

**AN EXAMINATION AND ANALYSIS OF
QUAID-E-AZAM MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH'S
SCHOOL EDUCATION RECORDS**

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Introduction

There is very scarce material available on Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah's school education in the vast tome of research carried upon him by his biographers. Where available, mostly it is without proper references and lacks authenticity. For instance, one of his biographers, Hector Bolitho, stated that he had passed his matriculation examination; which in fact he never did¹. Then, Mohammad Ali Siddiqui wrote that he was admitted in Sindh Madressatul Islam, Karachi in 1883², ignoring the fact that the institution came into being on 1st September 1885. There are numerous confusions and disagreements about the place of his birth, the date of his birth, his schooling in Bombay, and so on.

In addition to vital personal information like described above, there is also a need to study the institutional enjoinment in which Jinnah spent the formative phase of his life and what value addition took place during his schooling. For instance, it is mostly presumed that he acquired proficiency in English during his studies at Lincoln's Inn in London, ignoring the fact that he passed the Inn's entrance examination in English before his admission there and within just few months of his reaching in London, making it evident that he already had a good command over English. Then, there are other aspects also, like development of a person's hobbies that take place during school studies. Not much focus has been

given to this aspect of Jinnah's life as well.

The school records of Jinnah shed reasonable light on these and other similar aspects of Jinnah's life, which have yet not been subjected to a thorough examination and analysis, hence this study. In the first part of the study, Jinnah's school records as available in the schools he attended are examined. Second part highlights Jinnah's acknowledgements about his studying in those schools. The third part focusses on the analysis of the information recorded about him in his schools. The fourth part discusses the institutional environment of SMI, the school he attended for the longest period of his academic life from 1887 to 1892. In all these sections the information provided by school records is co-related with other contemporary sources.

Examination of School Records

There are four school-admission records relating to Jinnah available; three of them at Sindh Madressatul Islam (SMI) and one relating to Church Mission School (CMS), both in Karachi. These records pertain to period from July 1887 to October 1892. First, we examine these records.

The earliest record of Jinnah's education in any school is that of his admission at SMI, which had been opened on 1st September 1885, with the aim of 'imparting secular (primary and secondary), as well as moral and religious education to the Mohammadan youth of the province'³. It was this institution where he was admitted for three times, through separate entries, and spent the longest period of his academic life with two brief intervals.

Jinnah's first admission at SMI took place on 4th July 1887 and has been recorded on page number 7, serial number 114 of the 'General Register of Pupils attending English Department of Sind Madressatul Islam'. The details recorded here mention 'Karachi' as his 'Native Place.' In the column under title 'age when admitted' he has been mentioned to be of '14 years,' leaving blank the sub-columns relating to day, month and year of birth under title 'Birthday according to Christian chronology'. In the column relating to 'Caste' he has been described to be a 'Khoja'. In the column under title 'Previous Instruction' he has been shown to have passed 'Standard IV Gujrati', giving no further information about the school attended⁴.

In another column under title 'Paying or Free' he has been mentioned as 'Paying.' The column under title 'Standard and class into which

admitted' mentions his being admitted in 'Standard I' of the English branch, which used to be start of secondary education after completion of four years of primary education offered in the mother-tongue of the students. While still studying in Standard I, he left the institution, with the column under title 'Remarks' just stating 'Left for Bombay' without giving date of leaving⁵.

His second admission at SMI has been recorded on 23rd December 1887, this time on page number 10 and serial number 178 of the same register. For the first time in Jinnah's educational records, his date of birth has been mentioned in the relevant columns, which were left blank during his first admission. The date of birth mentioned here has been '20 October 1875' and his age has been calculated in the column under title 'age when admitted' as '12 years, 2 months and 4 days' with reference to the given date of birth⁶.

An important information given at his second time admission has been the mention of 'Anjuman Islam, Bombay, Standard I' as the school that he attended before his (second) admission, in the column under 'Previous Instruction'. In the column 'Standard and class in which admitted' again 'Standard I' has been mentioned. "Date of leaving" has been mentioned to be '5 January 1891'; and the 'Standard and class from which left' mentions him to be a student of 'Standard IV'. The last column under title 'Remarks' giving details for closing of his admission states 'Long absence'.⁷

Jinnah's third admission at SMI has been recorded on '9 February 1891', about one month and four days after closing of his second admission⁸. This admission has been recorded at serial number 430, on page number 109 of the General Register of Pupils attending the English branch' of the institution. This time also 'Karachi' has been mentioned in the column 'Native place.' Date of birth is also same, but his age has been recorded to be '15 years, 3 months and 20 days'.

The column about 'Caste' mentions him to be 'Khoja', while the one about 'previous instruction' mentions same class from which he had left a month ago, i.e. 'Standard IV' and is shown to been re-admitted in same class. In the column 'Paying or free', he has been again mentioned to be 'Paying'. This time the 'date of leaving' has been mentioned as '30 January 1892' and the class in which left as been mentioned as 'Standard V'. The last column under title 'Remarks' noting the 'reason for withdrawal' has these words inscribed: 'Left for Cutch on marriage.'⁹ This brought an end to Jinnah's education at SMI.

His next school-admission has been recorded in the admission register

of CMS at serial number 483. His date of admission mentioned here is '8 March 1892' i.e. one month and nine days after his last stint at SMI. Date of birth has been mentioned same as was at SMI, i.e. '20 October 1875.' However, by this time his age had turned to be '16 years, 4 months and 11 days'. In the column relating to religion he has been shown to be a follower of 'Islam'¹⁰.

The last school attended has been mentioned as the "Madressa" (which was used as short form for SMI). Here also he has been recorded as a 'paying' student describing his status. The Register mentions him to be admitted in 'Standard VI' implying that by the time he applied for his admission at CMS, his result for Standard V had already been announced, making him eligible for admission at CMS in the next class. About eight months after his admission at CMS, on 31 October 1892, while studying in the same class i.e. Standard VI, Jinnah's admission at this school also ended. The remarks in the General Register do not elaborate the reason for his leaving the school, which only read: "Left"¹¹.

Jinnah's Acknowledgements

The examination of above four admission records shows that Jinnah received his school education in at least three schools: from July 1887 to January 1892 (about four and a half year) at SMI with two brief intervals; from March 1892 to October 1892 (less than eight months) at CMS; and for an unspecified brief spell of period during the latter half of 1887, at Anjuman-i-Islam school in Bombay. Interestingly, all these three institutions received some sort of acknowledgement from Jinnah during the latter part of his life. Here we review these acknowledgements.

On 21 June 1943, in capacity of being the Quaid-e-Azam (Supreme Leader) of Indian Muslims, Jinnah came to his Alma Mater, Sindh Madressatul Islam, to formally upgrade it from school to college. The news account of the event was published in the following day's *Daily Morning News* and *Daily Star of India* (Calcutta) The news item quoted Jinnah stating: 'I know every inch in the splendid grounds of this institution and it is no wonder if I am a bit sentimental in opening a college here although after 55 years'¹².

The news accounts suggest that on that occasion, Jinnah got sentimental. 'Speaking in a reminiscent mood, Mr. Jinnah said he was overcome by sentiment to be present at the development into a college of his Alma Mater where 55 years ago he had played and studied as a school boy' read the news account. 'Every inch of these splendid grounds

where I took part in various games, I know,' Jinnah was quoted in the news story¹³. The story also informed the readers that 'Mr. Jinnah was born in Karachi and himself passed out of this school 55 years ago'.

On that occasion Jinnah also lamented the fact that his Alma Mater had taken such a long time to become a college from a school. 'Mr. Jinnah added that after the death of the founder of the Madressah, there was nobody to look after his creation with the care it deserved. That must not happen. There must always be continuity of the programme of work of any institution. Continuity must be maintained not only in educational institutions but in all departments of life of Mussalmans, he said'¹⁴.

He drew the attention of the audience towards the financial needs of the institution and invited them to come forward with monetary assistance. 'He particularly stressed the importance of building up a strong endowment fund for the college and he hoped that patrons of education would come forward to provide funds not merely for the new college but for many more colleges of its kind'. As was usual with him, he just did not profess but performed. Here also he himself came forward with a donation for his Alma Mater and sought commitments from the well-off people present there. The news account went on to state that 'Mr. Jinnah himself led with a donation of Rs. 5,000 and a total of Rs. 62,000 was promised on the spot by other donors'¹⁵.

Another occasion when Jinnah acknowledged the importance of SMI in his heart when he was writing his last will. Therein he bequeathed one third of his entire property to SMI. At paragraph number 12 of his Will, dated 30th May 1939, he declared: 'Subject to above, all my residuary estate including the corpus that may fall after the lapse of life interest or otherwise to be divided into three parts – and I bequeath one part to Aligarh University, one part to Islamia College, Peshawar, and one part to Sindh Madressah of Karachi'¹⁶.

Similarly, he also acknowledged to have received a part of his education at CMS in response to an invitation extended to him by the principal of the school. In his letter dated 23 October 1946, Principal S.N. Spence invited him to attend the week-long centenary celebrations of the School scheduled from 9th to 16th November 1946. Addressing him as 'Mr. Jinnah', the principal wrote: 'We are proud to number you among our former pupils and to know that this school had had at least a part in the early training of one of India's most distinguished sons.... I shall look forward to news of your acceptance of our invitation... We shall be delighted if your sister, too, will accompany you to the opening of prize distribution'¹⁷

Though unable to attend the program, Jinnah wrote back to the principal on 11th November 1946, thanking him as well as acknowledging that he was a former student of the school. He wrote: 'I am in receipt of your letter of the 23rd October and thank you for it. How I wish I had been in Karachi from the 9th to 16th of November, so that I could have participated in the centenary celebrations of the School, where I had the privilege of receiving my early education. As one of the old pupils of your school, I whole-heartedly rejoice in the celebrations of the centenary... Miss Jinnah and I both thank you most heartily for your kind invitation'¹⁸.

While Jinnah's acknowledgements of receiving education at two schools are very clear, it is different in case of his third school, i.e. Anjuman-i-Islam. The only time he mentioned it was in his last will, wherein he donated some amount to it. At para number 11 of his will dated 30 May 1939, he wrote: 'I direct my executors to pay the following by way of gifts to the institutions mentioned. I bequeath Rs.25000/- Twenty-five thousand to the Anjuman-e-Islam School, Bombay, situated at Hornby Rd. opposite Bori Bunder Station and next to *The Times of India* Building'¹⁹. It is interesting to note that gives details about exact location of school, which he has not done in case of other beneficiary institutions in his will. This points out towards some sort of his personal association or involvement with that branch of school.

Analysis of information

The information provided in the school records is most authentic source on various aspects of Jinnah's early life. Let's examine the matters relating to his place of birth, date of birth and economic standing of his family etc.

Place of birth

Though it is generally accepted that Jinnah was born in Karachi, but still there is a segment of society which claims that he was born in *Jhirrak*, a riverain port city close to Hyderabad. But, in all the four of his school-admission records, his place of birth or native place has been mentioned as 'Karachi'. To further confirming this, he himself described Karachi as city of his birth, while addressing a reception given in his honor on 8 October 1938 by the Mayor and councilors of Karachi Municipal Corporation²⁰. On two other occasions as well, he described

Karachi as his birth place. On the other hand, in his life spanning over seventy-six years, he never even once stated that he was born in Jhirrak. Accordingly, considering the school records, coupled with his own assertions, should set the record straight once for all that he was born in Karachi.

Date of birth

As described earlier, his date of birth has been recorded as 20 October 1875 in three out of four of his admission records, except the first one where the columns relating to date of birth have been left blank. Jinnah's age, in all the three records giving his date of birth, has been calculated with reference to 20 October 1875. However, his first admission at SMI in July 1887 records his age as '14 years' pushing his year of birth to 1873. Here is a discrepancy, which could be attributed to the fact that most of the Muslim families in those times were very poor at recording the accurate dates of the birth of their children, in sharp contrast to Hindu families who used to record not only the correct date but also the exact time of birth to facilitate the horoscopic readings of their child. However, at a later stage, perhaps Jinnah was able to ascertain his correct date of birth. When an astrologer requested him in 1946 to provide him with the information regarding time, date and place of his birth for preparing his horoscope, he replied: 'Time: Early Morning', 'Date: 25th December 1876', 'Place: Karachi'²¹. This is the date that is mentioned in his passport as well and is celebrated as his official birthday.

Primary Education

As is evident, all these records are related to his education in high schools. Curiously, there is no record relating to Jinnah's primary school education available anywhere. His sister Fatima Jinnah states that when Jinnah turned about six, their parents hired a tutor to teach him Gujrati at home and when he was about nine, he was enrolled in a local school²². Jinnah himself once recalled: 'Yes, I am Karachi-born and ... I was schooled in Karachi'²³. But which school, is still shrouded in mystery and would remain so until some new evidence is discovered.

Visit to Bombay, 1887

As stated earlier, after his first admission at SMI, he 'left for

Bombay' on an unspecified date. Few months later, he returned to SMI mentioning that he was enrolled at Anjuman-i-Islam School, Bombay, during the intervening period. Describing the reason for shifting of Jinnah to Bombay, his biographer Stanley Wolpert stated that Jinnah's only paternal aunt, Manbai, who lived in Bombay, had come to Karachi to meet with her brother and his family in 1887. 'She lured Mamad [Jinnah, as he was called during his childhood] back to Bombay with her that year²⁴.

Fatima Jinnah has also talked about Manbai, quite fondly. 'She was a great story-teller... She was the center of our eyes and ears, and we listened to her, enraptured by the bewitching way in which she would narrate her stories, night after night. She told tales of fairies, and the flying carpet..., stories out of this world'²⁵. It seems that young Jinnah developed a degree of fondness and attachment with Manbai during her visit to Karachi and decided to go to Bombay with her, where she admitted him in a school, but after some time he might have started missing his home and parents, hence came back to Karachi.

Schooling in Bombay, 1887: There is a controversy amongst his biographers about the school in which he was admitted in Bombay, in 1887. Some believed that it was Gokul Das Tej Primary School, the others believed it was Anjuman-i-Islam School. Stanley Wolpert has highlighted this controversy stating that 'he lived with Auntie and was enrolled at school, but whether it was the Muslim Anjuman-i-Islam as Fatima Jinnah recalled, or in the secular Gokul Das Tej Primary School as his secretary, Mr. M.H. Sayyid reported, remains uncertain'²⁶. Wolpert's own opinion on the issue was that 'perhaps he attended both schools, joining the latter after quitting the former'²⁷.

However, the examination of the record makes it clear that Jinnah was already a student of Standard I at SMI when he left for Bombay; on his return to SMI in less than six months, he has been shown to have been studying at Anjuman-i-Islam school in same class i.e. Standard I, and was again admitted at SMI in the same class i.e. Standard I. His school records don't mention Gokul Das Tej Primary School at all. Even otherwise why a student of a high school would get enrolled in a primary school. Then, in his last will also he has nominated Anjuman-i-Islam School as one of the recipients of his money, going at length to describe even the exact location of that school, which is unusual as far as description of other nominated institutions in his last will is concerned²⁸. Considering this it can be safely deduced that he studied at Anjuman-i-Islam school Bombay during 1887.

Economic Status

The school record also describes the economic status of the family, albeit indirectly. In all his admissions he has been placed in the category of 'paying' which denotes that he belonged to a relatively well-off family which could afford the cost of his education without requesting for school fee waive-off. At SMI there were two more categories of 'Free' where no tuition fee was charged from students, and 'Free-Boarder' where even lodging and boarding of the student was provided by the school. SMI was quite liberal at granting these concessions to the students belonging to under privileged segments of the society, as is evident from the perusal of school record. But Jinnah's family chose to be among the 'paying' category.

Question of Matriculation

In much of the Jinnah's biographical literature it has been mentioned that he passed his matriculation examination before moving to England in 1892-1893. Hector Bolitho stated that when Jinnah left for UK he was 'armed only with his matriculation from the Bombay University, gained at the Mission School'²⁹. This is also contrary to the record. As stated earlier, When Jinnah left his last school, i.e. CMS, on 31 October 1892, he was a student of Standard VI. In those days, the eligibility for appearing in matriculation examination conducted by Bombay University was 'Standard VII'. Accordingly, Jinnah was over a year short of being eligible to appear in matriculation examination, as he had yet to clear the examination of Standards VI and then complete Standard VII before he could have appeared for the matriculation examination. In addition to that so far, no record from Bombay University has established that he passed the matriculation examination. Hence it is quite reasonable to believe that he did not appear or pass the matriculation examination from anywhere.

Institutional Environment

As discussed earlier, major part of Jinnah's schooling took place at SMI, which also makes this institution as the one where he spent the longest period of his entire academic life³⁰. Fortunately, the institution, which is presently working as a university, has in its custody the old school reports and other literature that throws ample light on the general environment of the institution when Jinnah was studying there. Some salient features of the institution are described here.

Cosmopolitan in nature

During his period of study, total number of students, in both primary and secondary branches, fluctuated from 400 to 500. The English department in which he was enrolled, was like a crown of the institution, with less than one hundred and fifty students studying in all the classes from Standard I to Standard VII. 'Of the total number of 459 students learning in the several branches of the Madressah, 146 belonged to the English Department', read the report pertaining to March 1889³¹. Though primarily established for benefit of Muslims, SMI was opened to non-Muslims also. 'Out of the 459 boys above mentioned, 427 were Mohammadans of all denominations against 415 the year previous. The remainders, viz., 32 were non-Mohammadans, chiefly Hindus'³² the report elaborated. A perusal of the admission register shows that even the Muslims were drawn from varied backgrounds as well as geographical locations, giving it a cosmopolitan character.

Emphasis on learning English

In 1887, the year in which Jinnah got admission in SMI, the government appointed Mr. H.P. Jacob as Educational Inspector in Sindh. The officer was known for his love for pure literary English. He was a frequent visitor to SMI and usually spent an entire day evaluating the progress made by students in English literature and speaking skills as well as other subjects. 'He (Mr. H.R. Jacob) hated nothing so much as cockney English, as the phrase goes. Such a word uttered carelessly but innocently by a pupil would make him look quite dissatisfied with the work of class-master. To mark his dislike and disapprobation of the liberties taken with the English language he would stare and make faces at those who could be guilty of such gross barbarism! Nothing but a spirited piece of declamation would restore him to good humour on such an occasion. Careful inspection of the pupil's exercise books was another hobby of his'.³³

In view of Mr. Jacob's uncompromising attitude towards learning of proper and literary English by the students, SMI took steps to improve and polish the language skills of their students, as his satisfaction was the key for release of grant-in-aid to the institution. The academic evaluation reports of the institution, particularly the students' English reading and writing skills continued to improve. During the final year of Muhammad Ali's studies at Sindh Madressah, Mr. Jacob remarked: 'The Madressah

has made satisfactory progress during the year. In the High School classes there is improvement all along the line. I was particularly struck with the boys' spirited recitation of English and Persian verse. Great pains had evidently been taken by the teachers to ensure clear and correct pronunciations³⁴

Focus on Shakespeare and other poets

A visit to the archival section of the SMIU library reveals presence of books on Shakespeare and other English poets, acquired in the initial years of the institution. This may be attributed to Mr. Jacob's taste and his emphasis on learning of English poetry. There is a likelihood that Jinnah was first introduced to Shakespeare at SMI, which resulted in his lifelong admiration for the poet. 'Even in the days of his most active political life, when he returned home late tired after a grueling day's work, he would take a play of Shakespeare and quietly read it in his bed. Sometime, when the two of us would sit in the drawing room after our dinner, he would read out to me aloud his favourite passages from the plays of Shakespeare', his sister remembered³⁵.

Sports

Jinnah once said that 'it was on the sands of Karachi that I played marbles in my boyhood'³⁶. On the other hand, SMI was making all efforts to encourage its students to take up cricket, tennis, hockey and other such sports which had been introduced in the subcontinent only recently and were not much popular amongst the natives. Top priority amongst these sports was given to cricket and SMI established a cricket club. The institution went on to the extent that 'once a fortnight the whole Madressah gets a half holiday for cricket'³⁷.

The efforts of the school to popularize cricket among its students bore fruit and school many students took up playing cricket. One of Jinnah's boyhood friends, Nanji Jafar, told Hector Bolitho that he 'played marbles with him in the street'³⁸. Then one morning, when Nanji Jafar was playing marbles in the street, Jinnah 'then aged about fourteen', came up to him and said, 'Don't play marbles in the dust; it spoils your clothes and dirties your hands. We must stand up and play cricket'³⁹. The reference to his age being '14 years' at that time makes it clear that he was then enrolled at SMI when he took up cricket and left playing marbles.

Exposure to the high and mighty

Another important feature of SMI in those days was providing its students the opportunities of exposure with the top-ranking British functionaries of that time. During his period of studies at SMI, at least four grand programs were held which were attended amongst others by the Viceroy and the Governor General of India, the Governor of Bombay Presidency and the Commissioner in Sindh in addition to other dignitaries coming from England⁴⁰. On all these occasions, the students listened to these high and mighty in person, which was considered one of the greatest privileges in those days. These interactions must have helped in boosting his self-confidence, which remained the hallmark of his personality throughout his life.

Conclusion

Jinnah's school records are the most authentic sources of information on his early life. An examination and analysis of these records reveal information which has so far remained hidden. This information when correlated with other contemporary biographical sources clear many a myth built around his childhood. The study determines that Jinnah received his high school education at three schools, mainly at SMI and briefly at CMS Karachi and Anjuman-i-Islam school, Bombay. The study also determines that he was born at Karachi and all other speculations are unfounded. Discrepancies in recording his date of birth have also been put in right perspective. A much-debated point amongst his biographers whether he received his education at Gokul Das Tej Primary School in Bombay or not has also been found contrary to the records. Similarly, it also highlights the fact, considering the record, that he never appeared in the matriculation examination. A look at the literature relating to the institutional environment of his school during the years of his study throws light on many of his competencies as well as traits of his personality, which he might have acquired during the period of his schooling in Karachi. The present study opens new vistas for further research on various other aspects of his early life which are still shrouded in mystery.

Notes and References

1. Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan*, London, John Murray, 1954, p. 7.

2. Muhammad Ali Siddiqui, *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah: A Chronology*, Karachi, Quaid-e-Azam Academy, 1981, p. 1.
3. *Fifth Annual Report of Sindh Madressatul Islam* (Karachi: Sindh Madressatul Islam, 1890-1891), p. 1
4. *General Register of Sind Madressatul Islam*, placed at Jinnah Museum of SMIU, Karachi, Sindh Madressatul Islam, 1885 p. 7.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid*, p.10
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid*, p. 109.
9. *Ibid.*
10. General Register of Christ Mission Society (CMS) School, copy of extract as on display at Jinnah Museum of SMIU Karachi.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Waheed Ahmed (ed), *Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: The Nation's Voice, vol. III, Annotated Speeches and Statements, May 1942-October 1944*, Karachi, Quaid-e-Azam Academy, 1997, p. 225.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. The last will of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was written at Bombay with a codicil to his will on 25 October 1940. A copy of his will is available at SMIU archives.
17. Syed Shamsul Hassan, *Plain Mr. Jinnah*, Karachi, Royal Book Company, 1976, p. 72.
18. *Ibid*, p. 73.
19. The last will of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, op cit.
20. Waheed Ahmed (Ed), *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: The Nation's Voice Towards Consolidation, Speeches and Statements March 1935-March 1940*, (Karachi: Quaid-e-Azam Academy, 1992), p. 289.
21. Syed Shamsul Hassan, op cit., p. 71.
22. Fatima Jinnah, *My Brother*, Karachi, Quaid-e-Azam Academy, 1987, p. 54.
23. *Ibid*, p. 62.
24. Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 5.
25. Fatima Jinnah, op cit., p. 58.
26. Stanley Wolpert, op cit., p. 6.
27. *Ibid*, p. 6.
28. Last Will of QA MAJ, opcit.
29. Hector Bolitho, op cit., p. 7.
30. He studied at SMI from 4th July 1887 to 30th January 1892, with two brief intervals in 1887 and 1891. Accordingly, his net stay at SMI comes to be over four years, while at CMS it comes to less than eight months and at Anjuman-i-Islam school a very brief unspecified period.
31. *Fourth Annual Report of SMI*, Karachi, Sindh Madressatul Islam, 1889-1890, p. 2.

32. *Ibid.*
33. Khowaja Ali Mohammed, 'History of SMI', article reproduced in *Sindh Madressah Chronicle Golden Jubilee Issue*, Karachi, Sindh Madressatul Islam, 1935, p. 21.
34. *Fifth Annual Report of SMI*, op cit. p. 5.
35. Fatima Jinnah, op cit., p. 80.
36. *Ibid*, p. 62.
37. *Fifth Annual Report of SMI*, op. cit., p. 10.
38. Hector Bolitho, op cit., p. 5.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Annual Reports of SMI from 1887 to 1892 available in SMIU's Jinnah Museum*