Letters of Mian Fazl-i-Husain

Edited by Dr. WAHEED AHMAD

Research Society of Pakistan
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of
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RESEARCH SOCIETY OF PAKISTAN
UNIVERSITY OF THE PUNJAB
LAHORE
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INTRODUCTION

In the history of modern British India no other political figure has been more misunderstood and more controversial than the late Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain. He has been described as one who sowed ‘seeds of communal disharmony’ and is accused of having worked against the Indian nationalist movement in an ‘unfussy and subterranean manner’ in order to assure ‘for himself a long succession of offices’. Only on the eve of his death, it is suggested, he turned a nationalist. It is also stated that he was ‘a nationalist and a democrat’ and ‘the all-India interests were always paramount with him’. After his death, says his one-time colleague in the Viceroy’s Council, Muslim leadership passed into unworthy hands with the result that the country had to be divided. On the other hand, he is regarded as ‘a martyr in the service of his people’ and a leader who prepared the groundwork for the establishment of Pakistan. ‘Without Mian Fazl-i-Husain,’ it is affirmed, ‘Pakistan would not have come into being’. But he is also denounced as one who divided the Punjab Muslims into rural and urban groups which harmed Muslim interests. He is accused on the one hand of having operated in regard to political issues over and above the head of the masses and suppressed

4. Sardar Sir Jogendra Singh to Azim Husain, 23 March 1946, Fazl-i-Husain Papers [FP].
5. A view expressed to me by Sir George Schuster (Finance Member, Viceroy’s Council, 1921-34) in an interview at the Savoy, London, on 21 April 1969.
6. A view expressed to me by Chaudhri Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan in an interview in London on 22 May 1970.
7. Ibid.
8. See Punjab News Letter in Dawn, (Delhi), 8 June, 1946.

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mass awakening¹ and on the other of failing to lead the Muslim community over the Shahidganj dispute.² The nature of his political relationship with some of his eminent Muslim contemporaries such as Sikander Hyat Khan, Allama Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah is also controversial.³ On one point, however, there is unanimity. During the major part of his political career he dominated the Punjab politics completely and the Indian politics to a large extent.

Most of the factual details of Mian Fazl-i-Husain’s life are given in his biography written by his son.⁴ His political views and policies are recorded in the documents printed in the following pages. His innumerable speeches and statements made in the Punjab and the central legislatures and in public exist in the legislative proceedings officially published and in the newspapers such as Civil & Military Gazette, (Lahore), Times of India, (Bombay), Star of India, (Calcutta), and other Indian newspapers available in the India Office Library and the British Museum Newspapers Library at Colindale.⁵ They fully explain what he thought and desired regarding issues which aroused peoples’ concern at that time. The documents which follow relate principally to the period of 1930-5, although some papers of prior date pertaining to such crucial issues as the Nehru Report and the Simon Commission are included in the present volume. But questions like the strategy in the pursuit of his objectives, the range of his political following and the degree of influence which he exercised on the public are not dilated upon in these documents. One can, however, get an inkling of these matters in his diaries. He publicly criticised Indian exclusion from the Simon Commission⁶ and offered to resign his Membership of Punjab Govern-

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1. See Ashiq Husain Batalvi, Iqbal ke Akhri do Sal, (Urdu), [The last two years of Iqbal], (Karachi, 1961), p. 281.
2. See Anonymous Urdu letter to Fazl-i-Husain, 15 February 1936, letter 430.
4. Azim Husain, op. cit.
5. His speeches and statements will be published in a separate volume later.
6. See Indian National Herald, (Bombay), and Civil & Military Gazette, both of 19 November 1927.
ment when asked by Hailey to retract his public pronouncement. But Hailey yielded and he also agreed to end the matter there. We owe this rare information to Hailey who preserved it in his private papers. But one is still left guessing as to why Fazl dropped the matter so easily over an issue which had enraged Indian opinion so much and why the shrewd and firm Hailey submitted to Fazl so hastily over a matter so vital to Government. Much of the inside information about Fazl-i-Husain’s career necessary for constructing a history of modern India will probably never become available. Most of the papers of his intimate associates are, it seems, either lost or remain untraceable or are held in private custody beyond the reach of the ordinary researcher. Nevertheless, one can get a sufficient clue by delving in the contemporary newspapers’ files, official, non-official and other published works, in the confidential writings of those whose collections of private papers exist and are available for scrutiny and in his own writings included in this volume.

Although Fazl-i-Husain’s political career can be looked at from three different angles, as a Punjabi, as an Indian nationalist and as a Muslim leader, yet ground will be covered by examining his work under the last two categories only.

In a note in his diary dated 12 November 1901, he described his ambition ‘to be the Recognized Leader of the Indian Musalmans and sit in the House of Commons as The Right Honourable Gentleman from the Punjab’. This was recorded in the Victorian era, during Curzon’s viceroyalty and the formative phase of Fazl-i-Husain’s life. His desire to assume the leadership of the Indian Muslims may have been the immediate result of the incident noted in the diary only three days earlier in which, he felt, he encountered Hindu communal opposition over his election to the sub-committee of the Sialkot graduates union. But it was a minor matter which does not seem to have produced any durable effect on his mind. Four years later, he joined the provincial branch of the Indian National Congress and, though he re-

1. Fazl-i-Husain to Hailey, 6 December 1927, letter 31.
3. Hailey to Fazl-i-Husain, 7 December 1927, letter 32.
4. Fazl-i-Husain to Hailey, 8 December 1927, letter 33.
signed from the Congress party in 1920, he always shared the Congress ideal of pre-1920 period. His attitude towards the Congress is best described in his own public speech made in the midst of the intense Congress-Government tussle just four years before his death:

People forget that once a Congress man, always a Congress man. Those who remain within the fold of the Congress may forget their principles, but those who have left the Congress cannot afford to do that...A man's policy consists in methods, principles and their execution. As regards my methods it was not different from the method of all those who in 1919-20 felt themselves unable to subscribe to the Congress creed of non-co-operation. I was one of the many who had the courage to say, no...I assure you that I evolved no new principles. Mine were the principles which I, along with a large number of Congress men, decided upon and set out to adopt.

Is there a Congress man who does not hold the view that the development, success and greatness of a country depend upon the progress of all parts of the country? Is there a Congress man who does not hold the view that as long as large tracts in Indian disfigure the name of India by being called backward no Indian can stand up and raise his head high? Is there a Congress man who holds the view that by placing facilities in the way of large cities and concentrating on political action in those cities you are not really giving the country liberty but are making the mistake of creating one class to rule over another, a larger, poorer and, therefore, a better class? There I again hold that I was not the author of these claims. I simply took them from my friends. I further claim that had any other Congress man adopted the method I adopted and tried to carry out the Congress programme he could not have done otherwise than I did.

As regards the question of execution...in the first decade of the 20th century we, working in the Congress,
were of the view that political work in the country should proceed by consultation, discussion and by educating and persuading our fellow-workers. I assure you it is a tedious and troublesome work. It takes you days and days to get through work which, if you were a dictator, you could do in five minutes. If the Congress of today believes in Dictators, I never did and I do not.1

Information about the aims and objects of the National Unionist Party exists in detail, but not enough information is available about the circumstances leading to its establishment and its activities in the early days. Documents concerning the Party do not exist either in Fazl-i-Husain’s own papers or in other private collections. The origin and growth of the Party are not reported even in a newspaper like Civil & Military Gazette of that time. Muslim Outlook (whose files, as far I know, are not available anywhere), Tribune (whose original and also microfilm series exist in Chandigarh in India2) and other contemporary local newspapers must contain details about the formation of the Party and its activities. But I did not have access to them.

Controversy surrounds Fazl-i-Husain’s intention in founding the Unionist Party. Did he mean to use the Party as a means to ameliorate the lot of the overwhelming rural population of the Punjab who could not compete with the educated and self-conscious elite living in cities? Or, did he establish the Party deliberately on a non-communal basis in order to maintain himself as a Punjabi leader and level up the inferior Muslim position? The Punjab Muslims could not rule the province independent of the support of the Hindus and Sikhs since, in this province, the Muslim population only marginally ex-

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1. Civil & Military Gazette, 22 June 1932. Speech at a reception of the National Unionist Party in Lahore arranged for him and Chaudhri Zafrulla Khan who was appointed to officiate as Education Member of the Viceroy’s Council during his absence on leave.

2. I was told by an Indian historian in London that at the time of Partition, a Muslim Deputy Superintendent of Police at Lahore allowed and helped the transfer of the entire records of Tribune on donkeys and bullock carts from its head office in Lahore across the frontier into India.
ceeded the Hindu and Sikh population. Fazl-i-Husain’s work has been generally examined in the light of these propositions.

Fazl-i-Husain had his critics both for being a communal and also a non-communal leader. The charge of communal bigotry was the recurring editorial theme in the *Tribune*,¹ a Lahore Hindu daily. The *Tribune*’s view is confirmed by no less a person than Hailey. Commenting as late as 1961 on Azim Husain’s biography of his father, Hailey wrote:

It is a little unfortunate that one of the records of the political history of the Punjab in the inter-war period is to be found in the biography of Sir Fazli Hosain by his son, Azim Husain. He represents his father as the creator and leader of the Unionist party, the objects of which were continuously thwarted by the official government of which I was the head. One must forgive the desire shown by the son to pay a tribute to the memory of his father, but his record of Fazli Hosain’s career in politics is very far from objective...he would admit that his father was first and last dedicated to securing the advancement, political and economic, of Muslims as against the Hindus and Sikhs, and that the machinery he utilized for this purpose was the leadership accorded to him by the “agricultural” members of the legislature consisting mainly of Muslims and such Hindus and Sikhs as were prepared as “agriculturists” to support him against the “non-agricultural” Hindu and Sikh sections of the population.

Sir Fazli himself had I think no real affinity with the “agriculturist” as defined by the Punjab legislation; but he utilized the support of the “Unionist” party in so far as this could aid him in securing the advance of the Muslim cause².

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1. *Tribune*, 25 and 26 August 1925 and 3 April 1930, on his appointment as a temporary Member of the Viceroy’s Council. These editorials were made available to me through the courtesy of Dr. S. R. Mehrotra, Fellow, Historical Research Institute, Simla.

2. Hailey to D. A. Low (then Fellow, Department of History, Australian National University, Canberra), 10 January 1961, India Office Library, Hailey Collection, MSS. Eur. E. 220/51.
The events in the last few months of his life when preparations were afoot to launch the provincial part of the 1935 Act led to some differences of approach between him and Quaid-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah, mention of which occurs even in the latter’s remarks on Fazl-i-Husain’s death. After Fazli died events in India marched very swiftly so that in just ten years the mighty British Indian empire was liquidated and India was partitioned on communal lines. In the closing phase, the leaders of the Unionist Party which Fazl-i-Husain had founded and led, stood against Jinnah and the aspirations of the Muslims of the sub-continent symbolised in the concept of Pakistan. Jinnah was, or was at least regarded in the Hindu camp as, a man who believed in and worked for a political conciliation between Hindus and Muslims to a greater degree than did Fazl-i-Husain. One can only guess what Fazli would have done if he had lived to witness the operation of the provincial autonomy by Congress ministries and the later events. He had foresight, championed a cause and lacked no courage. After all, he had resigned from the Congress in 1920 even before his status as a leader in his own right was established. Fazl-i-Husain could hardly be held responsible for the programme, policy and methods of his party successors.

It has to be conceded that the political situation in the Punjab was very special and needed special treatment. Until the programme of partitioning the province on communal lines was accepted, it is inconceivable that a communal government in the Punjab could be instituted and enabled to enjoy stability.

Fortunately, the Fazl-i-Husain collection of this period is quite rich though a number of important documents are missing from it. However, the subject needs enlargement and a fuller explanation which can be possible only by an exhaustive study of the contemporary newspapers’ files, official records, the Quaid’s and the Muslim League’s papers now available and the papers of Fazl-i-Husain’s colleagues lying here and there in private hands in Pakistan and elsewhere.

Fazl-i-Husain’s contribution to the Indian politics in general and Muslim politics in particular during the last six years of his life was

1. Times of India, 11 July 1936.
very substantial. This related to the reform work preceding the enact-
ment of the 1935 Act. Opinions differ whether he was right in the
course he adopted on the communal side. Muslims trusted his judg-
ment, but Hindus, especially of the Punjab, regarded him as a
source of evil. Even non-Punjabi Hindus such as K.N. Haksar,1
B.L. Mitter2 and even Tej Bahadur Sapru3 shared this view.4 If we
consider his efforts during 1933 to help solve, despite opposition from
several prominent Muslims,5 the most contentious issue of separate
electorates by evolving a formula to introduce joint electorate in the
Punjab,6 this criticism would hardly be justified. He failed with the
Punjab Hindus and Sikhs as Jinnah had failed with Congress men
during 1927-8 and later with Pandit M.M. Malaviya7 in 1934 over the

1. B. 1878; Private Secretary to Maharaja Scindia, 1903-12; Under-
Secretary, Political Department, Government of India, 1905-7;
Member, Board of Revenue, 1909-14; Indian States delegate to
the first two sessions of the Indian Round Table Conference,
1930-1; Prime Minister, Bikaner State; 1946——?

2. B. 1875; practised in the Calcutta High Court; Standing
Counsel to Government of India, 1922; Law Member, Viceroy’s
Council, 1928-34; Member, Bengal Executive Council, 1937-45;
Dewan of Baroda, 1945-7; acting Governor of West Bengal, 1947;
d. 1950.

3. B. 1875; advocate of Allahabad High Court; Law Member,
Viceroy’s Council, 1920-3; President, National Liberal Federa-
tion of India, 1923 and 1927; delegate to the three sessions of the
Indian Round Table Conference (1930-2) and to the three
sessions of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Con-
stitutional Reforms, 1933; President, Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu-
e-Hind; d. 1949.

4. See Sapru to B. L. Mitter, 30 May and 5 June 1931, B. L.
Mitter to Sapru, 2 June 1931, Sapru to K. N. Haksar, 1 June
1931 and K. N. Haksar to Sapru, 1 June 1931, Sapru Papers.

5. See Civil & Military Gazette, 6 May 1933 for the resolution
adopted at a joint meeting of the Punjab Provincial Muslim Con-
fERENCE and the Punjab Muslim League at the house of Allama
Iqbal on 5 May 1933.

6. Ibid., 29 April and 1 May 1933 for the details of the arrange-
ment.

7. B. 1861; President, Indian National Congress, 1909 and 1918;
Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University, 1919-40; delegate to
the second session of the Indian Round Table Conference, 1931;
d. 1946.
same issue.\textsuperscript{1} 

His influence with the Indian Governments of Irwin and Willingdon at least as regards the communal question was considerable. It was total with the Muslim representatives who were associated with the intricate discussions at the Round Table Conference and the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform.

The Simon Commission was rejected totally by the Indians. However, it had received some semblance of co-operation from the Punjab Muslims in the background of the acute Hindu-Muslim tension over the \textit{Rangila Rasul} dispute.\textsuperscript{2} But because of the stand taken by the Labour members of the Commission,\textsuperscript{3} the Commission’s Report denied to the Muslims of the Punjab, and also of Bengal, a statutory majority\textsuperscript{4} which they had claimed on the population basis. Here Fazl-i-Husain intervened as can be seen in the following which Irwin wrote to the Secretary of State:

Fazl-i-Husain sent me a few days ago a note on Muslim feeling, which I think is of sufficient interest to pass on to you. It speaks for itself, but on several of their points I have considerable sympathy with them. Anyhow, you may take this as a fairly good statement of what I believe to be

\begin{enumerate}
\item See Jinnah’s statement in \textit{Times of India}, 7 April 1934 which contains details of the Jinnah-Malaviya negotiations and their breakdown.
\item This point has been discussed in detail in the Communal chapter of my Ph. D. thesis entitled ‘The Formation of the Government of India Act, 1935’, (Cambridge, 1969), which is being published shortly.
\item See the following in George R. Lane-Fox (member of the Simon Commission who was a Conservative party nominee) to Irwin, 2 August 1930, India Office Library, Halifax Collection, MSS. Eur. 152/19: ‘As to Moslem complaint, you must remember that our report was an agreed one. We had great difficulty in getting our Labour colleagues to recommend communal electorates at all. It was only by conceding the Punjab and Bengal point against the Moslems that we got them to agree to communal electorates and weightage to Moslems elsewhere.’
\end{enumerate}
dominant Muslim opinion which will certainly find free 
expression at the Conference.\(^1\)

Most probably it was the result of Fazl-i-Husain's efforts that 
Irwin's despatch of September 1930 to the British Government deviated 
from the Simon Report on this point and maintained at least the 
existing Muslim representation in the Punjab and Bengal legislatures.\(^2\)
Also, he influenced the Government to get included, in the delegation 
to the Round Table Conference, Muslims of his choice,\(^3\) especially 
Zafrulla Khan and Shafa'at Ahmad Khan whose propaganda work in 
London in 1927 on behalf of the Indian Muslims had already impressed him.\(^4\) As is testified by Zafrulla Khan\(^5\) and Shafa'at Ahmad 
Khan,\(^6\) by the documents included in this work and other circumstantial evidence, Fazl-i-Husain, sitting in India, had kept the Muslim delegation in London steady until the 1935 Act was enacted.\(^7\) A 
British observer closely associated with the London proceedings had 
noted in the midst of the Conference:

While Shafi and Sultan Ahmad apparently adopt a reasonable attitude towards a communal settlement, the real control rests with the younger section of the party (Zafrulla, Shafaat, etc.) who are understood to be in close touch with the Moslem member of the Viceroy's Council (Fazl-i-Husain) and with orthodox Moslem opinion in India, and who are not prepared to abate the full claim of their community in the

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1. Irwin to Wedgwood Benn, 28 August 1930, India Office Library, 
Halifax Collection, MSS. Eur. C. 152/6.
3. See Fazl-i-Husain to Hailey, 20 and 29 May 1930, (Letters 57 & 60), and Irwin to Hailey, 20 May, 1930, India Office Library, 
Hailey Collection, MSS. Eur. E. 220/18, and Azim Husain, op. 
4. See *Indian National Herald*, 19 November 1927 for the report of 
the press interview given by Fazl-i-Husain at Bombay after his 
return from Europe, (p. 40 ff., *Infra*).
5. In an interview with me in London on 22 May 1970.
6. See Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, *The Indian Federation*, (London, 
1937), pp. 328 and 333.
least degree.\footnote{Note dated 6 November 1931 entitled ‘Minorities Problem in Round Table Conference, 1st September—4 November 1931’ by Gilbert Laithwaite (Personal Secretary to the Prime Minister at the Round Table Conference), India Office Library, Templewood Collection, MSS. Eur. E. 240/65. This note was written for the Prime Minister about the communal negotiations between Gandhi and the Muslim delegates at the Conference.}

It may be observed that the period of about ten years before Fazli’s death was of peculiar difficulty for the Indian Muslims. Important events occurred during this period in this sequence: 1. build up of nationalist pressure in India, especially in the Legislative Assembly, for the grant of dominion status and antedating the constitutional inquiry stipulated in Section 84A of the 1919 Act; 2. the appointment of the Simon Commission in November 1927 and the mass movement in India to reject it; 3. Irwin’s conciliatory gestures towards Indians, his dominion status statement of October 1929 and then his negotiations with Congress leaders led by Gandhi in two phases, first in December 1929 and again in February-March 1931 which produced the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. In between these two phases of Gandhi-Irwin negotiations came Gandhi’s programme of civil disobedience and the inauguration of the Round Table Conference in London in November 1930 under the auspices of the Labour Government in Britain. The next year, Gandhi was persuaded to proceed to London where he participated in the second session of the Conference. So the period was full of immense political possibilities and expectations and Muslims were bound to be deeply concerned about their future. Agreement of any sort on any issues was not reached between Hindus and Muslims despite prolonged negotiations among leaders in India and at the London Conference. There were numerous communal riots, in one case in Cawnpore in 1931 on a very large scale, and intense communal controversy over the pamphlet \textit{Rangila Rasul} in 1926, the Nehru Report of 1928, the Communal Award of 1932 and lastly the dispute over the Shahidganj mosque in 1935-6.

When issues of a momentous nature were on the anvil, need for unity among Muslims could hardly be exaggerated. A divided and
disunited community could not exert its influence and win its case. But the multiplicity of problems produced multiplicity of approaches by individuals and groups among Muslims. They became divided into political and religious factions. There were the Ahrars, the Ahmadis, the nationalists and communalists, besides personal jealousies and rivalries among leaders. This is not the place to discuss them as this aspect of Muslim politics deserves a separate and detailed treatment. But the documents in this volume contain some information about them. Contemporary newspapers are full of reports of statements and counter-statements and charges and counter-charges on a variety of subjects, major and minor, in which almost every mentionable Muslim leader was involved. The Muslim League was already in existence; in 1928 the Muslim Conference was established amidst widespread acclaim. Disunity among Muslim ranks was so great that as late as 1936 it was still a matter of acute controversy whether these two bodies should merge or live as separate entities. The decade preceding 1936 was in total contrast with the decade following it when Muslim solidarity was absolute.

Jinnah's credit during this period as a Muslim leader was never high. The Aga Khan visited India only occasionally and for short periods. Many Muslim leaders were constantly on the move between India and Britain in connection with the reform work, and in fact none of them had attained an all-India status and political maturity enough to face the complex contemporary situation. It was a great achievement of Fazl-i-Husain that, living in indifferent health, he quietly and shrewdly steered the Muslim position through the most difficult period and won for them the Communal Award and later got it incorporated in the 1935 Act. It is opined that though 'there was no provision for Pakistan in the Act', 'there was a hint of it, as it were, in the full recognition and development of communal electorates and rights'. Historians can hardly afford to ignore the work of this Statesman.

1. See long editorials entitled 'Muslim Organisation' in Star of India, 6 and 8 April 1936.
2. See Percival Spear's Foreword to my book being published shortly, Supra, footnote 2, p. xli.
But it would not be fair to describe him as a bigoted Muslim leader whose only aim was to unduly strengthen his co-religionists against Hindu domination. He rejected Gandhi's methods and tactics, but shared Congress national ideals of self-rule, democracy and growth. He urged Government against whittling down of the reform proposals also contained in Samuel Hoare's White Paper of 1933 and sent Zafrulla privately to Britain to soften the stand of the so-called British 'die-hards' against Indian aspirations. He was probably the only Member in the Viceroy's Council in his time who protested against the Government repression of Congress and rule by ordinances.

The communal situation in India had been worsening rapidly during this period and the feeling of separate nationhood among Muslims had begun to grow steadily. It was voiced by leaders on public platforms, in the press and privately. The Pakistan plan

1. B. 1880; Secretary of State for Air, 1922-4, 1924-9 and 1940; Conservative party delegate to the three sessions of the Indian Round Table Conference (1930-2) and Member of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms, 1933-4; Secretary of the State for India, 1931-5; Foreign Secretary, 1935; First Lord of Admiralty, 1936-7; Home Secretary, 1937-9; Lord Privy Seal and Member of War Cabinet, 1939-40; Ambassador to Spain, 1940-4; cr. Viscount Templewood, 1944; d. 1959.


3. Information given to me by Zafrulla Khan in an interview in London on 22 May 1970.

4. See Lothian to Samuel Hoare and Ramsay McDonald, 30 April 1932, HM Scottish Record Office, Lothian Muniments, GD40/17/162. These contain reports of Lothian's interview with Fazl-i-Husain in Delhi. In these letters, Fazl-i-Husain is described by both Lothian and Willingdon as the 'keenest' and 'astutest politician in India'.

5. The following had occurred in the Aga Khan's presidential address at the inauguration of the Muslim Conference in Delhi: 'The Muslims of India are not a community, but, in a special sense, a nation composed of many communities and of a population outnumbering in the aggregate the total even of the pre-war German Empire'. Times of India, 1 January 1929.

6. See article entitled 'The Two Distinct "Nations" of India' by Haji Rahim Bakhsh, Civil & Military Gazette, 15 June 1933.

7. See Hailey to Irwin, 3 December 1929, India Office Library, Hailey Collection, MSS. Eur. E. 220/16, for the remarks of
which was launched by students at Cambridge had begun to attract attention of leaders\(^1\) and was discussed in articles\(^2\) and a series of letters\(^3\) in the columns of newspapers. But with all his determination not to allow the Muslim position to suffer politically, there is, in Fazl-i-Husain’s thinking, a total absence of any scheme to divide the country on communal lines. He recast the Aga Khan’s letter of 13 August 1935,\(^4\) in which the word ‘Pakestan’ had occurred, in order to prepare and present the future programme of the Indian Muslims. His elimination of the word ‘Pakestan’ from it is significant. But realist as he was he could hardly entertain thoughts of partition when Britain was, or at least appeared to be, in firm control of Indian affairs.

In his last days, Jinnah and he could not agree over the formation of the Parliamentary Board of the Muslim League. He died before the issue was resolved and Jinnah’s ideas and position became clear and stable. He shared with Jinnah independence of outlook, cour-

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Ross Masood, Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University, at a meeting with Hailey. Also see Irwin to Hailey, 16 April 1932, *Ibid.*, MSS. Eur. E. 220/24 in which Irwin wrote: ‘I must confess, though I should not say so publicly, that to me the prospects of an All-India federation seem to recede in favour of some division of India that would hold better hope of containing means of settling the communal difficulty’.

1. See report of Dr. B. S. Moonje’s interview with the Associated Press in Bombay on 12 June 1933 in which he accused Muslims of ‘dreaming of a separate sovereign federation, called Pakistan composed of the North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and Kashmir, with Afghanistan as the centre’. *Civil & Military Gazette*, 13 June 1933.


age, foresight, integrity, a constitutional approach to politics and a determination to fight for a cause. Each highly valued these qualities in the other. To start with, both had joined the Congress before they had joined the Muslim League, both had participated in making the Lucknow Pact of 1916 and both resigned from the Congress in 1920 over its programme of civil rebellion. In 1924, both had sat together in Lahore to revive the Muslim League. If Jinnah had attempted to replace the separate electorates by his Delhi Proposals of 1927 and negotiated with Malaviya in 1934 on the same subject, Fazl-i-Husain, too, had done so with the Punjab Hindus and Sikhs in 1933. Both cherished India’s cause and Muslim rights. Jinnah’s Fourteen Points of March 1929 were not fundamentally different from Fazl’s own plan for the future of Indian Muslims.

Fazl-i-Husain served in the Punjab and the central governments during the last fifteen years of his life. Jinnah was never associated with the government in this manner. But Jinnah’s conduct in the Legislative Assembly during 1923-30 and also later was very constitutional and, on the major issues of political progress, the views of the two were identical; besides, Jinnah, though he did not hold any office, worked in close collaboration with Viceroy Irwin at least during 1929-31.¹

Between Fazl-i-Husain’s death and the inauguration of the provincial constitution there was a gap of only nine months, but until 1936 the issues and attitudes were very different from those of the later period. Fazl-i-Husain saw India through the Punjab and Bengal where Muslims, if they acted discreetly, had a chance of establishing a foothold which would enable them to exercise their influence over affairs in the rest of the country. Jinnah, on the other hand, saw all Indian provinces collectively in which everywhere Muslims confronted the British and Hindus. Fazl’s eyes were fixed on the new statute and his plans were designed to make the best of it. Jinnah accepted the communal part of it which had satisfied the

¹. See Waheed Ahmad, (ed.), Jinnah Irwin Correspondence, 1927-30, (Lahore, 1969).
Muslims, but rejected the rest which did not meet national aspirations. Fazl-i-Husain was the only leading politician who had produced in his *Punjab Politics* in 1936 a practical programme for working the reforms in the Punjab and, in a supreme effort, had risen from his death-bed to implement it. His plan for the Indian Muslims under new conditions had not yet been prepared. After all, the government aim for the present was only to set up responsible governments in the provinces. The all-India federation had to await the fulfilment of several conditions. Had he lived, his involvement with affairs elsewhere could not have been long delayed. He had been an all-India politician for a considerable period and could not remain confined to the Punjab shell for long. It was not without substance that in June 1936, when his appointment in the Punjab Government was announced, a principal Muslim daily in the other far corner of India proclaimed him as 'the man of destiny'.

I am leaving the subject at that. I have attempted to raise issues relevant to that period and refrained from making value judgements. This the reader must do for himself by studying the documents which follow.

I am deeply grateful to Mian Azim Husain for his generosity in placing at my disposal the entire collection of his father’s papers. I thank Dr. S. R. Mehrotra of the Institute of Historical Research, Simla, for providing me with typescripts of some valuable editorial comments in the *Tribune* now preserved at Chandigarh in India. Professor D. A. Low of the University of Sussex allowed me access to his own collection of the photocopies of the Sapru Papers and Sri B. N. Sapru gave me permission to use his grandfather’s papers. I thank them. I also thank the Librarians and staff of the India Office Library, the Cambridge University Library, the Senate House Library of the University of London, the British Museum and

2. See Jinnah’s speech at the opening session of the Muslim League in Bombay on 12 April 1936 in which he called upon the Indians ‘to do with’ the Act ‘what the Germans did with the Treaty of Versailles’. *Civil & Military Gazette*, 14 April 1936.
HM Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh, for giving me all necessary assistance. My debt to late Dr. S. M. Ikram, Dr. M. Jahangir Khan and the Research Society of Pakistan, University of the Punjab, Lahore, who deputed me to work on the project in London is great. I am also thankful to Raja F.M. Majed for undertaking the laborious task of going through the manuscript, supervise its printing and removing mistakes wherever possible. However, a work of this nature is bound to suffer from omissions and commissions and I only hope that the publishers will be able to eliminate them if ever opportunity occurred to publish a second edition of it.

I have collected speeches and statements of Fazl-i-Husain made in the Punjab and the central legislatures and elsewhere during 1916-36. When published, they will provide an even fuller picture of Fazl-i-Husain’s political career.

12, Camrose Avenue, Edgware, Middlesex, England.

WAHEED AHMAD
16 March 1976
11. Ministry of Education,
Punjab Government
Quetta.
5th August 1925.
HC/8.

Dear Sir Malcolm,

Your monsoon tour has been a highly successful one and I believe it has contributed to the improvement in the Sikh situation. I believe the working of the Gurdwara legislation is now assured and the cleavage between the Pro-Acts and the anti-Acts has come to stay. This is much better than I expected. Beasley is at work on the Rules. When they are ready, Tara Singh, Jodh Singh and Mohinder Singh (Deputy President, Legislative Council) might be summoned to see them and make suggestions for improving them. By the 1st of September our Rules should be ready and duly published in the Gazette. Steps might be taken to have elections in October—we better have elections of the Local Committees and the C.B. held simultaneously.

As to the ‘condition’ clause—I feel the speech is the last word on the subject and it should be strictly adhered to. We do not want separate sheets, but all men in one place can give this joint declaration. This is like the Congress creed. Declaration from Parbandhak Committee, before that body itself is re-baptised presents some difficulties.

2. High Court Judgeship—the matter seems to have travelled beyond our Province and it is such a pity. I trust Your Excellency’s and Government of India’s choice will fall on some one in the Punjab—Abdul Qadir, Mohammed Iqbal, Shah Nawaz, Shahabuddin—to mention the names alphabetically—are all capable lawyers of standing and anyone of them will discharge the functions of this office as well as several of his colleagues. I am inclined to go even so far as to submit that importing a Muslim from outside will be more open to criticism than not to appoint a Muslim, because the importation of an inferior man will cause more widespread irritation than the former. Amongst younger men, Dr., Shujauddin and
Zafirullah Khan are quite good, while Niaz Mohammed Vakil is a lawyer of considerable ability.

3. For Titles and Honours—I am submitting a separate note.

I remain,
Yours most faithfully,
Fazl-i-Husain

Ministry of Education,
Punjab Government.

**TITLES OF HONOURS**

**I. Education**

D.P.I. is sending these:

1. Miss Stratford—K-i-H Gold Medal (repeating).
2. Mr. Hogg (Boy Scouting)—K-i-H Silver Medal.
3. Hemmy—C.I.E.
4. K.S. Maqbul Shah—K.B.
5. Mohammed Din—K.S.
6. Rallia Ram—R.S.
7. Manohar Lal—R.B.—if V.C. agrees to this.

**II. Medical**

1. Col. Sutherland—Kt. (repeating).
2. I.C.S. Ghulam Jilani (Haziq-ul-Mulk) (repeating).

**III. Local Self-Govt.**

1. Shahab Din—Nawab or C.I.E. (repeating).
2. Fazl Ali—He is a K.B. of very long standing, perhaps 10 or 15 years. He is a man of strong convictions and great independence of character. Conservative in politics, he is progressive in matters relating to administration. Has been for a very long time President of M.C. and
parts, where there is trouble, are receiving my closest study and attention.

Well, the Simon Commission's Report will be out soon enough and you should gird up your loins to examine it carefully and then formulate your views on it.

With best wishes.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

57.
Member of Council for Simla,
Education, Health & Lands, 20th May, 1930.
India. HC/18.

Dear Sir Malcolm,

His Excellency discussed the matter of the personnel of the Round Table Conference yesterday and mentioned your views on the subject and suggested my writing to you about it.

The Muslim point of view is that the number of Muslims is important enough, but the views and the ability of those Muslims are far more important. They should be representative in the sense that they are acceptable to their respective provinces and to India as a whole, and at the same time they should be, if not all, at least some of them, particularly well-fitted to take an intelligent and effective part in the actual deliberations. When we are told that the decisions, or the effect of discussions, will go not by the counting of votes but by arguments adduced, the importance of selecting those who can put their case clearly, cogently and effectively is very great; and, as you are aware, there are not very many in the Indian political life who know, and really know, the subject. Further, it should be remembered that the case has to be put not in a friendly, private conversation between two individuals, or even in a small Council or

1. A copy of this letter is also available in the Fazl-i-Husain papers.
Committee of 5 or 6, but that the discussion will be in a large
gathering in which the vast majority of people will be strangers; and,
therefore, the need for clear thinking and for clear expression and
for a mastery of the subject is very great indeed. Now, it is
obvious that men like Sapru, Chintamani, the Madras people and
the Bombay people will probably be equal to the task. On the
Muslim side, we have Shafi, and Zafrullah from the Punjab is likely
to be an effective member; but it cannot be said that other Muslim
members holding Muslim India's views come up to the same
standard. As I mentioned to you, I have had opportunities of
coming across Dr. Shafaat Ahmad. In 1927, he was in London, and
had several talks with various members of the Labour Party, and
discussed with them those problems. So, I feel that he is better
equipped than most of the Muslims His Excellency has in mind for
this particular work. I am not unmindful of his shortcomings. He
is inclined to push an argument too far and thereby sometimes spoil
it; that the constitutional safeguards have been on his brain probably
too much, but in London, in the sort of gathering there will be at the
Round Table Conference, I believe he will be more useful to his
Muslim colleagues in collecting bits of information from various
quarters and thus enabling his colleagues to be put in a position to
formulate their own views. He is, of course, raw yet, but I do not see
any others distinctly better than he is for this work. In Bihar, there
are Sir Sultan Ahmad and Shafee Daoodi. The former has never
studied politics and has devoted himself entirely to educational work,
and the latter has a good representative capacity but will not be able
to put his views before the Round Table Conference. Jinnah and
Ibrahim Rahimtoola are good men, but the latter is getting rather
old. Bengal is not likely to contribute any one as good as Shafaat Ahmad
and, on the whole, I feel that the Muslim group as a whole will be
weak in talking capacity at a Round Table Conference and in getting
about socially and talking politically to various people if it has not
the assistance of Shafaat Ahmad or two or three men like him.
Again, no one knows better than yourself that the press representa-
tives will be at the elbows of all these people at the Round Table
Conference, and the public estimate of the Muslim representatives will be the estimate that some enterprising interviewer gives to the British public of them. Don't you think, in that respect too, Shafaat Ahmad will be useful to his colleagues? I suppose Maharaja Sahib will have to be there, but, then, will he be representing the Talukdars? And even so, will he be able to talk at the Round Table Conference or will he content himself with nodding? Again, frankly, I do not like the idea of Jinnah doing all the talking and of course there being no one strong-minded enough to make a protest in case Jinnah starts upon expressing his views when those views are not acceptable to the Indian Muslims. I want some one who would frankly say that it is not the Indian Muslim view. It is a difficult thing to say that and an unpleasant one, and the higher the position of a representative, the more difficult it is for him to say so in a Conference. I believe Shafaat Ahmad and Zafarullah will not hesitate, while Shafi's repudiation may be attributed to rivalry.

So far about the Round Table Conference. The Indian situation is just now confusing and the game is not making much progress one way or the other. Probably, the active political workers are not making the headway. But at the same time it cannot be said that they are losing ground. Government has brought into use a number of arms from its reserve armoury, and I feel a little doubtful whether the additional arms have definitely succeeded in achieving the subject they were intended to serve.

I want so much to have a talk with you, and yet with my wretched health, I had better not go rushing about, but content myself with writing to you. That may, perhaps, clear my own ideas. Now take the case of Press Ordinance. A large number of extremist papers have ceased to exist. We wanted not to kill the papers but to kill the evil effect in the minds of the people that is generated by the extremist papers. Don't you think that the Indian mass mind is already so made just now that in the absence of news, it is ready to listen to rumours and believe them, and thus the evil is done to a greater extent than even the extremist papers can achieve? Mind you, I have no regard whatsoever for the extremist papers, but I am trying
to examine whether so far as the effect on the mass mind is concerned—the absence of extremist papers and the presence of rumours which are so readily acceptable to the mass mind,—we have really gained anything, and all the time here as well as in England the outcry is raised—no expression of free opinion and the press is gagged. As soon as the worst papers are stopped or brought under security, don't you think it would be best to let others live till any one of them is hopelessly bad? Again, I do not visualise the stages which not only these civil disobedience movements expire but give place to restoration of mutual confidence and trust and goodwill. I do not think even if we added two or three more arms to our armoury in use, the desired result can be achieved. It is the old, old story, but there seems to me to be no other way except organising the saner elements of society; and in view of the Round Table Conference and the legislation which will follow it, there is hardly an Indian in public life who feels that he will not be doing wrong if he checked these movements which are intended to demonstrate to the authorities in India and in England that there is a very large and insistent demand for a very large political advance. That is my reading of the Liberals' last set of resolutions.

With best wishes.

I remain,
Yours most sincerely,
Fazl-i-Hussain

58.
Private

The Retreat, Simla.
24th May, 1930.

Dear Kidwai,

Yours of the 18th inst.

This is strictly in keeping with your motto "Al Haq" and in a way, it afforded me satisfaction inasmuch as in giving my estimate of your personality, I mentioned that you were for principles and had
attention to Mr. Groebler and to impress him duly with the grandeur of India.

This has already become a long letter, and as the Air Mail is due to leave in another half hour, I shall stop now. I hope that you have completely got over your recent illness, and that the release from a routine of daily meetings of the Executive Council will enable you to take some rest.

Yours sincerely,
G.S. Bajpai.

22. Camp Narkanda,
2nd October, 1930.

Dear Firoz,

Yours of the 30th ult. from Simla.

I had heard that Zafrullah Khan was being advised by some to declare himself a candidate for Ministrieship. He naturally must have considered the pros and cons of the matter. Ministry is a game of chance, and no one can expect to remain in office continuously, and, at the best, a politician who has dedicated his life to politics can expect to be in office for not more than half the time. As he is likely to be the next Judge (which is a permanent post lasting up to 60 years of age), it is quite possible that he may not have felt much attracted by the suggestion made to him. I have just sent you a telegram saying: “Act discreetly. See Zafrullah direct for frank talk.” You must have reached Lahore on the 1st and my telegram will reach you shortly, so that you have had only 24 hours wherein to explore possibilities. If Zafrullah does not ask for Ministry, then naturally this effort against you will fail. If, on the other hand, he decides to offer himself (and you cannot blame him if he thinks it is to his advantage to do so), then, to my mind, what is important is to see what support definitely you have and what support definitely he has, and who are the men who are likely to be indifferent.

Those likely to be for you are: Abdul Ghani (Sargoda), Pir Husain (Amritsar), Fazl Ali (Gujrat), Qureshi Md, Hayat, Muzaffar Khan (Mianwali), Md. Amin, Nur Khan, Nur Ahmad
(Montgomery), Haybat Khan, Raza Shah, Maqdum Md., Husain (Muzaffargarh), Jamal Khan, Khwaja Md. Yousaf, Yasin Khan; Imam Din, Abdul Rahman, Riasat Ali, Jagdeo Khan (Lyallpur).

Those likely to be for Zafrullah Khan will, probably, be: Pir Akbar Ali, Chaudhuri Shahabuddin, Sarferaz Ali Khan, Malik Md. Din, Nazir Husain, Alla Dad Khan, Ahmad Yar.

Those who have not probably any strong bias one way or the other will probably be: Din Muhammad, (Lahore), Habibullah, Shah Md., Nurullah (though, you say, he is believed to be supporting Zafrullah), Mubarak Ali Shah.

So, you should, with great discretion, proceed to win over as much support as possible.

Even if you find that this movement has been set afoot by Ch. Shahabuddin, I should advise you not to have recourse to recriminations. The same is to apply to Ahmad Yar.

As regards the next meeting of the Council, it was the 11th that was in contemplation, but won’t the 18th do equally well? If a notice for convening the meeting has not already issued, then obviously it would be desirable to give a fortnight’s notice.

In the matter of Ministership, so far as I can see, the number of your supporters from among the Muslim members of the party is at least double the number of those likely to support Zafrullah Khan. Therefore, I strongly advise you not to make the mistake of forming alliances with Hindus or Sikhs with the object of strengthening your position. This is likely to react unfavourably on you and not to be helpful.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

73.

Private

Camp Narkanda,
2nd October, 1930.

Dear Sikandar,

Firoz apparently came to know of the effort made by some to ask Zafrullah Khan to offer himself for Ministership. The first
question naturally is: does Zafrullah offer himself for Ministrieship? If he does not, then this attempt at creating a split in the party should be definitely suppressed. If, on the other hand, he offers himself, then the right course to adopt is for him as well as for Firoz to submit themselves to the vote of their party, and if a substantial majority of the party support one or the other, their opinion should be accepted by both and the matter not allowed to go any further.

In case Zafrullah is offering himself for Ministrieship, I trust he will not make the mistake of trying to improve his position for Ministrieship by securing non-Muslim support outside the party for his candidature, as that will have a very bad effect, firstly on the party itself, and, secondly, on his own future. Left to himself, he is not likely to make that mistake, but, some times, friends who are not wise, lead one astray.

It is generally believed that the inspiration has come from Shahabuddin. It may or may not be so, but I trust this will not jeopardise his position in the election to the Presidential Chair.

I have not seen any notice in the papers about the date of the Council meeting. I suppose a fortnight’s notice is necessary or, at all events, advisable.

Duli Chand’s failure is as great an event as Baldeo Singh’s failure, and Chhotu Ram’s position cannot be said to have improved unless Duli Chand’s opponent Nathwa and Kunwar Maharaj Singh (Ganga Ram’s opponent) and Thakur Pancham Chand (Ram Singh’s opponent) joins the party or, at all events, support Chhotu Ram’s candidature.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

74. Camp Narkanda, 3rd October, 1930.

Dear Shahabuddin,

Herewith a telegram from Firoz. I have known of the suggestion made to Zafrullah for more than ten days, and I was waiting for you
to let me know how things were progressing. Either Firoz is entirely wrong or you did not think it advisable to inform me. My wishes for having peace and good will between you all seem to have been frustrated and the people seem to have been using poor me for their respective purposes. However, I do not complain because such is life.

With best wishes,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Camp Narkanda,
3rd October, 1930.

Dear Firoz,

I got your telegram and answered it back: "If so, you are free to act as circumstances demand". This was sent in order to leave you free to act with reference to Chaudhuri Sahib and Ahmad Yar as you deemed fit as in my first telegram and letter I have said that you should have recourse to no recriminations. I am sending you a copy of a letter I sent to Sikandar to-day. My advice still is—see Zafrullah direct and carry out the suggestions I made in my last letter. Personally, I think it will blow off.

You will, no doubt, think of what to do in the matter of Chaudhuri Sahib's rival candidate in Gurdaspur constituency. If he has sent in his election accounts within the time allotted for that purpose, he can present an election petition at once. What he has done, or not done, naturally can be ascertained from him. If it is correct that Zafrullah has not moved in the matter but Chaudhuri Sahib has, then you are free to act in this matter as circumstances permit. Amongst your party, I suppose the likely candidates for Presidentship will be: Din Muhammad, Habullah and Chhotu Ram if he is prepared to give up leadership of the party.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.
My dear Mian Sahib,

I am so glad to hear from your colleagues that you are doing wonderfully well, and I heartily congratulate you on it.

I hope you will take the line that communal differences have now become very much narrowed down, inasmuch as the mode of election has been settled suitably by a consensus of opinion—Local Govts., the Simon Commission, again Local Govts. and the Govt. of India. They can be taken away from Muslims with their consent and the mode of obtaining that consent is also given in the Govt. of India’s despatch. This subject should now be treated as closed and no useful purpose can be served by harping on it. Muslim India cannot, for a moment, think that any useful purpose can be served by discussing this subject any further.

As regards the quantum of representation, so far as the local Legislatures and the Central Legislature are concerned, the matter is settled again by a consensus of opinion of Local Govts., the Simon Commission, and the Govt. of India.

As regards the Frontier Province, the Local Govt. has recommended a representative of some sort in Responsible Government. The Govt. of India supported it and gave it its blessings. That province will not be satisfied with what has been recommended by the Local Govt. and by the Govt. of India. It is for you to get this province into line with other provinces if you can, or, at all events, get the very best for the province. The important point concerning this matter is that if that province is not given a really good constitution, it will always be ready to play into the hands of the Congress, and thereby the position of Indian Mussalmans will be very much weakened. Political wisdom lies in doing the province well, and I trust British statesmanship will not fail to grasp this point.

Now the difficult points are:

(1) The separation of Sind. The Govt. of India has recommended a Committee, but if Hindus agree the Committee may not be necessary and separation decided upon in London as
a great deal of literature exists on the subject. Nehru Report has supported separation; Muslims demand separation: so, one can reasonably say that India is agreed on it. 

(2) As regards Services, I trust a general declaration that Services should reflect the proportions which are in the Legislatures will be made by agreement. 

(3) As regards the representation in the Cabinet, I am afraid it cannot go into the Statute and its being in the Instrument of Instructions does not help very much. Really, the political forces in operation will not admit of it. 

I am very glad indeed to hear that both you and Jehan Ara are doing so remarkably well and winning golden opinions in England. I am anxious that you should win golden opinions in your country as well. No one here has any fault to find with you until now, and I trust the course the Conference will take will be such that when you come back here, you may be appreciated as highly in your own country as there. It is most gratifying that Muslim India is united and appreciative and discriminating. 

It is very gratifying to see that there has been a great deal of enthusiasm about the federal constitution. Of course, as you know, Muslim India is for it every time, but one cannot close one's eyes to the fact that the difficulties which the British Govt. has to face in the matter of either parting with Parliamentary powers or not remain unchanged and they are difficult to solve whether the constitution is federal or otherwise.

I am so glad all of you are working so harmoniously and the stalwarts have given an excellent lead. Your speech has been widely appreciated. Jinnah has spoken well. I hope the young men will also get their chance. Zafrullah a nice, quiet fellow, not at all anxious to put himself forward, and ready to do whatever he is asked to do. He needs being encouraged. He has ability and if given a chance he will do good work. I have no doubt you will give him the requisite encouragement at a suitable opportunity.
Give my best wishes to Lady Shafi and Jehan Ara and Tazi. I am so glad Iqbal is now completely restored to health and has rejoined his College at Oxford.

Yours most sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

86. 6, King Edward Road,
New Delhi.
1st December, 1930.

Dear Zafrullah Khan,

Yours of the 20th November. I am sorry you did not get my letters, but I did write to you more than once.

The attitude that you say you have adopted with reference to speaking and working on the Committees, & c., is the correct one to adopt and suitable. I do hope, however, you will get an opportunity to work on your own. I pray that you get such an opportunity.

As to communal matters, I really do not see why there should be such a fuss about them. Why don’t you all agree about the matter of mode of election (separate electorates) till they are given up by Muslims themselves, and the quantum of representation in local Legislatures of the six provinces, and reforms for the Frontier Province, more or less, as settled facts. The points that are still not settled facts are quantum of representation in the Punjab and Bengal, Separation of Sind. Of these, the quantum of representation in the two provinces is, so far as the views of the Local Governments and of the Govt. of India are concerned, in favour of giving Muslims a representation of not less than 51%, and as regards the latter, the Govt. of India has proposed a Committee, but I am not sure what will be the outcome of it. So, that is a matter on which the Hindus agree with Muslims that Sind should be separated, which will help the Muslims. The other points to which Muslims attach importance are representation in the Cabinet, which, to my mind, is impracticable, both through statutory provision and through convention, and representation in Services, which is possible to arrange for under the Instrument of Instructions, but very little value can.........(incomplete)

Yours Sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.
little of the subject. I feel, therefore, a very great need indeed of those who know it well.

With best wishes,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

143. By Air Mail

The Retreat, Simla.
10th August, 1931.

My dear Aga Khan,

I am much obliged to you for your telegrams and for all the efforts you have been making in supporting the Muslim cause. The Federal Structure Sub-Committee, the Minorities Committee and the Round Table Conference now are all re-constituted. Muslims here feel that there might have been another Muslim on the Federal Structure Sub-Committee, but I do not think any effort should now be made to have one brought on. In fact, it would be best to treat the Committees as finally made and no new man should be put on them except when it is to fill a vacancy which has occurred since they were formed.

On the whole, the Committees are fair. Muslims here have expressed a certain amount of resentment at the inclusion of Sir Ali Imam, but then, last year the Maharaja of Mahmudabad was included and it was only on account of illness that he was not able to attend; so, the inclusion of Sir Ali Imam cannot be any serious grievance. Moreover, Sir Ali Imam has not always been identified with the Congress. It is true that in 1928 he identified himself with the Nehru Report by signing it on trust, and since then he has not identified himself with the Delhi Conference; but I believe it was in 1927, or 1926, that he was at Aligarh very strongly for separate electorates and for Muslim claims, and that created quite a stir in India and a flutter in the Congress Camp. So, when he is in London and is strongly pressed to join the Muslim members, he may revert to his Aligarh position; but to secure his agreement, it will be a mistake to alter anything in the Delhi Conference Resolution. In fact, the view gener-
ally held by Indian Muslims is that no alteration in it should be agreed to; and if His Majesty's Government make an alteration, it can be submitted to as the order of the Supreme Constitutional Authority, but not by way of agreement, because the proposals are, in fact, the very minimum.

Again, Indian Muslims are anxious that the matter of their representation in local and central Legislatures, both as to mode and amount, be settled by His Majesty's Government before the Federal Structure Sub-Committee makes any progress. This matter, however, you will be able to settle when the members of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee reach you. I trust you will be in London when the Committee meets, at all events, to give them a start. Jinnah will not be there; so, there will be 4 members—Shafi, Sultan Ahmad—the old members—, and Shafaat and Zafarullah—the new members. Indian Muslims feel that if the work of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee is completed, and the matter of the mode and amount of Muslim representation in local and central Legislatures is not decided, non-Muslims will exert very considerable influence on His Majesty's Government to prejudice the Government in arriving at a decision.

All this will involve a great deal of work for you, but of one thing I am certain that all the Muslim members will place themselves entirely at your disposal and have great faith in your judgment, love of Islam and fair-play to do so.

With best wishes,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

His Highness the Aga Khan,
Ritz Hotel,
Piccadilly,
London.
past that it would not be brought in, but that there would be no
difficulty in discussing it. My personal view was for having the
agenda as exhaustive as possible, but I was advised that this was not
practicable or diplomatic. However, I will go into the matter again.

I am keeping Joshi's letter for the present, but will return it to
you by the next Air Mail.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

154:
Private & Confidential

(To Nawab of Chhitari)
5th September, 1931.

My dear Nawab Sahib,

Yours of the 27th August.

So you are sailing on the 12th. I wish you a very pleasant
passage there and back, and a very pleasant and successful time there,
and wish you every success in this great mission. I am ever ready to
render any service that I may be called upon to do.

As you have realised in the problem concerning Muslims and
other communities in India, the matter of the utmost importance is
that Muslims should not take upon themselves the task of discovering,
the terms on which a settlement can be arrived at, but be ever ready
to consider any idea that is placed before them and examine it with
the sole object of arriving at a settlement, provided it does not appear
to be prejudicial to Muslim interests. The main problem now is
representation of Muslims in local and Central Legislatures.

As regards local Legislatures, there are six minority provinces,
in 5 of which Muslims have a certain weightage (in some they have
none), and with the assistance of the official bloc they have been
maintaining their position. Now it is proposed to do away with the
official bloc and confer full responsibility on local Legislatures. This
naturally renders Muslims in these provinces very, very apprehensive,
but by their nature and tradition they do not wish to stand in the way
of progress. It would not have been unreasonable if they had
demanded their position being strengthened in the Legislatures before
agreeing to any political advance or provincial autonomy; but they have not done so and have contented themselves with being left with the same weightage as they have now and the same method of election. This has been supported by local Governments, the Government of India and the Simon Commission, so I do not see how it can be considered in any way reasonable on the part of those who seek to disturb the Muslim position and change it for the worse from the Muslim point of view. On this point, it is inconceivable that the British Parliament should take upon itself to go against the well-considered opinion of the local Governments, the Government of India and the reporting Commission.

The question relating to Bengal and the Punjab is a bit different, but I feel that the question of the six provinces should be cleared out of the way and a settlement, preferably by agreement, otherwise by order, should be made as regards these six provinces. Bengal also does not present any great difficulty. In all probability, Briti... will claim and obtain representation. They have it now. There should be no difficulty in agreeing that Muslims should obtain representation through separate electorates on population basis so far as the India section of the Congress is concerned. This will give a majority amongst the Indian members of the Legislature, and yet the casting vote will remain with the Europeans, and as a half-way house between the present and the future when Muslims shall be in a majority, this may thus prove acceptable to Government. Muslims will, no doubt, resent it very much, but this is one way of settling this thorny question.

As regards the Punjab, Muslims very properly demand representation on population basis and are entitled to it; but even in the case of the Punjab, it will not be difficult to arrive at a settlement. If you talk to Zafrullah Khan, he will be able to explain the Punjab position to you.

As regards the Central Legislature, in case Federation comes off, it is obvious that the representation of States, on the assumption that they all join, cannot be more than what they are entitled to on population basis. In fact, some hold the view that it should be only
two-thirds of the population basis because of the absolute lack of political activity, and comparatively speaking, of backward educational and economic condition. Muslims have, at present, very nearly one-third through separate electorates, and one fails to see how, by the introduction of responsibility at the centre, Muslims can be expected to agree to anything less than one-third.

You have asked about indictment of the Congress. So far as their presence is concerned, I have no doubt you know all about it, and that will be ample to enable you to convince the Council in case the Congress is short-sighted enough to raise the subject at the Round Table Conference.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

(To Dr. Sir Shafaat Ahmad)

155.

7th September, 1931.

Dear Shafaat,

Your two letters of the 22nd. I think the programme that has been chalked out remains unaffected by Gandhi's appearance at the Round Table Conference. He commands no more reverence from the ignorant Indians than does H.H. the Agha Khan and it is only foolishness on the part of some Muslims to indulge in talks and gestures which can do no credit to the self-respect so strongly insisted upon in the Islamic teaching and Islamic culture. He has the right to be treated as one of the most leading Indian politicians and should be shown due respect and regard as such but no more. Several leading Muslims here in Simla have talked to me about three problems:

(1) In case federation comes off what share should the States have in the Federal Legislature?

(2) What should be the method of their representation? and

(3) What should be the Muslim share in the Federal Legislature as a whole?

As regards the first point some hold that it should be the population basis, others contribution to federal revenues, others fraction
Dear Aga Khan,

I was delighted to see that you have been so good and so kind as to go to Marseilles to see the Delegation and have a talk with them. Affairs in England are very much involved, and until they are settled, India cannot reasonably expect to engage the British mind. I trust you will be able to be with the Muslim Delegation in London as much as you can possibly manage. There are some disruptive elements and their presence necessitates your being more with the Delegation than might have been necessary otherwise.

Herewith a note in which some ideas entertained in Muslim political circles have been jotted down for the consideration of the Muslim Delegates. You can mention them to such as you think fit.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours most sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Dear Shafaat,

Yours of the 3rd and 17th September.

I do not think the Federal Structure Sub-Committee has really started upon serious work yet. This is only the second round. When other people are unreasonable, it is no use your being reasonable. The Princes want 50, 40 and 30 per cent representation. Shastri suggests it should not be even population basis but other factors—capacity, knowledge, position, suitability—should also enter into consideration. All of you seem to have verily agreed to nomination whether of officials or non-officials, either princes, to the Upper Chamber. I have written to Zafrullah about it and asked him to show you the aspect of the case which struck me as important. More in my next.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

1. Not available in Fazl-i-Husain papers.
Once more, the question of depressed classes might be urged as a stumbling block. There, again, their representation is to be confined within the Hindu community’s representation.

(3) As to federation—Muslims are not against it and are prepared to welcome it, provided

(1) the representation of the States does not go beyond the population basis; and

(2) if it does, the Muslim representation in British India should be the same as if the States had but been allowed representation on population basis.

(4) Financial burden: States and British India should bear it just the same.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Hussain

Private and confidential

193.
The Retreat,
Simla.
10th May, 1932.

Dear Maulana Shafee Daoodi,

There is nothing to be gained by writing to different people asking them to carry out the Resolution passed at Lahore. If you go on doing this you will only demonstrate that one part of the Resolution evokes no response from any Muslim quarter except the Ahrars, and I think it will be wrong on your part as Secretary of the Conference to do this. You should also bear in mind that C.D.O. is for the moment more or less paralysed. Whether it will regain the lost ground or not, it is very difficult to say, but it would be sheer madness even to suggest to the Muslim community that they should consider plans of action. This is not the time for it. As a matter of fact, many of us are of the view that it is wrong at any time to use it as a political weapon. Still, that is a controversial matter and we need not go into
I trust you will show this to His Highness the Aga Khan and also to Zafrulla. I trust you will be looking after Jahan Ara who is all by herself, and must be, off and on, feeling the absence of her father. I am sure Zafrulla also will be very nice and kind to her and discuss various matters with her so that she may not feel either being neglected or excluded.

With best wishes,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

199.
3, Durand Road,
Lahore,
22nd November, 1932.

My dear Fazl-i-Husain,

Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab wish to have joint electorates on terms set forth in the accompanying note. The proportion in services is not mentioned in it, but they agree to reserve 50% for Muslims. If you are inclined to consider the proposal favourably, please let us know the lines on which we should proceed. They say that if you are favourably inclined, Pandit Malvia and other non-Muslim leaders will come to you for settling details. Waiting for an early reply.

Ever sincerely yours,
Shahabuddin

Private and confidential.

200.
New Delhi,
23rd November, 1932.

My dear Shahabuddin,

Yours of the 22nd with enclosure. This sort of suggestion after the subject has been thrashed out for years can hardly be said to be businesslike. Will you kindly have it completed in these respects? Does it mean the elimination of special constituencies—University, Commerce & Industry, Labour, landlords, Tummandars? If not, how many of these ten are to be credited towards 102, 40 and 56? Again, is it intended that Europeans and Anglo-Indians should have separate
electorates or not? Again, in case Christians desire reservation, on what basis that reservation is to take place. How constituencies are to be selected for that purpose? Again, is this to be a part of the All-India scheme, or to be independent? And once more, is the raising of the number from 175 to 200 an integral part of the suggestion?

Do I take it that our friend Jogi's proposal to have joint electorates of Sikhs and Muslims on the basis of seats reserved in the Prime Minister's decision has been dropped by him, or have you dropped it?

Now I am answering your letter of the 22nd on the 23rd, and you cannot say that I have made you wait for a reply.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

201. 6 King Edward Road, New Delhi
24th November, 1932

My dear Amir Din,

I find from the papers that Sheikh Hisamuddin who styles himself as President of the All-India Ahrar Party proposes to hold a public meeting at Lahore on the 2nd of December with the object of supporting the Allahabad proposal, and against the Delhi Resolution and the Award. His statement to the press is couched in a spirit of bravado. No one date hold a public meeting or speak at it in favour of separate electorates and more than 51% for Muslims. I cannot believe that the Muslim public of Lahore are of that view. The issue for the Punjab is as follows:

Under the Government decision, we get more than 51% and separate electorates. Allahabad decision restricts us to 51% and no more and wants to modify the mode of election as well. Then there is the third point that while the Govt. hold that the Punjab should have the same sort of autonomy as other provinces, the Allahabad decision says we should have all the safeguards that have been evolved at Allahabad and amount to negation of self-government and responsibility. These are the three main points and on all three three
there can be no doubt whatsoever that Muslim Punjab will be on one side.

Now as to the ways and means—All the miscellaneous institutions of the youth and others should be canvassed; all Anjumans should combine and after Jumma prayers on the 2nd of December hold this meeting. I am sure if the volunteers and the Mohalladars and all classes and specially the masses are approached, a success like the one we achieved in 1924 in the Muslim League annual meeting can be achieved. Excellent speakers from amongst the Ulemas and the working classes and the educated classes should be secured, and a large number of people to clap them. You had better consult Haji Rahim Bakhsh, Mehr Shuja, Ghulam Mohyuddin, and to do the needful. In the case of miscellaneous organizations and volunteers, they may need uniforms or flags, and in this matter Haji Rahim Bakhsh will be able to assist. You can also ask Mirza Yakub Beg and others to join in and all together take advantage of the occasion to settle this matter for good. In case the Legislature is in session, you can get some councillors to speak. If you can make your arrangements pukka, it is quite possible that Ahrars may think better of it and not secede from the position they took up last year.

Show this to Malik Sahib and let me know what steps are being taken.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

The Daily "Hamdam".

Lucknow, 4th December 1932

My Dear Sir Fazle Husain,

I hope you read the Daily Hamdam and approve of what we write. I closely follow your policy because I honestly believe there is no Muslim leader in India more devoted to the community than yourself and I never failed to give expression to this feeling. This is my honest opinion and not inspired by any base motive but the "Hind" of Calcutta writes that like the Inqilab Hamdam is your paper and says ditto to what you say. This is because I advise caution in the settlement of communal differences. There is one
Private and strictly confidential.

30th December, 1932.

My dear Amir Din,

Yours of the 29th. I am very glad you are now well. I trust you will be careful because influenza is a very weakening ailment and leaves effect behind.

Herewith a letter from Mr Brentford. His name was suggested to me by Col. Sodi who thought that he would charge Rs. 200/- or Rs. 300/- for preparing plans and elevation and detailed estimates. When I was in Lahore in October, you said he would charge Re. 400/- and I said you had better engage him. Now his letter speaks of 3 fees for three separate items of work and does not talk of the bungalow as a whole but of the main portion of the building and so on. The fees mount up to Rs. 600/- which, at a cost of Rs. 40 thousand, work out at 1½%. Whatever the fair remuneration may be, please settle it yourself and get the work done. I give you full authority to make a settlement as to terms with Mr. Brentford or any other Architect. A copy of my reply to him is enclosed.

As to Ahrars, I have seen the cutting. They had wavered at Allahabad and in fact it was given out that they had accepted all this. It may be that this is an attempt on the part of Maulana Daood Ghuznavi to get out of it. But this will not be enough unless they take some strong and active step in that direction. Now you see the London R. T. C. has decided the question of Sind separation unconditionally, so under the London decision in the matter of Sind Muhammedans get a larger number of seats, separate electorates and no conditions on the authority of the Council other than those which exist in all other provinces, while the Allahabad decision is for Muslims less seats, joint electorates, conditions as to authority of Legislature, constitution of Cabinet, &c., &c. Conditions are of a most demeaning and unbearable kind. The same applies to the Punjab. I do not see how any man possessed of the smallest bit of conscience can agree to the imposition of conditions which are derogatory to the self-respect of even a worm.
It is rumoured that Alwar's visit to Allahabad was not altogether unconnected with the Ahrar threat . . . .

(Incomplete)

(Yours sincerely
Fazl-i-Husain)

213.
31st December, 1932.

My Dear Khuhro,

Yours of the 28th inst.

Most hearty congratulations on the Secretary of State's meeting your request so well and so generously. Sind has now got the same status as any other province, except in the matter of finance, where it is bound to have a subvention because it always had one, which it is hoped and believed will continue to grow less till it disappears. I wish Sind every success. The shortsightedness of a certain section of Sind Hindus has done India a great harm because they propounded the idea that a minority should have the right to dictate to the majority of what to do and what not to do. This meant lack of confidence and trust, and, in its absence, democratic reforms cannot work. Hence, the inevitable safeguard with which the Governors have been invested. I am sure the future historian will hold a certain section of Sind Hindus and a certain section of Hindus and Sikhs in the Punjab responsible for the great disservice to the cause of their country's advance.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

214.
New Delhi,
9th January, 1933.

Dear Lord Irwin,

Thanks awfully for yours of the 7th December.

I am so glad you have been finding Zafrulla helpful.

So, you have got through the third Round Table Conference. There is an Oriental proverb which says: It is easier to invoke the genii than to bottle them up again. I wonder whether the organizing
Lahore,
2nd March 1933.

My dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain,

Chaudhri Zafar Ullah has brought your message to me and Sir Sikander and Firoz will now be with you. If you could manage to distribute the 161 seats allotting each district its quota by communities it will greatly facilitate matters. Then the constituencies can be formed on the principle which you have enunciated. The main thing people want to be assured are that representation of each community would be fairly distributed all over the province. In the case of urban constituencies, so far as the Sikhs are concerned, you will also have to find a new formula: but kindly decide these matters so that we may finish this business immediately.

Yours sincerely,
Jogendra Singh

Private & confidential.

14 March, 1933.

Dear Mehr,

Please see the “Light” of 8th March, 1933,—“Child Marriage & Islam”, pages 3 and 4 of this issue. I cannot help thinking that in this matter, the Muslim public has not been given the right lead by the Vernacular Muslim press. Child marriage has been a curse of the Hindu Society for a long, long time and it was the influence of Muslim culture on it that has awakened the Hindu conscience against it, and it is a great pity that what is the victory of Muslim culture in India should be converted into a defeat, by Muslims condemning the Child Marriage Act and by implication standing out for child marriage.

There has been confusion of ideas. Child marriage is a custom or practice and is perhaps not against the express orders of Sheriat, but a reform movement condemning it where such a practice has crept into the Muslim society is fully justified. I have all along thought that the right thing to do is to condemn child marriage and to say that reform movement is sound because this evil exists in Bengal. Then the question of how to bring about that reform move-
they do, the Muslim Delegation will probably arrive at the conclusion that some of these views must be supported, e.g., the points mentioned in the accompanying note.

The Muslim Conference politics—There is a great deal in what you say and that will be borne in mind when dealing with this subject. I notice from to-day’s telegram that our friend Maulana Shaukat Ali has started his campaign against the White Paper by combining this attack with expressions of dissatisfaction against the British Government’s policy in support of Jews and against Muslims in Palestine. I think this point had better be discussed by the Muslim Delegation, and I have no doubt His Highness the Aga Khan will be able to guide you in this matter, and if necessary, the Secy. of State might be approached for information; and, in case there is need, he should approach his colleagues responsible for the policy.

With best wishes,

I remain, yours sincerely,

Dr. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, London. Fazl-i-Husain

The Retreat, Simla, 1st May, 1933.

My dear Aga Khan,

So the Indian Delegation has been decided upon. Most of them are on their way, and the others will soon follow. I think you will find the Muslim section as ready and anxious to seek your guidance and help as in the past. You will find Zafrulla Khan as helpful as ever, and Shafaat as energetic and anxious to help as he always has been, but may be a little awkward this time, at all events, to begin with.

If there is anything you want on this side done, we shall be glad to hear about it. Very few Muslim witnesses are being sent, for oral evidence, obviously, cannot go very far one way or the other, and the arguments for and against every problem have already been threshed out threadbare.

With best wishes,

I remain, yours very sincerely,

His Highness Sir Aga Khan, London. Fazl-i-Husain
I am going to examine them with him and will let you know the result.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

250. 10 May 1933

My dear friend,

Thank you very much for your kind letter. Shafat, Ghuznavi, and Zafrullah have read and considered your letter and discussed it thoroughly. While we are not opposed to any agreement or pact that may be arrived at as consultation among Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims and would welcome a compromise which has the support of these three communities and even though it departs in many respects from some of the principles we have been fighting for in the last four years. I feel, however,—this feeling is shared by Shafat, Ghuznavi and Zafrullah—that it would be highly risky to raise any point dealing with the communal problem which forms part of the communal award embodied in the White Papers. Our reasons for this view are:

1. It will break up the solidarity of Muslims in India. It is only after a great deal of work that we have been able to build up a united programme for Muslims which is supported by every Province throughout India. Our community will then be disorganised and split into innumerable fragments.

2. It will produce a very deep cleavage between the Muslims of Eastern and Western Punjab, and Muslims belonging to the rural areas and those who come from the urban areas.

3. It will be difficult to prevent every part of the communal award being topsy-turvy, and Muslims in minority provinces will be dragged into the discussion of the percentages to which they would be entitled, as a result of this pact between the
Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims of the Punjab. The Punjab question does not and cannot stand alone, it is a part of the all-India question and however strongly and persistently we may try to localise this issue it will be found that the whole question of communal proportions throughout India will be re-opened for discussion.

4. We have succeeded in settling this problem after years of strenuous work and a campaign for our rights which is unparalleled in the history of modern Islam in India. If this question is re-opened for discussion, I am very much afraid that all our efforts will be thrown away.

5. The Diehards here are very active and there is a very great fear indeed of Provincial Autonomy being shorn of a great deal of its vigour. I very much fear that if this communal question is raised afresh, it will play into the hands of the Diehards, who will insist on reserving Law and Order throughout India. It will very severely affect the position of the India Office vis-a-vis the minority communities.

Aga Khan

P.S.

If, at the present stage, joint electorates are introduced, the Sikhs who have been given weightage will ever after retain it; whilst, if they are introduced at a later stage, separate electorates will be a thing to bargain on, and very likely the Sikhs will give up their weightage to have joint electorates substituted. A.K.

Sir Fazl-i-Husain.

251. 3, Durand Road, Lahore, 11th May, 1933.

My dear Fazl-i-Husain,

Yours of the 9th instant. Sardar Jogindra Singh saw me yesterday afternoon. He will reach Simla by car tomorrow and will probably see you the day after. I am not directly in touch with Hindus, but
beating down caste barriers, evolution of the conception of human rights.

(2) Modern problems and Islam, indicating the socialistic tendencies of Islamic principles and laws, and their influence on society.

Zafarulla, you and Abdur Rahim should deliver not less than three lectures each in different parts of Britain. Unless abstruse subjects, it should be possible for other Muslims who are in England to address gatherings. Dr. Ziauddin will probably do some thing of this sort and he also might be helped. However, no one should speak unless he is fully prepared for it and no one should be encouraged to speak unless he is thoroughly competent to do so. While good lectures add to the prestige of the community and the country, bad ones do the reverse.

How is Jahan Ara? I trust she is doing well.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

256. Simla,

5th June, 1933.

Dear Lord Irwin,

Yours of the 12th May.

Gandhi's fast is over long ago, and here in India at no stage of his fast was ever any apprehension entertained as to his not being able to complete it without any trouble. As a matter of fact, Dr. Ansari had made it quite clear that he would not let him die. In fact, at no stage of the fast did the doctors ever apprehend even the approach of death. So the result is natural. The fast created no stir in India, nor any enthusiasm. In fact, the fast fell flat.

As regards the Congress, it is at a very low ebb indeed, and if Providence had not vouchsafed it the support of the Die-hard section
of the Conservatives in Britain, it might have lost what little of prestige is left to it, but your Conservative Die-hards have willed it otherwise, and the eloquent speeches of some British statesmen, M. P.'s, ex-I. C. S. men, Governors and others, when read here even by moderate politicians, average educated Indians, including non-politically minded educated Indians, seldom fail to make them feel that no faith can be placed in the sense of justice and fairplay of another country in a dominant position, and that it is unwise to let a strong political organization in India die. I should not, therefore, be surprised if as a reaction to the activities of the Die-hard Conservatives, the public feeling which has been for some time much against the Congress may take a turn in support of the Congress. This has happened before and I should not be surprised if history repeats itself. The general feeling in India is the proposals are not such as to elicit any enthusiasm, and many people now hold the view that if for some reason or other connected with British public life the proposals are not proceeded with, it will, in all probability, not be altogether bad for India. What may emerge out of this widely pervading feeling of despondency and despair, it is yet too early to forecast. The position is one of most absorbing interest, and, if I may say so, of very, very great potentialities.

As to Burma, the assumption in favour of separation has, by now disappeared, and if His Majesty's Government decide in favour of separation on the basis of the constitution already devised for Burma, the separation of Burma will take place under circumstances which may necessitate a reconquest of Burma, and all this is due to the adoption of wrong tactics. I felt in 1930 that the Burma Government was acting wrongly, and I feel to-day the same. Left to themselves, Burma would have probably decided to separate but from 1927 onwards they were so much pushed into separation by the Burma Government that they have revolted against it.

I am sorry I have treated you to a pessimistic letter but such is the feeling prevailing in India. I, of course, take a philosophical view of the Persian poet "Such as it was has not remained and such as
it is will not remain”.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

257.

The Retreat, Simla,
5th June, 1933.

My dear Zafrulla,

Yours of the 26th. No, we do not get the proceedings, at all events, we have not got them until now.

Have you settled the following with the Secy. of State? If not please invite the attention of His Highness the Aga Khan to these points and ask him to arrange a private meeting with the Secretary of State to arrive at a settlement on these points:

(1) Representation of Muslims in the Upper Federal Legislature — The mode of election elaborated in the White paper can only give 42 instead of 50. How is this deficiency to be made good? One way is to allot members to each province and let the Muslims of Provincial Legislatures elect them. Whether there is one Chamber or there are two Chambers in U. P., Bengal and Bihar, the result, so far as Muslims are concerned, will be the same. These 8 additional can be given, one to each of the Indian provinces, excepting the Frontier Province, C. P. and Sind.

(2) Constitution of Upper Legislature, Federal— Muslims are definitely against nomination, firstly, on principle, and secondly, because there is no guarantee whatsoever of Muslim quota being forthcoming. Thirdly, your very emphatic protest against 40% weightage to Indian States.

(3) The Upper Chamber in Bengal— Muslims are dead against it, and it should be done away with. In case this is not accepted then nominations, at all events, should be done away with.
same applies to Bihar, but you should not object to U. P. because U. P. Muslims have definitely wanted it.

(4) Services—The Muslim demand under this head has not been met. Claims of other communities, like Europeans and Anglo-Indians are being generously met in different services, and it is not fair that the Muslim demand should be just ignored or their consideration put off from time to time. In each province it would be best that representation of Muslims in the Legislatures be reflected, on the whole, in the Executive. There can be no hard and fast rule, but this should be a general, well-understood convention, and there seems to be no reason why the depository of so many odd things, i.e., the Instrument of Instructions, should not include this as well.

(5) I do not like the idea of these ten years business. The constitution should stand till it is altered by agreement, and the idea of reconsideration after ten years should be very carefully examined so that all our efforts are not rendered more or less futile by their result being limited to ten years.

As regards the Punjab agreement, Iqbal and Ingilab are trying to create an urban party and are opposing the agreement on that basis. They have not, of course, studied figures, and they scarcely realise that the agreement from that point of view is more beneficial to Muslims than to Hindus, and that it is most harmful to Sikhs. I have written to His Highness at length and I have no doubt he will show you my letter. You and Shafaat will no doubt exchange your letters.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

258. The Retreat, Simla,
5th June 1933

My dear Mitra,

Yours of the 26th May. Thanks awfully for getting inquiries made through your Education Secretary about Azim’s coaching. 
Azim’s point is that coaching at Davies’ establishment by way of lectures in I. C. S. preparatory classes cannot be very useful for him because unless a student has done these subjects fairly well himself either at Cambridge or elsewhere, he cannot follow these lectures. He has just done a part of English literature, but he has done practically no History yet, and, therefore, his attendance at the Davies Institute will not be of much help to him. There is something in this, but on the other hand I suppose it will not be impossible to arrange for some sort of supervision of his reading of English History and European History by a competent coach who has been doing I. C. S. coaching. Whether he belongs to the Davies establishment or not, it does not matter very much though it will be an advantage if he is on it or has been on it.

There’s many a slip betwixt the cup and the lip. What wonderful hopes were entertained re. the Round Table Conference, and what a treat of eloquence, friendship, common ends, and common efforts have we not already had! The Round Table Conference treated India to a dreamland, and the White Paper has awakened India, and the present controversy in England between various sections of the British public is what people here describe as adding insult to injury. However, what do all these things matter when the economic condition is so deplorable. However, even a High Commissioner cannot help feeling that even if there is no political advance whatsoever in India on the present, still the buying power of India is not likely to be such again as to help Britain and other countries by the increase of imports from them. So the Economic Conference will only enable you and such Indians as are there to benefit by coming into contact with great people from many great countries. That is something.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra
My dear Shafaat,

Yours of the 1st. The items of news you give are most interesting, and I sympathise with you in your present state of mind—knowledge and experience deprive one of many illusions of generous youth.

As to the States, what else could you expect? Princes are bad enough, but their Ministers cannot be expected to be any better but may reasonably be something worse. Your descriptions of various episodes relating to Gour, Rahim and Sapru were most interesting, and it seems such a pity that I cannot share the pleasure of reading them with others.

As to the chances of improving the White paper from the Indian point of view, I am afraid there is little chance for it. On the other hand, there is likely to be some sort of attack on central responsibility. I think I mentioned to you that the right position for the Muslim delegation to take is not to rush forward to repulse that attack but to let Sapru and others take the lead in repulsing it. There are many vital points, (some of them mentioned by me in my letter to Zafrullah to-day, which I have no doubt you will see) which have not yet been settled. Even the communal award is under attack. On the other hand, you should not join the attack on central responsibility. When you are called upon to express your views, you should take up a perfectly reasonable attitude. Responsibility at the centre is an extremely delicate affair. If safeguards are really effective, there is but little responsibility to exist. If they are ineffective, then too much responsibility is given. However, Indian Muslims know that it is not their voice which can be the determining factor in the grant or the withdrawal of central responsibility, and, therefore, they are satisfied that the only course for them to pursue is to be prepared to take the risk in case Parliament concedes responsibility and not to break their hearts in case it determines to withhold it. In the absence of a decision of this matter by agreement between communities, and
between India on the one side and the British Government on the other hand, such decisions as the British Parliament eventually arrives at have to be carried out, and under the existing circumstances Indian Muslims do not feel called upon to obstruct them.

Well, Muslim witnesses on behalf of the Conference and the League have already left. I am rather nervous about them. They will all appear as one group in the witness box. The statement they had sent in early in May is not much use, and it would be best to send a short written statement before they actually appear as witnesses. They must limit their evidence within a narrow scope.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

Private & Confidential

260.
The Retreat, Simla,
12th June, 1933.

My dear Zafrulla,

Yours of the 2nd June, and also another enclosing your speech. The speech was admirable in every way.

Your letter of the 2nd is disappointing. The mode of election to the Upper Federal Chamber, mentioned in the White Paper, is an injustice to the Muslim community. You, in your letter, mention the method will give the Muslims 45 or 46. I do not know how you arrive at that conclusion. My calculation gives Muslims 42, and the S. of S. when rejecting the Muslim claim of one-third, in the total federal legislature and limiting them to one-third of the British Indian section only said that it shall not be less than 33 1/3rd. Therefore, the question of “may be more or less” dose not come into it. Moreover, for Christians of all sorts, whether Indian, semi-Indian or purely British, separate electorates for the recruitment of the upper federal chamber have been provided for. Out of the minority group, why exclude Muslims. Indian Muslims are bound to treat as a thin
end of the wedge going back on the numerous declarations and promises that separate electorates will not be taken away unless it be with the consent of the Muslim community, and I am afraid strong agitation will be conducted in India on those lines. What is the corresponding gain to H. M. G.'s Govt., I am not able to see; and it is all the more surprising that when the Govt. of India, consisting as it is of all communities involved, excepting perhaps the Anglo-Indians, has expressed the view that proportional representation will not do, why should the S. of State insist upon it. In whose interest? and on whose advice? I am afraid, on this question, when agitation is set afoot in India, the Muslim Delegation in England will have no alternative but to take up the point and inform the S. of S. as well as the Joint Select Committee that this is being done by the order of H. M. G. or by the Joint Select Committee in the teeth of opposition of the entire Muslim community in India.

The subterfuges mentioned

(1) Co-option by elected Muslim members of the Upper Chamber is bound to be rejected by the Muslim community as no substitute whatsoever for election by local legislatures.

(2) Election by the Muslim members of provincial legislatures—Why restrict it only to the balance, i.e., 50 minus 42 according to me, 50 minus 41 according to what you have been told. Why not the whole lot?

You have not told me anything about the proposed nominated element in the Upper Chambers of U. P., Bengal and Behar, nor have you said anything as to how you have pressed the question of not having Upper Chambers in Bengal and Behar. It appears that these vital points concerning the community are being left more or less in the background. These are matters which you were expected to settle with the S. of S. preferably by agreement so that they may not be dragged as controversial matters before the Joint Select Committee. You seem to be kept busy on other things, which no doubt are of the utmost importance, but still these matters must be settled and settled before the time of your departure arrives.

Once more I trust the matter of the mode of election to the Upper Federal Legislature in the case of Muslim representation will
not become a political issue between the Muslim community and the S. of S. because it is a point the Muslim community cannot afford to give up, and I am not sure we cannot arrive at an agreement with the Hindus on this point. Again, I fail to see the reason for insistence on proportional representation, and I should like His Highness the Aga Khan to try to find out why the S. of S. is insisting upon it. Is it because it is a fad of his or is it in any way vital to British interests, or is it an item to which he hopes to reconcile the Hindus.

You talk of the I. C. S. examination. Well, this year there is no nomination of any Muslim, because the number of Britishers was very low in the London competition and the number of Indians who got in was very large, therefore for the Delhi competition only 4 vacancies were left, and out of the first 4 places, one was taken up by a Muslim, and because the British candidates did not come in sufficiently large numbers, therefore the Muslims must suffer and no nominations be made. This is also very disappointing. However, this is only a matter of individual unfairness and hardship, and it is not to be classed with matters of constitutional importance.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

Private & Confidential.

261. Simla,

My dear Ranga,

12th June, 1933.

Thanks awfully for yours of the 2nd June. I am sure you are making the best possible use of your time in England. The political atmosphere is most unsuitable for the consideration of Indian reforms and the Diehard section of Conservatives has succeeded in calling forth a reaction in Indian politics in the shape of Bose-Patel school of thought, placing Gandhi and the Congress near the centre and away from the left. I do not suppose the people in England realise what an immense amount of harm the Diehard section of the
share. Hindus themselves wanted Europeans to have a large share. Therefore, there is not enough left to give them more seats. As to their giving some seats to the depressed classes, that is their own look out.

As regards law and order, the provision as to that should apply to all provinces and no exception should be made in the case of an individual province. If Hindus agree to law and order being reserved and provincial autonomy to be reduced to that extent, and H.M.G. want to do that, I see no reason why Muslims should oppose both the Hindus and the H.M.G. I trust you will, in matters of public importance, keep the personal element altogether out. I trust you will be helping Shaheed Suhrawardy in every way. He is an able young man and I should like him to have every opportunity of making a good impression. He is young and lacking in experience, but one gathers experience gradually. Such views of his as I have seen have struck me as sensible and sound.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

Sir A.H. Ghuznavi.

Simla,
19th June 1933

My dear Shafaat,

Yours of the 8th June. What you say about Rahim is very interesting.

Yours of the 9th June re. proposed Punjab agreement. As you know I like nothing better than free, frank and fearless expressions of opinion before arriving at a final decision, and therefore I very much value your contribution to the examination of this problem. You mention four points:

1. It may throw the whole of H.M.G.'s communal settlement into the melting pot.

2. The Diehards and the Hindu Mahasabhaites might join hands and take away law and order from provincial autonomy and,
in return, H.M.G.'s communal decision be modified in favour of Hindus.

3. Muslim solidarity in India be in danger.

4. Muslim conference policy and programme be broken up. Points 3 and 4 are really the same.

As regards H. M. G.'s communal decision, the greatest grievance of the Hindus is against the Punjab part of it because it is there that Muslim majority is installed. As to minority provinces, whether the weightage allowed is a little larger than the Hindus would have given is not a matter which has hurt them much. It is about the Punjab that they have been denouncing the communal settlement, and in particular the number of seats reserved for Muslim. At the announcement, Hindus and Sikhs condemned it most violently. If the proposed agreement is supported by a very large section of the Punjab Hindus and a fair section of Sikhs, don't you think the main attack on H. M. G.'s decision disappears? How can the Mahasabha urge with any show of reason that the communal decision be altered as regards the Punjab when in this agreement the distribution of seats given by H. M. G. is accepted by Hindus and Sikhs. The point is such an obvious one that it cannot escape notice. So, the agreement, instead of being a danger to H. M. G.'s communal settlement, is the best policy confirmation by Punjab Hindus and Sikhs of it.

As to the second point re. law and order, my view is, and has all along been that if Hindus want law and order to be reserved and not transferred in the provinces, I will not oppose them. Why should I? The Frontier Province does not count because of the geographical position, and where am I going to use law and order to the prejudice of the non-Muslims? and where does my policy as to law and order differ from that of the British Government? Nowhere. Therefore, I do not make a fetish of law and order. If Hindus are prepared to surrender law and order to the British Government, I say amen and shout: Long live John Bull. Surely, this is the correct position for the Muslim minority provinces to take, and, please, don't, for the sake of the Punjab, enter into a struggle with the British Government,
This leaves but one point—Does this agreement militate against the established Muslim policy?—solidarity throughout India and conference policy. I am quite clear in my own mind that it does not. First, take the case of the Frontier Province. If the Hindus and Sikhs decided in favour of joint electorates would you advise the Frontier Muslims to say no? Obviously, not, because the Muslim position and the conference position has been, Hindus being a minority they have the right to choose. Similarly, in the Punjab, if the Muslims become a majority in the voting register as they are in population, how are you going to deny the right of minority to decide for itself whether it wants separate electorates or not? And, applying the same argument in the case of the U.P., Bihar and Orissa, Madras, Bombay and even Bengal, Muslims, being a minority in the voting register, have the right to determine whether they want separate electorates or joint electorates. The proposition remains exactly the same. This has been and is the policy of the Conference, and I confess I do not see how the proposed agreement can be said in any way to modify it or to trespass upon it. You yourself were one of those who were agreeable to joint electorates in case adult franchise were introduced, and the Punjab proposal is a much better proposition than adult franchise from the Muslim point of view. Therefore, unless you have changed your view, I do not see what danger you apprehend.

Lastly, the proposal has emanated from the Hindus and Sikhs. Already amongst the Sikhs, there is a very strong opposition, and for obvious reason. It is, therefore, not likely that the united support of Hindus and Sikhs will be forthcoming and it is only in case it is forthcoming that Muslim support must be produced. In fact, I do not see how Punjab Muslims can be deprived of the chance of improving their position by accepting this proposal. The notes which must have reached you by now make it clear how it would be a great mistake, in case Hindus and Sikhs support is forthcoming, for the Muslims to miss this chance of establishing their position, for such a chance is not likely to recur. Personally, I doubt very much that it will materialise now.
I enclose a copy of the proposed agreement and the notes attached to it. These are strictly confidential. The agreement can be shown to others including non-Muslims, but the notes are for Muslims only. Please show the letter as well as the notes to His Highness, Zafrullah and others.

I do not want you to do anything at all in England till the matter has been fully thrashed out here. It is only when a *bona fide* agreement on a very wide scale is reached here that the matter will be ripe for being mentioned in England.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

264. Simla, 20th June, 1933.

My dear Mieville,

Here with a copy of my note which I have sent to Haig. You might like to place it before His Excellency. I feel that there is a great advantage in releasing prisoners during the period of suspension and releasing them in small batches. This action is entirely discretionary and voluntary while, if the C.D.O.¹ were abandoned by Gandhi, the release following upon abandonment would be more or less dictated to us by Gandhi’s action, while releasing whom we will and when we will under the existing conditions leaves the initiative entirely to us.

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

E.C. Mieville, Esq., C.S.I., C.M.G.,
Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy,
Simla.

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1. Civil Disobedience.
kind at Simla will be well attended and will carry more weight.

Hoping to have an early reply,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

318.
Simla,
7th June, 1934.

My dear Haig,

Your D. O. No. D. 4002/34-Poll., dated the 30th May, 1934,

I have carefully studied Mr. Hallett's note of the 27th and
yours of the 28th May, 1934. Of the statements enclosed, the one
of the 18th December 1931 was the same that was prepared by Local
Governments and the Government of India when it appeared that
the pact was going to be terminated on account of the Congress
attitude. Similar allegations were made against the Congress in
other Provinces as well.

The point at issue really is not whether a Red Shirt movement
is revolutionary or not, but whether the Provincial Congress Com-
mittee against which the Notification is not to be withdrawn is a
revolutionary body or not, and whether there is sufficient justification
for treating this Provincial Congress Committee differently from
Provincial Congress Committees, say, in Bombay or Bihar. On this
point, I am afraid, I am not able to agree with my Colleagues, and
there is nothing more to be done. I am sorry to have put you to
this trouble but I wanted to explore the possibilities of my being able
to agree with my Colleagues.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

The Hon'ble Sir Harry Haig, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Member of Council,
Simla.

319.
16th June, 1934.

Dear Aga Khan,

I hope you had as successful a tour outside India as you had in
India. I am sure the Indian Muslims derived a great deal of benefit from your visit to India. Now that you are once more settled in England for the next few weeks, it will perhaps be as well to let you know the points on which Indian Muslims' minds are at present engaged. I enclose a typed note containing some points.

Zafarulla must have reached there already, and he will be able to acquaint you with the Punjab people who are taking up their residence in London for the next few years. One cannot be too careful as to developments.

A wave of reactionarism is passing over India, and it is at times like these that the true interest of India as well as the true interest of England demands that one should not be affected by the sad wave but should keep the flag flying for liberalism, self-respect and advance.

Please convey our best wishes to Begam Sahiba.

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

320.
Simla,
30th June, 1934.

My dear Zafarulla,

Yours of the 22nd.

As regards the Central Legislature, in the case of the Lower House, there is no difficulty as separate electorates are provided for Muslims. For the Upper House, there is the same old difficulty which existed before as the Secy. of State insists upon proportional representation with a single transferable vote, and, as in the case of the Upper Chamber in Provinces there is the element of nomination, the calculations become all the more hopeless. In fact, it has to be recognised that it is impossible either to guarantee 33% or even to guarantee 33% in case all Muslims vote for Muslim candidates. But there is no reason why he should not agree to separate electorates.
in the case of the Upper House as he has already agreed in the case of the Lower House.

Any effort at going back on H. M. G.'s decision as to the representation of various communities in Legislatures or the separation of Sind will be fatal to the British Government in the future, and I should be very much surprised if they committed such a blunder.

As to your time table, I am afraid the report is not likely to materialise before the end of November, and no one can forecast as to the passing of the Bill but it may not be till December 1935, in which case provincial elections will be in October 1936. This is all unsatisfactory and contrary to British interests, but then I suppose there is such a thing as Providence.

I am glad His Excellency is satisfied with the atmosphere there. We all wish him every success.

Thanks for paying a visit to Brookwood to see that the place is kept in order.

Yes, Azim has done well after one year's study of History considering that he did not study any History during the last five or six years.

Chaudhuri Sahib has been here for four or five days. Their Council meeting is over. From the talk I had with different people from Lahore, it appears that the decision as to my successor is going to be made in London now. I do hope the Secy. of State chooses wisely and that his choice does not give cause for complaint that recently a tendency has been noticed to employ men not distinguished for their ability.

With best wishes, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

321. Strictly Private & Confidential.

Simla.

9th July 1934.

My dear Aga Khan

Yours of the 29th June,

I am sure you must have been maintaining contact with all the people who are dealing with the reforms problem and count.
You have written at length on the question of the revival of the All-India Muslim League and the harm that it has done. I am afraid I have not been able to follow this statement. You see, the first speech made by Jinnah in April last in the All-India Muslim League meeting was the one for which he was severely taken to task by the Congress press, and the Resolutions passed by the League were practically the same as those passed by the Muslim Conference. Since then, Hafiz Hidayat Husain, who is General Secretary of the League, has given many statements to the press, and every one of them simply restates the position which you adopted as leader of the Muslim Conference, and now you will be glad to hear that both the League and the Conference are meeting at Simla on the 12th of August, and both will pass the same Resolutions. I need hardly add that these Resolutions will be strictly in keeping with the policy which is known as the Conference policy.

You refer to the movement amongst Muslims to reconcile and placate the Hindus. It does exist, and the responsibility for its existence rests with H.M.G. and the British statesmen. In the Joint Select Committee, certain leading statesmen have taken up the point that the communal award should be reopened because it does not meet with the approval of the Hindus. Again, it has been said in some provinces (Punjab and Bengal) that the communal award may be revised because the Hindus are offering such strong resistance to it; and the attitude of H. M. G. in such matters, as you know, is proverbial—that no reliance can be placed upon it, and they may at any moment give way (e.g. Bengal partition). Under such circumstances, what more natural for the Muslim community than to feel that although the communal award has been given by H.M.G., they expect the Muslim community to secure the acceptance of it by the Hindus; and if the Muslim community fail to secure it, H. M. G. may turn round and say: 'Well, we did our best for you, but since a very large community is opposed to it and they are creating very severe agitation, we had better revise it.' Had it not been for the Joint Select Committee throwing doubts on the award being final, this movement amongst Muslims either would not have started or would have died down. I think you should make this clear to the
British statesmen and, in particular, to H. M. G. Of one thing I am quite sure that as soon as the Joint Select Committee's Report is out, there won't be a single Hindu in the length and breadth of India who does not join the Congress in condemning it. Liberals and Moderates and all sections will do that. If the Joint Select Committee wish to have this condemnation universal in India, all that they have got to do is to revise the communal award against Muslims and they will succeed in having the whole of India dead against their Report.

You say the Muhammedans should support the White Paper. But, pray, tell me what is the White Paper? If the Joint Select Committee had blessed the White Paper, the Muhammedans could take up the White Paper as their political programme, but how can you expect them to adopt the White Paper as their political programme and as soon as the Joint Select Committee has reported on it, reducing it by, say, 25%, Muhammedans also would say that their programme has undergone a reduction of 25%. H. M. G. do not give Muslims or any other party in India a chance of having a political programme to which they can adhere and also support H. M. G. His Majesty's Government do not know their own mind or, at all events, they devise such machinery to carry out their programme as modifies their programme and stultifies them.

There is one part of your letter which needs action and I shall gladly do what is required—arrange that true views and sentiments of Indian Muslims are communicated to the British Press. I think you have been misled by some one who has communicated absolutely fictitious opinions attributing them to the Indian Muslim League and communicating the same to the British Press.

I hope you will kindly glance again at the note I sent you, and when you see Zafrulla Khan see what can be done about those points.

As regards the constitution of the Upper Federal Chamber, you must insist upon absolutely separate Muslim constituencies or electorates, and advise the Secy. of State to change his mind.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain
16th July, 1934

Dear Sikandar,

I hope you are keeping well and have settled down to make the best use possible of your leave.

I am writing this as I saw a report of your statement to the press given in London. Most of it was very good and unexceptional, but towards the end, as reported here, it conveyed ideas which have always invited criticism. The usual thing for a friend to do is to encourage one in what one is doing, but I feel it is the duty of a real friend to tell one what reaction his actions have called forth so that he may know this when considering what to do next.

The appointment of a Christian to take the place of Sir Muhammad Usman, as Home Member, Madras, when he hands over charge as Governor, has created a great deal of dissatisfaction in Muslim circles. I wonder whether any of you has taken the matter up with the Secy. of State. I know Lord Willingdon was keen on having a Muslim when Sir Muhammad Usman retired.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

323.

Simla,

16th July, 1934.

My dear Zafarulla,

Yours of the 5th July.

I am very glad that you have met His Highness the Aga Khan and you had a talk with him. The Council of the All-India Muslim League is entirely at one with the Conference, and its Secretary, Ha'iz Hidayat Husain, is working in the closest collaboration with the Conference office-bearers, i.e., Nawab Sahib of Chhatari and Khan Bahadur Haji Rahim Bakhsh, so much so that the meetings of both these institutions are going to take place in Simla on the 12th August. Since last April, the Muslim League has held meetings of
its Council, and its office-bearers have given statements to the press, and all of them invariably on the lines of the Conference policy. As a matter of fact, the Muslim League is, now, in a much stronger position than it was before inasmuch as the Bengal Presidency Muslim League, which was a seceder under Maulvi Abdul Karim and others, has returned to the fold and only a few days ago passed a strong resolution in favour of communal award, and the Congress Muslims were never so weak as nowadays. This is but natural inasmuch as the Assembly elections are at hand and they all realise that unless they mend their way, their chances of success at the polls are poor. On the other hand, there are things which may tend to create a feeling of dissatisfaction amongst the Muslims. You must have heard that the Madras Membership of Executive Council has been given to an Indian Christian; i.e., the place which was occupied by a Mohammedan since the reforms. This is bound to be resented very naturally, for there is, so far as one can see, no justification for it. There are as many as 7 members of the Madras Government, and a community whose representation on the Legislature is 14% is entitled to be represented by one of its members on the cabinet. Lord Willingdon held this view very strongly; so I do not know under what circumstances the S. of S. has agreed to deprive the Muslims of this place in the Madras Cabinet. You might explain the whole thing to His Highness the Aga Khan and let him broach the subject to the S. of S. This may mean that under the reforms the chances of a Muslim being in the Madras Cabinet are very poor. If the Governor of to-day, when he has absolute power of nominating a member to the Executive Council, will not appoint a Muslim, how can he help the Muslim community in having one of their representatives on the cabinet when the matter does not rest with him and he has only to use his good offices with the Ministry. In fact, this is a sort of warning to Muslims that the Governor's power under this head is of much value. If Muslims will not be represented in Madras, they have but little chance of being represented in the Bombay Cabinet when Sind is separated. So there will be Madras, Orissa, Bombay, C. P. and Burma without any Muslim in the Provincial Cabinets, while there will be no province, excepting the
Frontier Province, where Hindus will not be in the Cabinet. Some Muslims may argue that this is so unsatisfactory that it is essential to win the goodwill of the Hindu community, and in time and out of time some British officials in high positions take every opportunity of impressing this on the minds of Muslim leaders. Why they do it, I have not been able to understand. Therefore, if there is a change in the Muslim attitude, it will be as a result of the Government policy and the advice of British officials.

I am glad you have been having a talk with the S. of S. on the points we discussed together.

I am very glad to hear an account of your dinner. It appears to have been an immensely successful function, so much so that the Hindustan Times here devoted a cartoon to it. I wish your At Home to Their Excellencies to be equally successful.

I did not know Sikandar had reached London on the 23rd. I understood he was staying in France. Only two or three days ago, a great deal of publicity was given to Sikandar's statement to the press about White Paper and the last part of it saying that the Punjab people reposed a great deal of confidence in the British officials and that he hoped that under the reforms there would be a substantial element of British officials in all Departments, has very naturally aroused disappointment in certain quarters and indignation in others; and some papers have commented that proposals as to his permanent appointment as a Governor are being matured in London. This is, of course, very uncharitable but then critics in anger are seldom charitable. You say he has gone to the Isle of Man. That must be to see Sir Montagu Butler who may be able to help him in the way of meeting some conservative leaders and also putting him in the way of being useful to them. Papers here have given currency to the report that you have been nominated to succeed me. Other papers say that you and Sikandar are having this matter settled by the Viceroy and the S. of S. in London rather than wait for its decision here.

I am glad you are keeping in touch with Azim. Having been with his Cambridge studies, he now is at a difficult stage, being on
his own, not in any definite institution, not having studied some of
the subjects he has to take up, he must naturally feel perplexed and
not know where to begin. I think it is best that he should enter
Davies' Institution for a full course and not mind the heavy fee. As
soon as he obtains bibliography of the new subjects from competent
coaches, he should address himself to working at them so as to get
through them before October, for, during the period he is attending
Davies' Establishment, he will barely be able to get through his
day-to-day work only in the subjects, lectures, of which he can follow.

I spoke to you about the High Commissionership. I believe
Mitra's term expires some time in 1935, for he left India, I think,
in the middle of 1930, and probably joined his post in October 30.
In view of the fact that Muslims have lost a seat in the Cabinet of
Bombay, and also in the U.P., and in Assam and now in Madras,
it would appear that H.M.G. are definitely withdrawing their
support from Muslims. It will not be difficult to find competent
Muslims to replace the present incumbent. I count upon H.H. the
Aga Khan in making sure that the next incumbent is a Muslim, the
present one and his predecessor having been Hindus.

When will you be coming back, early in October or earlier?

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

324.

Simla,
16th July, 1934.

Dear Lord Willingdon,

It is very good of you to let me know of the situation in England.
We are all counting on your persuasion and influence to save His
Majesty's Government from failing to take full advantage of the
excellent results of your administration during the last three years.
I do hope they will make the best possible use of the atmosphere
which you have secured for them.
372

through the goodwill and generosity of the Hindus. I see a great deal of danger in this, and it will be a great pity if this happened to develop into a grievance.

I believe you remember that I mentioned to you the case of the High Commissioner for India. No Muslim has yet been appointed to this office and I submitted to you that the next incumbent should be a Muslim. You promised to take up the matter with the Secretary of State. May I hope that you will find time to do so now that you are there?

Her Excellency is very much missed by everybody and we are all looking forward to her safer return. Simla does not seem to be the same place without her.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Pzaz-i-Husain.

H.E. The Rt. Hon. Lord Willington, P.C, GMSI, CMG, OBE

325.

Simla,
23rd July, 1934.

Dear Lord Willington,

I am much obliged to you for finding time to let me have some news from London.

The Aligarh situation is still uncertain, but it can wait till your return and till the return of the Chancellor. I am studying the situation and I have found it to be much more complicated than I had anticipated. It must, therefore, await your return.

The All-India Crop Planning Conference has done good and the proceedings are being distributed all over India. Interest in economic matters is on the increase, and if we only play up, it should hold the public attention for some time.

I am afraid we are having a sort of wrangle about Pusa. Gress's Secretariat are violently opposed to the transfer, and efforts have been made to have the matter of transfer of the Research Institute from
Ruta to the neighbourhood of Delhi reopened though the transfer has been approved by the Secretary of State. I consider this very unfair and make my views in this connection clear. The majority of the Finance Committee is for the transfer, a large majority of the Assembly is for the transfer, and yet the matter is dragging on, and the thing is assuming the look of a wrangle between the members of Government leading to comment in political circles.

As to the Medical Council, the matter was composed satisfactorily; and although the politically minded dissenters in the Medical Council have been carrying on a pretty strong agitation in the public press, it has already died down and I think we will have our way.

There is a great deal of restlessness in the country on account of the undue delay in the matter of the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. I suppose it cannot be helped, and we will have to wait for it for a long time.

I am very glad indeed that Zafrulla is there, but he is not finding it easy to convince the Secretary of State that the latter's attitude towards the Muslim view as to the mode of constituting the Upper Central Chamber is not right. I am not surprised at it because the unanimous recommendations of the Government of India seem to make no impression on him in this matter. I wonder whether you have had an opportunity of taking up this point with him.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

Lord Willingdon Viceroy
(in London on leave)

The Retreat, Simla.
23rd July, 1934.

My dear Zafrulla,

Yours of the 13th inst.

As regards the Upper Chamber, in the case of provinces where there were collegues of electors, I understood there the election was by
331.  
12th September, 1934.

Dear Rajan Bakhsh,

Yours of the 11th. I am very glad to hear that you are much better.

All these reports in the public press about extension, &c., are altogether unfounded, and the reports about the selection of my successor are also unfounded.

As regards Syed Zainulabdin Sahib and his views and the views of the public,—as you know,—if I had followed the views of others, I would not have been able to render any service to the Muslim community. Therefore, it is for the Indian Mussalmans to decide whether they consider my judgment in the best interest of the Muslims, or consider the views of the sectarian fanatics, many of them moved by personal considerations, should be followed. You cannot be unaware that the Muslim opinion in Multan City was that compulsory primary education was an interference with religion and contrary to Shariat. I was not prepared to accept that view.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Khan Bahadur Syed Rajan Bakhsh Sahib, M. L. A.,
President Municipality, Inside Pak Gate,
Multan City.

332.  
The Retreat, Simla,
24th September, 1934.

My dear Zafrulla,

Yours of the 14th September.

Well, you will soon be here and know all about this agitation. It is based on, what you call, the score of religious doctrine, but the moving spirit is that this unity of doctrine with other Ahmadis makes one partial to them and help them against non-Ahmadis Muslims. They actually stated to, firstly, that a number of such men were appointed in 1932, though temporarily; secondly, that the position is abused by Ahmadis preachers in doing propaganda amongst
Muslims of converting Muslims to the Ahmadi creed on account of this position; thirdly, that it gives a general prestige to a sect which one should try to suppress rather than encourage, for instance, your visit to Qadian in 1932.

In fact, they have turned their attention to me saying that my having been for a long time in office had made me irresponsible to Muslim opinion and that I have assumed a dictatorial attitude. However, I believe decision has been arrived at, but I am, by no means, sure that the opposition will die down on the announcement being made. It will revive a bit. I will see what can be done to counteract that revival. Later, it will be for you to consider what steps are necessary to reassure the Muslims on the points mentioned above and on some others.

Curiously enough, this doctrine business was the one which I discussed with Mirza Sahib a day or two before his death in Lahore and the impression left on my mind was that he was fully cognisant of the importance of Muslim unity, and was strongly opposed to disruption. I have never had an opportunity of mentioning this subject to the present Mirza Sahib.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

333. The Retreat, Simla,
25th September, 1934.

My dear Shahab-ud-din,

Yours of the 25th inst.

After giving certain information, you proceed to say:

"Early steps should be taken to stop any further spread of mischief, especially when cohesion and unity in our own camp is not very certain."

I am in receipt of this advice.

You assume that you are not personally interested in either affair; that both these affairs are my personal affair and that you
are doing me a great favour by giving me this advice. Am I not entitled to know what you have done in order to stop any further spread of mischief, and what measures you have taken to maintain cohesion and unity in our own camp? If each one of my friends is ready to help me only to the extent of his own individual matter, naturally my utility to you all is very much reduced. Without the help of you all, or, at all events, of most of you, what use can I be? Therefore, I must say your letter has mystified me, and, may I add?, disappointed me. A man of your experience and clear thinking, should have matured certain plans to be put into force, or certain actions taken to put a stop to any further advance of mischief.

I have not been very well for the last few days, and this is, perhaps, one reason why I have told you how your letter has struck me.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

334. 3, Durand Road,
Lahore, October 1, 1934.

My dear Fazl-i-Husain,

Last evening, on my arrival here, I read your letter of 29th September. I have tried to gauge the situation about K. B. Shaikh Rahim Bakhsh. It is as follows:

1. No organized propaganda is being done on his behalf. No meetings, worth the name, have been held up till now.

2. All riff-raffs of Lahore are with Gauba. Hardly a single one of them is a voter for the Assembly; but most of them are voters for Municipal elections, which are taking place, unfortunately, immediately after the Assembly elections. The result of this is that no Muslim candidate for the Municipal election or his supporters have the courage to support the Shaikh Sahib. In other words, the candidates for Municipal elections and their respective supporters are so much afraid of the sympathy and support, which the riff-raffs express for Gauba, that they dare not say a word in
favour of Shaikh Rahim Bakhsh. The only persons who are working openly for the Shaikh Sahib are two sitting Municipal Commissioners, who are not standing for the Municipal elections again. One of these is Firoze's man; while the other is my man.

3. Yesterday on my way down to Lahore, some Muslim gentlemen met me at Pathankot, Gurdaspur and Batala and I was surprised to find that all of them were the staunchest supporters of Gauba, who, they said, had been to almost every town and big village in the Gurdaspur district.

4. The most disquieting thing is that every young Muslim in Government Service, from an ordinary Clerk to an E. A. C., is working for Gauba.

5. I understand that in the Firozpur District, Pir Akbar Ali, in the absence of any definite instructions from Qadian, is working for Gauba; while in Kasur Fazaldin Gora and other influential people are doing a great propaganda for him.

6. The Arains of Batala are working against Shaikh Rahim Bakhsh and the Arains of Sanda Kalan, Bhati Gate and some other Mohallas of Lahore are also working against him.

7. Malik Muhammad Din, M. L. C., is a candidate for the Presidency of the Lahore Municipal Committee. He promised Firoze that he will help the Shaikh Sahib; but he is trying to have his own nominee elected from every Ward, and, therefore, has not the courage to displease the man in the street who is in favour of Gauba while Mian Abdul Aziz is reported to have openly said at Lyallpur that there was no chance of success for Shaikh Rahim Bakhsh, though his own sympathies were with him.

8. People are heard saying that Gauba should win; because his defeat will be the defeat of Islam; while the defeat of
Shaikh 'Rahim Bakhsh will be the defeat of the Muslim Conference only.

9. The Hindu agitation against Gauba is going a long way in his favour in Muslim circles.

10. I have not met Firoze yet, but I understand that he is here and has invited to his house a large number of Muslim residents of Lahore on the 3rd instant.

11. I hear that every Friday Gauba says his Jumma prayers in the Shahi Mosque, Lahore, and his daily prayers turn by turn, in the big Mosques of Lahore, simply to win the good opinion, sympathy and support of the Muslims of Lahore.

12. Outside of Lahore also he follows the same practice and is often taken round in procession.

The above facts speak for themselves. I, for one, see no chance for the Haji Sahib, and, therefore, suggest the following course, which, in my humble opinion, is the only way out of the difficulty:

The Shaikh Sahib should withdraw if Gauba declares from the public platform and through the Press that he is not going to the Assembly on the Ahrar’s ticket; but as the representative of the Muslims other than Ahrars. If he declines to make such a declaration, Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Sir Firoze Khan, yourself and other leading Muslims of Lahore, Amritsar and Firozepur etc. should warn the Muslims of the danger ahead. I am sure that in that case our efforts shall have the desired result. The question is a simple one; either the Ahrars win or we. If Gauba cares to go in as our candidate, we should withdraw Shaikh Rahim Bakhsh; but if he insists upon being elected on Ahrar’s ticket, we should do our best to put in our own candidate. In short, we should either withdraw the Shaikh Sahib with good grace or leave no stone unturned to get him in. At present the situation is hopeless and no exhortations, except on the line suggested by me, shall succeed.

About the other matter, my misgiving may be unfounded.

With all good wishes,

Ever sincerely yours,

Shahabuddin
335. The Retreat, Simla,
2nd October, 1934.

My dear Shāhābuddin,

Yours of the 1st October.

The suggestion contained in para. 12 of your letter seems to be sound. So you can proceed with it, i.e., "if Gauḍa declares from the public platform and through the Press that he is not going to the Assembly on the Ahrār’s ticket; but as the representative of the Muslims other than Ahrārs”. I shall be glad to hear whether your offer is acceptable to Gauḍa or not. This had better be done without delay.

With best wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

336. Camp, 39, Empress Road, Lahore,
11th October, 1934.

My dear Azim,

I have read this paper and made certain comments as I ran through it. It is a good attempt at facing the interesting and difficult problems which are so attractive to the inquiring mind. There is a widespread tendency to condemn religion, but those who substitute some other conceptions—be it perfection, be it culture, be it the right or be it the beautiful, don’t make much progress in the study of these problems. The movement is more in a circle. It cannot, therefore, be said to be an advance. Religion is no more open to abuse than Hellenic ideals, and one should be careful not to mistake what appears to one to be novel to be also right.

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

Your papers are sent under a separate cover.
My dear Sir Herbert,

I told you that Zafrulla was coming to Delhi on the 26th and you asked me to tell him to meet you at his earliest convenience. His aeroplane was delayed by 24 hours and it arrived here only this morning. I had a telegram from Zafrulla saying that he was unable to come to Delhi. So he has apparently proceeded to Lahore. I have, therefore, had no opportunity of mentioning to him that you wanted him to see you.

Since I met you, I have read Mirza Sahib's statement of the case, and have received since then two or three communications from his Secretary. mentioning developments. I think the present dispute does not offer a suitable opportunity for attaining two objectives: firstly, making the Ahmadiya community feel that they are growing aggressive and that they should be made to feel that they resume their position as one of the numerous classes and communities in the province; and, secondly, not allowing or encouraging Ahrars to gain in strength and enterprise. The pursuit of the dual policy is likely to lead to the following results: encouragement of Ahrars and discouragement of Ahmadis, thus developing a situation wherein the friends grow weaker and the opponents grow stronger. The suitable policy to adopt would be to act firmly in the matter and deal strictly with the aggression of Ahrars against Ahmadis, and put an end to it; and then, after a suitable pause, to proceed to deal with the Ahmadis locally so that they do not develop the aggressive mentality against others who live with them or near them. Trying to achieve the two objects at one blow seems to me unsound and unlikely to succeed.

I have thought over the matter and have arrived at the conclusion given above, and am sending it on to you as you were occupied in dealing with the matter.

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

H.E. Sir Herbert Emerson, Governor of Punjab,
Lahore.
Private & confidential.
338. 6, King Edward Road, New Delhi,
30th October, 1934.

My dear Shahabuddin,

Please note very carefully that you are not to talk to His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab about my being available for Revenue Membership in the Punjab on the expiry of Sikandar’s term. I do not wish my name mentioned to him in this connection by you or by anybody else. If I wanted him to consider my name, I could do so by asking him myself. I trust none of my friends will go contrary to my wishes, and if any one does so, it will appear that his real object is to hurt me and not to help me. You and every one else are free to try for themselves and for their friends, but I do not wish my name to be used in this connection. Moreover, I do not wish to take part in promoting the cause of any individual candidate or in prejudicing the cause of any candidate. Sikandar and I felt that there would be too many candidates in the field, but that any effort made to reduce their number would only result in increasing it.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain.

Private & personal.
339. New Delhi,
2nd November, 1934.

Dear Shahabuddin,

Did you see that Kanwar Jagdish Prasad was congratulated by the U. P. Legislative Council at one of its sittings on his appointment to the Governor-General’s Council? I have not seen a corresponding incident taking place in your Council. Is it that Zafrulla has not attending [sic] the meetings, or is there any other reason?

Again, I saw that there was a talk of Muslim members of the Legislature refusing to have a congratulatory function on his appointment. They had one at the time he was appointed to officiate for me and you all took part in it. In view of all the circumstances, don’t you think some function is called for? Far be it from me to take
life has to be led; let us live it to please and help others and find solace in that.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

359.
27 Lawrence Road,
Lahore.
20th July, 1935.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Thank you for your kind letter of yesterday. I herewith enclose a copy of the circular letter. I regret the delay. I wrote a note on the 16th to Gokal Chand Narang asking for a copy of it, who sent it up to Simla to Marsden who sent it down on the 18th and I got it on the 19th. The situation in Lahore has deteriorated since yesterday. The Muslim leaders have been fully consulted by me and they are all willing to accept the following position:

1. The ownership and possession of the mosque site shall vest in the Sikhs in accordance with the decision of the Gurdwara Tribunal. The Muslims filed no appeal in the High Court. The mosque site shall be walled around and fenced and left vacant and not built over nor used for all future times.

2. The Sikhs are willing to agree to this position but they say that they object to the words "not used". They are willing to leave it vacant and promise not to build over it but they do not wish to lose the right of use altogether, e.g., they want to have a right to go on to the site and mow the lawn and plant flower bushes.¹ We are meeting again this afternoon to discuss the situation. As far No. (1) above is concerned, Maulana Zafar Ali, Sayed Habib and Feroz-ud-Din Ahmad, three out of the four externees, have been fully consulted and they all agree. Maulvi Ahmad Ali and Maulvi Ghulam Murshad have also agreed to this. Of course Nawab Muzaffar also agrees. We have been in full consultation with each other. Nawab Shah Nawaz Khan has taken part in all this. He is also agreeable. Let us see what happens.

¹ We agreed but Sikhs gone back. Firoz,
this afternoon. H. E. is also fully in touch with what is going on,

The Hindus have been very mischievous and in my opinion some of them have done their utmost to spoil a settlement. They themselves say that they have helped. The Hindu press tone has been very provocative telling Muslims that they were useless fellows — this being already the cause of the outburst that has gone on yesterday and today. This morning police had to fire twice several rounds in all. Four are reported killed and three injured.

As regards Ahrars they have carefully kept out of it. Their game has been to avoid a quarrel with the Sikhs and they also were afraid of going to jail and thereby missing the next election. Their plan being, with the help of Akali Sikhs, to form the next Cabinet. This is an open secret. They have procrastinated in this matter and always evaded the issue and kept out of it in spite of the pressure of Muslims in Lahore bazars. Night before last about 250 people collected outside their office and abused them. There have been posters all over the city against the Ahrars. Ata Ullah Shah Bokhari has left for Dalhousie or Mussorie. The Ahrars have called a conference for the 27th. Their game is that if there is any settlement by then they will be able to say that they knew there would be peace. Therefore they did not come in. I am informed that all the Ahrar Committees in the mufassil have revolted against Afzal Haq and their troop and there is strong feeling against them all over the province. Zafar Ali and Habib are making good use of this opportunity to run the Ahrars down. Nawab Muzaffar Khan has always very wisely counselled that if an agreement is made with the Sikhs, the Ahrars must be partners, so that they could not start a mischief after peace has been made. Afzal Haq and Mazhar Ali Azhar attended the meeting of M. L. C's on the 17th in the Council Chamber but they were absent from the meeting at the Government House this morning. They attended the 3 P.M. meeting at Piplas. Lahore is passing

1. Last evening we broke up without any result. We meet tonight again but nothing will come out if it. Firoz,
through a very critical time.

With kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,
Firoz.
(Firoz Khan Noon)

Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain Sahib, K. C. S. I.,
Abbotabad. (Bungalow No. 19).

P.S. Above was dictated yesterday 2.30. The 3 o/c meeting with
Sikhs at Pipals proved a failure. They are very cunning, troublesome
and in with the Hindus. The whole lot of them, Jogi is staying with
Gokal. Raja N. N. [Narendra Nath] presides at all private Sikhs
meetings.

Shahabuddin, Muzaffar and myself all three went and saw H. E.
together thereafter.

Huge crowds are squatting outside Delhi Gate, 4 or 5 thousand
since yesterday. Luckily they are peaceful. No shooting took place
last night.

Mobs are infuriated. All ready to die.

They don’t listen to any one. Many people have gone and
talked to them.

Lahore
20 July 1935.

Dear Mian Sahib.

I was here on the 17th, then went to Rohtak and returned on the
19th in order to be able to have a talk with some Sikhs whom I knew.
Unfortunately these Sikhs had left Lahore and Sardar Jogendra Singh
is staying with Dr. Gokal Chand. Thus it is impossible to get a
quiet hour even with Sardar Jogendra Singh.

The situation is getting worse. The new and ill-conceived move
to attempt a march on Shahidganj is bound to antagonise Sikhs who,
as a “delightful” people, were already reluctant to take a sufficiently
long view.

The incidents of yesterday are given in brief in the local papers.
Though I came a day earlier I was unable to do anything practical as the agents through whom I expected to do my little bit were not available. However, I saw the Governor at 7.30 p.m. yesterday. The situation being extremely grave he was naturally very anxious—almost nervous. There had been no firing up to then and there seems to have been no firing since. He was very much perturbed at the prospect of firing becoming unavoidable. The officers on the spot seem to have acted with exceptional restraint and modération. After the first 36 arrests had been made the crowd seems to have made up its mind to imprison those who had gone to bring arrested persons in a prison van. Many people stretched themselves on the ground in front of the lorry, then ripped open its tyres and broke its engine. It is 10 a.m. now. Ahmad Yar has gone out to bring more information. I will add it when he returns.

One alarming news is that the “agitators” are trying to enlist the active sympathy and help of Pir Juma ‘at Ali Shah and Pir Faze Shah for civil disobedience. In fact according to them these Pirs have already sworn on the holy Quran to render this help.

The situation wrung a confession from the Governor that you were the only person who could master the situation, but he deplored your sick health at the present moment. I told him that you had written a very strong letter on the subject to Ahmad Yar suggesting the great need of giving a correct lead to the masses and not allowing them to be misled.

I may also add that after Juma prayers at the Badshahi mosque the congregation, that is, the wilder section of it had taken an oath to proceed to Shahidganj en bloc. The tragedy of the situation is that Muslims are without a leader at present, and wild young men are leading the mob ...

The crowd got reduced during the night to 800. It has swelled again to 1200. Only mild lathi charges and water hoses were used to effect dispersal. The crowd is still sitting in the middle of the road and blocking the way ...

At this stage I left to attend the Conference the venue of which had been changed to the Government House as, contrary to my
previous information, there had been firing in the city. In the first instance, five rounds were fired and the crowd gave way. After some time the crowd came up again. On the second occasion two more rounds were fired. There are unconfirmed reports that eleven persons were killed as a result of this firing. Probably this is an exaggeration. Firing was resorted to after every other means of dispersing the crowd had failed and a senior officer of Police, some constables and some cavalry men had been injured by brick-bats. Numerous lathi charges and even a march by the cavalry had failed before fire was opened. All this information was given to us at the conference by the Governor himself.

I may also add that the persons arrested were rescued by the crowd out of the prison van.

I returned from the Government House at 1 p.m. to resume this account.

At the conference the Governor gave us an account of what happened, and made an earnest appeal to Muslims and Sikhs to come to an understanding. Sadiq made a very sound and sincere speech which was appreciated by everybody.

The officials then left and the conference was continued under the presidency of Ch. Shahabud Din. The Muslims retired to one corner of the hall and Sikhs and Hindus to the other. The following formula was suggested—probably by Dr. Gokal Chand—as a solution:

The question of ownership and possession of the Shahidganj having been finally decided by the court as being with Sikhs the members present at this conference should recommend to their respective communities that as a solution of the present difficulty the site actually under the mosque should be surrounded by a wall or a fence and should not be built upon for all time.

I am quoting from memory, but am not far from actual wording.

Muslims put forward an amendment that the words "or used for any purpose" should also be added. This was not acceptable to Sikhs. Another amendment which was under discussion when we broke up for lunch was that the final words should be "should be
enclosed on all sides by a wall nine feet high". The suggestion is obviously meant to secure the substance without fighting for words. The Raja Sahib is of opinion that anything excluding use nullifies the rights of Sikhs under the decree.

The position is that Sikhs are mere puppets in the hands of the Hindus, and Hindus are most unwilling to see a composition of the differences which may keep Sikhs aloof from Muslims. They want the Sikhs to fight for them against the Muslims. The last amendment will, I am given to understand, be acceptable to the general body of Muslims. It is not likely to be acceptable to Sikhs—because it is not acceptable to the urban Hindus—unless the Governor tells Dr. Gokal Chand and Raja Narendra Nath that he will hold them responsible if the Sikhs fail to accept this arrangement. Of course, this hint may be conveyed very gently whether ever this hint will be effective I am not sure. But in the absence of this hint any compromise does not seem possible.

Personally I regard the attempt of Muslims to nullify a civil court's decree by direct action as most unreasonable. But a difficult and even grave position having arisen I would not, If I were a Sikh, insist upon my pound of flesh and see the province plunged into bloodshed.

Yours sincerely,

Chhotu Ram

P. S. The letter is being posted at 2 p.m.

361. 21st July, 1935

Dear Mian Sahib,

We are to meet again this evening at 6 p.m. with Chaudhri Sahib in the Chair. The Sikhs had to leave for Amritsar to attend an All-Parties conference to be held early this morning. The formula fell through as the condition of non-user proved unacceptable to Sikhs. All the obstruction comes from Hindu and Sikh non-zamindars; the zamindars are mere pawns in the game.

Since the second firing the crowd has been absolutely quiet and non-violent. But there are three different crowds now at three different places, all held up by the Police and all non-violent.
19. To do everything possible for the elimination of unemployment;
20. To support the opening of technical institutions;
21. To secure proper share of Public Services for the Mussalmans;
22. To work for a healthier Punjab;
23. To remove the deplorable slum conditions of the town and villages;
24. To promote peace and friendship with sister community, and to work for the prosperity and happiness of the country in general.

The work of the Unionist Party will be mainly inside the Council and this party will work outside the Council in support of the Unionist Party.

These are only rough ideas which are submitted to you for your consideration and suggestions for improvement.

Yours sincerely,
Firoz

372. Lahore.
13th August 1935

Dear Mian Sahib,

The white washing of the bungalow is going on. What about the selection of the paper for the drawing room and the colour of the distemper of the drawing room and also what about the hall? There are no niches built in the walls of the bath-rooms of the upper storey and consequently no almirahs can be fitted there.

The Ahraris appear to be in very hot waters now a days and they are trying to keep themselves safe for the coming elections [which] might cost them a great deal.

Many persons have been trying to fish in the troubled water of Shahid Gunj Mosque trouble. Malik Feroz Khan and Nawab Muzaffar failed to show a united front and never could take one another into their confidence. The former was also trying to be honest and helpful to his community but in the case of the latter I found that he was trying to make his own future secure even at the cost of the community. He tried to impress upon the Governor that
he was popular with the Sikhs and the Ahraris and very accommodating to the powers that be—all very good qualification for the future chief minister of the province in the eyes of Sir Herbert. He tried to invite Sir Sikander when it was suggested to invite you here and in spite of his professions I don't think he is honest towards you. You might be in a position to know better.

Lahore has had a good shower and the weather has been quite pleasant during the last two days.

I do hope this will find you in much better health.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Amiruddin

P. S.

As for the expenses of the bungalow you may send a cheque for Rs. 300/- for the present.

[Letter No. 373, from His Highness the Aga Khan to Sir Fazl-i-Husain, is reproduced on the following pages, in full and in original. Corrections and changes are in the hand of Sir Fazl-i-Husain who seems to have prepared a statement on the future Muslim policy in India, based on His Highness Sir Aga Khan's detailed account.]
Private & Confidential

374. 1, Brockhurst
Simla, E.
14 - 8 - 1935

My dear Mian Sahib,

Many thanks for your kind letter.

I have put up a note regarding the exemption of Muslims from Arms Act as far as swords are concerned. I think it is a good case and I am sure H.E. will be sympathetic.

As regards Shahidganj Mosque the Sikhs have now regularised their position by taking the sanction of the MC for building the other wall.

The weather here is very foul.

Zafrulla has come back. I hear Jagdish Parshad goes on 3½ months leave, his wife is ill and Ram Chandra may officiate in Bajpai’s place.

Nasim was here for 10 days and went back yesterday.

Delimitation Committee will be here in early October. So we shan’t be able to go down till 10th Oct. or Oct., 25th, they will consider Punjab case in Simla. I propose to try and have Jhang and Gujranwala taken away from Rawalpindi Landholders Constituency. I may not succeed but there is no harm in trying.

The European officials are one and all sympathetic towards Muslims in this affair. The law does not seem to have given them a chance to help Muslims regarding Shahidgunj Mosque because Sikhs have decree in their favour. The Sikhs bought over the مجاور in charge of Tomb. He had decamped and can’t be found I am told.

With kindest regards to you all,

Yours sincerely,

Firoz

P.S.

I would advise against your coming to Lahore. Crowds do not seem to listen to anyone. Ahrar non-Ahrar fights take place at all meetings. By early Oct things will be in a quieter and saner mood and when you come to Lahore you will first get first hand
and full knowledge of things and then will be in a position to make up your mind. It is essential that you should have complete rest for another month or so and build up your health.

Private
375. Simla,
16. 8, 1935

My dear Mian Sahib,

The post which you fought so hard last year to secure for me permanently is to come this September to me for a few months. Kunwar Sahib has had to ask for leave because of the state of his wife’s health and I have been asked to act for him. The announcement will be made in due course but I have ventured to write to you about it in advance because I know that the news will please you. The goldsmith who fashions the first links in a chain but has to leave it unfinished has an interest in the completion of his hard work. The chain, if it is sentient, feels gratitude always towards its first maker. Mine is the gratitude of the chain in this simile.

Nasim was here for a change. He had tea with me last Saturday and expressed a wish to be transferred to Delhi. I have written to Johnson and hope that it may be possible to arrange this.

With best wishes to all of you in which my wife joins,

I am,

Yours sincerely,

G. S. Bajpai

P.S.

Ramchandra will act for me as Secretary;
I am glad that this chance has come his way.

GSP

376. Simla,
16th August, 1935.

Dear Mian Sahib,

I had a very strenuous tour and was not able to send a reply to your three letters any earlier as even after my return to Simla I have
and you should ask Ahmad Yar and Riyasat Ali not to reply to it and carry on the controversy. There is a great deal of truth in what Abdul Ghani has said and the object is for suitable assurance being given privately within the party.

Since this is a statement published in the public press, I will arrange for a suitable exposition of the creed of the party relating to firstly the tribal or caste distinction and secondly residential qualification, village or town. I do not find anything particularly wrong in the article. There is a certain amount of dissatisfaction in it, but there is also the under current of reasonableness and willingness for adjustment of interests. It would be fatal for the party to permit the majority faction, i.e. the members of the scheduled agricultural tribes, to assume an attitude of superiority or power towards smaller factions of the party belonging to the non-scheduled—agricultural tribes or residents of town areas. The party has always disowned racial and residential distinctions and has insisted upon faith, belief, object or practical programme of work. Moreover, amongst Muslims there is not that conflict of interests as exists amongst Hindus. Muslim urbanians have not ousted Muslim rurals from Government service. In fact the representation of rural Muslims in services is very considerable as compared with the Muslim urbans while in the case of Hindus the urban Hindus have ousted the rural Hindus and there is that conflict of interests.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

386.
Private

31, Stanley Road,
Allahabad,
9th September, 1935.

My dear Guru,

I was delighted to receive your letter. It does not hold out hopes of your resuming the thankless task of organising the Muslims of the Punjab, but there is just a glimmer of hope and satisfaction in
a few passages, and I feel that it might be possible for you to emerge from your retreat, reinvigorated and refreshed, ready for the fray, and determined to maintain those traditions of purity, honesty and selfless devotion to public interest which is your noble contribution to the India of today. It has been my proud privilege to be associated with you in a most humble and insignificant capacity, and I know from what little I have been able to glean from that happy and precious intercourse, that you alone can save the situation. The Statesman of yesterday's date echoed the same sentiments. The Ahrars as well as the opponents will end like Saturn, devouring their own children, and the Muslim Punjab, which has lost frightfully in morale, prestige, influence and integrity will become the laughing stock of every community. The Shaheedgunj affair has been most foolishly handled both by our party as well as by the Ahrars, while the Punjab Government made matters worse. By your coming back into public life, Muslim India will recover the position it has lost. Otherwise, we shall have Hazrat Maulana Murshidna Zafar Ali Khan, representing our party, and Ameer Shariat Ataullah Shah Bokhari representing the Ahrars. In the Punjab Government, the community has ceased to count.

Your lieutenants are scattered all over India, and will follow you anywhere. I am convinced that unless you resume your public activities, the situation in the Punjab will undergo a rapid process of deterioration, and the Muslim community will be broken up into numerous fragments. I have always been a believer in your star. The belief has now been fused into a conviction that the imperative need of the present times is the formulation of a definite party and its inflexible pursuit, by a man of your calibre. You will change the whole situation in a very short time.

I have now seriously taken in hand the writing of a book which I had promised to compose for Messrs Macmillan. It will be called, Introduction to the New Constitution of India, and will contain about 350 pages. There will be two chapters on the Round Table Conferences. Naturally the book will be based entirely on published
documents, and no private or secret document, conversation will be
utilised. There will be pen-pictures of two of my heroes—Aga Khan
and yourself—but they will be impressions of personalities. Special
arrangements are being made for its sale in England, America and
India. I finished the first chapter today. There will be sixteen
altogether.

Yours affectionately,

Shafaat

—

387.

Abbottabad,
16th September, 1935.

Dear Firoz,

Yours of the 7th September re. the Punjab Legislative Assembly
Landholders Constituencies.

1. Your note has a few inaccuracies:—

(a) You say that Pindi District might contribute a hundred
voters. This is impossible because in the existing electoral
roll the Pindi district has only 35 and since the total
electoral roll has gone down from 3500 to 2703 and the
number of voters in every district has gone down it is not
likely that Rawalpindi will be an exception; and it is safe
to assume that there will be a reduction in this district as
well and the number is likely to be round about 25.

(b) In Ambala and Jullander division you say the total number
will be 697. There is a miscalculation and the number is
674.

2. The total number of voters including the estimated figure for
Rawalpindi being 2730 the unit for constituency would be 683.
Ambala and Jullander have 674, i.e., only 9 less than the unit.
Lahore Division has 575; i.e., 108 less than the unit.
Pindi Division including Pindi district has 395—288 less than
the unit.

Multan Division has 1021—388 in excess of the unit. In the
Multan division Lyallpur has 293 voters and if Lyallpur was taken out
392.
31, Stanley Road,
Allahabad.
19th September, 1935.

Dear Guru,

Your letter is most encouraging, and your numerous followers—I am not a follower; but a worshipper—will be delighted to hear that there is a possibility of your coming into the field again. Fortune can untie the knot and restore Muslim solidarity. It is quite impossible for an outsider to hazard an opinion on events in the Punjab, but my study of the situation is that our own group is adopting very precipitate measures. Either do a thing, or not do it at all. If one does it one must put first every ounce of one's energy into the task. This is precisely what we do not seem to be doing now. The announcement of civil disobedience movement on 20th instant was a most imprudent step, as I am afraid the demonstrations will fizzle out tomorrow. The movement should be directed into constitutional channels. *Laihi Bazi* on both sides—the Ahrars and non-Ahrars—will pay neither party. These are jottings of an ignoramus, and we have no doubt whatsoever that when you go back to Lahore and study the situation, you will be able to evolve a policy that will be followed by every prominent Muslim not only in the Punjab, but also in India. When you have some time to spare, I hope you will devote it to All-India affairs. But the Punjab must come first, as it is the key province of India.

My book is progressing satisfactorily. It is a ticklish undertaking, but I do not wish to rub other people's corns unnecessarily.

I am leaving tomorrow for Simla to be present at a party which I had fixed for Zafrullah on 21st. From there I proceed to a fairly extensive tour in my province, covering about 15 districts. I have had little time to maintain contact with my men and supporters, owing to my frequent absence in the R.T.C. I hope to return on October 12. Meetings and other functions have been arranged at every place. It will be a bracing and strenuous week, and will tone up the work of our party.

With the kindest regards and deepest affection,

Ever yours affectionately,

Shafaat
The Daily "Hmadam"

Lucknow,
20th September, 1935.

My Dear Sir Fazl-e-Husain,

I must apologise for being so late in answering your letter but I was away on a tour of my Zamindari and on my return have been laid down with Malaria. I am sorry that my remarks caused you annoyance but they were not written in a carping spirit. I did not mean to criticise you but expressed my disappointment that you were keeping away at a very critical juncture when the Musalmans were asking for Leadership. I am glad however that your return will synchronise with peace. In my humble opinion the best plan would be to gather at some central place for instance Lucknow and decide a uniform policy for the Indian Musalmans. This is not only my opinion but the opinion of all U. P. Leaders. If you can approve of the suggestion then please let me know and I will address other friends in the matter. U. P. has been silently drifting towards the Congress and a gathering of men like yourself will prove very helpful to them.

I return the cuttings as desired.

Yours sincerely,

Abdullāh

Abbottabad,
21st September, 1935.

My dear Muzaffar,

Yours of the 19th September.

The situation in the Punjab is fast deteriorating and you and His Excellency cannot be unaware of it. What are the causes of this deterioration and how can this deterioration be checked and the lost position recovered? An enquiry into the first, i.e., the causes of deterioration, is important in order to find suitable measures to secure the object in view.

The position was, though one of tension, still quite sound up till 1932. The so-called communal decision was taken up by the Hindus and the Sikhs in the Punjab for agitation against the Muslims and
the Government. This agitation was allowed to proceed and become intense and, in the course of it, threats of defiance of law, breach of peace and bloodshed were hurled about. Still Government took no notice of all these things. The Muslims were on the defensive, and during the last three years it appears that the policy of Government had been to do everything to appease the Hindus and Sikhs, probably because Government felt that, as the Hindus and Sikhs were already very sore on account of the communal decision, therefore every effort should be made to please them; and in keeping with this policy the treatment meted out to Muslims was one of indifference and possibly, in some cases, of injustice. Again, probably due to the reason that the Muslim community has been favoured in the matter of the communal decision and therefore no harm will be done by taking them a peg or two down. During this period the extremists among the Muslims felt that the Muslims were down in their luck and that a reign of terror was not far off. The Hindus and Sikhs were organizing and intimidating others; they should also take hand in this venture. They constituted themselves into the Ahrars. They had the support, direct or indirect, of many prominent Muslims for different reasons and it is believed of many Government officials. This put them in funds and made them organized. The Ahmadi business came to them as a God-send and there again many influential people and, possibly some Government officials, helped them. The spirit of defiance of law among the Muslims was thus developed and whether the leadership of those who have imbibed the spirit remains with the Ahrars or someone else is immaterial. As I always pointed out to H. E. the Governor and my friends, it was dangerous to play this game. The Muslim community is treading the path which the Hindus and the Sikhs have been treading in the past. The animus displayed by the Muslim community against the sister communities is only a reaction to the spirit which the two communities displayed to the knowledge of the Government towards the Muslim community during the last three years. The Punjab Government was warned again and again in 1933 and 1934 and what is happening today is the natural outcome of what was happening in 1933 and 1934.
The situation has been made much worse by the incidents of the last two or three months relating to Shahidganj mosque affair. I am very glad to hear from you that His Excellency the Governor is anxious to do all that can reasonably be expected for the Muslim community. This is very reassuring, for to an outsider ignorant of the real happenings it does not appear that the Moslem community is having a fair deal. It does not also appear that the Government has treated the two communities in the same way. If this impression is wrong, why are not the real facts disclosed and made public? For instance, was there a shrine of Shahqau in the close vicinity of the demolished mosque? If there was not, why not say so, and why encourage the Muslims to litigate and array their forces and make the animosity between the two communities worse than it is at present? If, on the other hand, there was a shrine and it has been demolished by the Gurudwara Committee people, as they demolished the mosque, why not they see that the shrine is restored? Why make it necessary for the Muslims to litigate? I never believed in putting off the evil day. If a situation has to be met, the sooner it is met the better. But Government as a rule want to put off coming to a decision as long as possible and, in many cases, have regretted it.

Frankly, the prevailing idea amongst the Muslim community today is that the Punjab Government is bent upon acting unjustly and unfairly towards them; that it is afraid of the Sikhs; that the combination of the Sikhs and the Hindus is too much for the Government to tackle and that in the discomfiture of the Muslim community both the Hindu-cum-Sikh combination and many Government officials see an escape from the possibility of a Moslem Government being established under the reforms. What justification there is to these impressions it is impossible for me to say. As I have told you and Firoz over and over again, I feel I do not understand all the happenings of the last two or three months and that the letters I have received from you and from Firoz instead of clearing matters have been mystifying and therefore I have, much to my regret, been postponing understanding them till I am in Lahore towards the middle of October. No end of people write to me and appeal to me and do all sorts of things and the papers say why I do nothing and so on. But
since I am not in public life, and since my health does not permit my resuming public life, I have refused being pushed into this controversy. I am glad to hear about the views of the Government about the Kot affair. I was very much afraid that if Government took up an attitude inconsistent with their professions in the Shahidganj affair, it may prove to be the last straw on the camel's back. What should be done?

(1) to deal with the situation and the extremist section of the Muslims having got out of hand through the mistaken policy of some Muslim leaders and the Government? The way adopted of externment orders will not do. It has been tried before and it has failed invariably. It is for you and Firoz to start the constructive work of organisation and perfect it in a manner that will throw this section into shame and honestly and truthfully not to give encouragement to this section.

(2) For the Government to settle the matter of the Shahqaqu grave. In course of that a reasonable settlement about the demolished mosque is not impossible.

(3) To resume the policy of holding the balance even and not showing favours to one community at the expense of the other and thus creating resentment.

(4) To make it clear that there is no truth in the rumours or suspicion that the inter-communal trouble is not unwelcome to the official world.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

Rohitak. 22 September, 1933.

Dear Mian Sahib,

I received your letter with the enclosed note today. I decidedly prefer your note to mine as being more full of substance and dignity. Mine was characterised by a little controversial spirit and might have some antagonising effect upon urban Muslims. Yours is couched in more sympathetic, calm and persuasive language without the surrender of any point of principle or policy.
Muslims and go to U. P. to give a strong lead to U. P. Muslims—
I have no such aspiration and my health does not permit my undertakings such a gigantic task and I doubt whether I have the requisite ability and capacity for this great work. I formulated what I considered the right policy for Indian Muslims during the last five years because I was forced into the office and had to discharge the duties of that office to the best of my ability. Therefore what I did was not out of choice or liking, but simply certain duties were thrust upon me and I had to discharge them as best as I could and thereby lost what little was left to me of my health. Now there is not much of health to lose but still neither Islam nor my principles approve of suicide, and my attempting the task you suggest is tantamount to committing suicide. Moreover, U. P. is rich in leaders and the leaders of the Province in its affairs are better than an outsider. I wish you and them every success.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

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Personal & Confidential.

400.        Abbottabad,
24th September, 1935.

Dear Sheikh Sahib,

Yours of the 12th September.

The question of the High Commissioner, London, was engaging my attention for some years past. At one time the Viceroy and the Secretary of State were believed to be definitely of view that the next incumbent should be a Muslim. This was in 1932-33. In 1934 the Viceroy began to waver, but still held out hopes. In 1935 a short while ago it is surmised that he definitely went against his former view and supported Bhore, but the Secretary of State did not agree and the matter has been put off for the new Viceroy in consultation with the new Secretary of State to settle. Under the circumstances it is difficult to get the Viceroy to move in the matter. During the
last 2 years, not only I have been persistent about it, but Muslim members of the Round Table Conference here and in England have been pressing the Viceroy and the Secretary of State hard for it. I had asked Umar Hyat also to see the Secretary of State and press him for it. I believe he did so. I thought you knew it, and those who discussed this matter had, amongst other names, mentioned your name as well. In the matter of filling appointments, the Viceroy has been thinking of discharging his commitments to individual Muslims rather than fill the posts more suitably, and if in every case he had succeeded, the result would have been from the Muslim point of view disastrous. The matter now rests in the hands of Linlithgow and Zetland. It is in the best interests of the Muslim community as well as the Government that a man who would fill the post suitably and be a credit to the post should fill it and it should not be felt that he is intellectually and culturally much below the standard of his two distinguished predecessors, otherwise it will do no credit to the Muslim community. In fact it will lower the prestige of the Muslim community in the eyes of the public men in England and in Europe. All that could have been done in the matter has been done by me already and I am sure Zafrullah has also tried. (Incomplete)

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

[To Shaikh Sir Abdul Qadir]

401.

17, Lawrence Road,
Lahore,
25th September, 1935.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Many thanks for your kind letter. Government is not touching the Auqaf part of the trouble at all, nor are Government dealing with the Shahidganj affair. The Muslim graveyards Bill is the outcome of the complaints raised by Lahore Muslims from time to time that the Miani Sahib graveyard on Bahawalpur road has been encroached upon and nearly 2/3rds of it sold to the people by encroachers, and built upon. The measure which has now been drafted is with a view to protect future encroachments on graveyards. I shall send you a copy of the Bill as soon as it is printed. The final
bank or the Imperial Bank on a five or more years contract. However if his father and you consider that it would be worth-while taking a chance I will do all I can to help him. He will of course have to begin at the lowest rung of the ladder which to a young man of his attainments might strike as incongruous.

With kind and respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
Sikander Hyat

407.

مورخه ۲۶ نومبر ۱۹۳۵ء

آک اور قتل

جناب مولوی، به ابراغیم صاحب سیر سلام علیكم کی بعد کا کشیدگی ہے کہ جمعه

کو آپ نے مسلسلون کی سیاسی جامعہ کی سخت تنازعات کی تحقیق کی پہلی اس روز باری

پاڑ گئی کا بریزانتک صاحب چونکہ کلکتہ گیا ہوئے تھے ورنہ آپ گو امی رات قتل

کرڈیا گئتا۔ پاڑ گئے بریزانتک صاحب اب واسپما گئے ان مورخے ۲۶ نومبر کی رات

کو یہ بھی بارا اجلاس ملتی ہو گیا ہے ہم آپ کو واضح کر دینے بین کہ اگر

آپ یہ اب احراز کانگریس یا وطن کو آزاد کرنا ہے واقع کسی پارلیمیٹ کی بھی آپ

ئے تنازعات کی تو ہی آپ سمجھے لی گئے کسی دن یا رات کو آپ کی مکمل کو

آک اور آپ کو قتل کر دیا جائے گا ۔ والسلام

408.

31, Stanley Road,
Allahabad.
30th November, 1935.

Dear Guru,

I do hope you are all right now. Allahabad is so very far from Lahore, but it has been our earnest wish that you and sister will honour our little hut here with your presence.

I met Azim in Delhi. The boy is brilliant, and will go far. I still mourn the death of your younger son at Cambridge. He was the plume of the family, but Azim has the making of a very fine
Dear Mian Sahib,

I have gone through the draft so kindly sent by you. I have not had sufficient time to study the whole draft with the care and attention which it deserves. You have asked me to return the draft by the 23rd instance. If you had not wanted it back on the 23rd for some good reasons you would not have given me that direction. Therefore I am sending it back immediately and am making special arrangements to have it posted by to-night's Express. This leaves me inadequate time to study the draft. However I am making a few comments which have occurred to me during the time which I have had to peruse it:—

There are two parts of the creed. The first may be described as negative and the second as positive. So far as the positive part of the creed is concerned I am at one with you. But I should like to add two more items to this part; one relating to the attitude of the Party towards the Punjab Alienation of Land Act and the other to the Resolution of 1919 bearing on the share of various classes in the public service. The Alienation of Land Act did figure in our creed of 1924. A reference to the Resolution of 1919 was incorporated into a draft which I made a year or so ago and which you approved.

A little re-arrangement and further splitting up of some of the items of the creed may be made with advantage. However it is a matter of detail. With regard to the Resolution of 1919 it is a matter for consideration whether a reference should be made to it or a mere statement that all classes should have a fair representation in the permanent service will be sufficient.

So far as the negative part of the creed is concerned I am a little doubtful whether Ahrars and the extremists of the Congress need be mentioned specifically. I am even more doubtful of the expression “talk of independence of India”. The rest is all right. A little re-arrangement of words will have to be effected here and there.

I am enclosing herewith a draft of the programme etc. of the Party which was attempted at the time when negotiations with Sikhs were in progress. When you are chalking out the programme of the
Party this draft will place before you various items from which you may make a selection. I will add one more item to this programme, i.e., a survey of the mineral resources of the province.¹

I am coming to Lahore for the 25th. and can come to see you between 4 and 5 if you happen to be free. I will find this out over the phone after my arrival at Lahore.

Yours sincerely,
Chhotu Ram

(1. No good. Centre Subject)
Note by Fazl-i-Husain.

3, Durand Road, Lahore,
23rd January, 1936.

Dear Fazl-i-Hussain,

Your note of 21st with a copy of the draft Creed of the National Unionist Party. Part I of the Creed, which is meant to distinguish the Nationalist Unionist Party from other Parties, states the policy rather than the creed or objects of the Party, and therefore, should be omitted; as it goes without saying that the Party shall do its best to secure its aims and objects and to oppose everything that is inconsistent with or against its creed and policy. Therefore, I consider it both unnecessary and impolitic to retain any of the five paragraphs of Part I.

As to Part II of the draft, I have redrafted it a little bit briefly but without omitting, I think, anything of importance or substance, subject, of course, to such additions and alterations as you or any other promoter of the National Unionist Party may deem proper to make.

Yours sincerely,
Shahabuddin

2. Creed of the Party.

The Creed of the Party is Nationalism as distinguished from Sectarianism, Communalism, Communism and Socialism.

Objects of the Party.

The objects of the Party are:

1. to develop national self-respect lawfully and constitutionally;
2. to provide equal facilities and opportunities to the backward
Council of State.

Pind Dadan Khan,
4th February, 1936.

Dear Mian Sahib,

Thanks very much for your kind letter dated 1st February. I shall very gladly avail myself of the opportunity of discussing with you personally certain matters concerning the subject matter of enclosures and for this purpose will reach Lahore sometime in the afternoon of the 8th instant by car. I shall phone up and fix up the time on my arrival in Lahore.

I must confess that there seems great difficulty to define the definite principles to be embodied in the object of the party to keep out such members who may join the party just for their own selfish objects although may have no sympathy with the principles of the party. However, I give below my own humble opinion for your consideration though I again confess that I am not quite convinced whether they will serve the object in view and also how far they will make the party popular amongst the literate:

(1) The party believes that the present revenue system in the province puts greater strain on tenants and therefore would make an organized attempt to give substantial relief to them.

(2) Although the party is convinced that the existence of Land Alienation Act has served as a great protection to the zamindar against those persons who have not made agriculture as their profession, yet realizes that the real object which the Land Alienation Act had in view cannot be served unless some legislation is introduced to give protection to the small holder against big landlord even if the latter belongs to the agriculturist class.

(3) The party considers that an avowed distinction between rural and urban interests is more artificial than real. Therefore the party would take definite steps to bridge over this cleavage.

(4) The party looks upon with great concern the rapidly increasing unemployment amongst the educated classes and will take substantial steps to remove the same. The party further
considers the present educational system extremely defective and will try to thoroughly overhaul the same.

(5) The party believes that the legislation so far undertaken by the Provincial Council to remove the indebtedness of the agriculturists in the Province is extremely inadequate and therefore would advocate a policy of immediate redemption from debt of the small landholders by inaugurating an extensive system of mortgage banks.

(6) The party believes that moneylending by private individuals except for special objects should be prohibited by legislation and some special protection should be provided to the banks for recovering of loans advanced by them to the agriculturists for certain purposes.

Besides the above-mentioned principles I am of opinion that more importance should be attached to the method by which the party would put up candidates for election on its behalf. For instance, a small parliamentary election board should be constituted and any member who wants to stand on the party ticket should sign a pledge laying down the following conditions:—

(a) That he will abide by the decision of the parliamentary board whether he should stand from a particular constituency or not and in case the said board decides that he should not stand he should obey their verdict.

(b) He should sign a pledge that if elected he shall always vote as the party by a majority decides and where he considers the decision of the party against his conscience he shall simultaneously resign from the party as well as legislature.

In conclusion I would frankly state that there is no one in this province who has better knowledge of the mentality of the leading men in this province and understands the psychology of masses than yourself. Therefore this must entirely be left with you to decide what you consider would be in the best interests of the party and I am afraid I cannot make any valuable contribution towards achieving
this object except to pray earnestly and sincerely that God Almighty may give you strength enough both to organize and lead a strong and united party.

Yours sincerely,
Ghazanfar Ali

As far as the general principles underlying this creed are concerned I wholeheartedly endorse every word of it, but I doubt very much whether it would be wise or essential to put five negatives in the beginning of the creed. In my opinion it should be enough to explain the creed of the party without specifying to whom it is opposed and why it is opposed. Therefore I would suggest that the first paragraph under the head "As distinguished from other parties" should be altogether deleted. My reasons for this suggestion are as follows:

1. The objects attributed to different parties such as Ahrars, Congress, Socialists and Communists are merely inferences but are not contained in the creed of those parties, and therefore these may invite such hostile criticism which it would be impossible to rebut.

2. It is bound to create a united opposition by those parties whose names are mentioned and the general public will consider that the National Unionist Party are the aggressors in launching an uncalled-for attack on the other parties.

3. What is contained in these five stanzas of the first part is repeated in the second part where the creed of the party is described because when we clearly state what we stand for it becomes self-evident what we are opposed to.

Lastly I may submit that the objects of the party are couched in such wide and all-embracing terms that every body whether he believes in the principles laid down in this creed or not will come forward to sign this creed and stand on the party ticket with the result that it will be most impossible to decide whom to nominate on behalf of the party from any particular constituency. What would really happen is that like the so-called Election Board of the Muslim
Conference the party will nominate on its behalf all the opposing members from each constituency. On the other hand if the intention is to leave the members free to fight election with their own private influence and to join this party after they have been returned, with my experience of the Independent party in the Assembly I am sure it would be impossible to maintain any discipline in the party or to keep the members under control. Therefore I am of opinion that the creed should be defined more definitely and there should be two or three definite principles upon which it should be based.

Ghazanfar Ali
Member Council of State.

39, Empress Road,
Lahore.
9th February, 1936.

Dear Syed Habib,

Your No: 401, dated the 9th February, 1936.

Since last June or July you have lost faith in my opinion and have followed the course which you said, the circumstances of your case necessitated. Whenever you consulted me, I gave you my frank opinion, though repeatedly you preferred to follow your own. Now you intimate to me that to escape what you call public criticism you have decided to court imprisonment. I can only express regret at your decision and regret once more that you are acting wrongly.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

10th February, 1936,

O HF BOMBAY H 10 35 SIR FAZLI HOSAIN EMPRESS ROAD LAHORE WILL IT BE POSSIBLE FOR YOU COME DELHI DURING MY STAY AM REACHING THIRTEENTH LEAVING NINETEENTH HOPE HEALTH WELL EXPECTING FIND NOTES PROMISED ALSO FOR GUIDANCE AGA KHAN.
I think I will have to pay my respects to the new Viceroy, as it is
the latter who will make this appointment. In my interview, I will
not, of course, mention the appointment, unless there is pressing
necessity for it.

I understand that Ziauddin is trying hard for it. This seems
unreasonable, as our party did everything for him last year to put
him in the position of pride and honour which he now occupies.

Hassan Suhravardhy is backed strongly by Sircar, I am informed,

Delhi will be buzzing with all sorts of rumours, and I have
deliberately avoided visit to it, for fear of being misunderstood. I
was told yesterday by Noon and Ghulam Mohiuddin at Aligarh that
you are now the undisputed leader of the Punjab. I am not
surprised.

My book was received by Macmilian, and Brown who has gone
through it says “it has involved an immense amount of thought and
labour, and he forecasts that it will be epoch-making. Well, well,
let us wait and see, as old Asquith used to say.

Shafat Ahmad Khan

Bombay,
13th April, 1936.

My dear Sir,

I feel sorry for having come to Bombay. We were placed in a
difficult position.

Raja Ghazanfar Ali did not himself come in the field very often
and put up Mr. Matin Choudhary to represent him. I had a long
discussion with Mr. Jinnah. He was misled and was assured that
the Ahirs, Moulvi Zafar Ali, Barkat Ali, Alam, Kasuri, Lal Din
and others would bring a large party with the help of Jhelum and
Rawalpindi which according to him were under Ghazanfar’s thumb.

I tried to disillusion him but almost in vain. Finally I told him
that it would be impossible for me to say anything unless I had con-
sulted our leader. I made it clear to him that as far I could see it
was not in the interests of the Muslims to have a communal ticket in the Punjab. Matin was the only representative from Bihar, 2 Bengalees were his friends, Hassan Imam was lukewarm, Madras Mayor (?) was also of this school of thought and so were 2 C. P. men.

I promised to remain neutral if the boards were not constituted in the session and that the words "having regard to the particular conditions of every province" were inserted. It was agreed.

Mr. Jinnah proposes to form the central board at Delhi on the 29th and 30th. He will be in Lahore on the 1st and 2nd of May and address public meetings at Gujranwala 3rd, Jhelum 4th and Pindi on the 5th.

I have personally no fear of these activities as far our Party is concerned but at the same time I have begun to be conscious. The Ahrars, Zafar Ali, Barkat Ali who dare not stand on any other ticket with success may have a platform where they can contest with some justification.

I wish to have a talk with Mr. Jinnah. Had I consulted you I would had offered Mr. Jinnah that all the Members who were selected for the central houses could be required to follow League policy — The League is a central body. We do not contemplate an Indian Empire but united states of India. Mr. Jinnah persuaded me to seek election from Multan to the Assembly and leave Punjab politics. I told him that our leader wanted my services and I could not leave him. My prayer is that those who made efforts to raise Mr. Jinnah in Lahore's estimation may not be placed in a position where they may have to repent.

Poor Khurshid Ali had an accident and left last night. He will report what happened in the Pandal. Mr. Matin wanted all the Ahraris and men of that sort (non-Itahadis) on the Council of the League. Raja Ghazanfar Ali apart from opposing Feroze and Col. Umar Hyat, Salik, Amiruddin also offered the name of Qureshi Mohd Hyat who is greatly responsible for his return to Council of State and Mehr Shah's return to Assembly.

I am sure that Ghazanfar was the indiscreet mouthpiece of some of our Punjabi friends and I suspect a conspiracy. He said things
about you, Sikander and Feroze that Mr. Jinnah had to snub him at my protest. I am glad of one thing. It was decided to have Ghazanfar Ali as the General Secretary of the League. I persuaded Liaqat Ali of Karnal and it was made impossible for Ghazanfar even to stand. I am going to Ajmer and will pray for your health and success and reach Lahore on the evening of the 16th or the morning of the 17th.

With respects,

Yours obediently,

Ahmad Yar

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450.

Calcutta,

15th April, 1936.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Thanks for your letters. I was laid up with fever since my arrival from Delhi on the 4th. I am better now and leave for Bombay to-morrow where my address will be

C/o Reserve Bank of India,
Central Office,
Fort
Bombay.

I am sorry to learn that your talk with Raja Narendra Nath was disappointing. I am afraid the statement issued under the official impress of the Unionist party, after my departure from Lahore, may be to some extent responsible for his uncompromising attitude. I confess that the statement which appeared in the Civil and other papers struck me as extremely unfortunate in expression and wholly inopportune. One or two sentences are grossly misleading and do injustice to you as well as myself. I wonder if it was approved by you. I have been bombarded with inquiries from all quarters including my colleagues on the Government body. You will remember that among other things it was settled that if I have to return I should sever my connection with the Bank gracefully and amicably and I made it clear that if I have to ask for release I will do so about
October or November. The sensational headlines and the statement referred to above has put me in a very awkward position as naturally my Governor and others would be entitled to take exception to my taking decision without consulting or warning them which I proposed to do, if necessary, later on. Sir Shahabuddin when he came to bid good-bye on the day I was leaving asked me whether a statement should be made and I told him that if a statement was at all necessary at this stage it should be confined to a brief announcement that as a result of our conversations and in view of your health it may be necessary to recall me to assist you and in that case, probably, I may ask for my release from the Bank sometime about October or November. Chaudhri Sahib agreed that this brief statement would do, and that he would communicate my message to you. I was therefore most disagreeably surprised to see the statement purported to be from the Unionist party. I have refrained from issuing any statement hitherto in the hope that it may not be necessary to create more fuss. I however find that I will have to say something to indicate my position vis-a-vis the Bank, if for nothing else. However, you may rest assured, that if I do so it will not contain anything which might create a misunderstanding or in anyway embarrass you, although I feel tempted to correct the misleading statements and half truths which find a place in the Unionist party’s communiqué. In view of my undertaking to you which I will respect again if necessary I do not propose to do anything which might be misconstrued, however sore I may feel about it.

As regards Raja Narendra Nath and his party I do not think it would serve any useful purpose to continue the negotiations—in view of the disappointing nature of your recent interview—at present. If necessary we can do so later when I return. I suggest that you should in your speech at the inauguration of the central office on the 19th declare in clear and unambiguous terms that we would welcome non-agriculturists of all communities into our party. Our creed is wide and devised in the common interest of all classes and creeds but if our non-agriculturist and Hindu friends desire any changes which would make it even more acceptable to them we would be glad to consider their suggestions and if possible meet them provided the
basic principles are not affected. This I consider desirable and even necessary and I trust the proposal will meet with your approval.

I enclose a cheque for Rs. 500/- as desired. (I have included Rs. 1/4/- for exchange).

I hope you are well and improving.

Calcutta is uncomfortably warm now and I am looking forward to my arrival in Bombay which is comparatively cooler this time of the year.

Please forgive this scrawl as I have a mass of arrears to clear, before I leave, which have been accumulating during my illness.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sikander Hyat

451.

New Delhi,
15th April, 1936.

Dear Mian Sahib,

Many thanks for your letter of the 14th.

As regards the first matter, my private inquiries show that it is very hopeful. I am told that among his own people he is third or fourth, and as it is likely that five may be required, the position is quite satisfactory. I think this information is reliable but is not conclusive. As soon as I am able to find out anything more definite, I shall let you know.

As regards the second matter that you have mentioned, my own impression is that Hazrat Sahib has no intention of putting up candidates belonging to the Ahmadiyya community on the basis of an Ahmadiyya political party. This impression is, however, based only on what has happened in the past and on no definite knowledge with regard to his present intention in this respect as I have made no inquiries from him. In the past, what has happened is that if a member of the Ahmadiyya community had, on the whole, a fighting chance of standing from a particular constituency and of securing
election from that constituency, he was directed to stand as a candidate from that constituency, and in addition to the members of the community voting for him, every assistance in the way of canvassing, etc., for support was given to him. As you are aware, Pir Akbar Ali Sahib and myself are the only two members of the community who sat in the Punjab Legislative Council till my resignation from the Council when my place was taken by Asadulla Khan. Pir Sahib and myself were throughout members of the Unionist Party, though, of course, party discipline was very lax. I understand that Asadulla Khan has also been a member of the party since his election. With regard to other constituencies, you are also aware that contests were very often conducted between candidates who differed much from each other in political outlook, and whoever was successful at the polls joined the Unionist Party if his general political outlook happened to be in accord with the principles to which the Unionist Party gave its support. In such cases, it made very little difference to the party whether out of a certain number of contesting candidates, A or B or C or D was elected. People who had to make up their minds to support one or other of the candidates were influenced by personal or tribal considerations and were not at all swayed by the consideration as to which party the candidates belonged. To what extent these conditions would continue to operate under the new Constitution and under a better defined party system, it is not possible to determine at this stage. So far as the Ahmadiyya community is concerned, the rule has been that a candidate desiring to obtain votes of electors belonging to the community has had to make a written request to the Nazir Amur Ama at Qadian and electors belonging to the community have always voted in accordance with directions issued by the Nazir Amur Ama on that behalf. I have no doubt that that arrangement will be continued. The view of the Head of the community with regard to elections to the Legislatures as well as Local Self Government Bodies is that all members of the community who are electors in a particular constituency must vote together, and that there should be no wrangle among different sections of the community simply because A. and B. are fighting an election to one of these bodies. If elections in the future are likely to be run on a strictly
party basis or ticket, it might be possible, although I have no information on the point, for a particular political party to come to an understanding with the community that the support of the electors belonging to the community should in all constituencies be given to candidates who belong to that particular political party. In that case, of course, a list of candidates finally selected by the particular party would have to be supplied to headquarters so that the necessary directions could be issued. This, of course, is a new development and I have again given only my own impression as to a feasible arrangement.

This is the way in which the arrangement has worked in the past, but as I have said above, I have no particular information as to any modifications that may be under contemplation with regard to the future. Nothing has, however, come to my knowledge so far which might lead me to think that there is any intention of running candidates as members of an Ahmadiyya party in the sense of its being a political party in the Legislature.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Zafrulla

452. 39 Empress Road, Lahore.
16th April, 1936.

Dear Durga Das,

I have not heard from you for some time. Who is your representative (meaning A. P. I.) in Lahore? He seems to be a good deal different from you or people at the headquarters. Perhaps he takes his own position to be analogous to that of a bureaucrat, and that those desiring publication of news should be asking him for his favour, to be so good as to do it. This is not very helpful.

1. This letter has been taken from Durga Das, India from Curzon to Nehru and After. (London, 1969), pp. 110-11. The words appearing in parentheses are obviously of Durga Das.
I am very grateful to you for your generous sentiments and forbearance but you and your friends find my leadership in the matter of the statements issued on 1st April 1936, defective especially in the matter of your position in the party and your statements in reply to Hindu offer to you. As soon as I came to know of it, I offered to make matters clear as I understood them. Your two friends expressed complete satisfaction but you were apparently not and are not satisfied. From 1st April to 8th May, I have slaved [?] for this party, but you were the chief beneficiary. I have failed to retain your confidence and gladly retire from leadership and from public political life, so you should return at once and assume leadership and need apprehend no trouble of any kind from me. As I will have abandoned politics completely there will be no difficulty in my agreeing to any statements you may wish to issue, only you can have no objection to my explaining to the public the circumstances which led to my decision. I wish you, your friends and the party every success.

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

469. Lahore.

15th May, 1936.

Dear Mian Sahib,

The Ahraris are holding a public meeting at Baghbanpura on the 16th tomorrow. Malak Mohd Din Municipal President came to see Mian Sahib this morning. He related your talk with Mr. Kaiser on the 13th and he is of opinion that it is high time that Zafar Ali is secured and something paid to him. He also gave the information that Zafar Ali is being approached by the Jinnah people and that they are trying to have a joint statement from Zafar Ali and M. Ishak Mansabawi. [?]

Malak Mohd Din thinks that Zafar Ali assisted by Pir Mohd Shah can very successfully hold a meeting at Baghbanpura or anywhere else and counteract Ahrar influence. Mohd Shah is no doubt very useful and really effective against Ataullah Bukhari and Co. Pir Mohd Shah also came to see me yesterday and discussed the Ahrar meeting at Baghbanpura and offered to counteract it effectively. His association can function and will have to be helped.
Malak Sahib suggested a thousand to Zafar Ali at once and a couple of hundred monthly. He says it should be done without even Kaiser knowing about it.

The Ahrar’s idea seems to be to hold meetings first in the suburbs of Lahore and then attempt one in the city.

We have had a shower last night and the weather is cooler today.

Sir Feroz Khan left for Simla last night. He thinks he might have to leave for London in June next. He is expected to know about it definitely at Simla.

Trusting this will find you in better health.

Yours sincerely,

Amiruddin

470.
Rohtak,
15th May, 1936.

Dear Mian Sahib,

I had a talk with Chaudhri Lal Chand yesterday. He was in a more reasonable mood than I expected. He promised entirely to stand aside. Of course, I will help him to become Chairman of the District Board. He also expects you and me to do all we can to secure him some decent position. This is only natural, and there is no reason why we should not accede to his request.

I am sending you two alternative drafts A and B to be sent to the press to clinch the position and to produce some moral effect. I prefer A to B. A is mine with the last sentence added in order to assure Chaudhri Lal Chand. Personal notes in B are largely modelled on the sentiments of Ch. Lal Chand in my language.

C contains personal notes as drafted by Chaudhri Lal Chand. Of course, he does not insist on them. I send them on for what they are worth. They are utterly unacceptable to me.

His mood may be the result of his talk with you or of his negotiations with Hindu Sabha people or both. I understand urban Hindus were unable to offer him Raja Sahib's seat. He cannot find
a seat here. But that does not mean that we should not be reasonable or even generous.

Yours sincerely,
Chhotu Ram

P. S.
We meet for final settlement—or for the announcement of the settlement—in the presence of common friends on the 18th May. Please wire approval for A or B.

17, Lawrence Road,
Lahore.
17th May, 1936.

My dear Mian Sahib,
Zafrullah presses for the transfer of the doctor and has no objection to my telling you that he wants it. I am sitting over the file ever since I called it back on the 9th. Since I had verbally ordered IGCH to put up the proposal I do not know how to disapprove of the proposal I had ordered him to put up. He will wonder why I have changed so suddenly.

Will you kindly allow me to adhere to the orders, meanwhile asking the gentleman to take one or 2 months leave, so that before he returned from leave you could again post him to the place. I would have thus not annoyed Zafrullah regarding his wishes and you will also be able to please SD by re-posting him to the same place.

Kindly let me know per return of post your orders in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Firoz

3, Durand Road,
Lahore.
17th May, 1936.

My dear Fazl-i-Husain,
I have read Sir Sikander's letter. It is a combination of expla-
477.

17, Lawrence Road,
Lahore.
22nd May, 1936.

My dear Mian Sahib,

Many thanks for your kind letter. Z. never wished anything done against your wishes. He suggested filing an “appeal” and if it was rejected he is as keen on the execution of your orders as I am. I have left the file at the Cecil and as soon as I get back on 25th I will get out the papers and wriggle out of the situation as best as I can. I am in bed with a bad cold but hope to be well enough to go back on the 27th.

Thanks for the wire; the baby and her mother are both flourishing.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

Firoz

478.

Lahore.
22nd May, 1936.

Dear Mian Sahib,

When I wrote to you last I also asked Chaudhri Shahabuddin Sahib to consult Kaiser about Zafar Ali. Kaiser after attending the Working Committee meeting of Ittihad Millat left Lahore in connection with his business and came to see me this morning. The announcement of the Personnel of the Parliamentary Board was out last evening in the Eastern Times and Maulvi Zafar Ali has given out that the names of the members of Ittihad Millat have been announced without their previous consent to work on the Board.

Kaiser says that he told Chaudhri Sahib definitely that Zafar Ali must be secured at once and it was better to have him secured before the announcement of the Board. He thinks that the other party will now do their best to secure him and that the Bhopal money might play a part in it. Therefore it is very essential that even now he should
be secured. But Kaiser says that he has very definitely made it clear to Chaudhri Sahib that this monetary business should be done without his intervention and he is not prepared to have anything to do with it as he says in this way he can be of more use to our party.

Mian Sahib had sent word to Zafar Ali to see him and Zafar Ali came to see Mian Sahib yesterday morning at about 10. He repeated his talk with you to Mian Sahib and told him that you had removed most of the objections he had against you and your programme but he had not much faith in some of the members of the Unionist Party and that the Ittihad Millat will try to send men of independent views into the Council. He was, however, very much incensed against the Ahrars.

Early in the morning Akhtar Ali Khan came to see. He had phoned me up the day before that he wanted to see me and I told him that I could see him yesterday early in the morning. His gist of the whole conversation was that he wanted help for his newspaper. He told me that his father had decided to work against the Ahrars and was practically with the Unionists now and he expected our party to help them.

This morning Akhtar Ali again came to see me and told me that he had been sent by his father who requests help for his paper. I told him that I shall try to do something for them and that he should wait for 3 or 4 days.

Kaiser is very emphatic that Zafar Ali must be secured as soon as possible otherwise it may be too late in view of the meeting of the Parliamentary Board on the 8th at Lahore. He is also of opinion that other workers of the Ittihad Millat and those who are against Ahraris should be secured and made to announce publicly their views against the Ahraris and Mr. Jinnah so that later on even if they are tempted by the latter they will find it very difficult to swallow their public utterances. It is very essential that the meeting on the 8th should be failure as far as Punjab members of the Board are concerned. Zafar Ali should be made to keep away from it, which would have been earlier if he had been secured before the announcement of the board and even now the expenditure is worth trying.
I have every hope that you have generously taken Sikander's letter. I am anxious to know your feelings on the subject.

Yours obediently,

Ahmad Yar

492.

Bakrota Hall,
Dalhousie,
30th May, 1936.

Dear Feroze-ud-Din,

Yours of the 27th. I was not writing about you in particular. I was writing about the Ahrar and I understood you were a member of their party since a long time and I assumed you will continue to be so. Far be it from me to try to persuade any individual member of the Ahrar Party to leave it. It is not worth it. It is not the right thing to do. This, however, does not mean that if anyone by conviction wishes to join a different party that I should stand in the way of his doing so.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

493.

Bakrota Hall,
Dalhousie,
30th May, 1936.

Dear Ram Rakha Mal,

Thanks awfully for your hearty congratulations, which I much appreciate. It is very kind of you to offer me a party on any date most convenient to me. I assure you that I appreciate the kindly feeling behind it, but you have known me for many many years and you know perfectly well that such public functions have no attraction for me and I don't wish any friend of mine to use them in order to create reputation for me. What I value really is genuine honest conviction. Since your retirement, if the public press is to be believed, your views, your express sentiments, your alleged actions have not given me any indication as to your views on many important
points relating to inter-relation between the three great communities
of the Punjab, are such as long association with me would have led
me to believe. I however value genuine honest convictions even
more than agreements. If your and my convictions disagree it may
be a matter of regret for me but still I have no complaint about it.
Let us differ and let us hope that at some future time we may be able
to agree. It is much better than false assumption of agreement. As
I have always taken you to be a conscientious good man I have
thought it necessary to give you my impression about you since your
retirement because both of us have been and are in public life.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

494.
Barkota Hall,
Dalhousie,
1st June, 1936.

Dear Atta Ullah,

Thanks very much for your kind congratulations, which I highly
appreciate.

You refer to Shahidganj affair and make certain suggestions and
observations;—

(1) The appellate court’s decision—as you observe [the judgment
is open to appeal. In legal affairs nothing is right or wrong
except the decision of the final authority and that only for the
time being and in that particular case. Therefore, it is useless to indulge in expression of opinion on merits of
the judgment.

(2) You talk of the repeal of Gurdawara Act, in particular of
that provision which has barred this suit. I am afraid not
being a lawyer you have not realised what the problem is.
But, if you have some lawyer friends and they are serious
minded enough to study the point, devote some time to it,
then they might be able to help you to understand. Your
suggestion that if the Unionists bring forward a private Bill
to repeal the Gurdawara Act—this will make them popular. This advice is unsound. What one has to see is whether a particular proposal is right or not, is just or not, and the attainment of popularity is not an end in itself and should be avoided. I regret I cannot accept your advice on this point.

(3) You say that because it has been found that this building was at one time a mosque and the claim is barred under the Law of Limitation, this should be put right. Surely thousands of Muslims everyday plead the Law of Limitation to save themselves from the payment of debts. Living in British India subject to the jurisdiction of British courts, going to British courts for relief, you cannot but be bound by the law enforceable in those courts. If you give the matter a little calm consideration you will find that if there is a Muslim Mutwali, who commits breach of trust and violation of the injunction of Islamic Law and Shari'at for years and years and if the beneficiaries of the Waqf, hundreds and thousands of Muslims, for years and years don’t care the slightest bit to see that the Waqf of which they are in thousands beneficiaries, is being violated, and they should take some steps to stop it then after scores of years is it open to them to come forward and say ‘true Muslim Mutwalis were dishonest and thousands of Muslims do not care a hang as to their own rights or the rights of their sons or their sons’ sons yet there should be no law of limitation and no adverse possession. Personally I feel that there is not much fairness or equity in it. Do you really and honestly think that this is not so or is it because it is the popular way of giving expression to your devoutness as a Muslim that you think this is the right thing to say and mention to me?

About the tomb I have not seen the judgment and I should like to have a look at it before giving any expression to it.

As regards Executive action—If Mohammadans had not made utter fools of themselves and committed blunders after blunders in handling this matter and if Piris and politicians had not for the sake
of popularity and very very temporary and ephemeral applause acted
in a manner most prejudicial to the Muslim interest, this matter
would have been closed long ago. On the Executive side it shall be
my effort to do all that can justly and reasonably be done and if I in
course of time succeed in preventing Muslims from making fools of
themselves to the extent they have been doing in the past I hope to be
able to do something—take steps to prevent the recurrence of such
incidents.

Syed Ata Ullah Shah Bokhari.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

495.

Bakrota Hall,
Dalhousie,
1st June, 1936.

Dear Shaikh Sahib,

Yours of the 28th. I am much obliged to you for your very kind
congratulations, which I highly appreciate.

As to the warning I am very conscious of it. But it is not only
this limited object of warning of the Ahrar attack that calls for action,
but I want really good men to work for their community and for the
Province to improve its lot and to uplift the people. I want men
who would devote themselves to this task and not work just for a few
weeks or a few months in order to improve their election pros-
pects towards the end of this year. If I could get such men to
come and work whole time at Lahore I would be only too happy to
utilise myself of their services, but I know what it means. Living in
Lahore means expense. Capable men, if they are to be paid, naturally
have to be paid high salaries—the organisation cannot afford them—
hence the trouble. Now when you so kindly and generously offer
your services let us be frank and try to understand what it exactly
means. Are these to be purely honorary on partly honorary and
partly paid.

(2) When are you prepared to work?
HEARTILY AGREE YOUR PROPOSAL ABOUT FURTHER
SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR SECOND PART YEAR KINDLY WIRE
AMOUNT NEEDED WHERE TO BE SENT AND WHAT CON-
DICTIONS SO THAT FULL VALUE RECEIVED BEFORE ELE-
CTIONS HELPING TO COUNTERACT TROUBLES YOU REFER
TO—AGAKHAN=

511.

Yarrow Ville,
Simla, S. W.
15th June, 1936.

Dear Guru,

Haig has asked me to come to Nainital in connection with a
meeting at Government House, Nainital, on 27th. I shall leave
Simla on 25th and will probably return to Simla on July 1st or 2nd.
At Nainital, Jinnah's new move will naturally be focus of discussions.

Had Jinnah stood by himself, the position would have been com-
paratively simple, as Jinnah has never done a solid day's political
work in his life, and "organisation" is foreign to him. The psycho-
logical effect of:—

(A) a coalition of disappointed and, in some cases, discredited
leaders of the Ahrar, Congress and Khilafat variety with
Jinnah is likely to strengthen the former, and discredit the
latter. But this will take some time, and it cannot be
denied that during the hectic interval between now and
February, the Congressites will exploit Jinnah.

(B) The possibility of other groups coalescing with the League
is implicit in the clever formula which seems to have been
incorporated in the League manifesto only after lurid flashes
of indignation by semi-demi Nationalists of the Chhatari
variety. The manifesto renders it possible for other groups
with programmes which approximate to the League pro-
gramme to coalesce with the League. Jinnah had declared
it impossible on April 26. At Lahore, he has swallowed the
bait, and, from the point of view of internal discipline in his
invertebrate and League ill-assorted party, has reduced it to dust. The party will present a sham façade of unity to outsiders, but will be torn in every rein by the incongruous elements.

(C) Let us now come to the constitutional part of the manifesto. Jinnah, with a crudity which would do credit to the president of school debating society, has seized on the natural dislike of Muslim India to Federation, and calls upon Muslims to accept provincial autonomy and reject Federation. This is an example of his pyrotechnics and inordinate desire for “stunts”. Hollywood atmosphere and methods, graceful poses and elaborate gestures are all right for boys of 18, but Jinnah’s sole contribution in the present controversy is an attack on “reactionaries” and his old chief, patron and protector, Aga Khan. The absurdity of the League programme will be clear to the meanest intelligence. It is impossible to divide provincial autonomy from Federation by watertight compartments, and on April 1, 1937, the whole of the Act, except Part II, will be brought into operation.

(D) If the Parliament refuses to listen to Jinnah, is the League going to organise non-cooperation with the “Federal” Government in 1939? Federation is undoubtedly distasteful to Muslims, but non-cooperation will be still more distasteful and positively pernicious. We have a choice of two evils, and the League asks us to accept the greater evil.

(E) I have dealt so far with the programme of the League. Let us now discuss the personnel. This is practically the old Congress party which has been discredited in the past, and has now decided to exploit Jinnah’s name to serve its own ends. It will have little influence in most provinces. So far as the U. P. is concerned, the position is undoubtedly complicated:

(a) The two Nawabs have most foolishly and needlessly given their consent to membership of the League. They must
515. Governor of Punjab.  Barnes Court,  
Confidential  Simla E,  
18th June, 1936.

My dear Sir Fazli,

Many thanks for your two letters of the 13th and 16th June.  
I have always realised from the beginning that your attitude 
towards the Shahidganj affair has been sound and reasonable, that it 
has had a moderating effect and that, in view of Muslim feeling no 
the subject, it has shown great courage. As I said in my previous 
letter, I also see definite advantages in the course you suggest, but in 
working it out it will be necessary to avoid pitfalls so far as this is 
possible. We can discuss all this when you come to Simla.

I notice that you propose to stay at Dalhousie till about the end 
of the month and then perhaps visit a few places on your way up to 
Simla. This will be quite suitable unless something unexpected 
occurs, which makes it desirable for you to be in Simla earlier: in 
that case I will let you know.

With best wishes,  

Yours sincerely,  
H. M. Emerson

The Hon’ble  
Khan Bahadur Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain, KCSI., KCIE.,  
Minister for Education, Punjab Government,  
“Bakrota Hall”, DALHOUSIE.

The Daily “Siyasat”, Lahore.  
19th June, 1936.

516.  
My dear Mian Sahib,  

I have to acknowledge, with sincere thanks, the receipt of your 
letter dated the 16th instant.

I believe, I, once, informed you that the Ahrars had no list of 
candidates as such. Their four or five names are quite obvious. 
They will try to approach candidates who have not been accepted by 
any other party, and then, fight all possible seats.

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan himself told me that the League had 
no definite candidates, His plan is also similar to that of the Ahrars.
Dear Agha Khan,

Your telegram of the 15th of June which I answered thus:—

INFORMED JINNAH CONCENTRATING PUNJAB; WITH BOMBAY MAHMUDABAD MONEY INFLUENCING PRESS LEADERS PUNJAB RESISTING SUCCESSFULLY FUNDS ORGANISATION BUT OUTSIDE ATTACK NECESSITATES ADDITIONAL HELP MINIMUM TWENTY ADDITIONAL SIX MONTHS FULL VALUE ASSURED—(18-6-36).

The situation is something like this. Since last April the Unionist Party has been reorganized and a Unionist political organization of a non-communal type has been set going throughout the Punjab. We have been able to collect subscriptions for our need and the headquarters organization is functioning very well. Amjad Ali is our resident Secretary and we have got a good set in the Secretariat. The success has been so startling that sister communities have been taken by surprise and all their plans of upsetting the advantages to be secured by the Muslim community from the communal award have been more or less disturbed. So, a great deal of opposition, as was to be expected, has resulted. Jinnah has blundered into the arena very much to our prejudice. He has not been able to obtain any support from any section of the Unionists. Even the Ithād-i-Milāt i.e. the extremist section of the Muslims has refused to cooperate with him and have withdrawn from his central board on which he had put their representative. So he is left with Ahārās and a few disgruntled unsuccessful moderate leaders of the Montagu Reform period. The combination is very ill assorted and is not likely to work very much, but Jinnah’s interference and all sorts of silly promises as to large funds being available from Bombay millionaires and from the Maharaja of Mahmudabad has made our task rather difficult, because the press in general and the vernacular press in particular is in a pecuniarius [sic.] condition and always anxious to get some help in view of the elections coming on and this parliamentary board of Jinnah coming into being and all sorts of adventurers and others
coming into field, their desire to make money out of as many people as they can has become very acute. This is what has made it very necessary to seek your help in these extraordinary circumstances. You know perfectly well that the Punjab is the key of the Indian Muslim politics because of the strong attitude we have taken. Sindh is following in our footsteps, Northwest Frontier Province is doing the same and to a minor extent Bengal and U.P. are also coming into line. Thus Jinnah's parliamentary board is already broken up. Behar Minister has already resigned. In Madras Muslims have become vocal and challenge the representative character of the 2 or 3 Congress Muslims Jinnah had put on his board. In Bombay itself, I understand, he has support only from Kasim Mittha and I am sure that support will not last very long. Hence the importance of strengthening the Punjab with a view to give lead to Muslim India.

The way it is proposed to utilize funds is to give monthly subsidies to vernacular papers, which definitely are or become party papers. In the subsidy being monthly full value is thus necessarily assured. The second way in which money is to be utilized is to have a few very good well informed journalists—English and vernacular—writing for the press and the organization will see that their contributions are accepted. Thirdly, publication of pamphlets and leaflets and lastly, communications in the nature of summaries of local news to be sent to England.

I trust you will agree with me that these are the right lines on which to proceed during the next few months between now and the elections. I shall be grateful for any suggestions you may have to make to promote the cause which you and I have both at heart.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Fazl-i-Husain

He had telegram to F. H. "Heartily agree your proposal about further subscriptions for second part year kindly wire amount needed where to be sent and what conditions so that full value received before elections helping to counteract troubles you refer to—Agakhan"
522. Bakrota Hall, Dalhousie, 22nd June, 1936.

Dear Ashiq Husain,

Yours of the 20th instant. When Sikander was here we had a talk about the Multan affair. I am giving you the following advice in your and in your party’s interest:—

You have achieved success in your appointment as Sub Registrar. Your second great success has been election as President of the Municipality of Multan. This, however, is tainted with recourse to undesirable tactics which were of an undesirable nature. However, that is done, but should not be repeated. The third success has been this election to the Legislative Assembly. Now you should digest these successes and not try to add to them. If you do, you will get indigestion. There will be a sort of reaction of feelings against you and my very carefully considered advice is that you should desist from in anyway making Raza Shah’s position as President of the District Board difficult, but accord him your full cooperation, so that your friends may be in a position to ask Raza Shah’s friends to accord you their full cooperation in the municipality. This warfare of extinction cannot be permitted and shall certainly not be encouraged. Therefore your decision to postpone the consideration of the desire of your friends to move that Raza Shah be replaced by another non-official is not enough. This idea should be definitely dropped.

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain


(1) Sir Sikander had a long successful talk with Raja Sahib and it is felt that there will be four Parties in Hindus: 1. Rural, 2. Congress, 3. Hindu Mahasabha and 4. Raja Sahib. Nos. 1 and 2 will be probably 20 in number and there is every hope I am certain that Raja Sahib will bring between 10 and 12 Members to you. He
told Sikander to convey to you: "In spite of our political differences
I admire Sir Fazl-i-Husain and consider him very capable adminis-
trator. Please inform him that I am very sorry to hear about his
illness and wish him speedy and complete recovery."

Sikander asked me to write this to you.

Yesterday Raja Sahib went to Nawab Muzafar's place at 5.45
with Daily People and the statement that I sent in the Press was
dictated there. Raja Sahib was in a Hindu Sabha meeting when he
left it saying that he was to meet Sikander. A reporter having heard
this came to his house and sat on the servants' bench. When we left
Raja Sahib Anandkumar met us at Porch and asked
and Sikander replied

"سب درست ہے ہیں میں صاحب کے متعلق قہل کہ ہم کیم 12 آدمی
راجھ صاحب کے ساتھ ہوئے ہیں اور باری باری 120 کی ہے اور ہو چکے گے۔"

I think I have reproduced word by word. The reporter heard
this and then made his own guesses. Raja Sahib went to Dr. Gopi-
chand and found out the source. The reporter was sent to us and
told us that my words to Anandkumar

بهاتی خوب مضبوط پاری رہو جاۓگی بشرط کہ آپ بہت کرمی

misled him.

(2) We met the Arains and hope that Abdul Aziz will soon
resign Jinnah board and there is no fear of the Arains.

(3) Sir Sikander was greatly upset to read some of the rumours
of Ihsan and in spite of my protest and advice to the contrary sent
for the editor and the proprietor. I was surprised to find that
Sikander was furious and talked at the top of his voice and gave them
stern warning. They said that Unionists should say that they have 2
duties one in Provincial Assembly and the other in Federal Assembly.
As for your duties in the Province are concerned you remain Union-
ists but for federal purposes you will be Leaguers and Mr. Jinnah
should say [sic].
We hope to have majority but failing that League Party will join the group which has the Muslim majority in it.

Sikander promised to talk to his leader and Mr. Jinnah. In short the result was that they would see that they do not in future take an attitude which makes it difficult for them to become Party Paper.

They were told that nothing was possible if they said bad things about our leader. They said that as Inqilab said very nasty things about Jinnah they had to reply, but in future they will not reply to Inqilab provided Mehr and Salik made it difficult for them to keep quiet.

(4) Sir Iqbal wanted to meet Sikander but he could not manage it. I will meet him today.

Ahmad Yar

Your Party's strength as discussed with Sikander and Raja Sahib.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Muslims minimum</th>
<th>80</th>
<th>if Ahrars and Leaguers are separated</th>
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<tr>
<td>Hindus rural minimum</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>or probably 10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hindus rural Raja Party</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>or ———— do ———— 12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hindus rural untouchables</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>or ———— do ———— 5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sikhs</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>if Raja Sahib's coalition before elections 15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>or probably 5</td>
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My dear Sir Mian Sahib,

My last letter to you still remains unanswered. May I take it that all hope of cooperation in the elections between your party and me is lost for good?

Three days ago Dr. Bishen Singh (a Government Pensioner and) a private Practioner of Baghbanpura came to me to enlist my help for his wife (Mrs. Dr. Tulsi, Dentist, Lahore) in the coming elections. His wife is a candidate from Sikh ladies constituency.

He said that Giani Sher Singh's Party wanted me to see Sardar Amar Singh of the Sher-i-Punjab, Lahore, as they were anxious to cooperate with some Moslem Party in the forthcoming elections. I agreed and we met at tea last evening.

Sardar Amar Singh said that there were three Sikh Parties and their chances of gaining seats was as under:

- Chief Khalsa Diwan.......................... 5
- Sher Singh's Party............................ 9
- Tara Singh's Party............................ 19

Total................................. 33

I told Sardar Amar Singh that they had better cooperate with you (Sir Mian Fazli Hosen). He agreed, provided that

1. You agreed that if and when the Communal Award was amended you would try to get the Sikhs their due share which they believe they have not received under the existing arrangement.

2. You help them financially and morally understanding that they will join your party when a rearrangement of parties occurs after the elections for the purposes of making ministries on such conditions as the Sikhs may be able to get from any other Moslem group (if any) which may be strong enough to form a ministry.

I told Amar Singh that the best advice that I could give to his party was to put their ideas in black and white and send them on
I distinctly told them that my intervention was unnecessary, yet, I agreed to forward their written statement to you if they thought it necessary.

Sardar Amar Singh further told me that Tara Singh’s party had come to an understanding with the Ahrars who agreed to have the Communal Award set aside as they did not believe in the same.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. M. Habib

Hon’ble Khan Bahadur
Sir Mian Fazli Hosen Sahib,
M. A., LL. D., K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E.,
Bar-at-Law,
Dalhousie.

525. Dalhousie,
24th June, 1936.

Dear Syed Habib,

Yours of the 23rd received when I had already dictated my letter in answer to your last one.

The Khalsa. Thanks for the information. There is no harm in what you have told them. The conditions you mention are both ridiculous and insulting. Can’t you as a fair minded man see for yourself. Your advice to Amar Singh to put down in writing what they want and give it to you or to me was sound. When you listen to a man, don’t you think it is your duty to tell him what you think of what he has said? Do you talk to these people with the sole object of pleasing them?

Your last paragraph saying that Ahrars had agreed to help in getting the communal award set aside—is it intended to say, that I should also do the same? I can agree to the modification of communal award only if it is to benefit the Muslims and you can do away with it only when adult franchise prevails and joint electorates with-
out reservation of seats are introduced. Are your friends agreeable to this?

Yours sincerely,
Fazl-i-Husain

Your starting a new organization for Shahidganj Mosque and your Qasidas in honour of Ghazanfar Ali and Pir Sahib of Jalalpur and the next day starting criticism of Pir Sahib and his brother, all these cannot but mystify those interested in your welfare.

Fazl-i-Husain

526. Reserve Bank of India,
Private & Confidential Central Office,
Bombay.
25th June, 1936.

My dear Mian Sahib,

I arrived back safely yesterday though very tired after my long and hurried tour. I was extremely busy in Lahore and consequently asked Ahmad Yar to inform you of the result of my conversations with Mian Abdul Aziz and Raja Narendra Nath. On the whole I consider our talks to be fairly satisfactory.

Mian Abdul Aziz after protracted discussion showed an inclination to agree to our proposal to undertake organisation of the Lahore city branch of the party. He promised to secure a mandate from Ar-Rain Anjuman on the 28th as they have called a meeting for that date. Besides Mian Abdul Aziz, Mian Nur Ahmad, President of the Anjuman was also present throughout discussion. He also promised support. Ahmad Yar must have given you the details.

Raja Narendra Nath was very reasonable. Incidentally he asked me to convey a personal message to you which is this: "Tell Fazli Husain from me that although one may have acute political differences, I am one of his admirers and consider him to be one of the outstanding personalities and leaders. I bear him no personal grudge and wish him good health." Raja Narendra Nath will try to secure at least 20 people and very likely 30 or 35, who may be prepared to work with us. I did not go into details as that can best be done when you are present. At any rate
it would have been premature to discuss them at this stage. I can do this after consulting you and in accordance with your instructions when I come back. There is no particular hurry so long as the main objective, viz., a fairly effective section promising to join hands with us, is secured. I am hopeful that we will get substantial support from this group.

You must have seen the sensational and wholly unfounded conjectures published in the 'People'. I asked Ahmad Yar to publish a categorical contradiction on my authority and trust he has done the needful.

Do look after yourself and do not overstrain your energy and health.

My examination in the Peoples Bank case went off satisfactorily I think.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sikander Hyat

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Punjab Unionist Party

527.
Headquarters,
14-A, Davis Road,
Lahore.
25th June, 1936.

My dear Sir,

Just now when I was coming to the office Bhaijan told me that he received a letter from you in which you were displeased with me and Sikander over our talks with Raja Sahib. I personally feel that we did a great service to the Party. Sikander definitely told Raja Sahib that he was working to strengthen the Party if possible and made it clear to every one that he was doing so as your agent. It was a long discussion and I believe a successful one. I spent (now I feel I wasted) 5 hours with Sir Iqbal and induced him to write a letter to Mr. Jinnah which he must have done today asking him to make it clear that League parties in every Council would work with the Party which will have the majority of Muslims in it. Mr. Jinnah may not agree to it and in that case his resignation is not probable
but inevitable. Again in the evening he had Ihsan people with him and sent for me and I feel that its opposition will soon cease.

Sikander asked me to write to you everything in detail and I did so day before yesterday. I am really pained to hear and it means that however I work hard and act loyally I cannot have your confidence. My effort throughout the day and night is to swell our ranks and remove all misunderstandings that people have about our Party, its leaders and our loyalty to each other, the Party and to the leader.

Yours obediently,
Ahmad Yar

528.

Personal

3, Durand Road,
Lahore.
26th June, 1936,

My dear Sir,

Thanks for your letter. The whole thing that appeared in People and Milap was contradicted. I don’t know if Sikander talked to Raja Sahib under your instructions or otherwise and if Sir Sikander wishes the matter to be placed before the Party that is the thing between you and him.

The note that I sent you was personal and confidential and I can not agree to its contents being disclosed to anyone else. The note is with you and if you wish to make it public to the members of the Party I can only say that I will strongly request you to the contrary. I wrote that letter in strict confidence to you in person.

I feel I have lost your confidence and it will be better for the party and myself if I am got rid of at once.

Yours obediently,
Ahmad Yar

529.

The Daily “Siyasat”, Lahore.
27th June, 1936.

My dear Mian Sahib,

I have to gratefully acknowledge your three letters of the 24th instant and yet another from your P. A. The office will, I am sure,
see that all your orders regarding the paper are carried out carefully. I may, however, add that Sir Feroz Khan Noon was getting his paper regularly and now I am transferring his paper to London. The question of subscription in his case does not arise.

It is indeed very kind of you to say that you were getting the "Siyasat" gratis. I, of course, know how much you paid for the same and am indeed very grateful to you for all that you have done for it.

In one of the two of your personal letters to me you assure me that there is no lack of appreciation of my services to your party. I thank you for that statement. But I do not subscribe to your idea that I do not appreciate your limitations.

The position to me appears to be this. You appreciate my humble services and wish to retain these. I feel honored in serving the cause so dear to you and me and am anxious to continue. We cannot agree on certain matters because either of us believes that the others do not appreciate the limitations of the other.

I am glad to learn that you are coming to Lahore. I wonder if I will be here in those days. If I am here, of course, I will try to get an interview at your convenience. I believe your time is too valuable to be taken up by idle correspondence. It is for you to decide once for all if we can co-operate in the coming elections. Once this point is decided the question of my standing as a candidate from some constituency shall be solved automatically.

In your second letter there is a post-script. I am grieved to note that even you do not realise the difference between the reporting of news and editorial comment. I reported faithfully what happened in Pind Dadan Khan. But I disapproved of what Pir Sahib said and commented accordingly.

I told Raja Gazanfar Ali very clearly that I was in his opponents' camp in politics. He knew it and in spite of this invited me to Pind Dadan Khan. I agreed for certain reasons which, however, I may tell you, were not financial.

I have taken up the work of Shahidganj Mosque because I believe that the Mosque can be retrieved by constitutional agitation.
I hope you have received my letter regarding S. Gopal Singh Khalsa. As to my talk with Amar Singh I need not say much. I do not speak with any body with the sole purpose of pleasing. You personally could testify to that. But when I was speaking to Amar Singh I was doubtful if he will pursue the point and I knew if he did you were the principal and not I. I therefore, did not care to be very particular and advised them according to my light.

I have often humbly submitted to you that I report what I learn to you without prejudice and without any effort at influencing you because I believe I understand you a bit. Please take in this light all that I said about the Communal Award, and the Sikhs and the Ahrars.

Yours sincerely,
S.M. Habib

Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Dr.
Sir Mian Fazle Hosen Sahib,
M. A., LL.B., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.,
Bar-at-Law,
Educational Minister,
Punjab Government, Lahore.

530. 3, Durand Road,
Lahore.
29th June, 1936.

My dear Sir,

Many thanks for your kind letter of the 28th from Gurdaspur. The whole thing was a riddle to me till Bhajan has told me all about it. There are no 2 policies I can assure you. I cannot explain why Sir Sikander talked to Raja Sahib. He definitely told him that you were his leader and that there is no difference of opinion and what he was to do would be as your agent.

I thought you wanted to place this particular incident before the Party as a censure to us while I was unable to understand the gravity of the offence. I thought you were displeased with my statement and I phoned up Sikander who has authorised me to issue anything
of Education, Health and Lands), 1929; Revenue Member, Punjab, 1929-30; Member of Governor-General's Executive Council (Department of Education, Health and Lands), 1933-5; Indian Delegation to the Indo-South African Conference, 1932; LL. D. Punjab University, 1933; D. Litt. Delhi University, 1935; Education Minister, Punjab, May-July 1936; Founder and leader of the Punjab National Unionist Party from 1923 until his death on 9 July 1936.

25. Freeman-Thomas, Freeman, first Marquess of Willingdon, b. 12 September 1866; M. P. (Liberal) Hastings, 1900-6; Bodmin Div. of Cornwall, 1906-10; Jun. Lord of Treasury, 1905-12; Governor of Bombay, 1913-19; of Madras, 1919-24; Governor-General of Canada, 1926-31; Viceroy of India, 1931-6; d. 12 August 1941.

26. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja, b. 1895; educ. Punjab University; Member Indian Legislature, 1923; Minister, Alwar State, 1927; Member Indian Council of States, 1933-37; Parliamentary Secretary, Government of Punjab, Revenue and Irrigation Departments, 1937-46; faithful follower of Jinnah and took active part in Muslim politics from 1923; Minister of Health, Food and Agriculture, Interim Government of India, 1946; Minister, Refugees and Rehabilitation, Pakistan, 1947; Pakistan Ambassador to Iran, 1948; Pakistan High Commissioner to India; d. 1963.

27. Ghulam Ahmad, Mirza, b. 1837, Gurdaspur; founder, Ahmadyya; Clerk, office of Deputy Commissioner, Sialkot, but resigned after some time; proclaimed himself to be the “promised Messiah”, 1891; author of numerous books; declared himself to be a “prophet” and founded a new “religion”, repudiating the Islamic belief in the Finality of Prophethood; Muslims consider his followers to be outside the pale of Islam; d. in Lahore, 26 May 1908.

28. Ghuznavi, Sir Abul Halim Abdul Hossein Khan, b. 1 November 1876; Landlord and Merchant; educ. St. Xavier's College, Calcutta; Member, Indian Legislative Assembly; delegate to
part in the Shahidganj affair; disenchanted, and joined Muslim League; d. 1956.

66. Zafrulla Khan, Chaudhri Sir Muhammad, b. 6 February 1893; educ. Government College, Lahore, (B. A. Punjab), King's College and Lincoln's Inn, London, (LL. B. London and Barrister-at-Law); Advocate, Sialkot, Punjab, 1914-16; practised in Lahore High Court, 1916-35; editor "Indian Cases", 1916-32; Member, Punjab Legislative Council, 1926-35; delegate to three sessions of Indian Round Table Conference, 1930-2 and to Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms, 1933; President, All India Muslim League, 1931; Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, 1932 and 1935-41; knighted in 1935; K. C. S. I. 1937; Leader Indian delegation to session of Assembly of League of Nations, December 1939; Agent-General to Government of India in China, 1942; Judge, Indian Federal Court, October 1941-June 1947; Constitutional Adviser to Nawab of Bhopal, June-December 1947; Minister of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, Pakistan, 1947-54; Leader Pakistan delegation to Annual Sessions of General Assembly of U. N. 1947-54; to Security Council of U. N. on India-Pakistan dispute, 1948-51; Permanent Representative of Pakistan at U. N., 1961-4; President, U. N. General Assembly, 1962; Member, International Court of Justice, 1954-61 and since 1964; its President since 1970; Hon. LL. D. Cantab., Columbia, Denver, California; Hon. Fellow, King's College, London; Hon. Bencher, Lincoln's Inn; front rank leader of the Ahmadi community; leads a quiet and retired life in England.

67. Ziauddin Ahmad, Dr. Sir, b. 1877; educ. Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, Trinity College, Cambridge, Al-Azhar, Paris and Bologna (Italy), B. A., 1903, M. A., 1908, Ph. D. Gottingen University, 1905, D. Sc. Allahabad University; Member, Sir Michael Sadler's Calcutta University Commission; Professor of Mathematics, M. A. O. College, Aligarh, 1907, Principal, 1918, Pro-Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University, 1920-8; elected Vice-Chancellor in April 1935 and continued till 1938; C. I. E., 1915, knighted in