

JINNAH AS AN IMAGE

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Abstract

Mohammad Ali Jinnah (1876 - 1948) the Quaid e Azam, is one of the pivotal figures of the Twentieth Century. As a founder of Pakistan he has been adulated as well as demonized. In fact, his adversaries Lord Mountbatten and Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru gave unflattering opinions of him. Jinnah was as an austere figure not given to personal publicity. He was also a retiring man. It is only now after years of research and de-classification of documents that we can find an authentic image of Jinnah.

Keywords: *Congress, Muslim League, Lord Wavell, Lord Mountbatten*

Many people have radically changed this world. Scientists have discovered new laws of nature. Doctors have developed remedies against mortal illnesses. Politicians have started wars and conquered countries. Astronauts have flown around the Earth and landed on the Moon. The list is too long to continue. However, some of these people have not just changed the course of history but also transformed the map of the world by creating new nation-states.

These people were quite rare in the twentieth century. We can cite the example of Vladimir Lenin, who founded a new state with a novel social order, and such pioneers may include personages such as Mao Zedong, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Mahatma Gandhi, Nelson Mandela, and Fidel Castro. Another person in this category was undoubtedly Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founding father of Pakistan who almost single-handedly created a new South Asian state with over 220 million inhabitants in its present incarnation. Pakistan is the world's fifth largest country in terms of its total population and the second largest in reference to its Muslim populace.

Called the 'Great Leader' (*Quaid-i-Azam*) of Pakistan, Jinnah was a highly charismatic statesman who performed a kind of political miracle: in the vast expanses of British India 'where the sun never sets', Muslims were a minority and, indeed, a disadvantaged minority. With his unlimited willpower and determination Jinnah made this minority into a nation and gave it a country of its own.

As a great visionary, he created the image of 'The Land of the Pure' (lit. 'Pakistan') in his mind and lived to see, even if only briefly, its embodiment: a state with its own flag, national anthem, capital, residence of the Governor-General (a post he filled himself), and population that adored him.

Jinnah's flexible, strategic thinking, legal acumen, and absolute probity and integrity were recognized by the Indians and British colonials alike. The English liberal politician Edwin Montagu (1879-1924), who served as Secretary of State for India at one point, said about him, 'Jinnah is a very clever man, and it is, of course, an outrage that such a man should have no chance of running the affairs of his own country.'¹

A number of books, articles and even poems and songs exist about Jinnah, as well as several feature films and documentaries recount his life. Most notably Akbar S. Ahmed's *Jinnah* (starring Christopher Lee and a documentary *Jinnah se Quaid-i-Azam Tak* produced by Iqbal Haider.) The story of his remarkable achievements portrays his long ascendance from junior barrister to Governor-General of a new dominion. This story is full of events made possible by Jinnah's superhuman determination, energy, and striving to have his own way, to benefit his people, no matter what the rest of the world may think about it.

Despite his enormous popularity in Pakistan, Jinnah had a lot of detractors and even enemies who dreamt of doing away with him. Some believed him to be too pro-Western and insufficiently Muslim, others were irritated by his bluntness, intransigence and refusal to compromise when the interests of a minority was at stake.

The British being proud of the notion that they had united India were reluctant to divide it, though some Viceroy's sympathised with the plight of the Muslims. Congress Party stalwarts led by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru were likewise opposed to a division of India, but did little to gain Jinnah's trust

In 1940, the Muslim League under Jinnah's leadership adopted the Lahore Resolution, which called for the partition of British India along religious lines and the secession of regions with a Muslim majority

(in the north-west and north-east of India). The resolution rejected the idea of a united India and spoke in favour of the creation of an independent Muslim state—the future Pakistan. The resolution spoke of both “sovereign” and “autonomous” states a discrepancy pointed out then by B. R. Ambedkar. The only reason could be an internal Muslim League understanding on the distribution of power. In 1945-46, the Muslim League won the elections to become the third most powerful force in the country after the British administration and the Congress party.

Even Jinnah’s staunchest opponents were forced to recognize that he had been right, and Mahatma Gandhi himself began to call him ‘Quaid-i-Azam’. As to the Muslim inhabitants of India, they finally found a saviour in Jinnah, who, unlike most other politicians, championed the nation’s primary interests rather than regional or personal interests.

Jinnah lived to see the horrors of the Partition of India, the mass murder of entire villages, and trains full of corpses crossing the border. Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs even Christians paid with their own lives for independence. Jinnah viewed these events as a personal tragedy and, according to eyewitnesses, cried for the third time in his life—after the deaths of his mother and wife.

Nevertheless, he believed that history would iron things out in the name of life. “It may come in my lifetime, or not. You will remember these words of mine: I say this with no ill-will or offence. Some nations have killed millions of each other, and yet an enemy of today is a friend of tomorrow. That is history.”²

‘Jinnah is one of the few men who have no personal motives to nurse or personal aims to advance. His integrity is beyond question. And yet he is the loneliest of men,’ acutely observed Jinnah’s colleague Dewan Chaman Lal.³

In actual fact, Jinnah both sought and suffered from solitude. In any case, his rare attempts to find happiness in relations with another person proved unsuccessful: his marriage with Rattanbai Petit, whom he dearly loved, ended in separation; his daughter Dina Wadia, to whom he was profoundly attached, spent most of her life in a distant land; and his only close friend Gopal Krishna Gokhale died at an early age in Jinnah’s political career.

Clearly, the mission to which he had wholeheartedly dedicated himself—‘his Pakistan’—required the total commitment of all his strength, passions, and feelings. This prevented him from taking pleasure

in other aspects of life, including all the emotions, joys, and experiences associated with the notion of ‘personal happiness’.

Jinnah did not live to witness the results of his titanic efforts. While he saw Pakistan becoming a reality, it was more the reality of a gestalt than the process of national growth that he had wanted to observe and nurture. Yet he simply did not have the time for it.

The modern Urdu classical writer Sa‘adat Hasan Manto (1912-1955) wrote a short story entitled ‘My Master’ (*‘Mera Sahib’*, 1950) that is narrated by the personal driver of Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Extolling the virtues of his master, the driver notes, ‘Quaid-i-Azam’s private life is a mystery and will remain so forever. That is the general feeling. But I think his private life was so mixed-up with his political life that he had practically no private life left.’⁴ Sa‘adat Hasan Manto was a genius as a fiction writer, but temperamentally he could not be seen as an associate of Jinnah. Manto wrote a moving obituary of Jinnah

Jinnah was noted for his secretiveness and extreme reserve. Unlike Mahatma Gandhi or Jawaharlal Nehru, he did not keep a diary or write autobiographical notes. His extensive multi-volume correspondence is entirely devoted to practical matters. Nevertheless, Jinnah naturally had a private life, which could sometimes take on dramatic or even scandalous turns.

Indeed, it is a lot more interesting to consider what the driver from Manto’s short story had called the ‘mystery forever’. I am referring to those aspects of Quaid-i-Azam’s life that took place beyond his intense political activity and professional legal practice: his intellectual interests, favourite pastimes (billiards and, to some degree, chess and bridge), everyday habits (reading newspapers, talking about politics), human weaknesses (200 custom-tailored men’s suits and just as many pairs of fashionable shoes), and love for shocking images (such as wearing a monocle⁵).

Reading newspapers could probably be called another weakness or even passion of his. An old friend of Jinnah once told his English-language biographer Hector Bolitho, ‘It may sound ridiculous, but I believe his only passion was for newspapers. He had them sent from all over the world: he cut pieces out of them, annotated them, and stuck them into books. He would do this for hours all through his life, he loved newspapers.’⁶

Yet the most interesting of all is Jinnah’s relations with members of his family and friends, his awareness of his mission—the foundation

of a new state for Indian Muslims, his subconscious urge for solitude, and his other personality traits: his prudence, his aversion to lying and pretending, even if it were done 'for the good of the cause', and the absolute devotion to his *idée fixe* of emancipating a minority.

Jinnah always kept his distance with regard to other individuals, no matter how well he knew them. In addition, he belonged to that rare breed of people that are totally convinced of the correctness of their actions. When he reflected upon an important problem, he seldom wavered, listened to other people, or revoked his decisions, even in the face of requests, threats, or entreaties. If he became convinced of the correctness of his decision, he was ready to defend it with his own life against the whole world, if necessary.

These qualities of Jinnah led to a widespread image of him as a proud, haughty, and arrogant person with whom it was difficult to deal. Nevertheless, what was considered arrogance by men was often perceived as self-esteem and aristocratic pride by women.

Fellow colleagues in the Bombay Collegium recalled Jinnah with a mixture of admiration and indignation. 'Jinnah's arrogance would have destroyed a man of less will and talent. Some of us used to resent his insolent manners: his overbearing ways and what seemed to be lack of kindness. But no one could deny his power of argument. When he stood up in court, slowly looking towards the judge, placing his monocle in his eye with the sense of timing you would expect from an actor, he became omnipotent. Yes, that is the word—"omnipotent".'⁷

Hector Bolitho recalled interviewing an elderly woman that had been a neighbour of Jinnah on Malabar Hill in Bombay. She recalled Jinnah at the age of 30: 'Oh, yes, he had charm. And he was so good-looking. Mind you, I am sure he was aware of his charm: he knew his own strength. But when he came into a room, he would bother to pay a compliment to say, "What a beautiful sari!" Women will forgive pride, or even arrogance, in a man like that.'⁸

Among Jinnah's circle, there were people (even if they were a minority) who believed him to be the ideal man of his time. These included Sarojini Naidu, who clearly had more than just friendly feelings towards him. She was the most understanding friend of Rattan Bai Jinnah as well. In her preface to '*Jinnah—Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity*' (1918) she wrote, 'Never was there a nature whose outer qualities provided so complete an antithesis of its inner worth. Tall and stately, but thin to the point of emaciation, languid and luxurious of habit, Mohammed Ali Jinnah's attenuated form is the deceptive sheath of a spirit

of exceptional vitality and endurance. Somewhat formal and fastidious, and a little aloof and imperious of manner, the calm hauteur of his accustomed reserve but masks for those who know him—a naive and eager humanity, an intuition quick and tender as a woman's, a humour gay and winning as a child's. Pre-eminently rational and practical, discreet and dispassionate in his estimate and acceptance of life, the obvious sanity and serenity of his worldly wisdom effectually disguise a shy and splendid idealism which is the very essence of the man.⁹

As this citation shows, the poetess' rapturous gaze saw a 'shy and splendid idealism' where most others perceived only a cold rationalism, dry pragmatism, and total lack of sentimentality.

Hector Bolitho, who collected all the rumours that still circulated about Jinnah in the early 1950s, described a conversation with another elderly lady who belonged to the Bombay Parsee community.

'Yes,' said the lady, 'I remember Sarojini Naidu: she was in love with Jinnah, but he was never in love with her. He was cold and aloof; his career was all that mattered to him. She wrote love poems to him, but he was not the man to be enticed by romantic verses: he was fastidious and virtuous, and he spent his evenings with his law court briefs. They used to call Mrs Naidu, "The Nightingale of Bombay".¹⁰ I am afraid that, as far as Jinnah was concerned, she sang in vain.'¹¹

Although the old biddy was not especially well-inclined towards Jinnah, she was quite reserved in her words in comparison to his real enemies, who demonized his personality or tried to depict him as a primitive careerist. The Supreme Court judge M.C. Chagla, who began his legal career as Jinnah's assistant and disciple, would write about him with undisguised malevolence many years later: 'I have never come across any man who had less humanity in his character than Jinnah. He was cold and unemotional, and apart from law and politics he had no other interests. I do not think he ever read a serious book in all his life.'¹²

According to Chagla, Jawaharlal Nehru was even more ill-inclined towards Jinnah: 'Jawaharlal disliked Jinnah as a man because he thought he was all arrogance and pomposity. He also despised Jinnah as someone essentially uncultured, almost illiterate. He thought Jinnah's reading never extended beyond the daily newspaper and that he had not a single intelligent or enlightened idea in his head.'¹³

It is hard to say whether these depreciatory remarks belonged to Nehru himself or whether they were a reflection of Chagla's old grudges. Jinnah's close friendship had been with Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal's

father. It is curious that this comment came from him. Yet, no matter who the real author of these lines is, he was profoundly mistaken. Jinnah's literary interests are well known, and his library, including books with his marks, has come down to us. Jinnah was well educated, familiar with European philosophy, and versed in English poetry. And, strange though it may seem, he was remarkably artistic.

He often read poetry aloud with his characteristic flair. He had a particular love for Shakespeare, whom he reread whenever time allowed. 'Even in the days of his most active political life,' recalled Fatima Jinnah, 'when he returned home late, tired after a gruelling day's work, he would take a play of Shakespeare and quietly read it in his bed. Sometime, when the two of us would sit in the drawing room after our dinner, he would read out to me aloud his favourite passages from the plays of Shakespeare. I still remember whenever he recited Shakespeare, his voice would take on the richness and correctness of tone and the proper intonations that are characteristic of people who have undergone some training in the art of stage-acting.'¹⁴

Although Jinnah made a name for himself as a brilliant orator, he rarely employed literary citations or allusions in his speeches. This may have been due to his lack of a liberal arts university education, which often inculcates a love for quotation. Nevertheless, in the rare cases when he did make use of poetic allusions, they always came from Shakespeare.

Once Mahatma Gandhi asked how Jinnah wanted to be addressed. Many people, including Gandhi, were irritated by Jinnah's use of the British title 'Mister'. Moreover, amidst growing anti-British sentiments, such a title could seem unpatriotic, all the more so as numerous equivalents are found in Indian national languages.

Jinnah replied to Gandhi, 'I thank you for your anxiety to respect my wishes in the matter of the prefix you should use with my name. What is a prefix after all? "A rose by any other name would smell as sweet."¹⁵ In other words, Jinnah preferred not to get involved in a discussion with Gandhi about titles and simply answered with a citation from *Romeo and Juliet*.

Shakespeare is at the centre of an incredible story from the youth of the Great Leader that depicts him in a totally different light. Although Jinnah did not allow himself to spend time or money on entertainment while studying law in London, he nevertheless went fairly often to the theatre. He subsequently confessed to his sister that his dream had been to play the role of Romeo at The Old Vic Theatre.

After finishing his studies in the famous legal institution of Lincoln's Inn, Jinnah became one of the first Indian Muslims to receive the title of Barrister-at-Law which allowed him to appear in court and enter the bar. Nevertheless, he was willing to sacrifice all of these achievements and years of hard work and deprivation as a student in order to enter a theatre company where he was offered a job. He auditioned on stage by reading excerpts from Shakespeare's plays, making a big impression on the company director and his wife. This 'stage story' clearly shows that the image of Jinnah as an unemotional, dry, and even uncultured (to cite Jawaharlal Nehru) person is quite far from the truth.

Insofar Jinnah was totally dependent on his father both morally and materially, he sent the latter a letter, imploring him to agree to his radical change of profession. '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,"' recalled Jinnah. 'I went to my employers and conveyed to them that I no longer looked forward to a stage career.'¹⁶

As a good Muslim, Jinnah could not have disregarded the 'honour of the family'. Indeed, in the views of Jinnah, Sr., and many of his contemporaries, a decent Muslim youth could not become an actor without staining the family's name. Quaid-i-Azam sacrificed his dream to appease his father, going back on his decision and submitting to another's opinion. Nevertheless, he did so for the last time in his life.

It should be said that Bolitho gives a totally different account of Jinnah's participation in theatre, which does not look very convincing, however. He writes that, at a certain point, Jinnah skipped classes at Lincoln's Inn to tour England with Miss Horniman's Shakespearean company, as he allegedly said to Nasim Ahmed, the London correspondent of *Dawn* newspaper, in 1946. More precisely, he supposedly spoke about working as a prompter and standing in for an actor in the role of Romeo.¹⁷ Nevertheless, the version with the letter and his father's warning looks a lot more convincing.

Jinnah probably had innate acting abilities that he subsequently developed in his speeches in court and at political meetings. 'Those who witnessed his dramatic interrogations and imperious asides, whether to judge or jury, often commented that he was a born actor,' wrote S. Wolpert.¹⁸ Moreover, Jinnah's observations of speeches by barristers, which were often marked by impressive dramatic skill, may have inspired his desire to perform on stage.

‘In spite of his predilection for a career on the stage, he rejected it as too small for his soaring ambitions. The actor on a stage could win the applause of only the limited audience in the theatre; he would be a hero on a much bigger platform, where he could be the acclaimed leader of millions of his people,’ wrote Fatima.¹⁹

As can be seen from the remarks of the lady neighbour from Malabar Hill, and even more from Sarojini Naidu’s eulogies, Jinnah was very popular with women. A lot of rapturous comments by his female contemporaries on his looks, manners, and elegance have come down to us. Stanley Wolpert cites the following characteristic description of Jinnah that compares him with his male contemporaries known for their good looks: ‘Raven-haired with a moustache almost as full as Kitchener’s²⁰ and lean as a rapier, he sounded like Ronald Colman,²¹ dressed like Anthony Eden,²² and was adored by most women at first sight.’²³

Lady Wavell, spouse of the Viceroy of India, described Jinnah in the following terms: ‘Mr Jinnah was one of the handsomest men I have ever seen; he combined the clear-cut, almost Grecian, features of the West, with Oriental grace and movement.’²⁴

After getting acquainted with Jinnah at a dinner given by the Viceroy, the wife of British Major General G.H.B. Freeth wrote in a letter to her mother, ‘He models his manners and clothes on du Maurier,²⁵ the actor, and his English on Burke’s²⁶ speeches. He is a future Viceroy, if the present system of gradually Indianising all the services continues. I have always wanted to meet him, and now I have had my wish.’²⁷

Another interlocutrice of Jinnah, Begum Geti Ara Bashir Ahmad, wrote, ‘The Quaid-i-Azam in his social life was the picture of refinement and culture and his manners were extremely elegant. His sartorial taste was exquisite and his personality was magnetic.’²⁸

The ‘magnetism’ of Jinnah’s personality, including his ability to persuade and win over his interlocutors, was described by the well-known politician and diplomat Begum Shaista Ikramullah: ‘After twenty years, during which I have met some very great statesmen, I still maintain that to listen to the Quaid and not to be convinced was not possible. It was not that he overruled you, it was not that he did not reply to your argument, but that he was so thoroughly, so single-mindedly, so intensely convinced of the truth of his point of view that you could not help but be convince also. You felt if a man with an intellect so much superior to yours believed this, then it must be right. Call it hypnotism or what you will, that is the effect he had on all who came in contact with him. Anyone whom he

thought it worth his while to try and convince, he always succeeded in convincing.’²⁹

Jinnah’s ability to convince is shown by the following story that was related by the prominent politician and public figure Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz, with whom Jinnah was on friendly terms. In 1947, Jahanara received an invitation to give a series of talks in the USA about the recently founded state of Pakistan. For her work, she was offered \$25,000—quite a large sum at the time. Jinnah was away, and Jahanara showed the invitation to Pakistani Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan. He advised Jahanara to accept the prestigious and lucrative offer, which she did immediately.

In the meantime, Jinnah returned to Lahore where these events were unfolding, and Jahanara decided to ask about his opinion, too. Jinnah’s views turned out to be totally different from his prime minister. He explained to Jahanara that her mission as a member of the Constituent Assembly was to draft new laws for Pakistan and that this was a truly prestigious activity. In contrast, giving talks around the world was a pastime for high-society ladies. ‘Stick to your work as a legislator and do not fritter away your energy in outside activities’, Jinnah told her. Without hesitating a moment, Jahanara sent the Americans who had invited her a telegram with her refusal. Jinnah was able to convince her to reject such an attractive offer —possibly, with the help of his ‘magnetism’.³⁰

Just as the other founding fathers of new South Asian states such as Gandhi, Nehru and subsequently Mujibur Rahman, Jinnah always called for women to play a role alongside men in governing the country and creating a civil society. He was often asked about the position that women should occupy in the new Pakistan: would they have to practice *pardah*, would they be able to work outside the home, and what limits would generally be put on their freedom?

Jinnah gave the following answer to Begum Bashir Ahmad who asked a similar question on behalf of her sisters and daughters: ‘Tell your young girls, I am a progressive Muslim leader. I, therefore, take my sister along with me to backward areas like Balochistan and NWFP, and she also attends the sessions of the All-India Muslim League and other public meetings. Insha’allah, Pakistan will be a progressive country in the building of which women will be seen working shoulder to shoulder with men in every department of life.’³¹

Jinnah initially came to study in London as ‘a tall, thin boy, in a funny long yellow coat’, according to the recollections of

contemporaries.³² While this 'long yellow coat' is mentioned by virtually all of Jinnah's biographers, it remains unclear what type of Indian men's outerwear it was.

Eventually, the high fees of one of the most fashionable Bombay barristers permitted Jinnah to lead the life of a rich man. As I have already mentioned, he allowed himself some quite extravagant indulgences; in particular, he said with a sense of pride that he never wore the same silk tie twice. All of his numerous costumes were sewn on Saville Row, a street in the centre of London that is known for its expensive men's tailors. His daughter Dina ironized over her father's love for fine clothes and tauntingly called him a 'dandy' and 'Beau Brummell'.³³

The fact that Jinnah remained slim, elegant, and highly mobile in his old age misled the last viceroy of India, Lord Mountbatten, who failed to see that Jinnah was literally dying of tuberculosis. Neither the British authorities nor members of Congress realized that he was a doomed man. Many years later, Mountbatten avowed that, had he known about the true state of things, he could have delayed the process of the formation of Pakistan until Jinnah's death.³⁴ As only Jinnah had really believed in the possibility of its creation, Pakistan could well have dissolved in the fumes and bloody mist of the Partition.

Once walking through the picturesque Hampstead area while on a visit to London in 1931, Jinnah saw a three-storey mansion with a high tower standing in a large garden. He imagined the wonderful view that opened out from the tower and decided to buy the villa on the spot.

According to Bolitho, the villa's owner Lady Graham Wood remembered Jinnah for years to come, as he made the immediate impression of being 'most charming, a great gentleman, most courteous.'³⁵

Talks about purchasing the villa went quickly and easily: Jinnah agreed to the owner's price without bargaining yet begged her to leave the house as quickly as possible; she, in turn, asked him to retain her former chauffeur Bradbury, who would drive his Bentley. In the autumn, Jinnah bought West Heath House, as the villa was called, and hired servants, including an English butler and chambermaid, an Irish cook, and a second cook who was specially brought from India to make his master's favourite dish—curry with plain rice. In British cuisine, Jinnah only liked roast beef and apple tart.

Jinnah was soon joined by Fatima, who abandoned her relative unsuccessful dental practice in Bombay and moved to London. On

Saturdays, the two of them went on walks, descending from the hills of Hampstead Heath to Kenwood Estate in the valley—a wonderful English garden with a low sparkling-white mansion that houses a splendid art museum today. On the way, they passed the famous pub *Jack Straw's Castle* once visited by William M. Thackeray, Charles Dickens, Wilkie Collins and where, as historians say, Karl Marx drank ginger beer with his children.

Kenwood Estate has an interesting relationship to Russia, the Romanovs dynasty and the great Russian poet Alexander Pushkin. In 1909, the estate was leased by Grand Duke Michael Mikhailovich Romanov and his morganatic spouse Sophie of Merenberg—Pushkin's granddaughter from his younger offspring Natalia. In November 1916, Kenwood became the setting for the wedding between the Grand Duke's younger daughter Nadezhda (Pushkin's great-granddaughter) and George Mountbatten, Marquess of Milford Haven, the great-grandson of Queen Victoria. The ceremony was attended by King George V, Queen Mary and other members of the royal family. However, the Russian Revolution reduced the Grand Duke's finances. Despite their reduced circumstances, they remained friends of King and Queen, and continued to attend the court receptions and society events.

Despite his love for luxury, Jinnah was frugal when it came to expenditures that he considered unwarranted—such as giving parties or tips. Comparing Muslims and Hindus, he liked to say, 'If a Muslim got ten rupees, he would buy a pretty scarf and eat a *biryani*, whereas a Hindu would save the money.'³⁶

In London, Jinnah changed his attire, abandoning the mysterious 'yellow coat' for fine wool costumes and silk ties. He also adopted a name that was easier to pronounce and sounded more melodious to the European ear. In his first chequebook, which has come down to us, Jinnah wrote 'MAHOMEDALLI JINNAHBHAI ESQ' with his hand. However, only a few weeks later, this long signature was replaced by a new variant that is familiar to the whole world today: 'M.A. JINNAH'.³⁷

Notes and References

¹ Khalid B. Sayeed, *Pakistan: The Formative Phase 1857-1948*, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 177-178.

² Cited in Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1955), p. 190.

³ *Quaid-i-Azam as seen by his Contemporaries* (Lahore: United Publishers, 1966), p. 125.

⁴ S.H. Manto, *Selected Stories*, tr. by Aatish Taseer (Vintage/Random House India, 2008), p. 79.

⁵ Jinnah wore a monocle in imitation of the British politician Joseph Chamberlain (1836-1914), whom he considered to be the epitome of male elegance. As a mass optical accessory, the monocle was popular before the First World War yet later came to be associated with the image of the haughty aristocrat.

⁶ Cited after Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1955), p. 27.

Ibid., p. 18.

⁸ Cited after Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1955), p. 22.

⁹ Sarojini Naidu, 'Jinnah—Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity', in *Quaid-e-Azam as Seen by His Contemporaries* (Lahore: Publishers United, 1966), pp. 158-159.

¹⁰ This is incorrect. Naidu was called the 'Nightingale of India' or *Bharat Kokila* in Hindi. *Ibid.*

¹² M.C. Chagla, *Roses in December: An Autobiography* (Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 2012), p. 95.

Ibid., p. 79.

¹⁴ Fatima Jinnah, *My Brother* (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1987), p. 18.

¹⁵ Cited after Hector Bolitho, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

¹⁶ Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Some Aspects of Quaid-i-Azam's Life* (Islamabad: National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research, 1978), p. 11.

¹⁷ Hector Bolitho, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

¹⁸ Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan* (Delhi: OUP, 1989), p. 14.

¹⁹ Fatima Jinnah, *My Brother* (Karachi: Quaid-e-Azam Academy, 1987), p. 28.

²⁰ Herbert Kitchener (1850-1916) was a prominent British military leader.

²¹ Ronald Colman (1891-1958) was an English actor known for his 'bewitching voice'.

²² Anthony Eden (1897-1977) was a British statesman who served as the 64th prime minister of Great Britain.

²³ Stanley Wolpert, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

²⁴ Cited after Hector Bolitho, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

²⁵ Gerald du Maurier (1873-1934) was an English actor and the father of writer Daphne du Maurier, whose novel *Rebecca* (1938) was popular all over the world.

²⁶ Edmund Burke (1729-1797) was an Anglo-Irish statesman, writer, and philosopher.

²⁷ Cited after Ahmed S. Akbar, *Jinnah, Pakistan, and Islamic Identity: The Search for Saladin* (London, Routledge, 1997), p. 82.

²⁸ Begum Geti Ara Bashir Ahmad, 'Quaid-i-Azam and Muslim Women', in *Quaid-e-Azam as Seen by His Contemporaries* (Lahore: Publishers United, 1966), p. 103.

²⁹ Begum Shaista Ikramullah, 'The Quaid-i-Azam as I Knew Him', in *Quaid-e-Azam as Seen by His Contemporaries* (Lahore: Publishers United, 1966), p. 107.

³⁰ Begum Jehan Ara Shah Nawaz, 'Reminiscences', in *Quaid-e-Azam as Seen by His Contemporaries* (Lahore: Publishers United, 1966), p. 100.

³¹ Cited after Begum Geti Ara Bashir Ahmad, 'Quaid-i-Azam and Muslim Women', p. 104.

³² Hector Bolitho, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

³³ George Brian Brummell (1778-1840) was an English dandy who set the fashion during the Regency. He is the main character of several movies entitled 'Beau Brummell'.

³⁴ Ahmed S. Akbar, *Jinnah, Pakistan, and Islamic Identity: The Search for Saladin* (London, Routledge, 1997), p. 112.

³⁵ Hector Bolitho, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

³⁶ Aziz Beg, *Jinnah and His Times* (Lahore: Allied Press, 1986), p. 121.

³⁷ Fatima Jinnah, *My Brother*, p. 82.