanded to be heard in accordance with the spirit of democracy. He was of the view that the non-cooperation movement would not remain non-violent, as was being claimed by proponents of the movement. "Mr. Jinnah with the usual smile on his face mounted the platform with an ease suggestive of self confidence and the conviction of the man, and opposed in an argumentative, lucid and clear style, the change of creed," reported the Times of India³. "As soon as he had said, 'Irise to oppose the resolution,' hooting, shouting and catcalls drowned his voice."

This proved to be the parting of the ways and after this session Jinnah resigned from the Congress, ending his fifteen years association with the party.

These were turbulent times in Indian history. On the one hand discontent against colonial rulers was growing in the masses, while on the other hand inter-communal relations were deteriorating, resulting in frequent riots. By July 1925, major cities of the subcontinent like Delhi, Calcutta and Allahabad witnessed a frenzy of bloody communal riots, which continued to plague the political life of the country for many years to come.



AIML Patna Session, 1938



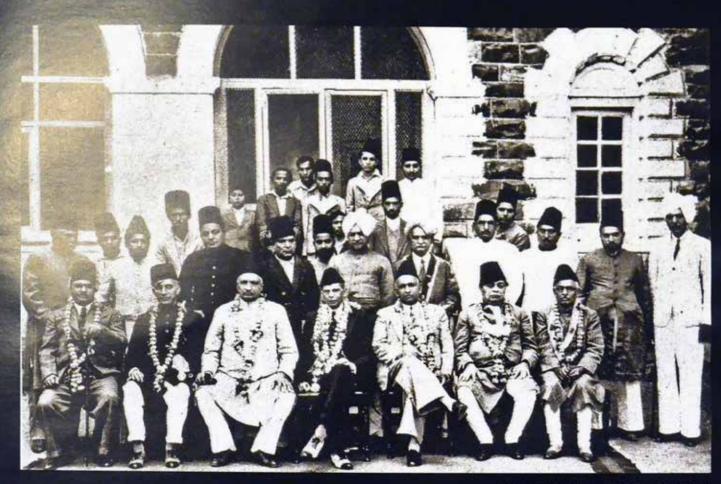
With leaders of AIML

In March 1927, Jinnah took an initiative and convened a meeting of all the important Muslim leaders of that time at Delhi. This assembly unanimously adopted a resolution, which later on came to be known as 'Delhi Muslim Proposals.' This resolution highlighted Muslim viewpoint regarding the new scheme of political reforms in the country. An outstanding achievement of this initiative was that the fragmented Muslim leadership had converged at one platform. The contents of the resolution, received a mixed response from various Indian political circles. The Congress responded by forming its own Committee, known as the Nehru Committee, after the name of Pundit Motilal Nehru, father of Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru.

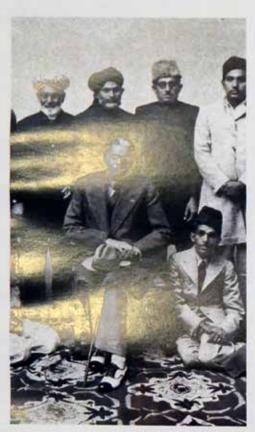
The Nehru Committee presented its report, which largely went against the spirit of Delhi Muslim Proposals. Hence, the Muslim League rejected it at its session held at Delhi in March 1929. On this occasion, Jinnah presented his famous 'Fourteen Points.' Though Jinnah had lost his wife Rattanbaie just a month before the session of the League, he did not allow himself to mourn his personal loss at the cost of his responsibilities as a leader. His fourteen points, which he called the 'basic principles', contained the basic measures to safeguard the rights and interests of Muslims.

By May 1929, Westminster Abbey in London saw the change of guards where the Labour Party won the general elections and formed the government with Ramsay McDonald as Prime Minister. In October, Viceroy Lord Irwin announced that the new British Government would ascertain Indian public opinion on future constitutional reforms before they were implemented. The following years saw three Round Table Conferences taking place in London, at the first of which Jinnah was invited to speak on behalf of the Muslims of India. Addressing the assembly of the political who's who of India and England, on 20th November 1930, Jinnah said, "I have no hesitation in conceding this proposition -- that you [Great Britain] have a great interest in India, both commercial and political, and therefore you are a party, if I may say so, gravely interested in the future constitution of India. But... I want you equally to concede that we have a greater and far more vital interest than you have, because you have the financial and commercial interest and the political interest, but to us it is all in all."

After participating in the first Round Table Conference in 1930, Jinnah decided to settle in England and practice law before the Privy Council He gave up his political activities in India. Perhaps, the death of his beloved wife had left some emotional scars, which he wanted to heal in privacy, a little away from political limelight. During that period, he concentrated on his professional life as a lawyer. The trappings of professional success resulted in a comfortable life



A group photo with some of his followers in 1938



With some members of the Ahmadabad Municipal Committee

in England. But his absence from the political scene in India was felt by the Muslims of India. In view of this, the visiting Muslim leaders had been requesting him to return back to India. Hence, after staying in England for little less than four years, Jinnah returned back to India in April 1934. With his return, he actively engaged himself in politics and within no time, he emerged as the sole spokesman of Muslims in India.

In July 1935, the British Government gave assent to the Government of India Act, 1935, under which elections to various legislative forums were to be contested in 1936-37. These were the times when the Muslim League was in shambles due to divisions in its rank and file. On the other hand, the Congress was well-organized, mobile and an efficient party. The results of the elections were not surprising when the Congress could secure absolute majorities in five out of the eleven provincial assemblies and formed governments in seven provinces. The Muslim League was able to capture only 108 Muslim reserved seats out of total 484 such seats.

After the Congress formed governments in certain provinces from 1937 to 1939, it could not show the degree of magnanimity and tolerance for the Muslim minority, which a multicultural polity like India demanded. The headquarters of Muslim League started flooding with complaints from various parts of India against the atrocities and injustices meted out to Muslims in the provinces with the Congress ministries. Responding to these grievances, the League appointed a committee, headed by the Raja Muhammad Mehdi of Pirpur, to probe into the Muslim grievances in the Congress-governed provinces. The subsequent 'Pirpur Report' substantiated several allegations. One of the highlighted case was issuance of a circular by the local education board to the headmasters of Urdu schools in the Central Provinces, which urged them that the "picture of Mahatma Gandhi should be worshiped"

Jinnah protested against these atrocities and entered into correspondence with the Congress President Subhas Bose, suggesting that both the parties, the Congress and the Muslim League, should sit together to sort out the issues, which were hampering inter-communal relations. But the Congress was apprehensive about accepting the League's status as the representative of Indian Muslims. Thus, the offer of talks was declined. Around this time, Nehru expressed his belief publicly that there existed only two parties in India: the Congress and the British. Jinnah added that the Muslims were the third party. In fact the attitude of Congress helped awakening the Muslim masses towards their separate identity and as a result flocked to join the Muslim League. Jinnah seized this opportunity and organized the League all over the country.



At the AIML session in March 1940 with Nawab Sir Shah Nawaz Mamdot presenting address of welcome

Pakistan Resolution



Arriving at the venue of AIML session in Lahore in March 1940

In October 1938, a great event took place in Karachi. It was the Muslim League's session held at Karachi with Jinnah in chair, wherein a resolution was moved by Sir Abdullah Haroon, demanding for the first time a separate homeland for the Muslims of India. The Resolution No.5 of the session asserted that the Muslims were a "separate nation" and India was not having just one but two nations. It read:

"Whereas the evolution of a single united India and a united Indian Nation inspired by common aspirations and common ideals being impossible of realization on account of the caste-ridden mentality and anti-Muslim policy of the majority community, and also on account of acute differences of religion, language, script, culture, social attitude and outlook on life of the two major communities and even of race in certain parts, this Conference considers it absolutely essential in the interests of an abiding peace of the vast Indian continent and in the interests of unhampered cultural development, the economic and social betterment, and political self-determination of the two nations known as Hindus and Muslims, to recommend to All-India Muslim League to review and revise the entire question for what should be the suitable constitution for India which will secure honorable and legitimate status due to them, and that this conference, therefore recommends to the All-India Muslim League to devise a scheme of Institution under which Muslims may attain full independence."

The significance of this resolution was the fact that it was for the first time that the Muslim League had formally defined Hindus and Muslims living in India as 'two separate nations' and advocated independence of Muslims. The resolution prepared the way for the formal declaration of the League's ultimate goal of Pakistan, seventeen months later in March 1940.

The stage was ready in Lahore in March 1940 for a great landmark in the struggle for Pakistan, when the Muslim League passed Pakistan Resolution on 23rd March with Jinnah in chair. Delegates from all over India had converged at



With members of AIML working committee, March 1940



At the Sindh Provincial Muslim League session at Karachi in October, 1938

Lahore. Jinnah took stage on 22nd March saying, "Ladies and Gentlemen! We are meeting today in our session after fifteen months. The last session of the All India Muslim League took place at Patna in December 1938. Since then many developments have taken place. I shall first shortly tell you what the All India Muslim League had to face after the Patna session of 1938."

Informing the delegates of the progress made so far in the organizational work of the League, Jinnah reminded, "You remember that one of the tasks which was imposed on us and which is far from completed yet was to organize Muslim League all over India. We have made enormous progress during the last fifteen months in this direction. I am glad to inform you that we have established a provincial league in every province. The next point is that in every bye-election to the Legislative Assemblies we had to fight with powerful opponents. I congratulate the Mussalmans for having shown enormous grit and spirit throughout our trials. There was not a single bye-election in which our opponents won against Muslim League candidates. In the last election to the U.P. Council, that is the Upper Chamber, the Muslim League's success was cent percent. I do not want to weary you with details of what we have been able to do in the way of forging ahead in the direction of organizing the Muslim League. But I may tell you that it is going up by leaps and bounds."

Under his leadership, the League had started a policy of giving women an equal footing in the affairs of the party. He told his captivated audience, "Next, you may remember that we appointed a committee of ladies at the Patna session. It is of very great importance to us because I believe that it is absolutely essential for us to give every opportunity to our women to participate in our struggle of life and death.... We appointed this committee with a view to enable them to participate in the work of the League. The objects of this central committee were (1) to organize provincial and district women's subcommittee under the provincial and district Muslim League; (2) to enlist a larger number of women to the membership of the Muslim League; (3) to carry on an intensive propaganda amongst Muslim women throughout India in order to create in them a sense of a greater political consciousness, because if political consciousness is awakened amongst our women, remember your children will not have much to worry about; (4) advise and guide them in all such matters as mainly rest on them for the uplift of Muslim society."

During his address, Jinnah also touched upon the subject of the Congress rule in certain provinces in the aftermath of 1936-7 elections. He said, "We had many difficulties to face from January 1939 right up to the declaration of the War. We had to face the Vidya Mandir in Nagpur. We had to face the



At a dinner with some guests in Lahore, 1940



Addressing Iqbal Day meeting at the University of the Punjab in 1940

Wardha Scheme all over India. We had to face ill treatment and oppression of Muslims in the Congress governed provinces. We had to face the treatment meted out to Muslims in some of the Indian States such as Jaipur and Bhavnagar. We had to face a vital issue that arose in that little state of Rajkot as the acid test made by the Congress, which would have affected one-third of India. Thus the Muslim League had all along to face various issues from January 1939 up to the time of declaration of the War."

Explaining his point of view on the Government of India Act 1935. linnah told his audience in Lahore that March, "We felt that we could never accept the dangerous scheme of the central federal Government embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935. I am sure that we have made no small contribution towards persuading the British Government to abandon the scheme of central federal government. In creating that mind in the British Government the Muslim League, I have no doubt, played no small part. You know that the British people are very obdurate people. They are also very conservative; and although they are very clever, they are slow in understanding. After the War was declared the Viceroy naturally wanted help from the Muslim League. It was only then that he realized that the Muslim League was a power. For it will be remembered that up to the time of the declaration of War, the Viceroy never thought of meeting but Gandhi and Gandhi alone. I have been the leader of an important party in the Legislature for a considerable time, larger than the one I have the honour to lead at present, the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature, yet the Viceroy never thought of me."6

Giving the background of the Viceroy's invitation to Jinnah and Gandhi, he informed the gathering, "When I got this invitation from the Viceroy along with Mr. Gandhi, I wondered within myself why I was so suddenly promoted and then I concluded that the answer was the 'All India Muslim League' whose President I happen to be. I believe that was the worst shock that the Congress high command received because it challenged their sole authority to speak on behalf of India. And it is quite clear from the attitude of Mr. Gandhi and the high command that they have not yet recovered from that shock. My point is that, I want you to realize the value, the importance, the significance of organizing ourselves. I will not say anything more on the subject. But a great deal yet remains to be done. I am sure from what I can see and hear that the Muslim India is now conscious, is not awake and the Muslim League has by now grown into such a strong institution that it cannot be destroyed by anybody whoever he may happen to be. Men may come and men may go but the League will live forever."



At Mian Bashir Ahmed's residence, Lahore, 1940



At the Surkhuj Shrine in Ahmadabad

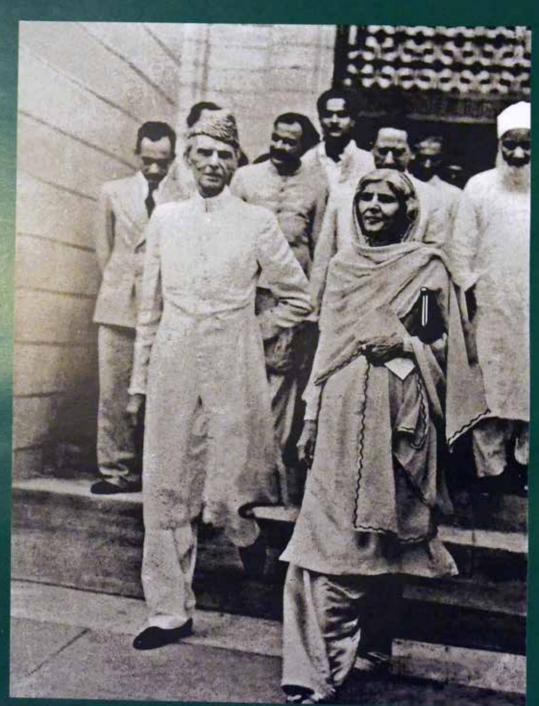
Jinnah clarified his stance on the war effort before the Muslim League session. "Now, coming to the period after the declaration of War, our position was that we were between the devil and the deep sea. But I do not think that the devil or the deep sea is going to get away with it. Anyhow our position is this. We stand unequivocally for the freedom of India. But it must be freedom of all India and not freedom of one section or, worse still, of the Congress caucus and slavery of Mussalmans and other minorities. Situated in India as we are, we naturally have our past experiences, and particularly the experiences of the past two-and-a-half years of provincial constitution in the Congress governed provinces. We have learnt many lessons. We are now, therefore, very apprehensive and can trust nobody. I think it is a wise rule for everyone not to trust anybody too much. Sometimes we are led to trust people but when we find in actual experience that our trust has been betrayed, surely that ought to be sufficient lesson for any man not to continue his trust in those who have betrayed us."

He concluded his detailed speech with an appeal to intelligentsia. "I should appeal to the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia in all countries in the world has been the pioneer of any movements for freedom. What does the Muslim intelligentsia propose to do? I may tell you that unless you get this into your blood. Unless you are prepared to take off your coats and are willing to sacrifice all that you can and work selflessly, earnestly and sincerely for your people, you will never realize your aim. Friends, I therefore want you to make up your mind definitely and then think of devices and organize your people, strengthen your organization and consolidate the Mussalmans all over India."

On 23rd March 1940, this session of All India Muslim League, with Jinnah in chair, unanimously passed the 'Pakistan Resolution' stating 'the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States', in which constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.



Sorting out details of partition with Lord Mountbatten and the Congress leaders, June 1947



After attending Constituent Assembly Session in August 1947

Achieving Pakistan



Arrival as the Governor-General (designate) at Karachi on 7th August 1947



At the AIML Session in Bombay

By the time Pakistan Resolution was passed the British government's entire attention was focused on World War II, which was raging since 1939. Resultantly, the attention on political activities in India had been relegated to secondary position. Though it is beyond the scope of this book to go into details of the political developments taking place in the subcontinent during that stormy decade of the last century, only important point which had bearing on Jinnah are briefly described here. In August 1940, the Viceroy of India made the 'August Offer', which incorporated the Muslim League's demands to some extent. In March 1942, Sir Stafford Cripps visited India to resolve the political impasse in the country, but without much success. The Congress politics of those days revolved around the slogan of 'Quit India.' While the Jinnah's Muslim League demanded the British to 'Divide and Quit'.

In June 1943, Jinnah came to Karachi to visit his Alma Mater Sindh Madressatul Islam, where he opened "Sindh Madressah College" on 21" June. The detailed account of the event has already been given in an earlier chapter of the present book.

He again came to Karachi the same year in December 1943 to preside over the meeting of the Working Committee of All India Muslim League. The people of Karachi accorded him a rousing welcome on his arrival on 23rd December 1943, when a two-mile long procession followed Jinnah to the venue of the meeting.

The newspaper reported: "Like a great new power installation springing to life with a roar at the touch of a concealed button, Haroonabad become a vigorous living entity today when Mr. M.A. Jinnah arrived there for the first time to preside over the meeting of the League Working Committee. Mr. Jinnah, who was dressed in a Sherwani, received a tremendous ovation from those present. The tempo of activity in Haroonabad has increased several-fold with the commencement of the main programme. The main event of the day was a unique and most spectacular procession, nearly two miles long, in which Mr. Jinnah was taken to the pandal to unfurl the League flag. The Raja of



With members of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League Election Committee



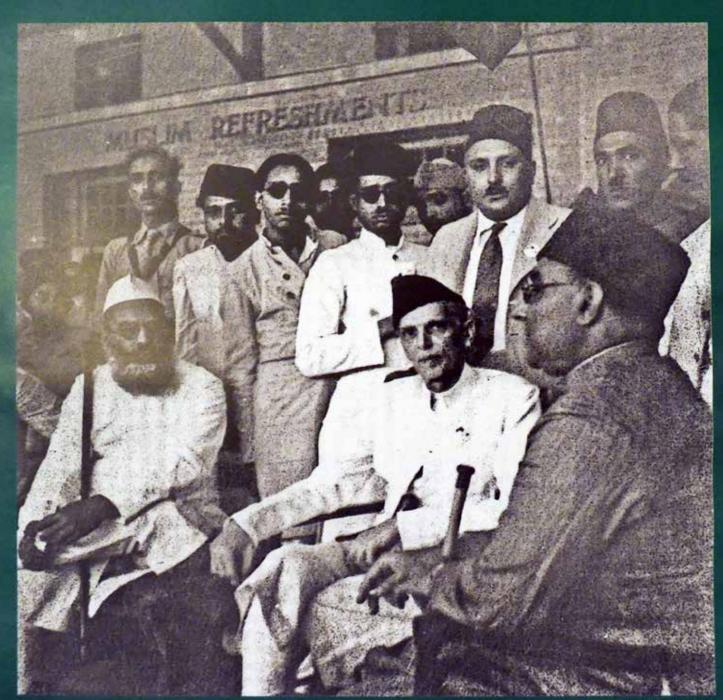
Taking oath of the office of Governor-General of Pakistan by Chief Justice Sir Abdul Rashid on 15 August 1947

Mahmudabad, the Hon. Sir K. Nazimuddin and the rest of the members of the Committee are expected to arrive in Karachi by tomorrow. The Hon. (Mr) Tamizuddin Khan and 30 other delegates from Bengal have arrived."

The report continued: "The presidential procession, which started from a spot only a stone's throw from where Mr. Jinnah spent his early boyhood, was acclaimed as a spontaneous demonstration of popularity and enthusiasm such as kings might envy. It was a scene the grandeur of which has never been equaled in Karachi before. The whole function passed off with clockwork precision and an impressive orderliness. The whole of the four-mile route was thronged with people of all communities. Everyone not engaged in essential work seemed to have left his job to witness the unforgettable scene. Balconies, rooftops, railings and in fact every vantage point along the route was packed with people and both sides of the procession were lined with spectators from five to seven deep. Altogether over two lakhs of people must have witnessed the procession. Smart formations of Muslim National Guards dressed in gray uniforms first caught the eye. These contingents totaling two thousand volunteers came from almost every province in India and were accompanied with bands and bagpipes (and) a fleet of over hundred cars in which were seated the leading lights of Muslim League. The Premiers of Sindh, the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province were in the car."

It went on to state: "On either side of Mr. Jinnah were two special bodyguards, namely Nawab Siddique Ali Khan and Syed Sarwar Shah Gilani. With Mr. Jinnah in the chariot were Mr. Yousuf Abdullah Haroon, General Secretary of the Reception Committee and Mr. G.M. Syed, Chairman of the Reception Committee. The crowd cheered repeatedly as the procession halted and Mr. Jinnah acknowledged the cheers. The procession terminated at 7.30 p.m. and Mr. Jinnah unfurled the League flag on the main gate to the accompaniment of the firing of 31 rockets. Speaking from a rostrum to a vast crowd, Mr. Jinnah thanked them for the 'royal reception' the people of Karachi had accorded him."

By September 1944, several meetings between Jinnah and Gandhi were arranged in order to evolve a consensus on the political future of the subcontinent. But the talks proved to be not very successful At the end of the talks, Jinnah issued a statement, saying 'I am convinced that the true welfare not only of Muslim but of the rest of India lies in the division of India, as proposed in the 'Lahore Resolution.'



With some leaders of AIML



Addressing a session of AIML

made a new offer in June 1945, called Wavell Plan. A conference of the representatives of the Hindu and Muslim communities was called in Simla. This effort also could not bear fruit.

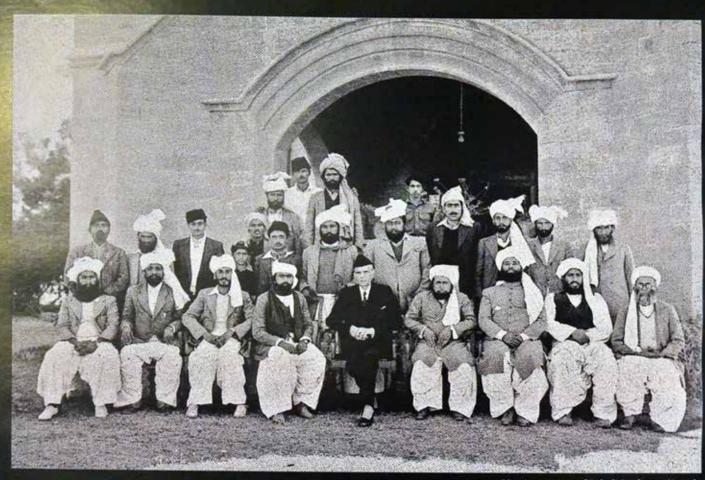
By that time the World War had ended and Labour Party's government with Prime Minister Clement Attlee had taken over. The new Government ordered for election in India, which took place in December 1945. The slogan of the Muslim League was simply 'Pakistan'. This time the Muslim League won all the seats in the Central legislature, securing eighty-seven percent of the Muslim votes. This was Jinnah's greatest success. In March 1946, the Cabinet Mission, comprising three British Cabinet Ministers, Pethick Lawrence, Stafford Cripps and AV Alexander reached India to negotiate the future of the subcontinent.

Jinnah, in order to demonstrate that the Muslim of India stood behind him in his demand for Pakistan, called a meeting of all the elected Muslim members of the central and provincial assemblies on 9th April The conference unanimously adopted a resolution stating that they favored the idea of Pakistan. The Mission met both Jinnah and the Congress leadership at Simla, but failed to resolve the issue. Subsequently, Jinnah convened a meeting of the League's Council, which decided to observe 16th August 1946 as Direct Action Day.

Jinnah was worried over the fast deteriorating law and order conditions in the country. The frequency and intensity of communal riots had been increasing with every passing day. The government invited Jinnah and other important leaders of Indian political parties to London. Accordingly, Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan, Jawaharlal Nehru and Baklev Singh reached England in December 1946. They held talks with the Secretary of State to resolve the issues, but failed.

In this backdrop, Prime Minister Attke announced in the House of Commons on 20th February 1947 his government's plan to transfer power to Indian hands by the following year. He said: "His Majesty's Government desire to hand over their responsibility to authorities established by a constitution approved by all parties in India... but unfortunately there is at present no clear prospect that such a constitution ... will emerge... His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that it is their definite intention... to affect the transference of power to responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June 1948."

To implement the government's policy, Lord Mountbatten was sent to India as the new Viceroy, who took over the charge of his new office in March 1947. He held consultations with Jinnah and Gandhi and went back to England



Meeting a group of Baloch Sardars at Karachi



With Jawaharlal Nehru

to apprise the government there of the emerging political situation in India. There, the final blue print of Great Britain for India was finalized and the Viceroy went into action immediately after his return on 31" May. He took the major political parties in confidence regarding the proposals finalized in London, known as 3" June plan.

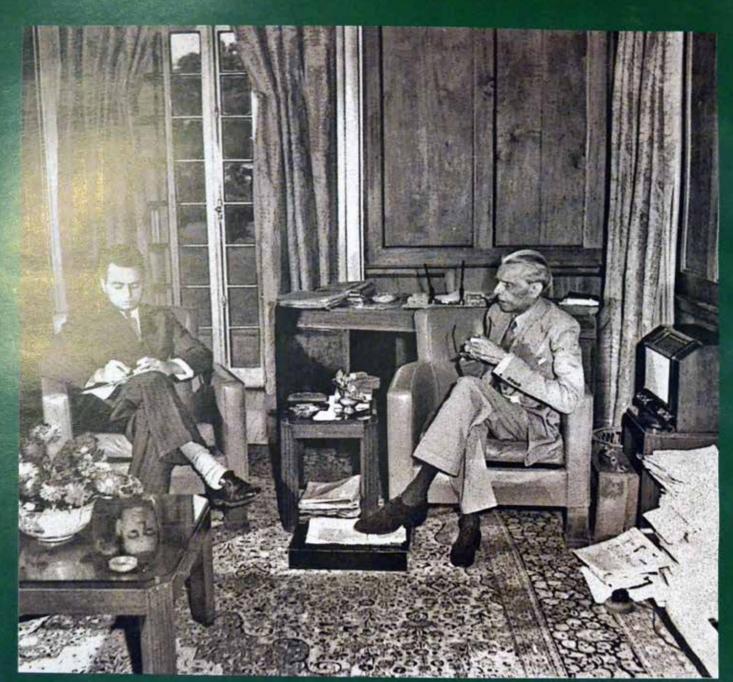
Jinnah was invited to Delhi's radio station, where he explained his party's point of view regarding the new scheme. At the end of his radio broadcast, he said, outside his written text, 'Pakistan Zindabad' Rest was a formality. The date for the transfer of power was set at 15th August 1947. Muslim League unanimously resolved to request Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah to be the first head of state: to be the first Governor General of Pakistan. The Congress decided to bestow that distinction on Lord Mountbatten.

The Indian Independence Bill was introduced in the British Parliament on 4th July, which also happens to be United States of America's Independence Day. It was adopted on 15th July and received the Royal Assent on 18th July. On 5th August Jinnah met with Lord Mountbatten and left for Karachi on 7th August, a week ahead of the ceremonial transfer of power. These abrupt developments subjected India to worst ever communal violence. Thousands of people were killed without any remorse: without even knowing why they were being killed. Jinnah was disturbed over this madness. Syed Shamsul Hasan, a close aide of Jinnah, has narrated Jinnah's anguish and pain over the state of affairs in these words:

"The Quaid was in Delhi, preparing to fly over to Karachi on August 7, when I received his message, from 10 Aurangzeb Road, requiring me to see him immediately.

"On arrival at his residence, I was told by Khurshid that the Quaid was waiting for me in his study; and I was promptly shown in. Attired in white *Kurta* and *Shalwar*, the Quaid was reclining in an easy chair, engrossed in studying some papers. Seeing me enter the room, he put aside the papers; and removing his monocle with his characteristic gesture, he inquired about the situation prevailing in the city. I told him about the worsening communal tension, and also apprised him of the apprehension of the Muslims that an organized plan for their wholesale massacre was in the offing.

"The Quaid was deeply perturbed at this information, and referred to the Hindu monstrosities in East Punjab where a planned massacre of Muslims was deliberately being allowed to continue unabated, despite the assurances



Being interviewed by Louis Fischer of the Life magazine

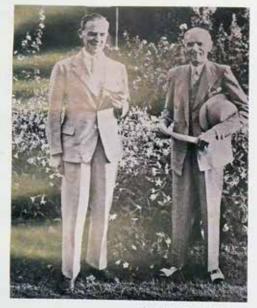
Government had imposed on DAWN in July 1947, restraining it from publishing full accounts of Hindu-Muslim riots.

"I had never seen the Quaid so depressed and agitated. I tried to pacify him by telling him that though the violence and sufferings to which Muslims were being subjected were indeed inhuman, they were, nevertheless, facing the Hindu atrocities gallantly in the religious hope that what they were willingly

sacrificing was but a price for their new Homeland.16

given by Lord Mountbatten and Pundit Nehru during their recent talks with him. He also referred to the continuation of the curbs, which the Delhi

Lord Mountbatten came to Karachi on 14th August and formally transferred the power to Jinnah as the new Governor General of Pakistan. This was the day of the fulfillment of the dreams that Jinnah and the Muslims of the subcontinent had seen together. Perhaps, the best tribute paid to Jinnah so far has been in the words of Stanley Wolpert, who writes: "Few individuals significantly alter the course of history. Fewer still modify the map of the world. Hardly anyone can be credited with creating a nation-state. Mohammed Ali Jinnah did all three. Hailed as 'Great Leader' (Quaid-e-Azam) of Pakistan and its first Governor General, Jinnah virtually conjured that country into statehood by the force of his indomitable will."



With Sir Stafford Cripps



Heading towards AIML session in Karachi in 1943



Guard of Honour, 15 August 1947

Chapter 10

Blueprint for the New State



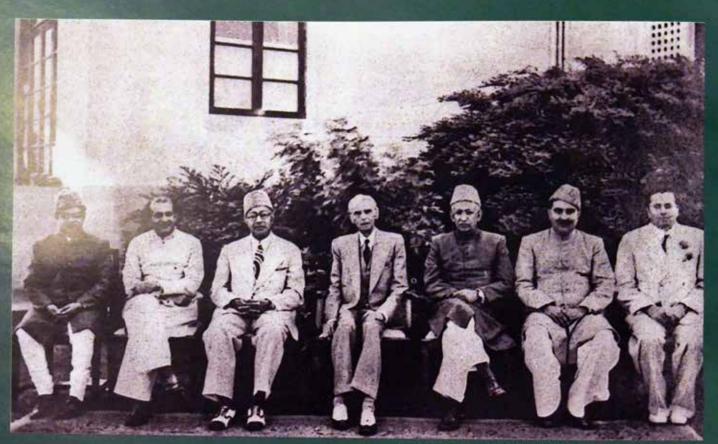
Reception by the Karachi Municipal Corporation in August 1947

The first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan met for the first time in Karachi on 11th August. The Assembly elected Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah as its president and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan as the Prime Minister. The Assembly also moved a resolution to formally confer the title of Quaid-e-Azam on Mohammad Ali Jinnah. It was on this occasion that Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah delivered that famous speech which outlined the blueprint of the new state founded by him. The detailed address is available in several books, which make an interesting reading. However, important points of that speech are discussed here.

He first thanked the Assembly for electing him as the President. He then defined the future role of the Constituent Assembly in Pakistan: "The Constituent Assembly has got two main functions to perform. The first is the very onerous and responsible task of framing out future Constitution of Pakistan and the second functioning as a full and complete sovereign body as the Federal Legislature of Pakistan. We have to do the best we can...."

He reminded the Assembly of the duties and responsibilities of the government that the Assembly was going to give birth: "You will no doubt agree with me that the first duty of a Government is to maintain law and order, so that the life property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the State." In his priority list, the second thing for a government to do was to curb bribery and corruption: "one of the biggest curses from which India is suffering...is bribery and corruption. That really is the position. We must put that down with an iron hand and I hope that you will take adequate measures as soon as it is possible."

Another curse for a government to curb was black-marketing: "Black marketing is another curse... I know that black-marketeers are frequently caught and punished Judicial sentences are passed or sometimes fines only are imposed. Now you have to tackle this monster which today is a colossal crime against society, in our distressed conditions, when we constantly face shortages



With the Pakistan's first Prime Minister and cabinet in August 1947



of food.... A citizen who does black-marketing commits, I think, a greater crime than the biggest and most grievous of crimes. These black-marketeers ought to be very severely punished, because they undermine the entire system of control."

For the whole of his life Jinnah had believed in merit and was against any kind of favoritism and nepotism. Accordingly, his advice to the new legislative body on that day was: "it is a legacy, which has been passed on to us... the evil of nepotism and jobbery. This evil must be crushed relentlessly. I want to make it quite clear that I shall never tolerate any kind of jobbery, nepotism or any influence directly or indirectly brought to bear upon me."

In those days there was a section of society that was in opposition to the idea of creation of Pakistan. Jinnah chose this occasion to clarify about the misgivings: "I know there are people who do not quite agree with the division of India and the partition of the Punjab and Bengal Much has been said against it, but now that it has been accepted, it is the duty of every one of us to loyally abide by it and honorably act according to the agreement, which is now final and binding on all. But you must remember, as I have said, that this mighty revolution that has taken place is unprecedented."

He continued: "But the question is, whether it was possible or practicable to act otherwise than what has been done... A division had to take place. On both sides, in Hindustan and Pakistan, there are sections of people who may not agree with it, who may not like it, but in my judgment there was no other solution and I am sure future history will record its verdict in favour of it. And what is more it will be proved by actual experience as we go on that that was the only solution....Any idea of a United India could never have worked and in my judgment it would have led us to terrific disaster. May be that view is correct, maybe it is not; that remains to be seen."

Jinnah gave guidelines for the future course of action in Pakistan, saying: "Now what shall we do? Now, if we want to make this Great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well being of the people, and especially of the masses and the poor. If you will work in cooperation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet, you are bound to succeed. If you change your past and work together in a spirit that everyone of you, no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his colour, caste or creed, is first, second and last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make."



Presenting the National Standard to a contingent of Pakistan army in Peshawar in April 1948



Addressing a gathering at Karachi in January 1948

His address on that historic occasion also threw light on the role and rights of minorities in Pakistan. He said: "You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the business of the State.... We are starting in the days when there is no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste or creed and another. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State. The people of England in course of time had to face the realities of the situation and had to discharge the responsibilities and burdens placed upon them by the government.... Today, you might say with justice that Roman Catholics and Protestants do not exist; what exists now is that every man is a citizen, and equal citizen of Great Britain....all members of the nation."

Here Jinnah's advice to student community and his expectations from them may also be highlighted. It was in the beginning of 1944 that Jinnah was invited by the Muslim Students Federation of Bombay district. He addressed them on 1st February 1944 and chose the occasion to advise his young followers to concentrate on their studies in order to acquire expertise in their respective fields. He told them that there were four pillars on which the structure of Pakistan was to be laid: education, economic, social and political. He assigned priority to the first three. Daily Star of India reported the event in its 2nd February issue:

"...He appealed to Muslim youths to give their best in the building up of the pillars upon which would rest that edifice of Pakistan. 'The pillars were educational, economic, social and political, and in their construction, the first three should have a priority before they could tackle the political problem. Hard work, industry and perseverance should be the keynote of Muslim youths in their task ahead' He emphasized that nothing could be achieved without doing anything ... and advised the students to take a deep interest in not only what was happening to the Muslims but what was happening throughout India and all over the world.

"He was glad that the Federation had opened a library but warned them that education should not mean that they should be bookworms or get through examinations by cramming. They must acquire general knowledge. Mr. Jinnah asked what the Federation had done and what contribution they had made to the progress of the Muslims. He urged that students should do some concrete work, which would end in definite results in the social, educational and economic spheres of Muslims. Referring to the Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah said



With leading Muslim women



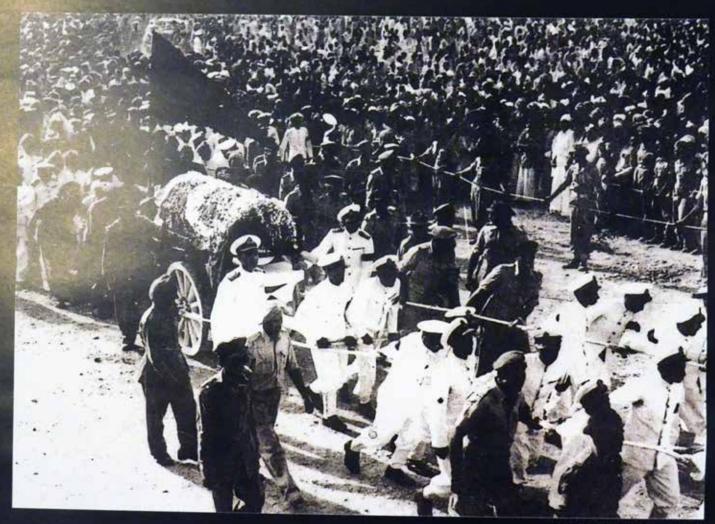
Heading for a civic reception in Lahore

that there were millions of Muslims who were in the League and many more millions of them who though technically not in the League, yet stood by the League. They had a great struggle in front of them. So far by dint of hard and strenuous labour and perseverance, they had established amongst Muslims a unity of ideal with one goal Now it remained for them to established unity of action."

Elaborating the condition of Muslims in the social sector, Jinnah had told his young audience that "educationally the condition of the Mussalmans today was hopelessly bad. Economically they were worse. No nation, he said, could ever successfully struggle while they were being economically dominated by another nation. Even a free nation would be handicapped if she was economically weak. Social uplift was an important pillar and when the Muslims had built up those three pillars they would be strong enough to put up the political pillar without difficulty. Hard work and industry were essential and it would do good not only to the individual but to the community at large. No nation had ever achieved anything without a struggle."

Explaining the background of the demand for Pakistan, Jinnah had stated: "The Muslim demand for Pakistan meant nothing more than that each community should manage their own homelands. The Hindus, he said, should understand the demand easily because, amongst them, when they disagreed they resorted to the partition of the property of a joint family. They were opposed to him because he was opposed to the principle that the whole of India belonged to the Hindus and that they should rule over it. Mr. Jinnah did not think that the Hindus would succeed in their attempt and, as for the Muslims, they would not rest content till they had their partition."





The last journey in September 1948

Chapter 11

The Last Journey

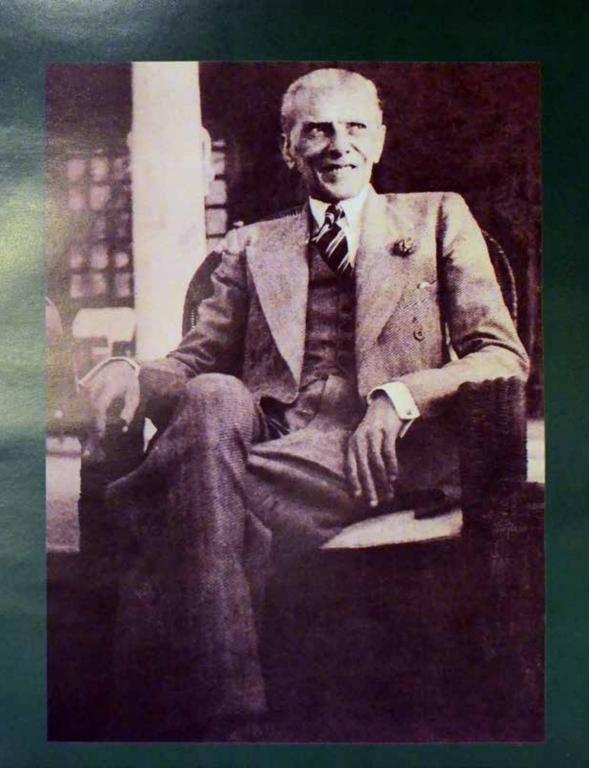


Tribute being paid with rose petals at his grave

The joy of the establishment of an independent homeland for the Muslims of the subcontinent was overshadowed by the pain, sufferings and slaughter of human begins all over the subcontinent in the name of religion. Jinnah had to face tremendous pressures from all sides. The first and foremost was to generate a state apparatus from almost nothing. Then there were unending caravans of migrant Muslims coming from various parts of India who had to be provided with shelter, food and other basic requirements of life. The treasury was almost non-existent. Worst of all a series of disputes with India started at state level, from division of resources amongst the two states to accession of independent states to one or the other country. However, Jinnah was able to face all these trials and tribulations on the basis of the trust that he enjoyed amongst the people of Pakistan.

Nevertheless, these matters took their toll on Jinnah's rapidly deteriorating health. This necessitated his shifting, firstly to Quetta, and then further up, to Ziarat Residency. But, his health could not improve. By the first week of September, his condition further deteriorated and the doctors decided to return him back to Karachi. On 11th September 1948, he breathed his last in Karachi, leaving Pakistan orphan at an age of just over a year!





Chapter 12

His Last Will



His house in Bombay



His House in Delhi

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah wrote his last Will on 30th May 1939 at Bombay, at the age of about sixty-three years. It was a defining time for Quaid-e-Azam, both politically as well as personally. The address printed on the paper bearing his last Will reads: 'Little Gibbs Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay.' One and a half years later, on 25th October 1940, he added a supplementary clause (codicil) to his Will. The most important feature of Jinnah's last Will was that he had given preference to educational institutions over his personal relations and bequeathed a large portion of his hard earned wealth to educational institutions, notably Aligarh Muslim University, Peshawar's Islamia College and his Alma Mater Sindh Madressatul Islam, rather than giving it to his daughter, sisters or brothers. His last Will as well as subsequent codicil to it are reproduced as under:

"This is my last Will and Testament, all other Wills & Testaments of mine stands cancelled.

"I appoint my sister, Fatima Jinnah, Mr. Mohammadali Chaiwalla, Solicitor Bombay and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan of Delhi as my executrix and executors and also my trustees.

"All shares, stocks & securities and current accounts now standing in the name of my sister, Fatima Jinnah, are her absolute property. I have given them all to her by way of gifts during my life time and I confirm the same, and she can dispose of them in any manner she pleases as her absolute property.

"I now hereby bequeath to her my house and all that land with appurtenances, outhouse etc. situated at Mount Pleasant Rd., Malabar Hill, Bombay, including all the furniture, plates, silver & Motor Cars in its entirety as it stands absolutely and she can dispose of it in any manner she please by will, deed or otherwise.

"I also direct my executors to pay her during her lifetime Rs.2000/- two





Another view of his Bombay House



The University of Bombay

thousand per month (for her maintenance and other requirements for her).

"I direct my executors to pay per month Rs.100/- one hundred to my sister, Rehemat Cassimbhoy Jamal, during her lifetime.

"I direct my executors to pay per month Rs.100/- one hundred to my sister, Mariam Abdenbhoy Peerbhoy, during her lifetime

"I direct my executors to pay per month Rs.100/- one hundred to my sister, Shereen, during her lifetime.

"I direct my executors to pay per month Rs.100/- one hundred to my brother, Ahmed, during his lifetime.

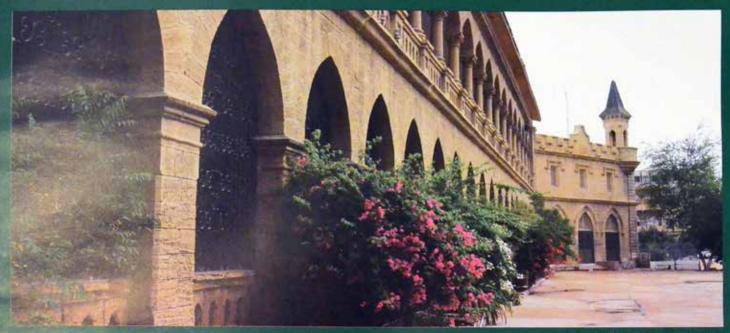
"I direct my executors to set apart Rs.200000/- (two lacs) or (two hundred thousand) at 6% bring an income of Rs.1000/- one thousand and pay the income thereof whatever it be to my daughter every month for her life or during her lifetime and after her death the corpus of two lacs so set apart to be divided equally between her children, males or females, in default of issue the corpus to fall into my residuary estate.

"I direct my executors to pay the following by way of gifts to the institutions mentioned I bequeath Rs.25000/- Twenty-five thousand to the Anjuman-e-Islam School, Bombay, situated at Hornsby Rd opposite Boribunder Station and next to The Times of India Buildings. I bequeath Rs.50000/- Fifty thousand to the University of Bombay. I bequeath Rs.25000/- Twenty-five thousand to the Arabic College Delhi.

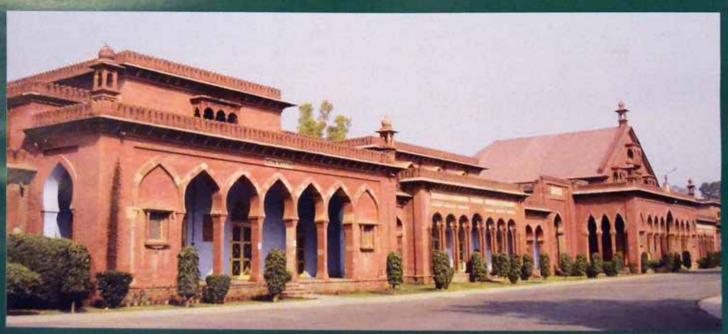
"Subject to above, all my residuary estate including the corpus that may fall after the lapse of life interests or other-wise to be divided into three parts and I bequeath One Part to Aligarh University, One Part to Islamia College Peshawar, and One Part to Sind Madressah of Karachi."

He added a codicil to his Will on 25 October 1940, which read as under: "This is my codicil to the Will I have an account with the National Bank of India, Bombay as account No.2 and also I hold (500) Five hundred shares of the Reserve Bank of India now in the possession of the Bank standing in my name but purchased out of the money in account No.2.

"This account and all moneys deposited and invested were given to me personally by various public spirited donors to use them and do what I liked with them for the uplift of the Musulmans. I therefore have full and absolute



Sindh Madressah of Karachi



Aligarh Muslim University



Islamia College Peshawar

11) The is my last will and telemen other some a testiment of mings policied Canalla. F. Jappins my and Falina fund 15 - Mahamed alle Chai walle Schuld Bon and Newstra's deagnet als them of will as my essentis observar an the my houston. (3) all there offices a beauties on turnered accounts hat standing in the trame of my work heling from are has accounted peoperly, I have prom then all then by way of pot during my life line and I confirm to law and the saw dispose thouse of in any (4) I serve here's bequest to the my house one love to be sellistic at mounts Thomas Rd melation the Bomba his classing all the formation places when y service cars in the Sultrety as I state of absoluted and the Cen destroy it of

His last Will in his own hand

power to dispose of them in any way I may consider proper. I also have received a donation of one lac to use it for the purpose of establishing Muslim League press and paper in such manner as I may consider proper.

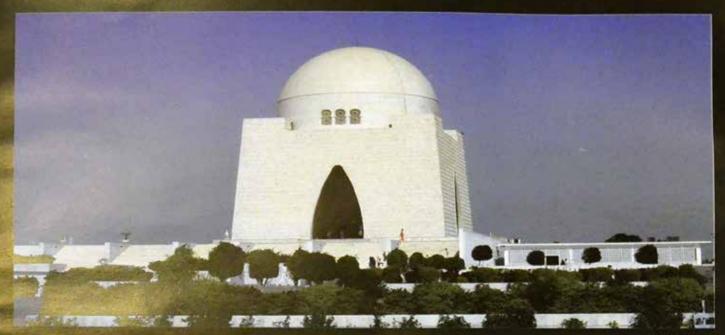
"I, now having full power of disposition, bequeath the same to my executors and they are to use the capital and/or interest thereof in any way they may consider proper relating to this account.

"Besides this amount and 500 shares of the Reserve Bank I have other accounts of mine own in the National Bank of India and also in the Imperial Bank at Bombay and New Delhi but those and all other accounts abroad with any Bank or Banks are my own absolute property and will be governed by will of mine that I have already made."

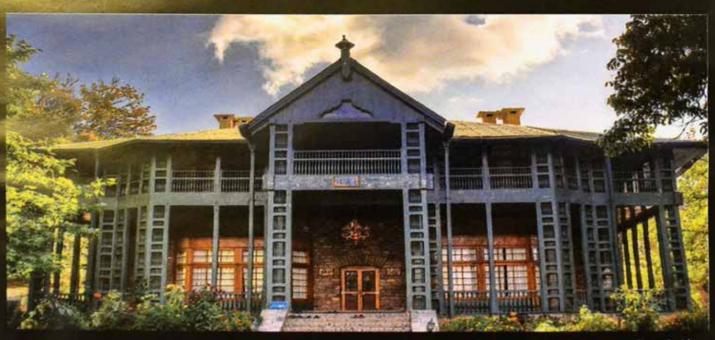
It is interesting to note how Quaid-e-Azam's last Will was implemented. After Quaid-e-Azam's death in 1948, the Sindh High Court appointed Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan as administrators of the Will who were entrusted with the responsibility of executing Jinnah's Will. When Fatima Jinnah died in 1967, Jinnah's other sister Shereenbai was appointed administrator in her place. After Shirinbai's death in 1980, Quaid-e-Azam's grandnephew Mr. Liaquat Merchant filled the vacancy. The Will of the Quaid was mostly executed as directed by him; with the exception of Para 12, which remained partly executed.

The proceeds of Quaid-e-Azam's residuary estate were to be distributed amongst the three residuary legatees in accordance with Para 12 of his Will. They were: Islamia College, Peshawar, Aligarh Muslim University, and Sindh Madressah of Karachi. His residuary estate consisted of Flag Staff House in Karachi, land in Malir, Karachi, land in Gulberg, Lahore and vast area of land in Mauripur at Hawks Bay, Karachi. In addition to them was the corpus that fell after the lapse of life interest of the grantees under the will.

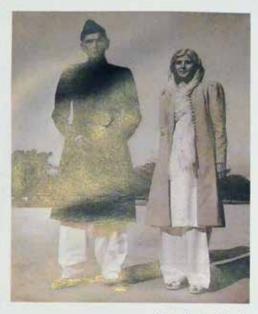
The implementation on Para 12 of Quaid-e-Azam's Will got delayed due to the reason that his residuary estate had not been fully collected and sold. Finally all his residuary estate was sold by 1980 under the orders of the Sindh High Court. An amount of Rs.10811600/- was determined as share of each of the legatees (total being Rs.32434800). Islamia College Peshawar was the only fortunate institution, which received its full share and has established a library in the name of Quaid-e-Azam.



His Mausoleum



Ziarat Residency



Sister Fatima Jinnah: A prominent beneficiary of his last Will



Mohatta Palace, Karachi



Flag Staff House, Karachi

1948 by any of the administrators. In 1965 the Indian Parliament amended the Aligarh Muslim University Act of 1920, which allegedly diluted its Muslim character. The case was referred to the High Court of Sindh, which gave a judgment in 1984, directing that the money should be retained in Pakistan and used for educational purposes. The High Court, through its judgment, established a trust called 'Quaid-e-Azam Aligarh Scholarship Trust' and appointed its three trustees and placed the Aligarh Muslim University's share at their disposal. This money was invested in government securities and the profit earned was used to award scholarships to Pakistani students.

In case of "Sindh Madressah of Karachi," Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah made the first payment of Rs.350,000 to Sindh Madressatul Islam in 1956. Second payment of Rs.100,000 was again made by her in 1962. After her, Mohtarma Shereenbai paid a sum of Rs.260,000 in 1972. The total amount disbursed to Sindh Madressah till 1972 came to Rs.710,000/-. However, in 1972, the Government of Sindh nationalized Sindh Madressatul Islam, taking over control of the institution from the private management board, which worked under the name of Sindh Madressatul Islam Board. Two years later in 1974, the Federal Government took over the institution from the Government of Sindh in view of its status as the Alma Mater of Quaid-e-Azam.

After its nationalization in 1972, though the association of Sindh Madressah with the private management board had come to an end nevertheless some functionaries of the private board kept on receiving the amount meant for Sindh Madressah from the administrators of the Quaid-e-Azam's Will. Unfortunately, the administrators of Quaid-e-Azam's Will also did not bother to ascertain the new realities. On the other hand, the members of the private management board also did not inform the administrators that the institution was no longer with them and that the government was administering it. This way, the private board received the remaining amount of Sindh Madressah amounting to Rs 10,101,600/- from 1980 to 1994 without any mandate. This way, only a tiny part (Rs.710,000 from Rs.10,811,600), about 6.5% of the amount meant for Sindh Madressah could reach the institution where Quaid-e-Azam had intended it to go.



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- 6. Likely route was determined with the help of Google maps drawn by feeding the two addresses
- 7. Lincoln's Inn website
- 8. Fatima Jinnah, op cit, p.81
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