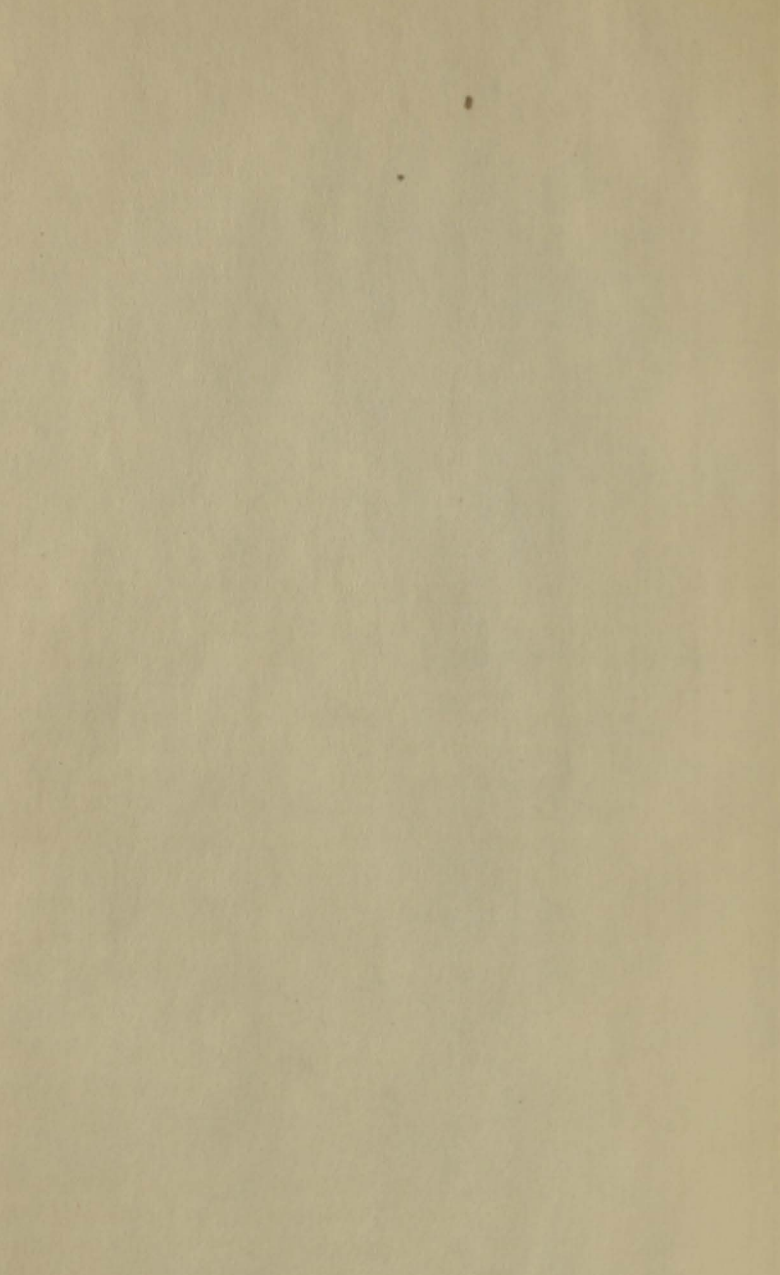


SOME ASPECTS OF
QUAID-I-AZAM'S
LIFE

Syed Sharifuddin
Pirzada

40924



THE AUTHOR

Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada is one of those eminent scholars of Pakistan who were closely associated with the Pakistan Movement and Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

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Biographical Series: 1

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SYED SHARIFUDDIN PIRZADA



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Historical and Cultural Research
Islamabad.

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PREFACE

I have had the privilege of meeting various international personalities. Each had or has a distinction of his own. I was deeply struck by the boldness of Brezhnev, the charm of Chou En Lai, the dignity of de Gaulle, the enthusiasm of Eisenhower, the frankness of Faisal, the hospitality of Hussain, the insight of Inonu, the keenness of Kosygin, the magnetism of Mao Tsetung, the nobility of Nasser, the sagacity of the Shahinshah of Iran and the wit of Wilson. But the only person who has left an everlasting impression on me was Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. As *The Times* commented: "Few statesmen have shaped events to their policy more surely than Mr. Jinnah. He was a legend in his lifetime. The following six brief studies deal only with a few aspects of his early life and the origin of his title. It is, however, hoped that each of these will clarify the position in regard to certain ambiguities or doubtful points.

I must place on record my thanks to Dr. K. K. Aziz and Mr. Rafeuzzaman for their valuable suggestions.

SYED SHARIFUDDIN PIRZADA

Karachi,
18th February, 1978.

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The Date of Birth

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was born at Karachi, although a belated and uncorroborated claim has been made that he was born in or around Jerruck—a village about 40 miles from Karachi. The Quaid-i-Azam, himself, explicitly acknowledged Karachi as his birth-place in a speech at the Session of the Indian National Congress held at Karachi in December 1913, where he said : “ You do not know what pleasure it gives me to stand on this platform in this city of Karachi where I was born, where I have found, after my arrival in this city, personal friends with whom I played in my boyhood. ” Moreover, replying to the Civic Address presented by the Karachi Municipal Corporation on 25 August 1947, he said : “ Undoubtedly I have great love and regard for this beautiful town not only because of my old association with it, or because it is my birth-place, as you have said, but [also] because it has now become the birth-place of the free, sovereign and independent State of Pakistan. ” Other records also corroborate that Karachi is the place of his birth.

As to the date of Jinnah’s birth, the first references are found in the registers of the schools he attended. The General Register of Pupils at-

tending the English Department of the Sind Madressatul Islam shows that Master Jinnah was admitted to that School on 4 July 1887. In Entry No. 11, other particulars given are : " Name : Mohammad Ali Jinnah ; Native Place : Karachi ; Birthday : (Not given) ; Age : 14 years ; Caste : Khoja ; Previous Instruction : Standard IV, Gujrati ; Paying or Free : Paying ; Standard or Class to Which Admitted : St. I".

After a short time at this school, Jinnah left for Bombay, and there joined the Anjuman-i-Islam School. According to Entry No. 178 of the Register of the Sind Madressa, he returned to Karachi, and was readmitted to it on 23 December 1887. This time, the School's Register indicated his date of birth as 20 October 1875. On 5 January 1891, Jinnah left the Sind Madressa while he was in Standard IV, and the reason for striking his name off the Register is shown as " long absence ". The next entry about him in the Register is No. 430, dated 9 February 1891, which reads as follows : " Name : Mohammad Ali Jinnahbhoy ; Native Place : Karachi ; Birthday : 20th October 1875 ; Caste : Khoja ; Previous Instruction : Standard IV ; Paying or Free : Paying ; Standard or Class to Which Admitted : IV ; Date of Leaving : 30th January 1892 ; Standard from Which Left ; Standard V ; Reason of Withdrawal : left for Cutch on marriage ". He was married to Emi Bai in 1892, before he left for England to study law ; and she died before he returned.

On 8 May 1892, Jinnah left the Sind Madressa and joined the Christian Mission School in Standard VI. Entry No. 483 in the Register of that School shows his birthday as 20 October 1875; and to this entry is appended the signature " Mohamed Ali Jinnahbhai ".

Some writers have maintained that Jinnah matriculated from the University of Bombay; but this is shown to be incorrect by the clarification the Quaid-i-Azam himself made on 5 January 1938 in an address he gave at a meeting held under the auspices of the Allahabad University Union, which was presided over by Mr. G.C. Pathak. The press report of the address appearing in the *Pioneer*, of 7 January 1938, states : " Mr. Jinnah

said accuracy was very important, and added, when the Chairman of the meeting spoke, he was really surprised that he gave him (Mr. Jinnah) the honour that he belonged to Bombay University. Mr. Jinnah observed that [this] showed that he was one of the products of Bombay University. But unfortunately it was not a fact. Mr. Jinnah said that he belonged to no university, and had struggled without a university or a college." Further enquiries show that Jinnah left the Christian Mission School on 31 October 1892, when he was still in the 6th standard ; and that around January 1893, he sailed for England. In London, he passed the usual Preliminary Examination to enable him to start his study of law. The Register of the Council of Lincoln's Inn gives the following particulars :

" On the 25th day of April 1893, the petition of Mohamed Ali Jinnahbhai to be excused the Latin portion of the Preliminary Examination was granted. He was admitted to the Society on the 25th day of June 1893, and at that time gave his age as being 19 years." At that time, students seeking admission to Lincoln's Inn were not required to give their dates of birth. " On 14 April 1896, the petition of Mohamed Ali Jinnahbhai, a student of the Society, to have his name altered on the Books of the Society to Mohamed Ali Jinnah was granted. He was called to the Bar on the 25th day of April 1896 "

However, while no date of birth is found in the records of Lincoln's Inn, it has been noted that the Registers of the Sind Madressa and the Christian Mission School record Jinnah's date of birth as 20 October 1875. On the basis of these entries, M.A. Harris, in an article entitled " Quaid-i-Azam's Birthday " published in *The Civil and Military Gazette* of 5 September 1950 has maintained that Jinnah was indeed born on 20 October 1875. Then in September 1950, Harris published a pamphlet, entitled *Quaid-i-Azam—What is his Date of Birth ?*, in whose Foreward, Professor A.B.A. Haleem, then Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sind, stated : " Mr. M.A. Harris has rendered a service to the country by throwing interesting light on the question of the date of his birth and his early

education. Parents in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent are often careless about entering the correct birthday of their children in the school register ; and the evidence cited by Mr. Harris cannot be held to prove conclusively that the Quaid-i-Azam was born on October 20, 1875. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, however, it would not be wise to challenge his thesis. Apart from the merits of the controversy, the author deserves our thanks for focusing public attention on the necessity of carrying on investigation into different aspects and phases of the life of the Quaid-i-Azam." In the Preface of the pamphlet, the author has expressed his thanks, among others, to " Khatoon-i-Pakistan Miss Fatima Jinnah, who graciously consented to spare some time to go through the article. "

However there is, in fact, substantial other evidence to be considered. The date of Jinnah's birth was an issue in a civil suit filed by Nur Mohammed Lallan against M.A. Jinnah and Gangji Valji, in the Court of the District of Karachi on 25 January 1896. The plaintiff sought to recover a sum of Rs. 6,790/-, being principal and interest thereon at 12% on two *hundis* for Rs. 2,500/- each executed by the defendants in his favour on 27 November and 2 December 1892, respectively. Gangji Valji made no defence ; but Jinnah, in a written statement, submitted that " he was a minor in 1892, when the *hundis* were executed, having been born in October 1875, and was a student in the Mission School at Karachi and left for England in January 1893 ; that his father carried on business in his son's name and had dealings with the plaintiff ; that the *hundis* were drawn on account and were signed by him at his father's instance ; that the account between his father and the plaintiff showed that the *hundis* had been discharged ; that he was not liable for the amount sued for or any part thereof. " The suit came for hearing before J.C. Gloster, the Joint Judge. The principal issues in the suit were : (1) whether defendant No. 2 (Jinnah) was a minor at the time of the *hundis* , and (2) whether the *hundis* had been discharged.

The learned Judge dismissed the suit of the plaintiff by holding that the *hundis* had been discharged through the various payments made by the defendants, which were ignored in the plaint, and which did not reflect well on the fairness of the plaintiff. Unfortunately, the learned Judge did not give any definite finding on the issue of Mr. Jinnah's minority, and observed: "Holding as I do for the above reason that the *hundis* have been discharged, the question of Defendant 2's minority does not require decision ; but as evidence has been adduced, it is desirable to record a finding, without questioning the genuineness of the certificates (of 1887 and other dates) setting forth that Defendant 2 was born on the 20th of October 1875. It will be readily seen that these certificates carry us practically no further back than the statement now made by Defendant 2's father: that the same statement was made in 1887. I see no ground for doubting, but the real question is whether the accuracy of these statements is sufficiently established. There is no record of the date of Defendant 2's birth. In April 1896 he was under the impression that he was under 21 ; and though an attempt has been made to fix the date by reference to other domestic events in neighbours' families and otherwise, the result of all the evidence is not, in my opinion, [sufficient] to establish beyond reasonable doubt that Defendant 2 was born in October 1875 as alleged. The argument that there would be no object in fixing October, rather than any other month, does not seem to me to take the matter much further. Clearly, when a certificate of age was called for, his age had to be fixed definitely, and the question is whether it was correctly fixed. The decree will be that Plaintiff's claim be dismissed, with all Defendant 2's costs on Plaintiff. "

The plaintiff, being aggrieved by the above judgment and decree, appealed to the Sadar Court. Justice G.C. Whitworth dismissed the appeal and confirmed the decree of the Joint Judge. The learned Judge did not at all discuss the question of the minority of Mr. Jinnah. It is to be noted that the learned judge's reluctance to accept the school certificates about dates of birth is far from unjustified. The High Courts in the sub-

continent have taken the view that entries in school registers have little probative value as evidence of age. Entries in the birth register of municipalities and other authorized agencies inspire greater confidence. Unfortunately, available records of the Karachi Municipality do not contain any entries of births or deaths before September 1879.

It appears that, probably as a result of the judicial verdict, Jinnah and members of his family made further inquiries, and found that, instead of 20 October 1875, Jinnah was in fact born on 25 December in 1876. In February 1918, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, in her Preface to *Mohammad Ali Jinnah : An Ambassador of Unity*, stated, for the first time, that Jinnah had been born on 25 December 1876. She, however, added that there was no reliable record of the actual year. Mrs. Naidu was a close friend of the Quaid-i-Azam, and the source of her information must have been Jinnah himself.

In 1939, the birthday of the Quaid-i-Azam was, for the first time, celebrated on the 25 December as a public event. Acknowledging the greetings, the Quaid-i-Azam said: "I appreciate very much, indeed, the concern that the Muslims of India have shown me personally on the occasion of my birthday." Since then his birthday has always been celebrated on 25 December.

In 1940, Mahmud Hassan, the Editor of the *Deccan Times*, who subsequently became the Manager of *Dawn*, chose this day to publish and print the Quaid with a book of appreciations as a birthday gift. In 1945 Mrs. Rafia Sharif Pirzada compiled a book of tributes under the title *Souvenir to Mohammad Ali Jinnah* which was again presented to him on 25 December, early in the morning; and she had the privilege of having breakfast with him.

The last birthday of the Quaid-i-Azam fell on a Friday in 1947. In the morning, thousands of people assembled at the Polo Ground in Karachi, where the Quaid-i-Azam reviewed a parade of the combined

Armed Forces of Pakistan. Birthday greetings poured into the Governor General's House from all parts of the world, including one from the British Prime Minister, Mr. Clement Attlee. In his message, President Truman said : " I am happy on this national holiday of Pakistan to send you my sincere birthday felicitations and to convey to you and the people of Pakistan the good wishes of the people of the United States. " The Quaid-i-Azam replied : "Pakistan and I deeply appreciate and thank you for the good wishes of the people of the United States and felicitations on the occasion of my birthday. " And after the demise of the Quaid-i-Azam, his birthday has been officially declared as a gazetted holiday by the Government of Pakistan.

The passports of the Quaid-i-Azam, including Passport No. 400878 issued on 4 July 1936 contain the following entry on the place and date of his birth :

" Place and Date of Birth—Karachi, 25 December 1876 ".

Finally, reliance may justifiably be placed on the relevant correspondence of the Quaid-i-Azam. The weekly *Anjam*, published from Delhi, in a letter dated 25 April 1946, wrote to the Quaid-i-Azam : "We beg to state that contributions to the Muslim League Election Fund by the subscribers of the *Anjam Illustrated Weekly*, through the efforts of its Gumnam Munajjim, have been too numerous, since the Fund was started. The subscribers of the same are pressing hard now to obtain from you the time, date and place of your birth, and to erect your horoscope and of the Pakistan Demand, and to publish the same in the Weekly. " The Quaid-i-Azam in his reply, dated 30 April 1946, stated :

" The information that you require is as follows :

Time ..	..	..	..	Early Morning.
Date ..	..	..	..	25 December 1876.
Place ..	..	..	..	Karachi."

This should put an end to the controversy about the place and date of birth of the Quaid-i-Azam.

Jinnah and the Shakespearean Company

Recalling the time that Jinnah sailed for England, in January 1893, Mrs. Fatima Gangji Valji, one of his first cousins, comments : " I still remember Jinnah's prophetic words when he was leaving for England. Naturally my eyes were heavy with tears when he was departing. ' Don't be a fool Bai', he told me. ' I will return a great man from England and not only you and the family, but the whole country will be proud of me. Would you not be happy then ? '"¹

Sir Evelyn Wrench reproduces what Jinnah once said of his arrival in England : " I found a strange country and unfamiliar surroundings. I did not know a soul and the fogs and winter in London upset me a great deal, but I soon settled down and was quite happy." Sir Evelyn also recalls Jinnah's reference to his maiden visit to a law court with his father as a young boy. When he saw his first advocate in gown and bands, he said, " I want to be a barrister".² Thus Jinnah's love for law was love at first sight.

1. Shamim Ahmad, "A Leaf from Quaid-Azam's Early Life", *Dawn*, 27 September 1948.

2. Sir Evelyn Wrench, *Immortal Years*, p. 132.

On 25 June 1893, Jinnah was admitted to Lincoln's Inn. The reason for joining that Society has been indicated by him in a speech he gave before the Karachi Bar Association, at a commemoration of "Milad-un-Nabi", in December 1947. He recalled how, as a student, he went round seeing all the four Inns in England before making his choice. When he entered the fourth Inn, he saw a large fresco. He asked the man who was conducting him about the fresco. The man replied: "It is a fresco of the law-givers of the world". "Who is the man on the top?" asked the Quaid-i-Azam. "Mohammad, the Great Law Giver", came the reply. That decided the choice of the Inn.¹

Jinnah utilized his spare time to study at the British Museum and other libraries, reading among other things, the biographies of great men and their speeches. He attended debates in the two Houses of the British Parliament, especially in the House of Commons.

Some authors suggest that it was during this period that Jinnah also joined a Shakespearean Company as an actor. Hector Bolitho writes: "Also, there was a spell away from his studies, when he toured England with a Shakespearean Company."² Nasim Ahmad, former Information Secretary, has recorded that, while he was a correspondent of the *Dawn*, Jinnah once recalled this strange adventure to him, describing his experiences as a prompter, and the occasion when he played Romeo. Bolitho adds, "No more is known, although there is a legend, unproven, that for a time he was with Miss Horniman's famous repertory company."³ Another version has been given by Malik Wahedna, an eminent writer and for some time a member of the Indian Diplomatic Service. Wahedna had posed a direct question to Jinnah at the Jam-i-Jamshed anniversary party held on March 19, 1947, at the Taj Mahal Hotel, Bombay. Wahedna writes:

Immediately after the preliminaries of introduction were gone through,

1. *Dawn*, 26 January 1948.

2. Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah, Creator of Pakistan*, p. 13.

3. *Ibid.*

I shot forth : ' Is it true Mr. Jinnah, that you once used to act on the English Stage ? '. To my good fortune, the protagonist of Pakistan was in a happy, cheerful mood that evening. Stretching his long legs to the full limits of comfort, he said smilingly in slow, measured and dramatic tones, as always : ' Yes I know that part of my life has been widely publicized but the real truth about it is not told yet '.

Here was a scoop, I thought ; and I egged him on : ' What then is the real truth ? ' Mr. Jinnah obligingly gave the answer, a long and correct answer :

' I used to read out Shakespeare before my friends. Soon the news got aroused : " Jinnah reads well. " After I was called to the Bar, I was taken by some friends to the Manager of a theatrical company, who asked me to go up to the stage and read out pieces of Shakespeare. I did so.

' His wife and he were immensely pleased, and immediately offered me a job. I was exultant, and I wrote to my parents craving for their blessings. I wrote to them that law was a lingering profession where success was so uncertain ; a stage career was much better, and it gave me a good start, and that I would now be independent and not bother them with grants of money at all. My father wrote a long letter to me, strongly disapproving of my project ; but there was one sentence in his letter which touched me most and which influenced a change in my decision : " Do not be a traitor to the family . "

' I went to my employers and conveyed to them that I no longer looked forward to a stage career. They were surprised, and they tried to persuade me, but my mind was made up. According to the terms of the contract I had signed with them, I was to have given them three months notice before quitting. But you know, they were Englishmen, and so they said : " Well when you have no interest in the stage, why should we keep you, against your wishes, for three months with us ? We

relieve you now and you can go home." My stage career, therefore, was very short.

Wahedna concludes : " The stage lost an ace actor when Jinnah took to law and politics. "1

It may be recalled that several great advocates have been attracted to the stage. Like Jinnah, Lord Brampton and Montagu Williams hesitated between Bar and Stage in their choice of a profession. As regards Sir John Simon, we have his own authority for the fact that he had always had a secret longing to be an actor, to which he confessed, in 1935, at a memorial tribute to Sir Nigel Playfair, with whom he had been at Oxford. He added, " I well remember that, in my day and Nigel Playfair's, the OUDS was also known as the Ordinary Undergraduate's Desecration of Shakespeare. " Sir Patrick Hastings' interest in the theatre is well known. His biographer writes : " He also possessed a fine dramatic sense, which was no doubt stimulated by his interest in the theatre from early days, and this, too, proved an invaluable asset with Hastings. " This was so in Jinnah's case as well.

Miss Jinnah, in an interview given to Mr. Rahim, a correspondent of *The Pakistan Times*, stated that Jinnah was particularly fond of Shakespeare, and that he used to read verses from his famous plays to her while she was at School. This special interest in Shakespeare, and reading out passages from his plays, may well have been due to his brief early association with the Dramatic Society.²

In the drawing-room, in the law court, in the Assembly Hall, and on the platform, there were often occasions when Shakespeare and the stage's influence on Jinnah was perceptible.

In an article in *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, Iqbal Singh observes : " Towards the closing years of his life, when he drew great tides of men to

1. *Blitz*, 7 June 1947.

2. *The Pakistan Times*, 25 December 1953.

himself to write his will, if not 'across the stars', at least across the pages of current history, it was noted by many observers that in his public performances he sometimes resorted to histrionic gestures which seemed curiously at variance with his habitual manner of speech and quite out of keeping in a man who was most at home in the deliberative atmosphere of the Council Chambers and the intimate 'tete-a-tete' of the study and the 'salon'. And these gestures he almost certainly derived from his adolescent enthusiasm for amateur acting."¹

1. *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, 12 October 1952.

Jinnah as Presidency Magistrate

Jinnah completed his studies in England, and returned to India in 1896. He was enrolled in the High Court of Judicature in Bombay on 24 August 1896, and soon thereafter was sworn in as an advocate (OS). The ceremony involved appearing before the Chief Justice and the Judge who sat with him, shaking hands with them, and accepting their congratulations and good wishes.¹ Sir Charles Farran was then the Chief Justice.

The legal profession is indeed, one where many are called, but few chosen. In the beginning, Jinnah had to bide his time, struggling hard and finding his practice unremunerative. For him, these times held moments of extreme depression ; and it was strength of character, an abundance of confidence, and untiring patience that sustained him. Most great advocates of the world have fought their way up in this manner. In the early hard and trying years, when their talents and skills were being forged in the fires of adversity, they worked on single-mindedly in silence and obscurity. Thomas Erskine, the defender of Paine's *Rights of Man*, went through the experience of going hungry.² Sir John Simon had to

1. M.R. Jayakar, *The Story of My Life*, p. 55.

2. E. Marjoribanks, *Famous Trials of Marshall Hall*, p. 27.

supplement his income by tutoring one of the sons of the King of Siam and by writing articles for various journals.¹ Lord Reading (as Rufus Daniel Isaacs) tried various occupations before he settled on the practice of law. Sir Patrick Hastings, in his early days, joined the staff of the *Daily News* to write articles on current gossip and for some time became the political secretary to a liberal candidate for Parliament.² Jinnah represented no exception to this process of gaining strength from facing and surmounting the vicissitudes of the practice of law. He has himself referred to these early struggles in a speech, in which he said that for three years after his enrolment, he did not get a single brief.³ In the meantime, through the kind offices of an old friend, he was admitted to the Chambers of John Molesworth Macpherson, then acting Advocate-General of Bombay. In the words of Sarojini Naidu, this was "a courteous concession, the first of its kind ever extended to an Indian, which its recipient always remembered as a beacon of hope in the dark distress of his early struggles."⁴ Sir Chimanlal Setalvad writes: "Macpherson had a large practice. His language and diction were perfect, and he commanded great respect from the Bench."⁵ During this apprenticeship, Jinnah gained a forensic foundation; but, except for occasional briefs, he made little headway up the ladder of his profession.

In 1900, came the first opportunity, when Mr. P.H. Dastoor, Third Presidency Magistrate of Bombay, left his post on three months' leave. To secure some financial support and to gain experience, Jinnah decided to apply for the temporary vacancy. "It was, however, not so easy a preferment", says his political biographer. "He needed influence to back his claim. A strenuous endeavour was made, but the required support was not forthcoming. At last, gazing through the window and smoking a cigarette, he wondered what remained to be done. A victoria cab was

1. D.C. Sircar, *Modern Advocacy*, p. 29.

2. H. Montgomery Hyde, *Sir Patrick Hastings*, p. 12.

3. Address at the Law College Union, Ahmedabad, 17 July 1945.

4. Sarojini Naidu, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: An Ambassador of Unity*, p. 4.

5. Chimanlal Setalvad, *Recollections and Reflections*, p. 61.

slowly passing by. An idea struck him ; he jumped into it and drove straight to the office of Sir Charles Ollivant, the then Member in charge of the Judicial Department. Jinnah sent word through the peon that waited outside the gate of Sir Charles's office, and contrary to all current traditions of officialdom, he was called in almost immediately. ' I have already heard much about you ', said Sir Charles, ' and it is good that you came straight to me. But, in the ordinary course, I should like to have a letter of recommendation from Mr. Macpherson, who naturally knows you more than I do. ' And next morning, when the hesitating candidate told his senior of all the facts, Macpherson told him that Sir Charles had already spoken to him about it, and that he would be only too glad to recommend him. ' If you wanted this job, why did you not tell me before ? ' asked the Advocate-General as he wrote out a letter to Sir Charles Ollivant. The young man had now to explain, and when he did so, saying that he had been already under so much obligation to Macpherson for the benefits he had received as a reader in his chambers, and that he did not wish to worry him more with his personal matters, Jinnah made, on the old man, once again, a profound impression of self-respect. Thus a few lines of appreciation from the admiring senior secured for him the coveted post. "1

On his appointment, the following news item appeared in the *Sind Gazette*, a Karachi daily, of 10 May 1900 :

MR. JINNAH'S APPOINTMENT : The Khoja Community of Karachi is to be congratulated on the appointment of Mr. Mohamed Ali Jinnah to be the Third Presidency Magistrate of Bombay. He is the son of Mr. Jinnah, who is one of the old and most respected merchants of Karachi. Mr. Mohamed Ali Jinnah passed the Bar examination when he was quite young, and was, on his return, enrolled as an Advocate of the Bombay High Court. "2

1. M. H. Saiyid, *Mohamed Ali Jinnah : A Political Study*, pp. 8-9.
2. *Sind Gazette*, 10 May 1900.

In those days, the position of Presidency Magistrate was an important judicial appointment, and such magistrates were appointed only in the Presidency cities of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. Syed Ameer Ali, the well-known Jurist who was the first Indian to be appointed on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, Mr. Justice Rangnekar and Sir Thomas Strangman, who later became Advocate-General of Bombay and then a leading practitioner before the Privy Council, also held the post of Presidency Magistrate for some time. Syed Ameer Ali recalls his work as a Presidency Magistrate in his memoirs, especially in connection with police irregularities in Calcutta : " When I took up the post, I found much laxity. Of this, I had already been warned by the Deputy Commissioner, Lambert ; but had not known how widely it prevailed in the different police areas. The Northern Division was the most populated part of the town, crowded with big houses, tenements, shops, hovels, and inhabited by a heterogeneous mass belonging to all classes of society. It can easily be imagined that the favourable field such conditions afforded for all manner of villainy if the police were in any way wanting in discipline. It became my duty to deal firmly with the bad characters who infested the neighbourhood and with any laxity in the guardians of law and order. Every offence against women and children was visited by the severest punishment. I was empowered to inflict ; and in case of second offences it was enhanced by flogging. In a few weeks, peaceable citizens were able to go about their business without molestation or threat of blackmail. "1 Commenting on the work of magisterial courts, Sir Strangman writes : " Compared with practice at the Bar, trying cases in the police courts is as simple as felling of a tree. So far as Bombay was concerned, I soon discovered that the vast majority of police cases were true, the vast majority of private complaints were false, and the only cases which presented anything approaching difficulty were prosecutions under the Municipal Act for the disobedience of regulations regarding buildings, public health and other kindred matters. These often required minute examination... Flogging at that

1. Syed Ameer Ali, *Islamic Culture*, Vol. VI, pp. 165-66.

time was a punishment which could be awarded for a number of offences. In order to put down theft in that quarter of the town with which I was concerned, I resorted to flogging as a regular punishment for that offence in jail for the more serious offences, in court for the others. ”¹

In the very first month after he had taken over as the Third Presidency Magistrate, Jinnah censured Counsel on legal procedure. In a case of criminal intimidation, the advocate of the accused applied to Presidency Magistrate for postponement, adding that the prosecution had no objection to it. In declining to grant the adjournment, Jinnah refused to take the word of the advocate unless he went into the witness-box and swore to it. Some lawyer correspondents thereafter inspired biased reports in various papers. A weekly journal, however, took up the cudgels on behalf of the Magistrate, and said that fools had rushed in where angels feared to tread, and that “in this instance the leaven of jealousy had not been wanting to ferment egregious folly into furious fanaticism. ”²

During his brief tenure as a Presidency Magistrate, Jinnah dealt with cases of assault, stabbing, cheating, theft, infringements of trade marks, and matters under Special Acts. There was the case of a bogus Raja, in which Sardar Singh Jaswant Singh, a young Rajput, claimed to be the Maharaja of Jodhpur and the Raja of Alwar. Among cases involving Sea Lawyers—nicknamed thus in the press, too that came up before Jinnah, there was one in which four seamen, Gorin, Tuckey, Smith and Larson, were charged by the Chief Officer of the ship with being disobedient. Discharging the accused, Jinnah observed that “The Chief Officer’s evidence went to show that on Sunday he ordered the accused to clean and paint the hatches. They refused and said that on Sundays, they were bound to do ‘necessary duty’ only, according to the Merchant Shipping Act, and that cleaning and painting the hatches was not a necessary duty. The

1. Sir Thomes Strangman, *Indian Courts & Characteristics*, p. 20-21.

2. J. Jeejeebhoy, “Conflict between Bench and Bar”, in *Sanj Vartaman Annual*, 1937.

Chief Officer, having given them option to keep the watch on and off, they performed that duty. No offence was, therefore, committed by them."

Pinto Fernandez, a Cook, was hauled up before Jinnah on a charge of causing grievous hurt to Annie Frances. The prosecution alleged that the motive for the commission of the offence was the accused's jealousy of the woman with whom he had been on intimate terms ; and that on his return to Bombay from a voyage, he had suspected something wrong about her conduct, and had then, in a fit of temper, inflicted several injuries on her. Jinnah disallowed the accused's defence that he was drunk and had not known what he was about, and sentenced him to two years' rigorous imprisonment.

In the complaint of a number of fireman that came up for hearing before Jinnah, a serang and 17 firemen, serving on board the steamer *Croydon*, charged Captain William Butler with unlawfully disbanding them and with illegally forfeiting their wages for one month and eight days. The Captain produced the Engineer's logbook in court, and stated that the complainants were not only guilty of continued disobedience, but also of deserting the ship without leave. His repeated offers to them to return to their work proved to be unavailing. To their contumacious conduct, the complainants added the untruth that they were all suddenly stricken ill. The fact was that owing to the taboos they had chosen to desert the ship, obliging him to recruit new firemen ; so that they had forfeited their wages. Jinnah ruled that the provisions of the Indian Seamen's Act regarding the forfeiture of wages for desertion and disobedience applied to the case, and upheld the action of the Captain. He observed : " The crew had tried to bully the Captain, who was pressed for time, because his ship was leaving the port soon, and the Shipping Master, too. They had all chosen one day to be ill, but they were unable to prove, by any evidence, that they really had been. This was trifling with the court. It was a pity that, owing to the Captain being pressed for time, they could not be prosecuted for desertion and disobedience."

Another seaman, G.H. Jourdan, an apprentice on board the *S.S. Bengal*, was charged with absenting himself without leave and with disobedience. Despite the warning given to him to be on duty at night, he was found missing on board ship and was subsequently discovered sleeping on the quay. He was the worse for liquor. When told to go on board he refused. Then he was asked to go with the quarter master to the ship, he again refused. Jinnah found him guilty, and sentenced him to one week's rigorous imprisonment.

Two persons named Abdul Husain Khan and Ali Isa were charged before Jinnah for importing Persian opium, contrary to law. The accused had arrived from Basrah, and on being examined at the Princess Dock, the opium had been found concealed in their caps, the first accused having with him one tola and a half, and the second half a tola. The defence was that the accused were opium eaters, and that they had not the least knowledge of the Indian law on the subject of opium. They had kept the opium in their tall caps to prevent it from losing its consistency and becoming soft and moist. Jinnah concluded that the small quantity found with the accused accounted for the fact that it was brought by them for their own use and consumption and not in deliberate contravention of the law. Ignorance of the law is ordinarily no excuse; but the accused were foreigners, and had the law been explained to them, they would have given up the opium that was in their possession. The accused were therefore discharged.

Jinnah tried the cocoanut case wherein Nasey Pitambar, Nama and Shewa Ghatti were charged with cheating and thereby inducing delivery of property and abetment by Shaikh Ally Ameer. The evidence showed that the complainant was tindal of *Daria Dowlet*, which was chartered to fetch 43,000 cocoanuts from the port of Panani. It was ordered by the owners of the goods that the delivery of 3,975 cocoanuts should be given to Tricumdas' men against a receipt of delivery. The defence denied the delivery of the cocoanuts, and maintained, it was a false charge. Jinnah

disbelieved the defence, and sentenced the accused to four months' rigorous imprisonment.

Ismail Shaikh Imam was charged before Jinnah with cheating. The Inspector of the G.I.P. Railway was the complainant, and the evidence showed that the accused was an agent of the travelling Ice Contractor. In the preceding week, the accused had brought into his compartment a 'Pardesi' travelling without a ticket from Bhusawal, receiving from him two rupees. On the train arriving at Bombay, the fraud was detected. The accused pleaded guilty, and was fined Rs. 50. In another case of travelling without a ticket, involving the accused, Wasudeo Narayan Joshi, Jinnah imposed only a nominal fine.

A Bania merchant, Maganlal, filed a complaint against Bapoolal Javerbhai for having assaulted him with a wooden ruler while he was returning home. The accused was convicted by Jinnah and fined Rs. 30, out of which Rs. 20 were ordered to be paid to the complainant as compensation.

Jinnah convicted Ismail Haji Ishak for storing and pressing raw hides, which caused a nuisance and violated the Municipal Act, ordering the payment of a running penalty. Jinnah entertained the complaint of a Chinaman, Chowkshaw Sanktann, who was employed on the steamer *Colisity*. The evidence disclosed that the complainant was ordered by Mr. Ruttel, the Second Officer of the vessel, to 'wet down' the deck, which he refused to do. Thereupon, Mr. Allen, the Third Officer, struck him a blow on the eye and Ruttel kicked him. The Captain of the steamer said there were 25 Chinamen on board and only eight Europeans. The Chinese crew often got out of hand, and it was necessary to maintain strong discipline. Jinnah observed that there was no justification for the assault, and convicted the accused. The trade mark cases included aniline and alizarine dyes of the Cow brand and turpentine of the 'W' brand. Jinnah tried a lawyer's clerk for breach of trust in respect of the instalments that were to be deposited in a Civil Court under the decree. He held that the conduct of the accused was not such as to entitle him any favourable con-

sideration at the hands of the court to mitigate the penalty, and sentenced him to four month's rigorous imprisonment. In the case of a *badmash* who had fractured the wrist of Cassam on the latter's refusal to stand him a drink, Jinnah awarded the accused one year's rigorous imprisonment. In cases of pickpockets of Hormusjee (who had picked the purse of a lady) and Narayan (who had removed a watch), Jinnah gave sentences of six and one month's rigorous imprisonments, respectively.

Jinnah was a meticulous magistrate. One Reginald D'Sa was charged with being a habitual extortioner. He was ordered released on bail ; but on being unable to furnish the required security, he was remanded to jail. As soon as Jinnah discovered that the provisions of Section 112 of the Criminal Procedure Code had not been complied with, he ordered that the accused be discharged.

From these cases dealt with and decided by Jinnah, it is apparent that he was an able, judicious and balanced magistrate, with a special care for legal detail.

Jinnah officiated as Presidency Magistrate for a total of six months. After the first three months, Mr. Dastoor had resumed ; but acted as the Chief Presidency Magistrate in place of Mr. Sander-Slater, who had gone on leave. Jinnah's appointment was then extended for another three months. On the expiry of this period, Sir Charles offered him a permanent appointment on a salary of Rs. 1,500 per month. Jinnah politely declined the offer, wryly adding that his ambition was to earn Rs. 1,500 a day. Jinnah recalls : " After a few years, Sir Charles returned to India having spent some time in England in quiet retirement. He was invited to the Orient Club in Bombay, of which I was a member, and I attended on that occasion. On seeing me there, he came over to me and enquired as to how I was getting on ; and when I told him what I was earning, he congratulated me on my determination and courage, saying that I had done well to refuse his offer."¹ Jinnah achieved his ambition and earned more than Rs. 1,500 a day, before he gave it all up to devote himself to the struggle for independence.

1. M.H. Saiyid, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

Jinnah as a Lawyer

Before Jinnah began to devote more and more of his time to leading the Muslim struggle for freedom, his first great dedicated interest was law. His brilliant and epoch-making career has been portrayed by many. His towering personality, extraordinary ability and uncompromising character and his political achievements are well known. His great fight for Pakistan will always be remembered ; but his battles at the Bar should also be remembered.

In the Chambers of Macpherson and Lowndes

Jinnah was enrolled on 24th August 1896 as an Advocate (O.S.) of the Bombay High Court. Through the kind offices of an old friend, he was admitted to the Chambers of John M. Macpherson, the Acting Advocate-General of Bombay, in May 1900. Besides being an erudite lawyer, Macpherson was a great gentleman, with an extremely fine presence and a soothing voice.¹ He was very kind to Jinnah. Jinnah was also for some time in the Chambers of Sir George Lowndes, who afterwards became

1. P. B. Vachha, *Famous Judges, Lawyers and Cases of Bombay*, p. 133.

the Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and later still a member of the Privy Council. Lowndes had a very clear and lucid mind, and an extremely forceful and impressive manner of advocacy. When Jinnah was reading in his Chamber, Lowndes' opinion was once sought regarding some speech that Tilak had delivered. There was going to be a conference, and Lowndes asked Jinnah whether he had read the brief, and what he thought about it. Jinnah replied that he had not touched the brief, and would not look at it, as he wanted to keep himself free to criticize the Government for prosecuting a great patriot like Tilak. Lowndes was amused at the indignation and enthusiasm of his young junior.¹

Leading Lawyer

Among the High Courts in India only the High Courts of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras had original as well as appellate jurisdiction. The other High Courts were purely appellate Courts. The cream of legal practice was on the original side, where all suits of the value of over Rs. 2,000 were filed. There was a dual system, namely the appearance of counsel briefed and instructed by a solicitor. At that time, the majority of the solicitors were Britishers, and the remaining few local solicitors were mostly Hindus or Parsis. As a result, it was very difficult for Indians, and especially Muslims, to get briefs and advance their practice. Sir Setalvad recalls how he found a sneaking preference for European practitioners and a want of encouragement for Indian practitioners. He refers to an incident when a solicitor who had briefed him in an important case was holding a conference with him. After Sir Setalvad indicated to him the line to be adopted, the solicitor remarked "If your skin were as fair as your arguments, I would have been sure of success." Jinnah started work; in this atmosphere of racial prejudice and discrimination; and soon, by his merit, hard work and skill in the conduct of cases, captured a lucrative practice. To shine and succeed in such a situation and come to the top in the company of eminent lawyers like Inveroyty, Strangman, Setalvad,

1. M. C. Chagla, *Roses in December*, p. 14.

Kanga, Jayakar, Mulla and Desia, is an eloquent testimony to his ability and capacity as a lawyer and advocate.

Sensational cases apart, he had built up a solid, substantial and lucrative practice within a few years after his return to Bombay. He was the most versatile of advocates, practising with equal success before civil and criminal courts, original and appellate sides of the High Courts, and last but not the least, before the highest tribunal of the Commonwealth, the Privy Council.

“A successful Counsel”, according to Montgomery Hyde, “can as a rule either convince judges or sway juries. He is seldom capable of doing both, though occasionally, like the first Lord Reading and the first Lord Birkenhead, he does succeed in combining profound knowledge of law with moving eloquence. Broadly speaking, however, legal practitioners may be classified either as lawyers or else as Advocates.” In the top rank of the former category must be reckoned jurists like Lord Simon and Sir Stafford Cripps. In the latter, advocates like Edward Carson, Marshall Hall, Norman Birkett, and Sir Patricks Hastings. Jinnah was not only doubly gifted but was a triple combination of Carson’s ‘cross-examination’, Simon’s ‘subtlety of law’ and Marshall Hall’s ‘Marshalling of facts’.

Some Notable Cases

More than a volume would be needed to cover the famous cases conducted by Jinnah. In the Cancus Case, it was due to Jinnah’s advocacy that the validity of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta’s election to the Bombay Municipal Corporation was upheld. When Tilak was convicted for sedition, Jinnah appeared in the appeal and drew a distinction between disaffection and disapprobation. The sentence was set aside. In the suit of Haji Bibi concerning the Aga Khan, which is considered the longest suit in Bombay’s legal history, Jinnah represented Shamsuddin, one of the contesting defendants. The magnitude of the case may be gathered from the fact that

voluminous evidence on commission was taken at various places all over the world, and as many as 128 issues were raised therein. In the well-known defamation case of B.G. Horniman, Jinnah's masterly handling led to the conviction of the editor, printer and publisher of the paper, *Briton*. Where Oscar Wilde had failed in a somewhat similar case, Horniman succeeded due to Jinnah's skill. In the Bowla Murder Case, which arose out of the infatuation of the Maharajah of Indore for Mumtaz, the then Beauty Queen of India, and in which, at one stage, the well-known British criminal lawyer, Marshall Hall, was being brought in, Jinnah appeared for the main accused, and at least saved him from the gallows. In the Jitekar Trust Suit, Jinnah dealt with the doctrines of Hanafi and Shafae Law. In Ranchood Narian and Ajoba and a number of other suits, Jinnah analysed certain aspects of Hindu Law, and its different schools, in considerable detail. In 1921, Jinnah appeared for the petitioners to obtain a *mandamus certiorari* or other appropriate writ to quash various resolutions of the Bombay Corporation and to restrain them from presenting an address of welcome to the Governor. This being the first case of its kind, the Court was reluctant to issue the writ. In the case of the assassination of the author of *Rangila Rasool*, the assailant, Ilam Din, had been sentenced to death. In the appeal, Jinnah, representing him, pleaded that provocation coupled with the youth of the accused were good grounds for not inflicting the death penalty. The British judges, however, did not allow any weight to these submissions; and the young man was executed. But since then Lahore has rarely seen such a procession of mourners as accompanied his funeral. In *Salim Khatoon versus Arshadur Rehman*, Jinnah faced Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru before the Hyderabad High Court. In the suit of the Raja of Nanpara, Jinnah appeared for the plaintiff; and with his usual skill and ability, obtained a favourable decree that was upheld by the Privy Council. In the case of *Messa versus Messa*, intricate questions of Jewish Law and conflicts of laws and International Law were involved. The arguments lasted for three weeks; and at the end, Jinnah's client won the case. Jinnah represented the Editor of the *Bombay*

Chronicle in a case of contempt of court. He defended Pir Pagaro in the trial court as well as in the appeal. In the Bhopal Waqf Case, Chowdhry Naimatullah, a distinguished Counsel, a retired Judge of the Allahabad High Court, advanced a scholarly argument. But Jinnah's technical counter-plea prevailed. It appears that Jinnah handled his last case in 1945, when he defended Bishen Lal at Agra. The accused was charged with the offence of offering a bribe to an Army Officer of the Ordnance Department. Mr. Akhtar Adil, the Chief Prosecutor, recalls that the main witness was Captain Martin, whom Jinnah cross-examined in such a searching way that Jinnah's last question left him speechless : "So, Captain Martin, you admit that you are a liar."

Complete Honesty

"There was a well-known businessman, Haji Abdul Karim, who had to appear in court on a serious charge. He went to Jinnah and asked him how much it would cost to take up the case. Jinnah answered bluntly, 'Five hundred rupees a day.'

"The businessman was cautious and he asked 'How long will the case go on? I have five thousand rupees with me. Will you accept this to cover the whole of your fees?'

"Jinnah answered, 'I am not prepared to accept this amount. Five hundred rupees a day is my fee, and you must engage me on these terms or find another lawyer.'

"Abdul Karim accepted the terms, and Jinnah won the case, in three days. He accepted his fee of fifteen hundred rupees with good grace."¹

Some Anecdotes

"Mr. Jinnah", angrily shouted Justice Martin, "You are not addressing a third class magistrate". Rapier-like flashed the counter-thrust : "There isn't a third class counsel before Your Lordship."² Once Jinnah

1. Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah*, p. 20, 21.

2. Joachim Alva, *Men and Supermen of India*, p. 130.

was pressing a particular point before Justice Mirza. The learned judge made certain observations against his contention, but added that, at that stage, he was not expressing a judicial conclusion, only a personal opinion. Jinnah immediately retorted, "I care twopence for your personal opinion." The judge resented the remark, and turning to Sir Setalvad, said, "Don't you think Mr. Jinnah is guilty of contempt of Court?" In his *Recollections and Reflections*, Sir Setalvad writes: "It was indeed stupid of the Judge to have put such a question to me. I answered, 'It is not for me to give an opinion whether Mr. Jinnah has committed contempt or not. It is your privilege to determine that; but I can say that, knowing Mr. Jinnah as I do, he could never have intended to insult the Court'." ¹ Jinnah thereafter ceased to appear before this Judge for sometime. Jinnah and Setalvad were appearing for opposite parties before a Civilian Judge, and at about five O'clock in the evening the learned Judge suggested to the Counsels to continue their arguments, as he was prepared to sit up to seven O'clock, in order to conclude the case. Jinnah retorted that since the Court time was 5:00 p.m., thereafter His Lordship would be sitting alone, as he as well as Sir Setalvad had previous professional engagements. Both Counsels then left punctually as the hour struck.

An appeal against the conviction of Pir Pagaro was being heard at Karachi by the Division Bench consisting of Justice A.C. Wild and Justice R.B. Milne. At one point, Justice Milne asked to Jinnah to speak louder, as he could not hear him. "Jinnah replied, 'I am a barrister, not an actor.'" The Judge was patient, but he had to interrupt again—"Mr. Jinnah, I must ask you to speak louder." Jinnah answered, 'If you will remove that pile of books in front of you, you might be able to hear what I have to say.'"²

M.M. Lahevala, a solicitor, recalls some of the court clashes Jinnah had with Justice Kania, who later became Chief Justice of India. On one

1. Chimanlal Setalvad, *Recollections and Reflections*, p. 67.

2. Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah*, p. 20.

occasion, when Jinnah was vehemently arguing his case before Justice Kania, who was not inclined to accept his arguments, the learned Judge, thinking that Jinnah was not aware of his solicitor's attempt to interrupt him, tried to draw Jinnah's attention to this. But Jinnah flared up, and told the Judge: "It is not your Lordship's business to interrupt and indicate to Counsel what instructions and from whom he should take [these] for his arguments before the Court."¹ In another case before Justice Kania, Jinnah whispered to his client that he had already told him that the Judge was prejudiced. The learned Judge immediately insisted on hearing what was conveyed by the Counsel to his client. Jinnah claimed that it was a privileged communication; but, without prejudice to his contention, repeated the conversation. The learned Judge threatened to take action for contempt of Court; but Sir Jamshedji Kanga pointed out that the communication being privileged, the Court could not ask the Counsel to disclose it, and no action would be competent. It may be mentioned that Justice Kania was somewhat sensitive; and when he took action for contempt of Court against Shamdāsani, the order was set aside by the Privy Council. Their Lordships of the Privy Council observed: "To treat such words as requiring the exercise by the Court of its summary powers of punishment is to make a mountain out of a molehill."²

In 1941, Jinnah appeared before the Sind Chief Court for the appellants in the case of Bishamberdas and Co. versus Sachoomal. Thousands thronged to the Court to hear him—or at least to see him. The Court-room was jampacked and the corridors were full when Chief Justice Davis; and Justice Weston entered. Seeing the huge crowd, Davis asked the Court Clerk to close the doors of the Court-room. Jinnah got up and smilingly said that the doors of Justice should be kept open. The Judges agreed to the suggestion provided the crowd remained quiet. Jinnah said that he expected them to be quiet. The day's proceedings were then concluded smoothly.

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1. M.M. Lahevela, "Jinnah: The Gentle Giant," *Pakistan Digest*, November 1976, p. 183.
 2. A.I.R., 1945, PC 134.

Justice Davar and Jinnah

After Justice Davar had sentenced Tilak to six years' rigorous imprisonment, the Government conferred a knighthood upon Davar, and the Bar Association of the High Court of Bombay wanted to give him a dinner. A circular went round asking those who wanted to join the dinner to sign it. When the circular came to Jinnah, he wrote a scathing note to the effect that the Bar should be ashamed to want to give a dinner to a judge who had obtained a knighthood by doing what the Government wanted, and by sending a great patriot to jail with a savage sentence. It seems that Justice Davar came to know about this, and sent for Jinnah in his chambers. He asked Jinnah how he thought Davar had treated Jinnah in his Court. Jinnah replied that he had always been very well treated. Davar asked Jinnah next whether he had any grievance against him. Jinnah said he had none. Davar then asked: "Why did you write a note like this against me?" Jinnah replied that he wrote it because he thought it was the truth; and however well Davar might have treated him, he could not suppress his strong feeling about the manner in which he had tried Tilak's case. All this goes to demonstrate the great regard which Jinnah had for Tilak, and also the courage and the spirit of nationalism which Jinnah displayed as a young man.¹

Journalists on Jinnah's Advocacy

Frank Moraes, the distinguished journalist and famous author, saw Jinnah in action in court. He wrote: "Watch him in the courtroom as he argues a case. Few Lawyers command a more attractive audience. No man is more adroit in presenting his case. If to achieve the maximum result with minimum effort is the hall-mark of artistry, Mr. Jinnah is an artist in his craft. He likes to get down to the bare bones of a brief, in stating the essentials of a case his manner is masterly. The Court room acquires an atmosphere as he speaks, juniors crane their necks forward to follow every movement of the tall, well-groomed figure; senior counsels

1. M.C. Chagla, *Roses in December*, p. 14.

listen closely ; the Judge is all attention. Mr. Jinnah's voice has small volume. Its tone is low, but within its limited range it is surprisingly elastic. One moment it purrs persuasively, an interruption and its rasps".¹ Joachim Alva, late Editor of the *Forum*, observed : " One place will long cherish Jinnah's memory ; there it remains imperishable. Courage and sheer impudence have won him fame in the Law Courts. His hypnotic influence bruited his fame abroad and the rumours of his name spread in accordance with the thrills, his terrific encounter with the Judges and the bombshells he throws in the courts. As an Advocate, he possesses gifts which cast a spell on the Courts, the Judges, the Juries, the Solicitors, and Clients, all alike. As a Counsel, he has ever held his head erect, unruffled by the worst circumstances. He has been our boldest Advocate, no Judge dare bully him. He will not brook any insult. Jinnah's ready tongue and brilliant advocacy have worked off all judicial storms and won him all-round admiration. His assertiveness has frightened Judges so as not to damage his practice at the Bar in the slightest manner as was the case with late Sir Edward Marshall Hall who suffered for flashes of jury. Clients and Solicitors prize Jinnah's services for his matchless grit and courage to stand up for the causes he represents. Certain Judges, notorious for their calculated insults to the junior practitioners, hold their tongue when face to face with Jinnah. Jinnah has preserved his position at the Bar intact and unsullied. Toadying or the remotest connection that excites suspicion is foreign to his nature. In short, he is the embodiment of the highest standards of the Bar. The compliment paid him that he is ' the Lord Simon of the Indian Bar ' does not awkwardly sit on him."² The comments of the *Bombay Chronicle* have been quoted, with concurrence in his memoirs, by M.R. Jayakar, a former Judge of the Federal Court and later a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council : " Jinnah possesses, in a remarkable manner, both lucidity of phrase and clarity of vision."

1. *The Time of India*, 10 September 1939.

2. Joachim Alva, *Leaders of India*, p. 79.

Opinion of Leading Lawyers

A.A.A. Fyzee, former Principal of a Law College and author of a number of books on Muslim Law, recalls : " Tall and slim, always immaculately dressed, Jinnah was a spectacular figure in the court. Like many a leader in the profession, he began shakily; and it is said [that], in his younger days, he even tried hard for a job. But ultimately by sheer merit, he succeeded in the profession and reached the top.

" As a lawyer, Jinnah was an advocate rather than a jurist. He could present the most complicated facts in such a simple and logical fashion, his advocacy was so persuasive, he could cover up his own defects so well and expatiate upon the weaknesses of his opponent so matchlessly, that almost always he won the day on facts alone. It is sometimes suggested that Jinnah did not know the law. That is an over-statement ; he knew the law, but more often than not his style of advocacy was such that he won mostly on a skilful presentation of the facts. To take a simple illustration, if there was a simple case containing one point of law, his opponent would stress the point of law. On the other hand, Jinnah after stating the law, would state the facts in such a way as to make the conclusion seem logically inevitable.

" Jinnah's manner in court was extremely urbane, courteous and cultured. So long as you did not attack him, he was the soul of politeness ; but woe be to the man who tried to put him down or attack him. He has a great gift of repartee and is capable of smashing any opponent, be he Counsel or Judge. His pronunciation is good ; his sentences short ; his voice soft ; and altogether he is gifted with an extremely pleasing manner in court. Another aspect of his advocacy was that he was a good debator, and a skilful cross-examiner. But above all, as a leader of the Bar, he will be remembered most for the way in which he always upheld the highest traditions of the profession. His code of honour was perfect. It was impossible to imagine him doing anything contrary to the etiquette

of the Bar, and whenever there was a difficult question regarding the etiquette to be followed in a particular case, the opinion of Mr. Jinnah was eagerly sought and almost always followed. Thus, in regard to the practice of a lawyer, his was an admirable example to be followed by the junior members of the Bar.”¹

In his *Recollections and Reflections*, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, recalls : Jinnah had always, even in his junior days, shown considerable independence and courage. He never allowed himself to be overborne either by the Judge or the opposing Counsel.²

On the occasion of the Centenary of the Bombay High Court, K.M. Munshi, a prominent lawyer said : “ M.A. Jinnah was another eminent Indian Lawyer of this period. Tall and spare and impeccably dressed, he stood in a class by himself. His advocacy was characterized by strong commonsense, great courage and forthright approach. A man of great integrity, he would never stoop to trickery, though he could be devastating if a Judge or an opponent was inclined to be offensive. Once a firm of solicitors, on behalf of their clients, had asked him to put some questions in the Legislative Assembly, of which he was a member, and wanted to enlist his enthusiastic support by offering a sort of bribe in the shape of a brief for opinion marked 100 guineas, a colossal figure for such a brief in those days. He grew wild with rage and flung the brief out of his chamber. Once while attending a Conference with Strangman, he found the latter offensive. Immediately he walked out of the Chamber, and for years, never spoke to Strangman, nor addressed him as ‘my learned friend’.”³

In his book, *Famous Judges, Lawyers and Cases of Bombay*, P.B. Vachha writes. “ Mohammad Ali Jinnah is in a sense the most celebrated member of the Bombay Bar, for he is the only man who, after extensive and eminent practice at the Bar for a number of years, ultimately passed into general history. Jinnah’s professional manner was rather superior and conceited

1. Rafia Sharif Pirzada, *Souvenir to Mohammad Ali Jinnah*, pp. 16-18.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *High Court at Bombay: 1862-1962*, p. 99.

and he stood somewhat aloof. But he was unquestionably a great fighting advocate, who stood up for his clients' cause against all odds. At first, his forensic manner struck one as arrogant, supercilious, and almost insolent, both towards the Bench as well as his opponents. But latterly, he became mellow and dignified, and he carried great weight with the judges. He was very clear headed and he drove home his points both on law and facts with a lucid and persistent eloquence. He appeared in a number of important suits and appeals on the civil side, as well as in great criminal cases, including the famous Bawla Murder Case."¹

Jinnah's mastery in the forensic field is apparent from the fact that one of his devils, M.C. Chagla, rose to be the Chief Justice of the High Court of Bombay, the first Indian to hold that office. In an article in the *Bombay Law Journal*, in 1927, Chagla observes : " Jinnah was a pure artist in the manner and method of his presentation. Even the most complex facts became simple and obvious when he waved his wand over them. He could be ferociously aggressive and almost boyishly persuasive, as and when the occasion arose, and what particularly helped in his advocacy was the absolute clear head that he possessed and on which he justly prided himself. He had common sense, that most uncommon of qualities, in an uncommon degree."² More, recently, Chagla, reaffirming this view in his memoirs, wrote : " He had a very striking personality, and the presentation of a case as he handled it was a piece of art. He was a superb advocate. He was also a first-rate cross-examiner. He did not often take up long cases, but he was absolutely first rate in what are called miscellaneous matters. He would sit with a pile of summons and notices and deal with them with consummate ease and mastery. What impressed me most was the lucidity of his thought and expression. There were no obscure spots or ambiguities about what Jinnah had to tell the court. He was straight and forthright and always left a strong impression whether his case was intrinsically good or bad. I remember sometimes at a conference he would tell the Solicitor

1. P.B. Vachha, *Famous Judges, Lawyers and Cases of Bombay*, p. 150.
 2. Chagla in *Bombay Law Journal*, 1927.

that his case was hopeless ; but when he went to court he fought like a tiger, and almost made me believe that he had changed his opinion. Whenever I talked to him afterwards about it, he would say that it was the duty of an advocate, however bad the case might be, to do his best for his client. He was cold and unemotional, and apart from laws and politics he had no other interests. His staple food was newspapers, briefs and law books. I owe a great deal to him, because I learned in his chambers not only the art of advocacy, but how to maintain the highest traditions of the legal profession. Jinnah was absolutely impeccable in his professional etiquette.”¹

Jinnah's outstanding career as a Counsel is beyond any cavil or controversy whatsoever. In a Broadcast from B.B.C., Sir Stafford Cripps spoke of him as “a most accomplished lawyer—outstanding amongst Indian lawyers and a fine constitutionalist.” Last but not least, one might recall the opinion of Mahatma Gandhi, who, in a letter to Lord Birkenhead, described Jinnah and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as the two cleverest lawyers of India.

Judges on Jinnah

Jinnah's forensic ability also earned judicial approbation. His exposition evoked admiration from judges and juries alike ; and the judgements of cases in which he appeared are replete with appreciation of the skill and ability with which he conducted these. Justice Crump, who presided over the trial of the accused involved in the sensational Bawla Murder Case, was thrilled by his cross-examination and address to the jury. Professor Raza of St. Xavier's College, Bombay, who was empanelled on various juries, portrayed him as the ‘ magician with the monocle ’. The Professor recalls a murder case, wherein, while dissecting the evidence tendered by the prosecution, Jinnah at short intervals would pause and pose the question, “ Is this the man ? ” When the jury retired, each one asked the other, “ Is this the man ? ” All of them had no hesitation in answering that this was not the man, and they returned a unanimous verdict of

1. M. C. Chagla, *Roses in December*, pp. 54-55.

'Not Guilty'. Even a hostile Judge had to compliment Jinnah when the Jury, contrary to His Lordship's directions, decided to acquit the accused in the famous Allo Rape Case at Surat.

Justice Beamon, in Pestonji versus Billimoria, reaffirmed that hard cases notoriously make bad law. In that suit, the legatee had claimed the sum assigned to him in the deceased's Will. The defendant trustee contended that it appeared from the Will that this was not an ordinary bequest, but was intended to be no more than the satisfaction of the debt owed by the testator. Sir Jamshed Kanga wanted to lead evidence in support of this contention ; but Jinnah objected on technical legal grounds. After discussing various arguments raised by both Counsels, His Lordship upheld the objection and observed :

" When the case came on for trial, the first question raised was whether the defendant was entitled to lay before the Court evidence of facts alleged to have been in the testator's mind, and, therefore, necessary to be known to the Court before it could truly apply the language used by the testator in the second clause of the Will. This was, of course, strenuously opposed by Mr. Jinnah for the plaintiff, who, like most Counsels of experience, is always most insistent on a legal technicality and most ingenious, and I may say persuasive, in proportion as he feels that if his ground fails him his case is lost. Nevertheless, after giving the matter my most anxious consideration during the whole of his argument, and the exhaustive and able reply to it by Mr. Kanga, I am still unable to free myself from the logical compulsion of the technicality upon which Mr. Jinnah has taken his stand."¹

Justice Martin, in the case of Tata Industries Bank Ltd., acknowledged thus :

" I have had the advantage of a very useful argument from Mr. Jinnah, in the course of which, I believe, he has drawn my attention to all the points that can be said in favour of this client "²

1. XII B.L.R. 863.
2. XXV B.L.R. 1296.

In the instructive case of *Tricum Das Mills*, the doctrine of Indoor Management and complicated questions of Company Law were involved. In his exhaustive judgment, Justice Davar stated that "in this case some very interesting and important questions of law arise for consideration." Dealing with Jinnah's submissions, the learned Judge commented that "Mr. Jinnah has throughout the hearing expended much labour and argued with great skill and conspicuous lucidity." In the end, while decreeing the suit in favour of Jinnah's client, the learned Judge could not refrain from observing that "The plaintiff must feel much indebted to the exertions of Mr. Jinnah who conducted his case, for this result of the suit."¹ The same learned Judge, in the case of the *Advocate-General versus Fardoonji*, wherein issues involved related to the doctrine of *Cypress* and the power of the Court to vary and alter the decree already passed, noted that "Mr. Jinnah has argued the question of the powers of the Court with great care and much elaboration and cited several authorities in support of his contentions."²

Justice Chandravarkar, in the case of *Bibi Khaver Sultan*, wherein the validity of a gift under Mohammedan Law came up for consideration, and His Highness the Aga Khan was examined as a witness, observed that "Mr. Jinnah conducted the plaintiff's case with considerable skill and ability." The same learned Judge, in the suit of *Raghirji Vizpal*, a case of Pledge and lien, complimented Jinnah "for having conducted the case with his usual ability".

In the famous case of the *Raja of Nanpara*, at Lucknow, leading lawyers of India appeared against Jinnah. The learned Judge of the Oudh Chief Court, whose decision was upheld by their Lordships of the Privy Council, observed: "I must also express my sense of great indebtedness to Mr. Jinnah for his extremely able arguments, which were of great assist-

1. VI *B.L.R.* 983

2. VIII *B.L.R.* 922.

ance to me in the decision of several difficult points of both fact and law involved in the case." ¹

Witness of Truth

Interesting too, is the judicial verdict on Jinnah when he appeared as a witness for the prosecution in the trial of Rafiq Sabir, who was charged and eventually found guilty of an attempt to murder Jinnah. While summing up before the jury, Justice Blagden said : " I must say that in all my experience I have never seen more obviously a witness of truth than Mr. Jinnah." ² The experience of the learned Judge was undoubtedly vast, wide and varied, from London to Calcutta and from Rangoon to Bombay.

Patrick Spens' Verdict

Patrick Spens, the last Chief Justice of undivided India, paid a tribute to "the tallness of the man, the immaculate manner in which he was turned out, the beauty of his features and the extreme courtesy with which he treated all"; and added that " no one could have made a more favourable impression than he did. There is no man or woman living who imputes anything against his honour or his honesty. He was the most outright person that I know, but throughout it all he never, as far as I know, for one moment attempted to deceive anybody as to what he was aiming at or as to the means he attempted to adopt to get it." Referring to Jinnah's practice before the Privy Council, Lord Spens said:

" When he arrived early in 1931, he took a big house in Hampstead, he took Chambers in Kings Bench Walk and started off and he appeared in number of cases before the Privy Council. No doubt he had considerable assistance from old clients in Bombay ; but he made a name before the most critical judicial tribunal, I believe, in the world ; and I say that with great deference to the Supreme Court of U.S.A.

1. 1928 A.I.R. Oudh 155.

2. Akber Peerbhoy, Bar-at-Law, *Jinnah Faces an Assassin*, p. 129.

I think the Privy Council is the most critical. It is a friendly court, but is tremendously critical, and no one who had first class brains, a great power of advocacy, and above all great tact and politeness, would have made in so short a time such a fine practice as Mr. Jinnah did before the Privy Council.”¹

Compliments of the Privy Council

Their Lordships of the Privy Council very sparingly complimented any Counsel in their judgements and decisions. Lord Thankerton, in the reported judgement of the Privy Council in Abdul Majid Khan versus Saraswati Bai, made this special mention : “ The arguments of the appellant were dealt with fully and clearly by Mr. Jinnah. ” Lord Jowitt has recalled and written that “ we all had a great admiration for his great skill and the judgement with which he conducted his cases before the Privy Council. ”²

Final Tribute

By way of summing up, one might recall the glowing tribute paid to Jinnah by the premier legal journal of India, *The All India Reporter* : “ Although Mr. Jinnah’s career as a political leader and as the representative of the successful Muslim Movement for separation in India overshadows all other aspects of his life, a legal journal like this has to take note of the fact that he was a lawyer of outstanding eminence and in his death our country has lost one of its greatest lawyers. As a brilliant advocate, he had few rivals. He was also universally recognised as a man of unimpeachable integrity, and honoured by friend and foe alike for his incorruptibility. Mr. Jinnah’s name will live in history as the greatest protagonist of the two nation theory in India and the creator of Pakistan. ”³

1. Address to the Pakistan Society, London, 8 January 1960.
2. *A.I.R.* 1934 pc p. 4.
3. *A.I.R.* 1948 Journal p. 41.

The Marriage

[Love is said to be a many splendoured thing. There is the story of the very strange romance of George Barnard Shaw and Ellen Terry, a love affair that took place entirely on paper. For the great writer trembled to test his affection in the crucible of reality and actually avoided meeting his beloved face to face. The ideal love affair, wrote Barnard Shaw, 'is one conducted by post'. Though love be the stuff of legend, it is also the stuff of life. Behind the fantasies of films, novels, poems, plays and paintings there stand real flesh and blood men and women—pulsating hearts that found the greatest adventure of all.] So much has been said, written and sung about love, probably more than on any other subject. Most of this has been lyrical, but some cynical, too—and yet, as Jerome has said, the neutral fact remains that "Love is like the measles ; we all have to go through it."¹ Humble or great, all are susceptible to it—and in modern times, a headstrong princess, an ambitious admiral, a great general, a professorial president, and a president re-elected for three terms, all have contributed their own love stories to history. The Duke of Windsor renounced the throne

1. Jerome K. Jerome, *Idle Thoughts of an Idle Fellow*, "On Being in Love".

of Great Britain to marry Wallis Warfield Simpson. The love of Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Ruttie Petit is also a part of the personal vicissitudes of a man who has changed the destiny of a subcontinent.

Margaret Bourke-White, a well-known American Journalist, in her book, *Half way to Freedom*, maintains that Jinnah first saw Ruttie Petit on one of his visits to the home of his close friend, Sir Dinshaw Petit, a wealthy Bombay businessman : she had been born just as Jinnah entered the house ; and Sir Dinshaw, placing the infant in Jinnah's arms, said : You shall be the first to hold my daughter in your arms.¹ But this is no more than a flight of the imagination. Ruttie was born on 20 February 1900, at which time the Quaid-i-Azam was struggling to make his way as a lawyer. As a junior, he was attending the Chambers of Macpherson, then Advocate-General of Bombay, and he had no close contacts with the Petit family. In fact, Jinnah and Ruttie met for the first time in October 1916. By that time, though only sixteen, Ruttie had acquired many of the charms of maturity. Pretty and precocious, she had been brought up in an atmosphere of poetry. She had been no more than eleven years old when her father had presented her with a copy of the complete works of Tennyson. The inscription on the volume reads : "To dear Ruttie from her loving Papa, 14th December 1911, the date of the birth of her little brother Jamshed." By the time she met Jinnah, she had read and absorbed Shelley, Keats, Browning, Burns, and many other poets. Their impact on the impressionable Ruttie was inevitable. She became romantic. It is in that state of mind that she met the hero of her dreams. She felt attracted to the tall and towering, handsome and heroic Jinnah who, by that time, stood in the front ranks of political and forensic personalities. In that year, Jinnah had spent the two months of his summer vacations in Darjeeling with Sir Dinshaw and Lady Dinbai Petit, and it was there that Ruttie and Jinnah fell in love. As they returned to Bombay in early June, all Bombay heard of their impending marriage ; but the Parsi parents did not like the idea of their daughter marrying a Muslim.

1. Margaret Bourke-White, *Half way to Freedom*, p. 96

“The story about Jinnah’s marriage is extremely interesting, and I do believe it is authentic. Sir Dinshaw Petit and Jinnah were great friends, and the former was very fond of the latter and admired his stout-hearted nationalism and also his impressive personality. Once Sir Dinshaw invited Jinnah to spend his holidays with him in Darjeeling. Ruttie, the future Mrs. Jinnah, was also there, and Jinnah and she came into close contact, and decided to get married. Jinnah then went to Sir Dinshaw and asked him what his views were about inter-communal marriages. Sir Dinshaw, fully off his guard, expressed his emphatic opinion that it would considerably help national integration and might ultimately prove to be the final solution to inter-communal antagonism. Thereupon Jinnah calmly told him that he wanted to marry his daughter. Sir Dinshaw was taken aback. He had not realized that his remarks might have serious personal repercussions. He was most indignant, and refused to countenance any such idea which appeared to him absurd and fantastic.”¹

As Ruttie was under 18 years of age, the parents obtained court injunction against Jinnah marrying or having any contact with her. So Jinnah and Ruttie did not meet for about two years. But time and separation did not make her forget Jinnah. When she reached the age of 18, she walked out of the parental home. Law could no longer stand in the way of love. By the efflux of time, the court injunction stood automatically dissolved; and, as there was nothing else to stop them, Jinnah and Ruttie were married.

Asif Ali, Humayun Kabir and a number of other nationalist Muslims contracted inter-communal marriages through the mode popularly referred as a civil marriage. Jinnah, however, chose not to have a civil marriage, since, under the Special Marriages Act, such marriages could be celebrated only between such persons who did not profess either the Muslim, Parsi or Hindu faith. Under the schedule to this Act, separate declarations, on

1. *Roses in December*, p. 119.

oath and solemn affirmation, had to be made by the bridegroom and the bride to the effect that he or she did not profess the Muslim, Parsi or Hindu religion. Therefore, the marriage of the Quaid-i-Azam was solemnized according to Islamic rites. On 16 April 1918, Ruttie embraced Islam, and adopted the name, Ruttenbai. It was Thursday, the 6th of Rajab according to Islamic Calendar, the day of the *Urs* of Hazrat Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti of Ajmer. On this day, Umar Subhani, and later Mohammed Ali Maniar, used to send a special gift to the Quaid-i-Azam. Rais Ahmed Jafri, in his biography of the Quaid-i-Azam, states that the conversion took place in the Jamia Masjid of Bombay. In the *Times of India*, the *Statesman* and other newspapers, the following announcement appeared on 19 April 1918 : " Miss Ruttenbai, only daughter of Sir Dinshaw Petit, yesterday underwent conversion to Islam and is today to be married to the Hon'ble Mr. M.A. Jinnah. " Accordingly, in the evening of Friday, 19 April 1918, the marriage of Jinnah and Ruttenbai took place at the Bungalow of the Quaid-i-Azam on the Mount Pleasant Road, then known as South Court. This had been built in the nineteenth century ; but was demolished in 1939 and replaced by a splendend mansion designed by the architect, Claude Batley. The Quaid-i-Azam moved into the new house on his birthday on 25th December 1940.

Sharif Devji arranged the *Isna Ashri Kazi*, and the *nikahnama* was duly signed. Around 1945, when the General Elections were taking place, Mazhar Ali Azhar, the Ahrar leader, alleged that Jinnah had contracted a civil marriage with Ruttie Petit. Shorish Kashmiri writes that this was repudiated by Hafiz Ali Bahadur Khan, the prominent Ahrar leader of Bombay, who produced a copy of the *nikahnama*. Moreover, a famous columnist went through the files of the Associated Press of India and traced the news of Ruttie's conversion to Islam in the mosque and her marriage according to Islamic rites. According to Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, his father signed the marriage contract on Jinnah's behalf, while Maulana Muhammad Hasan Najafi signed for Mrs. Jinnah. Rizwan Ahmed recalls that the *nikahnama* reveals that Hazrat Shariat Madar

Aqai Haji Shaikh Qasam Najafi and Mirza Mohammad Ali Khan, the Maharajkumar of Mahmudabad, were the *vakils* of the bridegroom, and Sharif Devji and Ghulam Ali were the *vakils* of the bride. Umar Subhani was a witness to *nikah* ceremony.

The Nikah Register gives only a brief summary concerning the marriage under Entry No. 118 ; according to which, the *mehar* was Rs. 1,001 and the Quaid-i-Azam also gifted Rs. 125,000 to his bride.

A.A. Ravoof, the Editor of the *Deccan Times*, has maintained that Jinnah received Rs. 30 lakhs as the bride's dowry, and *The Hindu*, of Madras, repeated this allegation in its review of Ravoof's book.¹ On 19 August 1944, the Quaid-i-Azam wrote to the Editor of *The Hindu* that this was absolutely untrue, and asked him to publish a contradiction. The necessary correction appeared in *The Hindu* of 27 August 1944. In a letter of apology addressed to Jinnah on 2 September 1944, A.A. Ravoof, expressing his regrets for the error, said that he was anxious that any other mistakes that might have been made should be corrected before the book went in for a second impression, and invited the Quaid-i-Azam to let him have his observations. On 5 September 1944, Jinnah wrote to Ravoof :

“ I should have thought that you would have realized, on careful consideration, that it is not possible for me to undertake the task of revising your book, and that it is the duty of an author not to give publicity to any incidental facts relating to the life of anyone without making sure of them beforehand. It is for you to ascertain the correct facts and omit from your book anything based on rumours and fiction. I would have certainly taken a very serious view of this matter but for the fact that I know of your regard for me and that your intentions are good. I would therefore request you to exclude from your book anything of which you are not sure regarding my private life, as I cannot undertake the revision of the book. If it were possible

1. A.A. Ravoof, *Meet Mr. Jinnah*, p. 34.

for me to do so, I might have written my own autobiography, for which I have no time."

The couple spent their honeymoon in Nainital. Soon thereafter, life became hectic. Apart from his legal and political engagements, Jinnah was involved in an encounter with Lord Willingdon, then Governor of Bombay. On 10 December 1918, a meeting convened by the Sheriff of Bombay was to be held at the Bombay Town Hall to decide on a citizens farewell to Lord Willingdon on his retirement. Jinnah and hundreds of his followers occupied the Hall in protest, and remained there until the police broke up the meeting in confusion. Ruttie was at the steps of the Town Hall where thousands of people had assembled to join the demonstration. She held her ground bravely despite the rough behaviour of the police ; and both she and Jinnah received injuries as a result of the police action. The day was won and the farewell to Willingdon did not materialize. On the suggestion of B.D. Lam, Solicitor, the citizens of Bombay started collecting a one-rupee fund to celebrate this victory of Jinnah ; and the People's Jinnah Memorial Hall was built in the Congress House Compound with the help of this fund.

In May, 1919, when Jinnah went to England to give evidence before the Joint Select Committee on the Montagu Bill, Ruttie accompanied him. On the night of 14 August 1919, Jinnah and Ruttie went to the theatre ; but had to leave their theatre box in a hurry in the middle of the performance—just after midnight, their only daughter, Dina, was born.

For about two years, the Jinnahs were quite close to Gandhiji. In his diary, Mahadev Desia, the Private Secretary of Gandhi, makes more than one reference to meetings between Gandhi and Ruttie. In the summer of 1919, the Jinnahs were in London. On 28 June 1919, Gandhi wrote to Jinnah : " Pray tell Mrs. Jinnah that I shall expect her on her return to join the hand-spinning class that Mrs. Banker Senior and Mrs. Ramabai, a Punjabi lady, are conducting. I hope you will both keep well during your

stay.”¹ On 30 April 1920, Gandhiji wrote to Mrs. Jinnah: “Please remember me to Mr. Jinnah and do coax him to learn Hindustani or Gujrati. If I were you, I should begin to talk to him in Gujrati or Hindustani. There is not much danger of your forgetting your English or your misunderstanding each other. Is there? Will you do it? Yes. I could ask this even for the love you bear me.”² Gandhi asked Ruttie to get Jinnah to agree to boycott all foreign goods, including British goods. Ruttie told him that a boycott of all foreign and British goods was neither politically wise nor practicable. Differences between Gandhiji and the Quaid-i-Azam cropped up at the Calcutta Session of the Congress held in September 1920. The first real rift, between the two, however, came about on 3 October 1920, when, under the chairmanship of Gandhi, the constitution of the Home Rule League was unconstitutionally changed. The parting came at the famous Nagpur Session of the Congress, held in December 1920, when, under Gandhiji’s guidance, the delegates voted for a change in the Congress creed. Jinnah protested against Gandhi’s extreme measures. The correspondent of *The Times of India* wrote: “Then 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. He treated with contempt the jeering of the mob and their dictation and ended by appealing to Mr. Gandhi to cry halt.”³ Ruttie was present at the Session, and stood by the Quaid-i-Azam. Thereafter, on 3 January 1921, the Jinnahs returned to Bombay by train. Maulana Shaukat Ali was also in the train. What then happened at Akola may be recalled from the letter entitled ‘Non-Co-operation in Practice’ which appeared in *The Times of India* under the initial ‘R’: “At Akola, Mr. Shaukat Ali delivered a short lecture to those who had assembled on the platform; and at the end of the lecture, he incited them to hoot Mr. Jinnah, who was seated in the first class compartment, with cries of ‘Shame’. Sir, this sort of thing is

1. *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol. XV, p. 399.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 361.

3. *The Times of India*, 2 January 1921.

the negation of non-co-operation of which non-violence is the essence."¹

The wives of the Governors and the Viceroys were rather envious of Ruttie, her dresses and her ornaments. Once Ruttie was wearing a low-cut dress, which had just come into fashion, at a party in the Bombay Government House. While they were seated at the dining table, Lady Willingdon asked an A.D.C. to bring a wrap for Mrs. Jinnah, in case she felt cold. Mr. Jinnah rose and said : " When Mrs. Jinnah feels cold, she will say so, and ask for a wrap herself. " Then he led his wife from the dining room ; and from that time on, refused to go to the Willingdons again.² In one of her letters, Lady Alice, the consort of Lord Reading, Viceroy of India, wrote : " There is a young lawyer from Bombay called Jinnah. Popular opinion says he is an Indian Lloyd George. He came to lunch with his wife. Very pretty, a complete minx. A tight dress of brocade cut to the waist back and front, no sleeves, and over it and her head flowered chiffon as a sari. " ³ In another letter Lady Reading said about Ruttie : " Her attire was a liberty scarf, a jewelled bandeau and an emerald necklace. She is extremely pretty, fascinating, terribly made up. All the men raved about her, the women sniffed. " ⁴

On another occasion, when Ruttie and Jinnah were guests at a dinner in the Viceregal Lodge, and she was introduced to Lord Chelmsford, she did not follow the British custom of courtesying to the Viceroy. Instead, she greeted him in the Indian way. Immediately after dinner, the A.D.C. took Ruttie to talk to the Viceroy. Lord Chelmsford pompously told her : " Mrs. Jinnah, your husband has a great political future, you must not spoil it. In Rome you must do as the Romans do. " Mrs. Jinnah retorted quickly : " That is exactly what I did, your Excellency. In India I greeted you in the Indian way. " That was the first and the last time she met Lord Chelmsford.

1. *The Times of India*, 13 January 1921.

2. Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah*, p. 75.

3. Letter dated 13 February 1924, quoted in the *Viceroy's Wife* by Iris Butler, p. 133.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 144.

In 1921, Ruttie was sitting next to Lord Reading at lunch in New Delhi. Lord Reading said to her : " Mrs. Jinnah, how I wish I could go to Germany. I very much want to go there. But I cannot go there. " Mrs. Jinnah asked " Your Excellency, why can't you go there ? " Reading replied : " The Germans do not like us, the British, so I can't go. " Ruttie quickly retorted : " How then did you come to India ? " Reading immediately changed the subject.¹

Ruttie Jinnah's personality was complex and had a sparkling quality that is not easy to portray and capture in words. She was a woman of great sensitivity, intelligence and charm, with a social and political consciousness that found expression in varied fields of activity and interest. She was a connoisseur of clothes and curios. Apart from curios and jewels, she collected first editions of several of literary works.

She had a large number of dogs and cats, and personally looked after them. She took an active interest in homes for decrepit animals, *Pinjrapoles*, in Bombay, Chembur and Kalyan. Both Ruttie and Jinnah were interested in social work ; and encouraged their common friend, Kanji Dwarkadas, in his work in this field. They discussed his investigations into the evils of prostitution ; and taking a realistic view, helped to reduce some of the iniquities of the brothel areas. The Bombay Children's Act, suggested by Kanji Dwarkadas, was passed in 1924, and put into force in May 1927. The legislation, *inter alia*, made it possible to remove children under 18, both boys and girls, from unhealthy and immoral surroundings.

At her instance, Mr. Jinnah read various plays, specially plays of Noel Coward, and their reviews.

Ruttie was fond of consulting astrologers and palmists. According to the testimonial given by Ruttie, various accurate forecasts were made by Khurshed Basharat Pandit. It may be that her interest in astrologers was aroused by an incident which had happened earlier. After their marriage, Jinnah brought Ruttie to Delhi, where she met an Irish woman, Mrs.

1. Kanji Dwarkadas, *Ruttie Jinnah*, pp. 16-17.

Harker, who was supposed to have been possessed of second sight. As she saw this beautiful young woman, so happy and so gay, she turned to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, and said with a sad face :

“ My dear ! I see a dreadful sight, I see this beautiful child dead before my eyes, dead ten years hence on her birthday. ”¹

There is a still earlier story. Once in the Taj Mahal Hotel at Bombay, another Irish woman, reputed to be a clairvoyant, inquired of Mrs. Naidu if Jinnah suffered any pain in his arm. Mrs. Naidu asked Jinnah, who said he did sometimes have a pain in the arm. The Irish woman said : “ Yes, I knew. And I know also that this man will some day create a State of his own. ” It is not known if Ruttie or Jinnah had seen Cheiro's *World Predictions*, which was first published in 1927. Cheiro had predicted India's independence after the Great War and the partition of the Sub-continent between Muslims and non-Muslims.

By 1925, Ruttie had come under the influence of Dr. Annie Besant, Mrs. James Cousins, Mrs. Dorothy Jinarjadas, J. Krishnamurti and Kanji Dwarkadas. She was propelled towards the study of so-called spiritual phenomenon—Messages through dreams, medium communication, telepathy, clairvoyance and theosophy. She read books like *Towards the Stars*, *Secret Doctrine*, *The Spirit of Irene*. The last book describes how a murderer was traced through a spiritual medium and ultimately brought to book. On 12 April 1925, Ruttie wrote to Kanji Dwarkadas about her interest in spiritualism and said : “ I am slowly but sincerely drawing J's interest into the matter and by alternate bullying and coaxing I got him to read the book—*The Spirit of Irene*. However, J had to admit that it was remarkable and irrefutable. J was not at all even able to find any flaw in the case. ” However, Jinnah remained sceptical of spiritual mediums and seances, and used to laugh at Ruttie's obsession. He was relieved when Ruttie practically gave up her fruitless, and somewhat dangerous, spiritualist pursuits.

1. Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah*, p. 74.

The years from 1918 to 1928 were a decade of devotion for the Jinnahs. Ruttie was always present in the sessions of the Congress and the Muslim League, the Assembly and the Courts, whenever and wherever Jinnah was in action. In the summer holidays, she used to go either to Kashmir or some hill station in India or to the Continent. However, owing to continuous ill-health, Ruttie suffered from restlessness and insomnia. Temperamental differences cropped up between the two. Round about January 1928, Ruttie and Jinnah separated. Jinnah went to England on 3 April 1928, and Ruttie followed a week later. Sometime thereafter, she left him to go to Paris and fell ill.

Diwan Chaman Lall, a common friend of the Jinnahs, who was leading the Indian Workers Delegations to the ILO Conference at Geneva, came to Paris to see Ruttie at a Champs Elysee clinic. She was lying in bed, with a temperature of 106 degrees, and could barely move. She held a volume of Oscar Wilde poems in her hand, and she asked Chaman Lall to read the following lines :

“ And down the long and silent street
The dawn, with silver-sandalled feet,
Crept like a frightened girl. ”¹

When Chaman Lall looked up from the book, Ruttie was in a coma. He hurried out and brought a doctor. Diwan Chaman Lall also telephoned London to inform Jinnah, who, unfortunately, was in Dublin at that time. A message was relayed to him at Dublin, and he rushed to Paris. The rest is best recalled in the words of Diwan Chaman Lall: “At the George V, where he stayed, he said to me, ‘ But Lady Petit (his mother-in-law) tells me Rati is better. ’ I said : ‘ I have just come from the clinic, and it seems to me she, with a temperature of 106 degrees, is dying. ’ He sat still for a couple of minutes, struggling with himself, and asked me to telephone the clinic, which I did. He spoke to the nurse in charge, who confirmed what I had told him. Thumping the arm of his chair, he said : ‘ Come,

1. Diwan Chaman Lall, *The Pakistan Times*, 11 September 1959.

let us go. We must save her.' I left him at the clinic for nearly three hours, waiting at a nearby safe ; and when he returned, the anxiety had vanished from his face. He had arranged for a new clinic and a new medical adviser."¹

Jinnah stayed with Ruttie in the nursing home for over a month, and looked after and nursed her. As Ruttie told Kanji Dwardadas later, he ate the same food as she did at the nursing home. They returned to India separately, she with her mother. On 28 October 1928, Ruttie wrote a most moving and affectionate letter to Jinnah from Marseille. Beseeking him, she said : " She loved him so much as no man has ever received such love. The tragedy which started with love should end with love "²

In his memoirs, M.C. Chagla observes : " I must say in fairness to Jinnah that no husband could have treated his wife more generously than he did. He treated her wonderfully well and paid without a murmur all the bills which were necessitated by the luxurious life she led. "³

On her return from Paris, Ruttie stayed with her mother. Throughout January and February 1929, Ruttie continued to be ill, depressed and distressed. She hardly ever went out, except for short walks. Every evening, Jinnah came to see her, and they both kept on talking as in the old times. They were apparently getting reconciled to each other. By the middle of February, Jinnah had to go to Delhi for the Budget Session of the Assembly. On 19 February, Ruttie went into coma ; and on the evening of 20 February 1929, her birthday, she passed away. Jinnah returned from Delhi in time for the funeral on 22 February. Ruttie was buried under Muslim rites at the Arambagh, Bombay, for which arrangements were made by Sharif Devji. When Ruttie's body was lowered into the grave, Jinnah, being the husband and the nearest and dearest, was the first to throw a fistful of earth over her coffin. As he did so, he broke down suddenly, and sobbed and wept like a child.

1. Diwan Chaman Lall., *op. cit.*
 2. *Roses in December*, p. 120.
 3. *Ibid.*

In his book on Ruttie Jinnah, Kanji Dwarkadas recalls:

“ Jinnah’s personal and political life was as clean as clean can be and free from corruption. ”

“ After his marriage with Ruttie in the spring of 1918, he had no separate existence away from his wife. He found in her a great source of inspiration. His personal, political and social life was always with Ruttie. She was always with him, and though she was so much younger than he, she, without his realizing it, looked after him and made his life in all its aspects, pleasant, carefree and well worth living. Jinnah after his marriage, resigned from the Orient Club where he used to play chess and billiards. He never played cards. He abhorred every kind of gambling and all games of chance.

In one of the letters Ruttie wrote: “ And just one thing more—go and see Jinnah and tell me how he is—he has a habit of habitually overworking himself, and now that I am not there to bother and tease him, he will be worse than ever. ”

“ Every day Ruttie used to inquire from me how Jinnah was working in the Legislative Assembly. I have not the slightest doubt that if Ruttie had lived, Jinnah would have asked her to go back to his house, and she would have agreed, and there would have been a most perfect and full reconciliation between them. ”¹

1. Kanji Dwarkadas, *Ruttie Jinnah*, pp. 58, 59, 60.

The Origin of the Title "Quaid-i-Azam"

On 11 September 1948, at about 10.00 p.m., the Quaid-i-Azam passed away; but he is immortal—Pakistan remains his living monument. In his condolence message, the then American President, Harry S. Truman, said: "I was deeply grieved to learn this morning of the unexpected death of the Governor-General of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, originator of the dream that became Pakistan, architect of the State, and father of the world's largest Muslim nation. Mr. Jinnah was the recipient of a devotion and loyalty seldom accorded to any man." According to Lord Pathick Lawrence, the Quaid-i-Azam was equal in political and moral stature to George Washington and Winston Churchill. "Of all the statesmen that I have known in my life", wrote the late Aga Khan in his *Memoirs*, "Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Churchill, Curzon, Mussolini, Mahatma Gandhi—Jinnah is the most remarkable... Quaid-i-Azam attained immortal fame as the man who, without any army, navy or airforce, created by a lifetime's faith in himself, crystallized into a single bold decision, a great empire of upwards of a hundred million people."¹ "Mr. Jinnah", writes Ian Stephens, "is the great man who personally

1. *The Memoirs of Aga Khan*, pp. 292, 296.

brought Pakistan into being, whom as a nation builder future historians may have to reckon the Asian counterpart of Bismarck or Cavour. In his life time he became the acknowledged Father of the Nation and his memory commands unquestioning reverence rather like Ataturk's in Turkey or Mr. Gandhi in India."¹

On the eve of the elections to the Central Legislative Assembly in November 1923, Jinnah said to the electorate : " I have no desire to seek any post or position or title from the Government. My sole object is to serve the cause of the country as best I can."² On 12 April 1942, the Court of the Muslim University, Aligarh, decided to confer an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws on Jinnah. Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed, the Vice-Chancellor, conveyed this decision to the Quaid-i-Azam, requesting him to convey any convenient date for the conferment of the honorary degree. Writing to the Vice-Chancellor, on 4 October 1942, Jinnah, declining the honour, said : " 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. "

At the Session of the Muslim League held at Madras in April 1941, a resolution was moved that Jinnah be made the permanent President of the Muslim League. Jinnah strongly opposed this and said : " Believing in a democratic procedure in the affairs of the party, I like to come every year in the open session before you and have your mandate, rather than becoming a life President."³

In June 1947, when Quaid-i-Azam arrived at the Imperial Hotel, New Delhi, to attend the meeting of the Council of the Muslim League, a group of admirers vociferously shouted ' Shahinshah-i-Pakistan Zindabad '.

1. Ian Stephens, *Pakistan*, p. 27.

2. Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah*, p. 88.

3. Mohamed Raza Khan, *What Price Freedom*, p. 88.

Jinnah reprimanded them: "I am not an Emperor and have no wish to be."

The Muslims of the Subcontinent were devoted to Jinnah and acknowledged him as their undisputed leader. They hailed him as the Quaid-i-Azam. The title was well-deserved and struck to him. No other appellation appealed to him, and this is the only one which may be said to have his acquiescence. Dealing with this title, Green writes: "The Quaid-i-Azam, or Great Leader, as his followers called him, towered above all rivals... Tall, slim, straight as an arrow despite his years, white-haired, extremely handsome, he was idolised by his followers. *Dawn*, the chief Muslim newspaper, reported his daily movements like those of royalty."

The authorship of the title 'Quaid-i-Azam' is in controversy. Jamiluddin Ahmed opines that in the beginning of 1938, the late Maulana Mazharuddin Sherkotli, Editor of the bi-weekly *Al-Aman*, Delhi, interpreting the mind of millions of Muslims, suggested the title of Quaid-i-Azam for Jinnah, which soon became, a byword in every Muslim home.¹ Abdul Majid Salik, the noted journalist, in his "Sarguzisht", says: "Mr. Jinnah's title Quaid-i-Azam first appeared in *Al-Aman*, Delhi. Thereafter, Mian Ferozuddin Ahmad, an old Khilafatist of Lahore, raised slogans of 'Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad' in various public meetings and popularized it."

Mulla Wahidi Dehlavi, the biographer of Khwaja Hasan Nizami, maintains that Khwaja Sahib was the first to describe Jinnah as the Quaid-i-Azam in a public speech, which was published in *Al-Aman*. Khwaja Sahib was known for conferring such titles on Leaders. Hakim Ajmal Khan was described by him as 'Masih-ul-Mulk'. Unfortunately, a copy of *Al-Aman* containing the speech of Khwaja Hasan Nizami has not been traced.

Mohammad Amin Zuberi attributes the authorship of the appellation to Maulana Ahmad Saeed, the Jamiat leader. In a speech at Muradabad's

1. *Glimpses of the Quaid-i-Azam*, p. 13.

Jamia Masjid, on 7 December 1936, the Maulana is reported to have remarked : " There is no one among Muslims who can understand politics better than Mr. Jinnah, hence he rightly deserves to become the Quaid-i-Azam of the Muslims.¹ Shariful Mujahid feels that the version of Zuberi cannot be lightly brushed aside. " Firstly, the Jamiat was not opposed to the League in 1936, as would the invitation to Jinnah to speak at the Delhi Jamiat Conference in April 1936 indicate. Secondly, the Jamiat leaders were equally upset by the Congress attitude towards the communal award, and took up a stand, similar to the League's ; indeed, Maulana Ahmed Saeed's presidential address to the Independence Conference (Bihar, September 1936) might have as well been delivered by Jinnah himself. Thirdly, the Jamiat leaders went on extensive tours in support of the League candidates during the 1936-37 elections, and it was in one of those election speeches that Maulana Ahmad Saeed had referred to Jinnah as the Quaid-i-Azam. Furthermore, Zuberi's work is contemporaneous with the incident and moreover gives the place and date. These considerations lead us to give credence to the Zuberi version. This, however, does not mean that the suggestion might not have emanated from or have been revived by Maulana Mazhar-ul-Haq at a later stage."²

It may be that Maulana Ahmad Saeed was the first person to say that Jinnah was entitled to being called the Quaid-i-Azam. It may further be that Khwaja Hasan Nizami in his own way so described Jinnah. So far as the newspapers are concerned, *Al-Aman* was undoubtedly the first paper to publicize Jinnah as the Quaid-i-Azam. As to the sessions of the Muslim League, and public meetings, it is certain that Mian Ferozuddin Ahmad raised slogans of ' Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad ' and popularized them.

It is interesting to recall that on the historic Deliverance Day, observed by the Muslims of the Subcontinent on 22 December 1939, Gandhi received a wire from the Gulburga Muslims, saying : " Deliverance Day

1. Mohammad Amin Zuberi, *Siyasat-i-Millia*, p. 303.

2. Shariful Mujahid, "Jinnah and Muslim Politics", *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, VI, p. 132.

Greetings, Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad." Gandhi wrote an article in the *Harijan* in January 1940, wherein he said : " I took it as a message sent to ruffle my feelings. The senders little knew that the wire could not serve its purpose. When I received it, I silently joined the senders in the wish, 'Long Live Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah'. The Quaid-i-Azam is an old comrade." On 16 January 1940, Gandhi, sending an advance copy of the article to Mr. Jinnah, and wrote :

"Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hate to write ' Mr. ' before any Indian name. It is so unnatural. Hence, I have been writing of you as ' Janab Jinnah Sahib ' according to the usage taught me by the late Hakim Sahib. But Amtul Salam tells me that in the League Circles you are always called 'Quaid-i-Azam'. And you will see from the enclosed how the finishing touch was given by a telegram I received from Gulburga. I hope you will accept my assurance that what I have done has been done in good faith and out of regard for you. If, however, you would have me address you otherwise, I shall respect your wishes."1

In reply, the Quaid-i-Azam wrote :

" I am glad to learn that you were not ruffled by the Deliverance Day greetings sent to you from Gulburga. It is indeed noble of you to join in the silent prayer ' Long Live Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah '. Although these are trivial matters, I nevertheless appreciate that you have realized the true inward meaning and significance of the ' Deliverance Day '... I thank you for your anxiety to respect my wishes in the matter of the prefix you should use with my name. What is in a prefix after all, a rose called by any other name smells just as sweet. So I leave the matter entirely to you, and have no particular wish in the matter. I really do not know why you are worried so much about it. I, however, notice that the present prefix you are using is according to the usage taught to you by the late

1. S. Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence*, p. 44.

Hakim Sahib. But surprisingly enough during his life time and till long after his death, you addressed me as ' Mr. ' then quite recently you addressed me as ' Shree ', and in between as 'friend', but please do not bother about this matter."1

A distorted version about this title is given in the book *India Wins Freedom*, by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Recently, there has been some controversy about its authorship, with the suggestion that it is really the work of Humayun Kabir. Be that as it may, the following passage occurs in it : " I may mention here that it was Gandhiji who first gave currency to the title ' Quaid-i-Azam ', or great leader, as applied to Mr. Jinnah. Gandhiji had in his camp a simple but well-intentioned woman called Miss Amtus Salam. She had seen in some Urdu paper a reference to Mr. Jinnah as Quaid-i-Azam. When Gandhiji was writing to Mr. Jinnah, asking for an interview, she told him that Urdu papers called Mr. Jinnah Quaid-i-Azam, and he should use the same form of address. Without pausing to consider the implications of his action, Gandhiji addressed Mr. Jinnah as Quaid-i-Azam. This letter was soon published in the press. When Indian Mussalmans saw that Gandhiji also addressed Mr. Jinnah as Quaid-i-Azam, they felt that he must be really so. " The statement is unwarranted, and it is belied by Gandhi's letter and the circumstances mentioned above. Perhaps the author was prompted by personal pique: it appears that Maulana Azad, himself, was desirous of being styled as the Quaid-i-Azam. During the period when he edited *Al-Hilal*, his publishers called him 'Quaid'. The publishers' note to the Urdu writings of Maulana Azad (1921 Edition) contains the following comment :

" The Maulana's penetrating intellect was even in those days aware of what is happening today. A reformer or Quaid-i-Azam in the real sense of the term, must have the quality to foresee correctly. "

Nevertheless, the title of ' Quaid-i-Azam ' has been inseparably associated with Jinnah. So far as the Resolutions of the All-India Muslim

1. S. Sharifuddin Pirzada, *op. cit.* p. 417.

League are concerned, it was used for the first time in a Resolution passed at the meeting of its Council held on 7 March 1943, whereby it was resolved that Quaid-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah be elected President of the All-India Muslim League for the next term. The will of the people received legislative sanction as well. On 12 August 1947, the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan resolved that Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah should be addressed as Quaid-i-Azam in all Acts and documents.

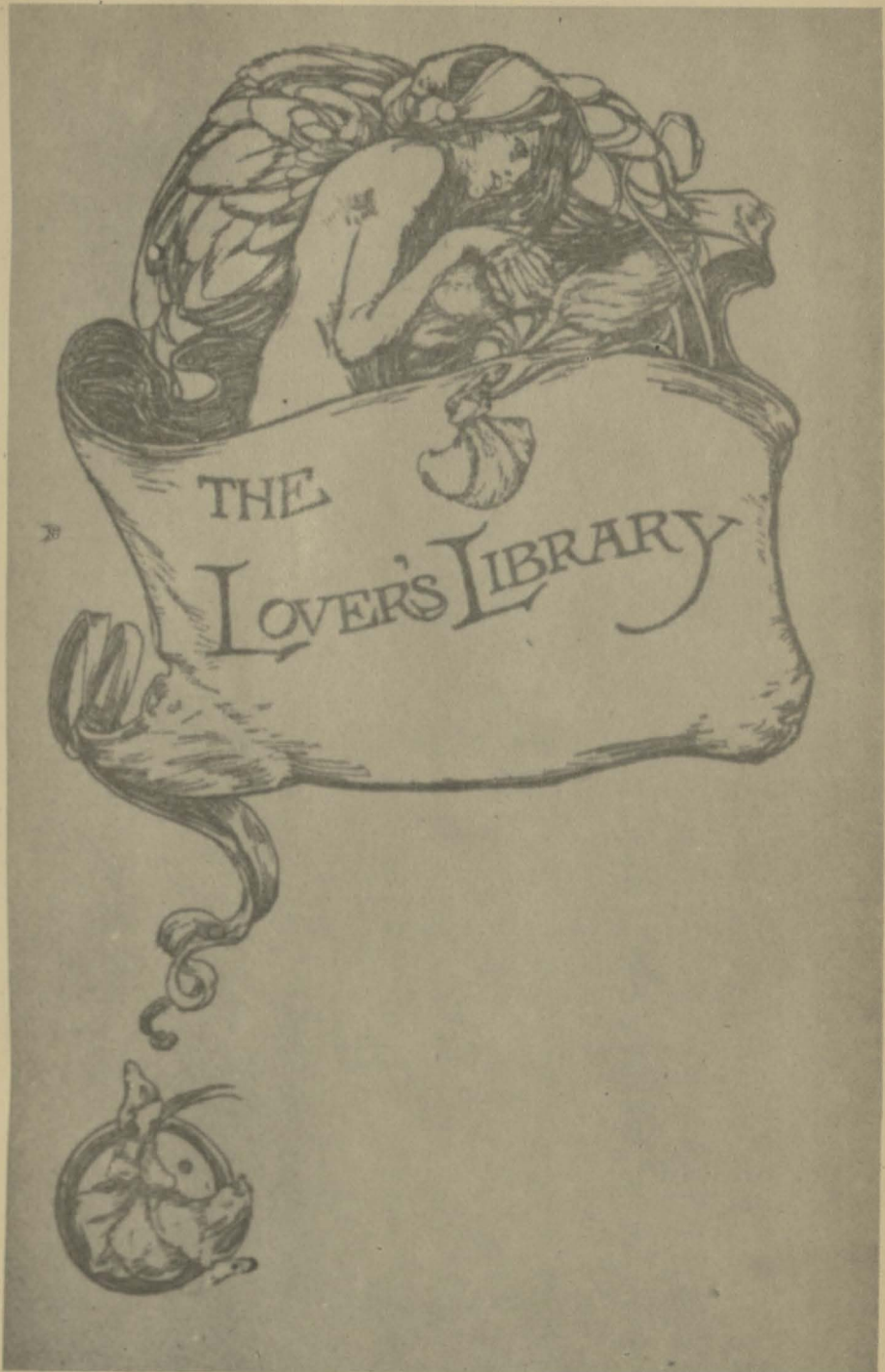
To conclude reference may be made to the editorial note in the *London Times* of 13 September 1948 : "To the people of Pakistan, the death of Mr. Jinnah brings the same sense of personal loss that the people of India felt at the passing of Mr. Gandhi. The two men were very different, but each embodied in himself the national hopes of millions. Mr. Jinnah was something more than Quaid-i-Azam, supreme head of the state; to the people who followed him, he was more even than the architect of the Islamic nation he personally called into being. He commanded their imagination as well as their confidence. In face of difficulties which might have overwhelmed him, it was given to him to fulfil the hope foreshadowed in the inspired vision of the great Iqbal by creating for the Muslims of India a homeland where the old glory of Islam could grow afresh into a modern state, worthy of its place in the comity of nations. Few statesmen have shaped events to their policy more surely than Mr. Jinnah. He was legend even in his lifetime."

Facsimiles

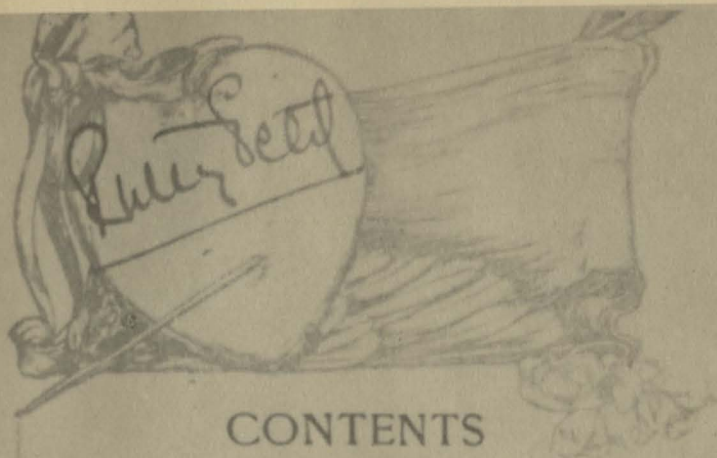
1. Extract from Register of Sind Madressah.
2. Extract from Register of Sind Madressah.
3. Extract from Register of Church Mission School
4. Works of Lord Tennyson with inscription from
Ruttie's father
5. Facsimile of Love Poems bearing signature of Ruttie
Petit.
6. Souvenir to Mohammad Ali Jinnah by Mrs. Rafia
Sharif.

To
Dear Rati
From her loving
Papa.
14th December 1911. The date
of the birth of her little brother faunshed.

THE COMPLETE WORKS
OF
ALFRED LORD TENNYSON

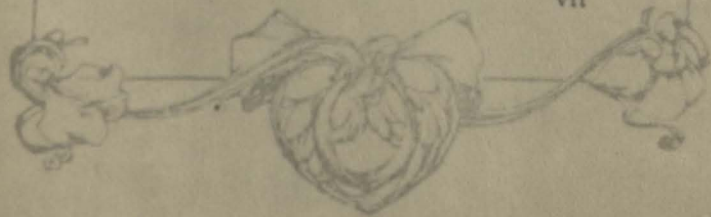


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Falwa Jinnah

Souvenir
to
Mohammad Ali
JINNAH

M.A. Jinnah
25/12/45



Compiled by:—Mrs. RAFIA SHARIF.

M.A.

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