

LETTERS AND WRITINGS
OF
IQBAL

B. A. DAR

IQBAL ACADEMY PAKISTAN
LABOR

LETTERS & WRITINGS OF IQBAL

Compiled and Edited by

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Foreword by

Mr. Mumtaz Hasan

IQBAL ACADEMY PAKISTAN
116 - McLEOD ROAD LAHORE

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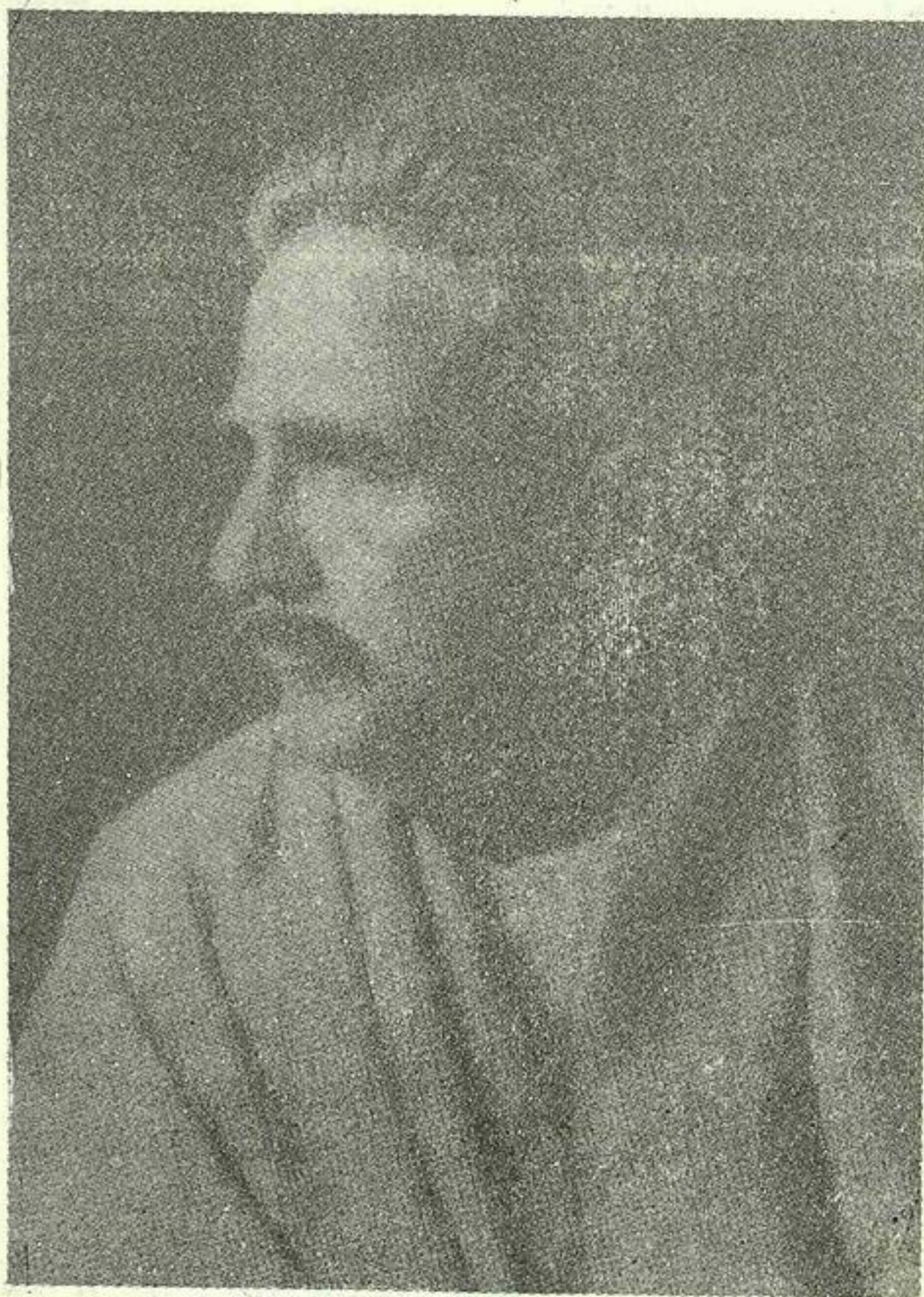
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IQBAL

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FOREWORD

I regard it a great privilege to be asked to write a Foreword to this collection of Iqbal's letters and other writings.

The collection is entirely new material, and it is all the more valuable for it. Even the single exception mentioned by Mr. Dar, namely, the synopsis of the book Iqbal planned to write, is not really an exception, as an accurate version is being given of it for the first time.

I do not expect this collection to be exhaustive. Indeed, I am more than certain that there is a great deal of material still awaiting discovery and compilation. This should particularly apply to letters. Iqbal was a most scrupulous correspondent and I know of nobody who ever wrote him a letter without getting a reply. Recently the *Anjuman Ishaat-i-Urdu*, Mysore, is reported to have exhibited a number of unpublished letters of

of his together with some of his speeches which have not so far been gathered into any collection. During his life-time Iqbal visited a number of places in the Sub-continent, the U. K. and Europe. He also visited Palestine. His correspondents were scattered all over the world. We have so far tapped only a few sources and the possibilities of collecting more Iqbal material are one might say, almost unlimited.

The present volume, which is the result of a great deal of patient research and labour on the part of Mr. Dar, should serve to enlarge our view and deepen our understanding of the life and work of Iqbal. It is a valuable addition to Iqbalica, for which the lovers and scholars of Iqbal all over the world should be grateful to Mr. Dar.

Muhammad Hasan

PREFACE

Two collections of Iqbal's articles, speeches and statements etc. in English have been so far published. The first is the well-known *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal*, edited by Shamloo and the other is *Thought and Reflections of Iqbal* edited by Mr. S. A. Vahid. The latter repeats most of what was contained in the former, besides a few articles reproduced from other sources.

The present collection, however, gives only what has so far not appeared in any collection of Iqbal's writings. Some of the letters included here have been published in *Iqbal Namah* in Urdu rendering. The originals of these letters in English as well as other letters, are being published for the first time.

There is, however, one exception—the synopsis of the book that Iqbal intended to write at the instance of the Nawab of Bhopal.

It was published first in *Tulu-i-Islam* and later included in the *Thought and Reflections of Iqbal*. The first reproduction was complete while the second was incomplete, but both were defective in several places. In view of this, this synopsis, the original of which is in possession of the Iqbal Academy, is reproduced here. An attempt has been made to reproduce it as truthfully as possible, giving necessary explanations in foot-notes.

The book was almost complete when we were fortunate in getting more material from other sources. This has been added as supplement at the end.

It is my very pleasant duty to thank Shaikh Ataullah, Dr. Ashiq Husain Batalvi and Mr. Waheed Ahmad (U. K.) who very kindly supplied copies of some of the hitherto unpublished letters. I have also to thank Mr. Mumtaz Hasan who not only gave us some unpublished letters preserved in his library but also agreed to writing a foreword to this collection.

B. A. DAR

The first letter is addressed to Major General Sir John
Dunlop, of the Indian Medical Service, and is dated
1914. It is a letter of introduction, and is written
in a very friendly and informal style. It is signed
by the author, and is dated 1914.

My dear Major,
Many thanks for your letter of the 14th inst.
re my school after a very long time.
I am glad to hear that you are well.
The school is now in the hands of the
author, and is being run on a new basis.
I am sure that you will be interested in
the results.

LETTERS AND WRITINGS OF IQBAL

This letter is addressed to Major Saeed Muhammad Khan, a friend of Maulana Muhammad Ali Jawhar at Aligarh. He wanted to establish a military school and designate it after the name of Iqbal. Unfortunately the letter does not have date or year.

My dear Major,

Many thanks for your letter. To name a military school after a mere versifier does not seem proper.

I suggest that you name your school after Sultan Tipu. The grave of this brave soldier, as I saw in South India, looked more alive than many of us who live or pretend to live.

Yours sincerely,
Mohammad Iqbal

This letter was addressed to the late Dr. Hadi Hasan of the Muslim University, Aligarh. One of his pupils, Dr. S.Y. Hashmi, had attempted a translation of *Khidr-i-Rah* into English, a specimen of which was sent to Iqbal for opinion.

LAHORE

2, Febr., 1924

My Dear Sir,

Thanks for your letter. I have read parts of your pupil's work which is, indeed, very interest-

ing and highly creditable to him. I some times feel that I have made a mistake in publishing the *اسرار خودی* for the doctrine of self is not an easy thing to understand, and depends for its grasp more on personal spiritual experiences than on logical reasoning. I am, however, glad to see from your pupil's work that there are at least some who are on the way to a clear grasp of it.

I am sure that if your pupil reads *پیام مشرق* [especially the *رباعیات*] and the parts of *رموز بی خودی* which deal with the nature of the relation of the individual and society, and the character of collective life, he will secure an insight into my general theory of life, both human and Divine. The ideas I have ventured to clothe in words are very far-reaching and the mind sees into their breadth and meaning only gradually. In my own case it has taken not less than fifteen long years. He has talked somewhere of the merging of the finite into the infinite. My ideal of human Personality—i.e. finite personality — is nowhere better expressed than in a Persian verse which an old Persian poet wrote on the Prophet:

موسی ز هوش رفت بیک جلوه صفات
تو عین ذات می نگری در تبسمی

This is my ideal of the unshakeableness of the individual Personality—even before the Infinite. In the whole range of Muslim literature there is not one verse like it, and these two lines enclose a

whole infinitude of ideas. I do not know whether the poet was himself conscious of what he was saying, but it is not necessary to discover this for our purpose. In my opinion immortality has no meaning if it does not mean the continuation of finite personality:

زخود گدشته اے قطرہ محال اندیش

شدن بہ بحرو گھر برنخاستن ننگ است

This is the view of man which, I think, underlies the whole teaching of the Qur'an, and this is what modern Islam has to re-learn. I feel impelled by some irresistible force to show up the inner richness of this idea to the younger generation of Islam to-day in all its bearings on life here and hereafter. I feel I have touched the hidden wound of the Muslim of today, and hope to be able to tell him "thou ailest here". I am fully conscious of the seriousness of my task and hope that those who read me also realise the responsibility that lies on their shoulders.

Please show this letter to your pupil as it is mainly meant for him. As to his language, I am afraid, it needs revision both in the Introduction, and the translations. I have no objection to his publication of his Essay but I would advise him to show his work to somebody who is able to help him in the matter of expression which is here and there inaccurate and even incorrect. The translation should be carefully revised and put in more

poetic form. I do not mean metre at all, but I do mean that when poetry is rendered into prose the translator should see that his prose does not lack the flavour of poetry.

Further there are some Persian expressions which, he thinks, I have coined, e.g. گل دورو-پرده تقدیر or جهان بین. These are common Persian expressions which he will find in any Persian dictionary. The manuscripts will be returned in a day or two.

Thanking you and your pupil for all the kind words said of me in his Introduction.

Yours etc.,

Muhammad Iqbal

This letter was addressed to Mr. A. R. Changez (later Mr. Justice Changez) who was then a student at the Muslim University, Aligarh. Distressed by the rise of sectarianism among Muslims of this sub-continent, Mr. Changez had decided to set up a body with a view to checking this dangerous tendency.

LAHORE

21st. October, 1925

Dear Mr. Changez,

Thanks for your letter which I received yesterday. I am afraid I cannot disclose yet what I feel

or think about the subject of your letter. But I can tell you this much that I started a society of this kind some time ago, exactly on the lines you suggested. As a matter of fact I went much further than you in the matter of toleration. But for various reasons, which is not possible to be described in this letter, the Society remained a kind of private institution only. It is, however, clear that in the deeper consciousness of Islam the demand for a reunion of Muslim sects is shaping itself. It is my belief that a society of this kind may be able to do some spade work, but the reuniting of the sects is really the work of a great personality rather than of a society. The President of such a society now has to be evolved, not to be elected. This is one of the reasons why our society remained a private institution only. At any rate, I soon discovered my own short-comings and lost the enthusiasm that I originally had for it. The truth is that the wrangling of sects is mainly due to the Muslims' loss of touch with the living fountain of religious life. At present I do not feel I am a fit person to lead this movement. But it may be that this is the kind of work that I have eventually got to do. I have full sympathy with you but request you not to make me your President, at least for the present. I hope that your society is not the result of your personal friendship [Excuse a bit of cruel psychology], but has arisen out of a living experience of the soul.

I shall be always ready with my advice in case you need it.

Yours etc.,
 Mohammad Iqbal

Khwaja Abdul Wahid was very much interested in religious and cultural problems of the Muslims and to this purpose he devoted a major part of his life in Lahore. He had an idea of establishing an association in Lahore to bring about awakening among the Muslim masses and requested Iqbal to be its Chairman, an offer which Iqbal accepted after a great reluctance. Iqbal informed Khwaja Sahib that Dr. Zafar-ul-Hasan of the Muslim University, Aligarh was thinking on the same lines and therefore he should be consulted. After exchanging a few letters, Dr. Hasan wrote that as such matters could not be thrashed out by correspondence he was sending two of his pupils to Lahore for discussion with Khwaja Abdul Wahid and his friends. Dr. Hasan's pupils who subsequently came to Lahore were Dr. M. M. Ahmad and Dr. B. A. Faruqi. Dr. M. M. Ahmad was till lately Head of the Department of Philosophy, Karachi University and Dr. B. A. Faruqi was till lately in the M.A.O. College, Lahore. It was on the arrival of these gentlemen that the following letter was written to Khwaja Abdul Wahid.

A specimen of the form which each member of the Association was expected to sign is reproduced below:

(۱) ہندوستان میں مسلمانوں کو مدد و اہل
 کو حصولِ کمال کے لیے جو جماعت قائم کی گئی ہے۔ میں
 اُس کا رکن بن کر رہتا ہوں۔ اور اس بات کا
 عہد کرتا ہوں کہ میری اطاعت قرآن و سنت کے
 مطابق ہر حال اور ہر وقت میں ہے۔ جو مجھ کو
 دے گا۔

(۲) میں تمہیں ہوں کہ اس جماعت کی مدد
 میں سر محمد اقبال مدظلہ کو دست مبارک میں ہوں۔

دستخط

ام

بیت

1. I am willing to become a member of the Society that has been established to promote the renaissance of the Muslims in India and I pledge unqualified obedience to the Amir in all circumstances, subject to my loyalty to the Quran and the Sunna.

2. I wish that Allama Sir Mohammad Iqbal be the Amir of this society.

Signature

Name

Address

26th.

My dear Khwaja Wahid,

These gentlemen came from Aligarh to talk about the matter about which you wrote to Sayyid Zafar Hasan of Aligarh. Perhaps you and your

friends would like to have a talk with them. If so please come to my place any time in the evening. You can bring your friends who are in sympathy with you.

Yours
Mohammad Iqbal

This letter, addressed to H.H. the Agha Khan, refers to a particular situation at the time of the Second Round Table Conference.

It was unanimously decided by the Muslim delegates that they would not participate in the discussion of the Federal sub-committee, for, in their view, the scheme of federation envisaged by the British Government for India, was not favourable for the Muslims. But, probably, under pressure from the British Government, some members of the Muslim delegation disregarded this decision and decided to take part in the proceedings of this sub-committee as a result of which Iqbal wrote this letter.

INDIAN ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE
St. Jame's Palace
S.W.I

Tel. No.

Gerrard 7070

16th. November, 1931

Your Highness,

It is with the greatest pain that I am writing this letter to you. I have watched the activities of our Muslim Delegation from the very beginning.

Their secret rivalries, the intrigues or even disloyalty of some of the members have pained me very much. Disgusted with such behaviour I am extremely sorry to inform you that from today I shall have nothing to do with what must be described as a shadow cabinet of the Muslim Delegation.

Yours sincerely,
 Mohammad Iqbal

This letter was addressed to Seth Abdullah Haroon who was an active member of the Muslim Conference. The second Round Table Conference ended on December 31, 1931. The prospects for the Muslims were not very encouraging. Seth Sahib wrote to Iqbal, after consulting the Agha Khan, suggesting a meeting with the Viceroy and preparing a Memorandum regarding Muslim demands. Iqbal's letter was in reply to it.

Iqbal was president of the Muslim Conference held in Lahore on March 21, 1932.

Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal
 Barrister-at-Law

Lahore
 16th. Jan. 1932

My dear Seth Sahib,

Thanks for your letter which I received a moment ago. I am sorry to tell you that I felt extremely pessimistic about Muslim demands in England and that state of mind still continues. Experience has taught me that very few men should be trusted.

As to your proposed deputation I do not wish to say anything for the present. As you know I shall be presiding over the deliberations of the coming conference at Lahore. I must, I think, reserve my views as to what the Muslims of India should do now that their demands have received practically no attention from the Premier.

Yours sincerely,
 Mohammad Iqbal

Dr. Sir Mohd. Iqbal, Kt.

M.A., Ph.D.

Barrister-at-Law

Lahore

29th. May, 1933

My dear Atiyya Begum,

I have not yet heard about your memorial. As to Palestine affairs I am afraid you are not correctly informed. I have advised the Mufti not to come to India till at least the middle of October. I cannot say whether he will take my advice. What Shaukat Ali says of me is really a compliment which I do not deserve. I am only a lump of clay like him and nothing more. My Private Secretary in Spain—an English girl—suddenly changed her attitude towards me and began to serve me more like a *مرید* than a private secretary. I asked her the reason of this sudden change of attitude which was

quite noticeable. She explained that she had discovered me to be a Divine Being! It is not possible for me to define or describe myself positively; I can do so only negatively, i.e., that I am not an idiot.

If you are serious about an All India Muslim Women's Conference you should not start it under the auspices of any conference or league. This must be an independent organisation. For its general policy you can of course consult members of the conference

There is a possibility of my going to Europe about the end of July. I shall let you know if anything comes out of it.

Yours sincerely,
Mohammad Iqbal

Syed Abdullah Brelvi, editor *Bombay Chronicle*, had asked Mr. Ziauddin Ahmad Barni to write an article on "Iqbal's conception of space and time" for the paper. Mr. Barni expressed his inability and suggested the name of Dr. G. M. D. Sufi (who wrote a book in English on Kashmir at the suggestion of Iqbal) but even he refused to undertake this work. Mr. Barni therefore wrote a letter to Iqbal and received the following reply.

10th December, 1933

Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal
LAHORE

Dear Mr. Barni,

Thank you so much for your letter. I really do

not know what to say in reply to your kind letter.

I shall write on "Time and Space in the history of Muslim Thought". The date is not yet certain. They ask me to deliver my lectures in 1934.

Yours sincerely,
Mohammad Iqbal

This letter was written to Mr. K.G. Sayyidain after a perusal of the summary of his proposed book *Educational Philosophy of Iqbal*.

Lahore
21st June, 1936

My dear Sayyidain,

Thanks for your letter which I received a moment ago. Your summary is excellent and I have got nothing to add. My ضرب کلیم will, I hope, be published about the end of June and I will send you an advance copy. This collection has a part devoted to تعلیم و تربیت. You may not find anything new in it, yet if it reaches you in time you may read the portion mentioned above.

I suppose you are aware of the Educational implications of Leibnitz's monadism. According to him the monad [the mind of man] is a closed window incapable of absorbing external forces. My view is that the monad is essentially

assimilative in its nature. Time is a great blessing [لا تسبوا الدهران الدهر هو الله]. While it kills and destroys it also expands and brings out the hidden possibilities of things. The possibility of change is the greatest asset of man in this present surroundings.

Yours sincerely,
Muhammad Iqbal

P.S. My general health has much improved. The improvement in the voice is slow.

"You would be pleased to know at this distant time that I was employed as Junior Clerk in the Punjab Civil Secretariat on April 11, 1929 on the strength of Allama Iqbal's recommendatory letter addressed to the then Chief Secretary to Government of the Punjab, Mr. J. G. Beazely. The accompanying certificate was very kindly given to me at my request."

(A. Majeed)

Editor,

Pakistan Review

22.9.66

Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, M.L.C. Barrister-at-law Lahore

Lahore 8th September, 1929

I have great pleasure in certifying that I have known Mr. Abdul Majid, B. A., for a good long

time. He is very intelligent and hardworking and what is more important, thoroughly reliable. He tells me that he has applied for a post in the secretariat (Junior clerkship). I have no doubt that he is quite fit for such a work and is sure to give entire satisfaction to his employers. I have no hesitation in recommending him to the authorities, and hope that he will succeed in securing the job. I may also add that he belongs to a respectable family of Lahore.

Mohammed Iqbal M.L.C.
Barrister-at-law
Lahore

Some letters of Iqbal, originally written in English, were included in *Iqbal Namah* in Urdu rendering. Through the courtesy of Shaikh Ataullah, the compiler of *Iqbal Namah*, they are reproduced here in their original form.

Lahore
2nd June 1934

My dear Masood,¹

Please let me know immediately your whereabouts and your future programme. I want to meet you or write to you about a very important matter concerning myself.

1. To the late Ross Masood

I hope you won't mind replying to this letter by the return of post.

Yours Ever,
Mohammad Iqbal

PS. The matter to be discussed has nothing to do with your resignation.¹

Lahore

20th Mar. 1935

My dear Masood,

I hope you and lady Masood are quite well. I too am getting on all right. I think 21st of April will suit well for H.H's visit to Lahore. On the 20th H.E. the Governor will formally visit the session. I wish that the whole of 21st May remain for H.H and the Punjab Muslims.² Please see that if H.H is not going to England things are arranged accordingly. You can understand why I wish that there may be a separate day for H.H. I hope it is now finally settled that H H. is not going to England. If so please wire. Also wire he approves of 21st April.

Have you heard anything about the other matter? I am anxiously waiting for your letter, i.e. the letter which you intend to write to me

1. From the Vice-Chancellorship of the Muslim University Aligarh.

2. It refers to the session of the Anjuman Himayat-ul-Islam, Lahore when His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal presided.

about the end of this month. Please remember me to lady Masood and Anwar.

Yours Ever,
Mohammad Iqbal

Lahore
14th April, 1935

My dear Masood,

I hope you did receive my letter enclosing Miss Farquharson's letter. What do you think of the passage I underlined? Did you receive the paper she has sent to you? I and a few other gentlemen are sending today a statement to the Associated Press regarding the resignation of H. H.¹

I have after all got a little clue to your scheme regarding me. My source of information is a friend from Bahawalpur to whose ruler H.H. of Bhopal, I am told, has sent a letter. I have got some information as to the contents of this letter. Is the report I have received true? I shall tell you what I think of it on hearing from you in reply to this letter.

Please send my respects to Lady Masood and love to Anwar.

Yours Ever,
Mohammad Iqbal

1. Resignation from the Chancellorship of the Muslim University, Aligarh.

Lahore

26th April, 1935

My dear Masood,

Thanks for your letter. I am sorry to hear that you have been ill and hope that you will soon recover. I hope to be able to come to Bhopal about the end of May. My wife is an old invalid and has been so for the last 10 years. She has got spleen and liver trouble and at present she has become very weak on account of fever. We are shifting to our new house about the middle of May and I pray to God that she may be able to move a bit by that time.

I am very grateful to you for all the interest you have been taking in my affairs though I cannot conceal the fact from you that I am not feeling very hopeful about it. I was very joyous sometime ago mainly because I thought you would succeed and in that case I should be able to write my long contemplated notes on the Quran in the light of modern thought. But somehow I feel now that my dream may be realised. I can think of no greater gift that I can make to the Muslims of the world if I am enabled to devote the remaining years of my life to this work.

However let us see. Every thing is in the hands of God. If he approves of this service to modern Islam, He may be pleased to give me the necessary means for its completion.

Please remember me to Lady Masood.
Ali Bakhsh sends his respect to both of you.

Javid also sends his *adab* to you and to Lady Masood. Hoping you are well.

Yours Ever,
Mohammad Iqbal

Lahore
2nd May, 1935

My dear Masood,

I hope you and Lady Masood are quite well. My anxiety has abated a bit. My wife had to undergo an operation. It was dreadful to look at. But thank God her life seems to have been saved.

God willing I shall be with you both about the end of May. I suppose the *matter* has not developed further; otherwise you would have written to me.

Who is going to be the Chancellor of the university? I wish H. H. of Bhopal could have reconsidered his resignation. But Shoaib wrote to me there was little chance of it. It is possible, perhaps probable, that Lord Willingdon will persuade H. H. to reconsider. Please let me know what are H.H.'s intentions? If H.H. is not willing, then don't you think Bahawalpur will suit?

Yours Ever,
Mohammad Iqbal

P.S. Ali Baksh sends his respects to you and the Begum.

Lahore

23rd May, 1935

My dear Masood,

Thank you so much for your letter which has brought some relief. The request I have made is particularly the request of a dying man who wishes to do something before he leaves this world finally. I hope you do place the matter before His Highness. It is extremely kind of him to make arrangements for my comforts in Bhopal. My wife is seriously ill. Perhaps these are her last moments. It is difficult for me to leave Lahore for the present. I shall let you know later. Please let me know when you and lady Masood will be coming back to Bhopal. I suppose lady Masood will have to stay at Indore for some time and that you will come back to Bhopal about the end of June.

Please give my respects to lady Masood and love to Anwar. Is Hakim Sahib still there? I hope he has got some job.

Yours Ever,

Mohammad Iqbal

P.S. My wife passed away at about 5.30.

My dear Rashid,

Thank you for your letter which reached me a moment ago. As you know I have great

affection for Amtul and Masood and would do any thing to please them. But in this particular matter I cannot help telling you that for psychological reasons it will not be good to keep this painful memory alive. This memory seriously affects her physiology as a mother. I would advise you to wait till God in His infinite mercy may grant her another child. You may then put the following verse on the marble.

درچمن بود و لیکن نتوان گفت کہ بود
آہ ازان غنچہ کہ باد سحر اورا نکشود

This verse came to me immediately after I had finished reading your letter.¹

Yours sincerely,
Mohammad Iqbal

میں نے حکیم نابینا صاحب سے دہلی میں استل کی علالت کا ذکر کر دیا تھا۔ وہ نومبر میں دہلی جائیں تو ان کو ضرور نبض دکھلائیں۔
محمد اقبال

13th January, 1934

My dear Mr. Naimul Haq²

Thanks for your letter and telegram which I received last night and to which I replied this morning. It is extremely kind of you to offer to do both the cases. I am sending you the judgement and other papers relating to one

1. Mr. Rashid, Judge, Indore High Court and father of Lady Masood.

2. Mr. Naimal Haq, an advocate of Patna.

of the two cases which begins at Jammu on 13th of February, 1934. Perhaps it would be better if you could reach Jammu on the 12th February. As to the other case I am not yet in possession of the papers. If an other arrangement is not made I shall be glad to send the papers to you the moment I get them.

The second case begins on 5th of February. The case of which I am sending you the papers will not take more than 5 or 6 days. I am sure you will have plenty of time to prepare it at leisure. Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
Mohammad Iqbal

P. S. Please acknowledge receipt of papers; of the details of your arrival in Jammu please inform Sh. Abdul Hamid, Advocate (President, Kashmir Conference). In other matters too it would be better if you could keep touch with him.

M. I.

22nd January, 1934

My dear Mr. Naimul Haq,

Thank you so much for your kind letter which I received a moment ago. I was very anxious about my friends at Patna and was indeed going to wire you today when your letter arrived. It is extremely brave of you to undertake to argue the case in spite of the

unsettled state of mind which this terrible earthquake must have given you and others. I have received a copy of the judgement in the other Mirpur case but not yet the rest of the papers. I fear it would be too much to ask you to do this case also. As to your assistant I shall try to find one from here. He may join you from Lahore or at Jammu. The Jammu Conference will make arrangements for your stay. Please write to Sh. Abdul Hamid. I have also spoken to Sh. Mohammad Abdullah, President of the Conference who happens to be at Lahore at present and is likely to be in Jammu when you are there. Hoping you are well and thanking you.

Yours sincerely,
Mohammad Iqbal

28th January, 1934

My dear Mr. Naimul Haq,

Thanks for your letter. I am writing to Mr. Abdul Hamid to get the case postponed. But the best course is that now that you are engaged to argue the case you should apply directly to Kashmir High Court stating the reasons you have mentioned in your letter. Hoping you are well.

Yours sincerely,
Mohammad Iqbal

P.S. By the time you come, Kashmir will probably be in throes of renewed agitation.

Mohammad Iqbal

Lahore

9th February, 1934

My dear Mr. Naimul Haq,

Thanks for your letter. The case which I requested you to argue is to be argued by Ch. Zafarullah Khan. Mr. Abdul Hamid wrote to me to that effect and I thought it my duty to inform you immediately in order to save you all the trouble.

How Ch. Zafarullah is going there and who has asked him to argue the case I do not know. Perhaps by some people in the Kashmir Conference who are still carrying on secretly with the Qadianis.

Hoping you are well and thanking you for all your trouble and self-sacrifice.

Yours sincerely,
Mohammad Iqbal

Sialkot City

27th August 1922

Dear Sir,

I am afraid my knowledge of Germany has already become rusty. It is now 13 years ago that I was in Germany. Since then that country

has passed through one of the most tremendous wars known to history, and is now passing through one of the greatest financial crises in the economic history of the world. I believe the institutions of Germany have undergone great changes. You should seek guidance from a man who has recently returned from Germany. All that I can tell you is that I presented my thesis to the university of Munich, the authorities of which exempted me from keeping the usual residence in the university. They further permitted me to write my thesis in English. Ordinarily German universities require the attendance of lectures for 3 years or 18 months as the case may be. This depends upon the previous attainments of the candidate. They also generally require the dissertation in Latin or German. They; however, exempted me because of the recommendations of my Professor at Cambridge. The Ph.D. Examination was oral and the medium of it was German which I picked up during my stay in Germany.¹

Yours etc.

Mohammad Iqbal

My dear Mr. Sharif,

I am afraid I am unable to answer your questions. But I believe there is intellectual

1. This letter was written to Sardar M.B. Ahmad, Income Tax and Excess Profits Tax Consultant, Bombay.

activity especially in Egypt and Philosophy is still studied in Muslim countries as a part of theology. I cannot say whether our schools most of which are conducted on old lines refer to western philosophy or not. But I understand some of the books of modern philosophy are translated into Arabic (e.g. Nietzsche's Dawn of the Day كتاب الفجر). I am told that the book was translated by somebody in Mesopotamia but I have not seen it myself. As far as I know the *ulama* have not yet made any attempt to reconstruct Muslim thought in the light of modern Philosophy but in view of recent happenings in the world of Islam such developments are expected. The abolition of *Khilafat* has led some thinkers in Egypt to reflect on the Quran in reference to the problem of constitution. Philosophical questions are likely to arrive when the political unrest of Islam is over. Please excuse my writing on the back of your letter. I thought you would like to refer to your questions.¹

Yours

Mohammad Iqbal

1. Late professor M. M. Sharif. The letter was written in reply to professor Sharif's letter dated 17th. Feb. 1926.

Lahore

18th Feb. 1929

My dear Mr. Jameel,¹

Thank you so much for your letter and the Photo-cards which I received a moment ago. I am very glad to be able to say that I have withstood the tests and am now preparing for a tour through Persia and Turkey in spite of the many financial difficulties in my way. However, I hope God will vouchsafe to me all that is necessary for this journey which I wish to undertake only for the good of Islam and Muslims. I am very glad to hear that my visit to Mysore has given Muslim youngmen enthusiasm for historical research work. Seth Mohammad Abba promised to send me a manuscript of the history of Tippu now in possession of somebody whom we met at the tomb of the sultan. I hope he will succeed in his enterprise. Please remember me to him and tell him that his energy and enthusiasm for Islam have left an indelible impression on my mind. And I pray to God that he may become as big a man as Sir Haji Ismail of Banglore. Ch. Mohammad Husain is quite well and will certainly welcome the Photos you have sent and others that you may find. He too has become enthusiastic about the history of the sultan and is now writing a brief article on him.

1. Mr. Jameel of Banglore.

He is also thinking of a *Safar-Nama* of Madras in which he will very probably use all the Photos you are able to send.

I see no harm in publishing the lectures of your friend Dr. Umar Holsts. There is nothing original in them but I think they will have some effect on Christian readers.

The cultural and philosophical side of Islam is got to be worked out. There are some books in German which have been recently translated into English by Salahuddin Khuda Bakhsh of Calcutta, but I don't think much of them.

Hoping you are quite well.

Yours sincerely,
Mohammad Iqbal

Lahore

21st May, 1929

My dear Mr. Jameel,

Thanks for your letter enclosing Eid Card. I am quite well and am glad to learn that you are also in the enjoyment (of) good health. I am doing all that I can to go to Turkey and Egypt at last. As you know, it is a question of money and rich Muslims in India do not realize the importance of spending their money in the interests of Islam. The present is an extremely critical (period) in the history of Islam. If proper methods are adopted Islam can still

conquer whole nations. However, I shall try to do all I can.

Please send my salams to Mr. Hamid Hasan and Hajee Seth Jamal Mohammad.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
Mohammad Iqbal

Lahore

4th August, 1929

My dear Mr. Jameel,

Thanks for your letter of the 20th which reached me this morning. The courts are closed for summer vacation and I am writing down my remaining three lectures which I hope to finish by the end of October. There is yet no prospect of my going out for a tour in the lands of Islam. It is not yet possible to overcome financial difficulties. The poem on Sultan Shaheed will form a portion of a longer work which I hope to make my life work. I am afraid you will have to wait a good long time before it comes out. I wrote a part of it sometime ago, but had to lay it aside on account of other pressing engagements.

I do not know of any *Roznamcha* of the Sultan. If there is one I should be glad to possess a copy. Have you got one? If so lend it to me for sometime. It will be returned as soon as I have taken down notes from it for my own work.

Ch. Mohammad Husain is here every evening. I think he will take up his *Safar Nama* in right earnest. I am glad to hear that the يوم النبی (Prophet's Birthday) invoked great enthusiasm in South India. I believe the personality of the prophet is the only force which can bring together the scattered forces of Islam in this country. The organization of Muslims is badly needed in view of what is coming in the near future. The founder of this movement was here this morning and I explained to him how the movement could be utilized for the purposes of Islam in this country. Details of this can be given in oral conversation only. It is not advisable to write.

I have given your letter to Chaudri Sahib and hope he may write to you in detail about his *Safar Nama*.

Hoping you are well.

Yours sincerely,
Mohammad Iqbal

4th Nov. 1929

My dear Mr. Jameel,

Thank you so much for the amount of Rs. 10/- which you have sent for the *Hilal Ahmar* fund. I will send it on to the secretary to be deposited in the Bank. I hope the gentlemen of Bangalore, to whom I have appealed for subscription, will respond to my call. I have

sent wires to Seth Hajee Ismail and to the Editor of *Al-kalam*. Also to Abdul Ghafoor Sahib. Please do not forget to remind them of our duty to our Trans-Indus brethren. The integrity and independence of Afghanistan is a great asset to the Musalmans of India and Middle Asia. Bacha Saqqa was executed with his eleven companions and king Nadir Khan is gradually consolidating his position. My lectures are now finished and will be delivered at Aligarh probably in this very month. The Usmania University has also invited me to deliver them at Hyderabad in the end of Jan. 1930. Madras has also invited me, but I doubt very much whether I shall be able to come.

It is so very kind of you to negotiate for the diary of Sultan Shaheed. If you are able to send me a copy I shall consider it a great treasure. It will greatly help me in writing about the Sultan or rather giving a picture of him in the poem I contemplate. Please let me know if the gentleman who is in possession of the book wants a price for the copy. If so let me know the amount; I shall be only too glad to pay for it if the price is reasonable. If he allows you to copy the book please try and write a legible hand. Chaudri Sahib is well. He sees me almost every evening.

Yours sincerely,
Mohammad Iqbal

Lahore

4th March 1930

My dear Mr. Jameel,

Thank you so much for your beautiful I'd Card which I received a moment ago. I wish the same happy I'd to you and pray that God in his infinite grace may be pleased to shower His blessings on the younger generation of Muslims in India and elsewhere.

My lectures are in the press. I hope they will be printed and published in about two months' time. I will tell the publisher to send you a copy as soon as they are out.

But if I forget to do so, please remind me about the end of April. There are no English works of Goldzeiher as far as I know. He is a German Jew and does not write in English. His most well known books are in German and in these I did not find much. I have little faith in European orientalist whose books are mostly actuated either by political propaganda or missionary considerations. Afghanistan is settling down. Very few people in India know the real causes of Revolution in that country. In my opinion there are no chance of king Amanullah's return. As far as I know the Afghans do not like him. King Nadir Shah is doing his best to put the country on the way to progress. He is very much loved by the Afghans. He is half a

Punjabee. His mother was born and brought up in Lahore.

Yours sincerely,
Mohammad Iqbal

Lahore
6th Dec. 1934

Dear Mr. Jameel,

Thanks for your letter. I have been suffering from throat trouble for the last 11 months. Perhaps I shall have to go to Vienna for treatment. My lectures were publised by the Oxford University. Another lecture was added on "Is Religion Possible?" I think you can get the book from Oxford University Press, Calcutta or Bombay or else you can write to London.

A collection of my Urdu poems will be published in Jan. 1935. A Persin poem called مسافر was published about a month or so ago. This was an account of what I saw in Afghanistan during my visit last year.

Yours sincerely,
Mohammad Iqbal

Bhopal
Shish Mahal
6th Mar., 1936

Dear Mr. Jameel,

Thanks for your letter. I am still unwell and undergoing electric treatment at Bhopal. Rhodes Lectures are abandoned for the present

on account of my ill-health. بال جبریل (Bal-i-Jibril) was published last year. ضرب کلیم (Zarb-i-Kalim) will, I hope, come out in April next. For both write to Taj Company, Lahore. As to *Islam and Ahmadism*, write to Lahore انجمن خدام الدین (Anjuman Khuddam al-din).

Yours sincerely,
Mohammad Iqbal

Lahore

3rd May, 1937

My dear Mr. Ikram,

When you met me last time you promised a copy of your book *Ghalib Nama*, as well as the mangoes of Surat, which you told me were very fine. I can wait for the latter but cannot wait for the former, after having read the reviews of it in the press. Do send me a copy at an early date.

Yours sincerely,
Mohammad Iqbal

Lahore

12th May, 1937

My dear Mr. Ikram,

Thank you for your letter and the book which arrived an hour after the arrival of your letter. It seems that you have taken great pains in the compilation of your introduction and the arrangement of Ghalib's poems in chronological order. I must say that you have produced an

excellent book on Ghalib, though unfortunately I do not agree with some of your conclusions. I have always believed that Ghalib's imitation of بیدل (Bedil) in his Urdu verse was a complete failure. He imitated Bedil in form only and missed Bedil's meanings altogether. Bedil's thought was a little too advanced for his contemporaries. There is some evidence to show that his contemporaries and other students of Persian poetry, both in India and outside it, failed to understand Bedil's view of life.

Hoping you are well.

Yours sincerely
Mohammad Iqbal

June 20th 1937

My dear Mr. Ikram.

I was glad to receive the parcel of mangoes which you were good enough to send. They are of excellent quality, though unfortunately owing perhaps to the change of climate or the intense heat of Lahore some germs got into them, which seriously affected their taste. Hoping you are well.

Yours sincerely
Mohammad Iqbal

Lahore

17th Dec. 1933

My dear Mr. Ikram,

Thanks for your letter. I have accepted Lord Lothian's invitation. The subject on which

I propose to write is 'Space and Time in Muslim Thought'. It is a difficult subject and involves a good deal of research or manuscripts which are yet unknown—at least some of them. Nor has yet any body written on it. I am, therefore, doubtful whether I shall be able to write these lectures in the three or four months which are at my disposal. I have, therefore, written to Lord Lothian asking him whether Rhodes Trustees will permit me to deliver these lectures in the summer of 1934.

Please write to me in February or in the end of January 1934. By that time I shall be able to give you more exact information. I have no inclination to deliver any public lectures in Oxford besides those I have already undertaken. But I shall be glad to have informal talks on Islamic subjects.

Yours sincerely,
Mohammad Iqbal

18th February, 1934

My dear Mr. Ikram,

Thank you for your letter which reached me a moment ago. I am not going to Gwalior, nor do I even attend gatherings of this kind. As to Rhodes lectures I hope to deliver them next year (1935) April-May. I have no intention of leaving India till April, 1935.

Yours sincerely,
Mohammad Iqbal

A NEW LIGHT ON IQBAL'S LIFE*

In the archives of the High Court of Judicature at Lahore there is a file (No. XIII-A 284) of Sir Muhammad Iqbal, M. A., Ph. D., Advocate—Legal Practitioner. From this file it appears that Iqbal

(1) attended, as a student of Law, the full course of lectures at the Lahore Law School in the year 1896;

(2) appeared in the Preliminary Examination in Law in December 1898; and

(3) failed in the paper of Jurisprudence; and that

(4) in June 1900 he applied to the Chief Court of the Punjab for permission to appear in the Preliminary Law Examination in December 1900 without attending the law lectures again; and that

(5) this application was refused by Mr. Justice Chatterji under the office recommendation: "must be refused under the rules".

Apparently this refusal became the turning point in the poet's life. He gave up the idea of completing his studies in law in his own country and decided to go abroad where he spent three years (from 1905 to 1908) in the company of some of the greatest scholars of the age.

*This is based on the article by Syed Mushin Tirmidi, Officer on Special Duty, High Court, Lahore, published in *The Pakistan Times* (April 21, 1955). He deserves the credit for discovering and reproducing relevant portions from the file, which is reproduced here in full.

We also learn that after his enrolment as Advocate of the Chief Court in October 1908, Iqbal, while continuing to be a practising lawyer, became in May 1909 the Professor of Philosophy in the Lahore Government College. But he would not stay in the College and "must give up his lectures unless the Chief Court can arrange to let his cases come on after his lecture hours". The Judges were reluctant to agree to "an understanding of this sort", and we find Mr. Justice Johnstone writing to his senior Judge, Mr. Justice Robertson: "We should remember that the concession is not really one to suit Mohammad Iqbal's private convenience as to help a Government Department in a strait." His Lordship went on to point out that the College Principal "Mr. Robson says he can find absolutely no substitute."

The correspondence in this connection is highly interesting and throws ample light on the poet's independence of spirit. As he himself puts it in a letter to the Chief Court, the Punjab Government asked him to take up the appointment and he accepted the arrangement "to save the College authorities from the embarrassment caused by the sudden death of the Professor of Philosophy." Mr. James.

To

The Registrar,
Chief Court, Punjab,
LAHORE.

Sir,

Most respectfully I beg to bring to your kind notice that after attending full course of lectures and paying all kinds of fees I went

up for the Preliminary in Law Examination in 1898 but unfortunately failed in the paper of Jurisprudence.

I shall be highly obliged if you kindly exempt me from attending further lectures for that Examination so that I may be able to join the Examination to be held in December 1900.

Certificate of the Registrar of the Punjab University is herewith attached.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

6th June 1900

'Sd-Muhammad Iqbal, M.A.

McLeod Reader

Punjab University, Lahore.

Sd/- Vishnu Singh Kapur

Advocate

No. 937

Copy of the Certificate

From

A. W. STRATTON, Esq., Ph.D.,
Registrar, Punjab University,
LAHORE

To

Shaikh Mohammad Iqbal, M.A.,
Oriental College,
Lahore

Dated Lahore, the 2nd June 1900

Sir,

With reference to your letter dated the 31st ultimo, I have the honour to inform you that you paid tuition fee for full 12 months for attending the Law School in 1898 and that you appeared in the Preliminary Examination

held in December 1898 and failed in Jurisprudence.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant

Sd/- A. W. Stratton

Registrar, Punjab University

CHIEF COURT OF THE PUNJAB

Office Notes

Register No. 786-G.

No.

Dated the 6th June 1900

From: Muhammad Iqbal, M. A.

Through Mr. Vishnu Singh Kapur, Advocate
Lahore

Subject

Application for exemption from attending
Law lectures to be delivered to the Preliminary in Law class.

Regr

Mohd. Iqbal of the Oriental College, Lahore, applied for permission to appear in the Preliminary in Law Exam. without again attending the Law lectures. He appeared at the Pre: Exam. in 1898 after attending the Law lectures but failed in Jurisprudence only. He has not put in any certificate regarding his educational qualifications and good conduct. For order.

Itd./- illegible

14/6

Was the 1898 exam. the last?

Itd./- illegible

16/6

I regret the mistake.
The last exam. was in
1899.

Must be refused under
the rules.

It'd./- illegible
16/6

It'd./- illegible
18/6

CHIEF COURT OF THE PUNJAB
Draft Letter

To

Mr. Muhammad Iqbal, M.A.,
c/o Mr. Vishnu Singh Kapur,
Advocate, Lahore

Dated 21st June 1900

No. 2545-G.

Sir,

With reference to your application dated the 6th instant, for permission to appear in the Preliminary in Law Examination without attending the Law lectures again, I am desired by the Judge to inform you that your application has been refused.

Sd/-
Registrar

To

The Hon'ble Judges of the
Chief Court, Punjab,
Lahore.

Hon'ble Sirs,

I am a Barrister-at-Law of the Hon'ble Society of Lincoln's Inn having been called to the Bar on 1st July last and desire to start my professional practice at Lahore. I shall be grateful if the Hon'ble Judge will be pleased to enroll me as an Advocate of the Punjab Chief Court.

I am not employed in Government Service nor am I engaged in business.

The necessary certificates are attached herewith.

I have etc., etc.

Your most obedient servant,

Sd/- Muhammad Iqbal

Bar-at-Law

c/o Mr. Muhammad Shafi

Bar-at-Law

To

The Registrar,

Chief Court,

Lahore.

Sir,

I shall feel highly obliged if you kindly place the accompanying application for enrolment before the Hon'ble Judges.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Sd/- S. Mohammad Iqbal

Bar-at-Law

Note—continued

R.O. Vol. I, pp. 175/6. The application is in order.

It'd./- A.B

22/10

Enrol:

It'd./- illegible

22/10

1. Is any duty payable under Rule iv(i)?
2. If so, call on applicant to pay it and

prepare certificate of admission.

3. Call for fee of Rs. 5/- under rule vi(i) and prepare certificate of enrolment.

It'd./- illegible

22/10

1. Yes Rs. 500/-
2. Stamp of Rs. 500/- has been affixed to the certificate of admission.
3. A court fee label of the value of Rs. 5/- has been affixed to his application (page 9)

Certificates have been made out and are in the pad with letters for signature.

It'd./- W.G.S.

30.10.8

It'd./- A.D.

30.10

(Office copy)

In The Chief Court of The Punjab At Lahore

I, Arthur Denson, Registrar of the Chief Court of the Punjab, do hereby certify and declare that Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal, Barrister-at-Law, son of Shaikh Mir Muhammad, has this day been admitted/enrolled an Advocate of the Chief Court of the Punjab.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Court, this twenty-second day of October, in the year of our lord one thousand nine hundred and eight.

By order of the Chief Court.

Sd/- A. Danson

Registrar

30-10.8

(Office copy)

No. 4509-G, dated 30th October 1908

NOTIFICATION

It is hereby notified that Sh. Muhammad Iqbal, Bar-at-Law, son of Sh. Mir Muhammad¹ has been duly entered in the Court's Register of Advocates.

By order, &c.,
Sd/- A. Danson
Registrar

From

No. 145

J.C. Godley, Esquire, M.A.,
Under Secretary to Government, Punjab,
Home (Education) Department

To

The Registrar,
Chief Court, Punjab, Lahore

Dated Lahore, 8th May, 1909

Sir,

His Honour the Lieutenant Governor wishes to offer the appointment of Professor of Philosophy, Government College, Lahore, to Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal, M.A., for the remainder of the current session of the College, that is, up to the middle of July. His College work, which will be confined to lecturing in the mornings, should in no way interfere with his ordinary professional duties. I am directed to enquire whether

1. The name of Iqbal's father was Shaikh Nur Muhammad and not Shaikh Mir Muhammad as wrongly given in these documents. It seems that the word "Nur" was written in a way that the clerk deciphered it as "Mir".

the Judges of the Chief Court have any objection to this arrangement.

2. The favour of an early reply is requested.

I have the honour to be,

Sir

Your most obedient servant,

Sd/- J.C. Godley

Under Secretary to Government, Punjab
Home (Education) Department

Chief Court Bar Association
Lahore, 8th May, 1909

Dear Sir,

The Punjab Government have asked me to take up temporarily the duties of the late Mr. James, Professor of Philosophy in the Lahore Government College. To save the College authorities from the embarrassment caused by the sudden death of the Prof. of Philosophy I have accepted the arrangement for the morning hours 6-9. I understand that under the rules I ought to intimate the fact to you. I suppose the Director of Public Instruction has already written to the Hon'ble the Chief Judge.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- Muhammad Iqbal

Bar-at-Law

and Advocate, Chief Court, Lahore

Hon'ble C.J. No objection?

It'd.- A.D.

No objection.

Sd/- illegible

8.5.09

CHIEF COURT OF THE PUNJAB

Notes

From: The Govt. Punjab

No. 145 dated 8.5.1909 Received on 8.5.1909

Appointment of Sh. Mohd. Iqbal, M.A. as a
Professor of Philosophy

A precedent will be found at pages 55-56 of
Faqir Chand's file No. 433 H.C.

Reply to Govt. in the negative?

Sd/- W.G.

8.5.9

Itd./- illegible

8.5.9.

No. 2150-G

From

A.L. Danson, Esquire, I.C.S.

Registrar, Chief Court,

Punjab

To

The Under Secretary to Government, Punjab,

Home (Education) Department,

Lahore

Dated Lahore, the 10th of May 1909

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 145, dated the 8th of May 1909, I am desired to say that the Hon'ble Judges have no objection to the appointment as a temporary arrangement, of Sheikh Muhammad Iqbal, M.A., as Professor of Philosophy, Government College, Lahore, on the understanding that his College work will not

interfere with the discharge of his professional duties.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Sd/- A. Danson

Registrar

CHIEF COURT PUNJAB

5th October 1909

My dear Robertson,

I saw Robson today. He is in a difficulty. Perhaps you remember that the Govt. College took on Mohd. Iqbal, barrister, as Professor in Philosophy, being unable to do better because the Sec. of State had failed to send out a promised English scholar for the post. Well, Mohd. Iqbal took the job in the hot weather because he could do his lectures all in the early morning and so carry on his practice at the bar as well; but now College hours coincide with court hours to some extent, and the man has intimated that he must give up his lectures unless the Chief Court can arrange to let his cases come on after his lecture hours, which cease each day at noon. He has not much of a practice and I do not think an undertaking of this sort by the Judges would lead to much practical inconvenience; but of course I can see objections. We should remember that the concession is not really one to suit Mohd. Iqbal's private convenience as to help a Govt. Deptt. in a strait. Robson says he can find absolutely no substitute.

What do you think I should tell Robson? I hope you are still enjoying life.

Yours very sincerely,

Sd/- D.C. Johnstone

CHIEF COURT, PUNJAB

6.10.09

Dear Brother,

As regards Robson's case I fear it is quite impossible to give any pledge. The question hardly arises in vacation and had better be circulated to the judges or dealt with by Reid on his return. Personally I should be glad to do all that was possible in the matter, but a pledge is clearly, I think, impossible.

I should tell Robson that the matter will be dealt with immediately after vacation, that of course we should do anything we could to help him, but any pledge is out of the question.

Yours very sincerely,

Sd/- J.W.F. Robertson

Office of the Principal, Govt. College, Lahore

Dated 9.10.1909

My Dear Johnstone,

I am very much obliged to you for the trouble you have taken in writing to Mr. Robertson about Dr. Mohd. Iqbal's case, and I think both you and he have said all that can be said in the circumstances. If Mohd. Iqbal will take up the work provisionally, he can give it up after the Court vacation, if the arrangement is found

unworkable. If he won't come without a definite pledge regarding his cases, I must do as best as I can without him.

With many thanks,

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- S. Robson

Extract from the proceedings of the Hon'ble Judges meeting held on the 5th of November 1909.

14. The appointment of an advocate of the Court as a temporary professor in the Government College was considered and Mr. Justice Johnstone was asked to reply to the Principal.

Office of the Principal, Govt. College, Lahore
Dated 6.11.1909

My dear Johnstone,

Very many thanks for your letter and for the trouble you have so kindly taken to help me.

I think the Judges have done all they possibly can do in the matter. I am very grateful, and I shall be very glad should you have an opportunity of telling them that I am.

I have communicated the decision to Dr. Mohd. Iqbal and your advice to see the Judges personally.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- S. Robson

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ISLAM

Sir Mohammad Iqbal's Speech

Iqbal went to Madras at the invitation of the Madras Muslim Association where he delivered three lectures which later formed part of his *Reconstruction of Religious Thought In Islam*. An account of two of these lectures was given in a Tamil dally of Madras, *Tamil Nadu* (7th January, 1929). We give below an English rendering of this account for which the Academy is indebted to Mr. G. M. Qureshi, National Bank of Pakistan, Karachi.

Madras, January 7th. 1929. A large number of Hindus and Muslims had gathered at the Madras Gokhale Hall on Saturday the 5th instant to hear the speech of Sir Mohammad Iqbal, a member of the Central Legislature. Although the speech was scheduled at 6.15 p.m. the Hall was packed to capacity long before the appointed hour. The large gathering included Janab Aslam, Asstt. Post Master General, Madras, Janab Mohammad Zinda Saheb, Revenue Officer, Madras Corpn., Khan Bahadur Qadir Nawaz, Khan Bahadur Abdul Karim, Khan Bahadur Tamizuddin Qadri, Janab Qureshi Saheb, Small Cause Court Judge, Dr. Jamaluddin, Messrs. Mustafa Saheb, Miran Mohiuddin, Janab Mohammad, Dr. P. Subbaroyan, Sri Sivraj, M.L.C., Sri S. S. Suryanaraya Shastri, M.A., B.L., Srimati Khadija Yakooob Hasan.

At the outset Janab Hameed Hasan requested Dr. P. Subbaroyan to preside over the meeting, and introduce Sir Mohammad Iqbal to the gathering.

Dr. P. Subbaroyan said in his introductory speech :

“ I crave your forgiveness for arriving late to this meeting. Nomination of a non-Muslim to preside over a meeting like this has come to me as a surprise. Nevertheless as an Indian and as a believer in the existence of a common God who has created the entire world, it has given me the greatest pleasure in getting an opportunity to learn the main principles of Islam. For this country to attain independence and for us to safeguard the independence once attained, it is very necessary that the two main communities, namely Hindus and Muslims, must live as brothers, like children born to the same parents. I have always reiterated that being a minority community the Muslims should be given all encouragement and assistance by the Hindus to live as equals in this country.

It is with the object of learning the principles enunciated by Islam that I am here this evening. Be they Hindus or Muslims or Christians, it has been the conviction of literary sages that all religions lead to one and the same path of Truth. All religions do preach Truth. Whatever be the

teachings of Islam it is an acknowledged fact that it has taught the concept of fraternity and brotherhood to the world.

There are amidst us, Hindus, very many caste and creed distinctions. I am not speaking here as a non-Brahmin. However, speaking frankly, the Brahmin-non-Brahmin rift is very unfortunate. Even among non-Brahmins, there are countless caste distinctions. This apart, it is impossible to narrate the sorrows of the untouchables. There is no difference in human beings born in this world. That all persons are equal is the lesson that Islam taught to India. This truth was known to India even before Islam. Gotama, the Buddha, preached this but the Buddhist religion did not survive long. It is, therefore, necessary that we, Hindus, have to learn the principles of fraternity, brotherhood and equality from Islam. It is only if we, Hindus and Muslims, live as brothers that we could retain the independence that we may attain.

I trust that the Speaker of the evening, Sir Mohammad Iqbal, will enlighten you on several new matters."

Thereafter, the Chairman and Sir Mohammad Iqbal were garlanded.

Governor's Message. The Chairman read out the message received from the Governor of

Madras expressing his disappointment at not being able to be present at the meeting and hear the speech of the learned Doctor, Sir Mohammad Iqbal. He wished the meeting success.

Amidst great applause Sir Mohammad Iqbal rising to speak said :

“The crux of religion is Faith. Can man’s research get at the root of its doctrines? I will reply in the affirmative. Faith is greater than ordinary belief. Man’s inner thoughts and manifest deeds are determined only by Faith. It is, therefore, impossible to change the truth inculcated by religion. In physical sciences if we are told of some thing we do not know, we can dispute or disbelieve it. We can even refute it after experimenting. But we cannot do so in religion. The knowledge gifted to man by nature and the subsequent experiences gained by him are interrelated. From a study of the Islamic religion it would become clear that it is a rationalistic religion and as shown by our Prophet Mohammad its formulae could be practised in every day life. The Philosophy of ancient Greece could not make much headway in metaphysics. Greek philosophers believed in mysticism—the obscure and the abstract. But Islam teaches that one should believe only in what is rational and empirical.” Dr. Iqbal explained in detail the difference in the teachings of Ghazali and the German Philosopher Kant.

“ In the past centuries no differences had arisen in the principles enunciated by Islam. Due to the advancement of science in the present age and the knowledge gathered in different spheres of life as a result thereof it has become necessary to know the basic principles of Islam.” Thereafter Dr. Iqbal spoke on religious teachings and experiences and also cited a few underlying differences between the Quran and the Bible.

The meeting then came to an end with a vote of thanks.

SECOND LECTURE

On Sunday the 8th inst. at 6 p. m. Dr. Mohammad Iqbal delivered his second speech at the Gokhale Hall. The subject of the speech could be termed as “ Discourse on Religious experiences”. He spoke about his personal experiments in Islamic tenets and also on the treatises of Philosophers of various countries.

IQBAL'S INTERVIEW WITH *The Bombay Chronicle*

On the eve of Iqbal's departure for London to attend the second Round Table Conference (17th September—December 31, 1931), he gave an interview to a representative of *The Bombay Chronicle* which is reproduced below.

In order to appreciate the nature of questions put, it is necessary to know briefly the historical events of the period.

The majority of the Muslims had repudiated the Nehru Report (accepted by the Hindus in December, 1928) and cooperated with the Simon Commission appointed to advise on the future constitution of India. The Congress started a civil disobedience movement in March 1930 in which the Muslims did not participate.

The Hindu-Muslim relations remained greatly strained during all this period and as Iqbal was intimately associated with that section of the Muslim leaders which stood for the separate rights of Muslims in this sub-continent, the Congress Press to which *The Bombay Chronicle* belonged, looked upon him as communalist, as being enemy of the Hindus, as a supporter of British imperialism and its reactionary allies, the princes.

The question of Pan-Islamism assumed importance in the political history of the sub-continent when the British Government started a campaign of repression in the frontier province against the emerging Khudai Khidmatgar movement in the nineteen thirties. It was alleged that the followers of this

movement desired to establish an Islamic Kingdom with Afghanistan as its nucleus. Several people including Sir Fazli Husain stated that charge of Pan-Islamism was perfectly incorrect. In one of his statements Iqbal agreed with Sir Fazli that political pan-Islamism never existed.

1. IQBAL AND NON-MUSLIMS

“I have no prejudice against any community or nation in the world. All I want is to see Islam return to its pristine simplicity. I wish to see Indians living in peace and I am convinced that such a thing is possible even while every community retains its culture and individuality.”

2. PAN-ISLAMISM

Q. What is your conception of Pan-Islamism ?

A. The term Pan-Islamism has been used in two senses. As far as I know, it was coined by a French journalist and in the sense in which he used that term, Pan-Islamism existed nowhere except in his own imagination.* I think the French journalist meant to give shape to a danger which he fancied was existing in the world of Islam. The phrase was invented after the fashion of the expression “Yellow Peril,” in order to justify European aggression in Islamic countries.

Later on, I think the expression Pan-Islamism was taken to mean a kind of intrigue, the centre

*See *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal*, pp. 164-169.

of which was in Constantinople. The Muslims of the world were understood to be planning a kind of Union of all the Muslim States against the European States. The late Professor Brown of the Cambridge University has, I think, conclusively proved that Pan-Islamism in that sense never existed in Constantinople or anywhere else.

There is, however, a sense in which Jamaluddin Afghani used it. I do not know if he used the same expression, but he actually advised Afghanistan, Persia and Turkey to unite against the aggression of Europe. This was purely a defensive measure, and I personally think that Jamaluddin was perfectly right in his view.

But there is another sense in which the word should be used and it does contain the teaching of the Quran. In that sense it is not a political project but a social experiment. Islam does not recognise caste or race or colour. In fact Islam is the only outlook on life which has really solved the colour question, at least in the Muslim world, a question which modern European civilization with all its achievements in science and philosophy, has not been able to solve. Pan-Islamism, thus interpreted, was taught by the Prophet and will live for ever. In this sense Pan-Islamism is only Pan-Humanism. In this sense every Muslim is a Pan-Islamist and ought to be so. Indeed the word Pan ought to be

dropped from the phrase Pan-Islamism, for Islamism is an expression which completely covers the meaning I have mentioned above.

3. IMPERIALISM

Q. Do you consider British Imperialism to be Godly?

A. All States engaged in exploitation are un-Godly.

4. BOLSHEVISM

Q. Do you subscribe to the view once expressed by you in a letter to Sir Francis Younghusband that "Islam is Bolshevism plus God"?

A. Islam is a Socialistic religion. The Quran teaches a kind of *via media* between absolute Socialism and private property. Russia has recognised the promotion of skilled labour.

Personally, I think that modern conscience will bring about fundamental changes in what you call Imperialism and Bolshevism. The days of territorial Empires are over and Bolshevism, in the sense of absolute socialism, is already being modified. Russia and Britain may come to blows, because of the fundamental difference in their economic outlook; in which case it is obvious that the sympathies of all right-thinking men would be on the side of justice.

A few more questions on the point elicited the information that the poet held radical views on the subject which vitally differed from the

present conception of private property as preached and practised by the Muslims. He was very clear and emphatic on one point and it was that Quranic teaching was opposed to holding of land as private property. "As far as I have been able to see from the papers the Russians are reported to have rejected the idea of God as a basis of human society. Even if this state does exist in Russia today, I doubt whether it will continue to exist. Materialism pure and simple cannot serve as a basis for human society; and the Russians as far as I know are really a religious people."

5. CRITICISM OF IQBAL AS A POLITICIAN

The representative asked the poet what reply he had to give to those of his honest and well-meaning critics who felt embarrassed at his present attitude, as it was not in keeping with the teachings of his poetry. The poet was further told that some people believed that Iqbal the poet had been superseded by Iqbal the politician.

He replied: "It is for my critics to judge me. But they ought to do so from my writings, which I am afraid few of them care to read or understand. But there is no doubt that my ideas about Nationalism have undergone a definite change. In my college days I was a zealous Nationalist which I am not now. The

change is due to maturer thinking. It is unfortunate that my later writings are all in Persian which is little understood in this country."

Q. Are you for the continuance of the Princely order?

A. I am not for the continuance of the Princely order. But I am neither at heart a believer in Democracy. I tolerate Democracy because there is no other substitute.

Q. Don't you think that you would have been more useful to the country as a poet than a politician?

A. The poet replied that he had not ceased taking interest in literary pursuits. In fact that was his main occupation even now. He referred to his latest publication *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* and said that on his return from England he intended to write more on allied subjects.

Q. You have done more than any one else to expose the sham of Conferences and the League of Nations and yet you seem to be pinning your faith on the Round Table Conference. Will you kindly explain the paradox?

When this question was put, the poet blinked and abruptly turned to his constant companion—the *Hookah*.

Q. Why are you opposed to Nationalism?

A. I consider it against the higher ideal of Islam. Islam is not a creed. It is a social code.

It has solved the colour problem. It wants to turn the minds of people into a single channel. It originally conceived the unity and the spiritual resemblance among the members of human race. Nationalism as at present understood and practised comes in the way of the realisation of that ideal and that is my argument against Nationalism.

Q. What is the possibility of a Federation of the Arabian countries ?

A. I believe in the Federation of Arabian States, though there are some very great difficulties in the way. I have great faith in the Arabic language which in my opinion is the only Eastern language which has a future before it as a living language. I look upon it as a great bond of union among the Arabian nations next to their faith. The present condition of Hejaz is not, however, very satisfactory. It is difficult for me to forecast the future of Arabian Federation.

If the Muslim countries keep true to the ideals of Islam they are likely to do the greatest service to humanity. Islam, in my opinion, is the only positive system that the world possesses today provided the Muslims apply themselves to it and rethink the whole thing in the light of modern ideas. The Indian Muslim in my opinion is likely to play a very important role in the future of Islam. New Islam relies more on

the younger generation which has received more education with necessary grounding in Islam.

The Ulama, if they properly apply themselves to understand the real meaning of problems, political and economic, which confront Islam to-day, with their knowledge of the past would be of immense use in the future reconstruction of Islam. I have myself made my humble contribution and I hope to write more. I have tried to see the religious philosophy of Islam in the light of modern knowledge and I hope I shall find time to do the same thing with the system of *fiqh* which in my opinion is much more important to-day than the purely theological aspect of it. I have however begun with the philosophical aspect of it. It was, as a matter of fact, necessary as a prelude to the work of reconstruction.

I am concentrating on *fiqh* which the Ulama have neglected for several centuries. The Quran must now be read as a book which throws light on the birth, growth and death of nations or rather peoples. In the history of revealed literature, the Quran is probably the first book which spoke of people as living organism. The Quran conceives people as obeying certain definite laws, of which the moral aspect the Quran has emphasised more than the other aspects.

Q. Are you going to visit any Islamic country

on your way back to India after finishing the work of the Round Table Conference?

A. The poet said that his desire was to visit all or at least as many of the Islamic countries as possible. But paucity of funds would not allow him to visit many of them. He would however visit Egypt while returning from England. He wanted to visit all Islamic countries with a view to study conditions prevailing in those countries at present and he wanted to write a book on *The Modern World of Islam*. But it again depended on the funds that would be available and he could say nothing with any amount of certainty at this stage.

WOMEN IN THE EAST

BY

Dr. S. M. IQBAL

This is the report of a correspondent of the *Liverpool Post* about his interview with Iqbal while he was in England during Round Table Conference Session.

1. PRELIMINARY REMARK

I would like to throw some light on the question of women's position in the East as compared to their condition in the West.

I see now so many things on the streets of London of which the Londoners are unaware; but a minute observer, particularly who has visited this place after years*, is struck by hard facts and realities of things.**

2. CHANGE IN WOMEN'S POSITION

I wonder at the change for the worse in the position of the fair sex in the West. Now men seldom leave their seats in trains for ladies; they neither allow precedence to women while getting down a car. I would not blame men for this. It is the result of women's own conduct: they are mad after Liberty, and Equality with men. And therefore whatever we observe is the result of prevailing conditions, for which there is no remedy.

* Iqbal's first visit to England was between 1905-8.

**See Kennilworth's *Good Bye to the Age of Chivalry*, Introduction.

3. EASTERN WOMEN OCCUPY THE SAME HIGH POSITION

Now I deem it necessary to remove some misunderstanding regarding the eastern women, particularly among the Muslims and their relationship and treatment by males. European women have of their own free will got down from that high pedestal which they used to occupy long with all glory and grandeur. On the other hand, women in the East still occupy the same position with all respect and honour.

Europe is still worried over the fact that Turkish women have no distinctive role to play in society. This is all due to their ignorance of our domestic life. They have yet to understand wisdom behind the veil. Our women's veiled segregation is not due to the fact that men are immoral.

Woman, in fact, is the Lord's holiest creature.

And her sex relationship necessitates that she must live immune from undesirable eyes. In Arabic, *Harem* means "holy and sacred land" which should not be polluted by the interference of strangers.

4. PURDA FURTHER EXPLAINED

There are other reasons also for the observance of *Purda* but they are more or less biological and therefore they may not be discussed

here. Here I wish to point out what was the basic idea behind the custom.

In this world woman is the most sacred means of procreation; and it is a fact that Creative Functionaries lie always hidden and concealed in Life.

Respect and honour of an Eastern woman lie behind *Purda* in which there has been no departure within the last so many centuries.

In fact women have all along been enjoined to keep themselves aloof from strangers.

In the Qur'an numerous rules have been mentioned with regard to the segregation of women, and *Purda* is one of them. It is also laid down that when on any occasion men and women face each other they should never look through. If the entire world follows this rule there shall be no necessity for the customary *Purda*. In India and other Muslim countries many women never use *Burqa*. In fact the *Burqa* is expressive of a particular mental attitude of the woman.

Some overt act is necessary to strengthen that attitude. This may differ according to the individual and national conditions of mankind.

Numerous are the objections raised against the institution called *Harem*, but let me make it clear that it was nothing common but related only to the kings and the sultans.

5. POLYGAMY

When I speak of Eastern women that must necessarily lead you to think of Polygamy. There is no doubt that Islam permits polygamy which is, indeed, the only effective remedy for unrestrained fornication.

Monogamy must be our ideal. But what remedy have we for the evil where women outnumber men?

In the medieval ages Europe had started the institutions of nunneries and temples to absorb their super-abundance; but today it is impossible to resuscitate those institutions.

The so-called Industrial Revolution has created a sense of revolt against polygamy among men and women but I am afraid the social miseries continue as they were before.

I do not mean to say that Polygamy is the panacea for all our ills, but, I must confess, the very idea makes me nervy that henceforth women should work for their own livelihood.

This shall tend to despoil the feminine essence for ever.

6. WOMEN IN ISLAM

Islam, however, has no obligatory and permanent rule of Polygamy. According to Muslim jurisprudence, the reigning government can alone annul this permissive law if it tends to destroy social life.

According to Muslim law, a woman, even after divorce, is entitled to manage her property with a view to safeguard her rights; she can carry on business, and may seek legal remedies in a court of law. The very same Jurists have held that she can even be elected a Caliph.

A husband is duty bound to provide for his wife's maintenance, in addition to the payment of dowry. In order to enforce her above rights she can take full possession of her husband's property.

7. DIVORCE

The Muslim law of Divorce is not without some lessons and interests.

Muslim women have similar right of divorce as their husbands have. In order to enforce that right on occasion, she may, at the time of marriage contract, nominate her brother, father or even a stranger, to work as her agent in the matter. This is technically known as *Tafwidh* (delegation of power).

I leave it to the sense of the European jurists to find out why this indirect method was considered necessary to safeguard woman's rights.

IQBAL AND THE NATIONAL LEAGUE LONDON*

The National League London was founded by Miss Margaret Farquharson in 1914 in order to help in the British war effort. After the war, it pioneered the struggle against Bolshevism. Its other object was to secure justice for the cause of the Muslims, not only in the Indian sub-continent but also for those of the Middle East, thus fostering and developing Muslim British friendship. In one of his letters Iqbal wrote to Miss Farquharson about the work of the National League :

“ We very much appreciate the great service that you and the members of the League have rendered to us. I have been in touch with the English Press and feel more keenly than ever that the present moment is one of the great crises in the history of Britain and Islam. The problem before

*This account is based on the documents which Dr. Abdullah Chaghatai very kindly handed over to the Iqbal Academy. Miss Farquharson while sending these documents wrote:

Dear Mr. Abdullah Chughtai,

I hope you got the material I sent you on to Paris. In any case, I enclose duplicate material

Yours sincerely,
Margaret Farquharson



Courtesy: G. R. Mehr

Iqbal in Jerusalem (1931)

Iqbal with Ziauddin Tabatabaia and Mr. Ghulam Rasul Mehr (with a cigarette)

England is not one of India only. It involves the whole question of cooperation between the East and West. I am glad that England has seen the real issue."

In 1932 when Iqbal went to England to attend the third Round Table Conference, Miss Margaret Farquharson held a reception in his honour on November 24, 1932.

Miss Farquharson while welcoming the guests and introducing Iqbal, said :

We find in him the rare qualities of a man, with the vision of the Poet to see far into the future, the insight and depth of the Philosopher to see the principles underlying man's problems, and the powers of the man of action which made him also a Member of the Round Table Conference.

This is a unique occasion, and Members of both Houses of Parliament and the diplomats of many countries, and many of our friends from the East, are assembled to do him honour.

Lord Lamington then expressed his appreciation of Iqbal's work and the great contribution that he made to the awakening of the Muslims of the world. He then formally called upon Iqbal to say a few words. And then Iqbal said :

We have gathered to form a constitution for India in close touch with the British Empire; we must work out a durable constitution

without a chance of collapse. India is a vast country of various creeds and speech and the people have lived side by side for thousands of years.

It is necessary that the Conference be more accurately defined. Communities should be in closer touch with each other and with the country.

There must be mutual trust as trust begets trust. There is an atmosphere of goodwill at the Conference.

Muslims have courage and have always shown loyalty and affection for Great Britain. I hope the Muslims' legitimate claims and aspirations would be fully safeguarded in the final settlement.

On December 15, 1932 the National League held a meeting in committee room No. 10 where foreign diplomats, members of the House of Lords and Commons were invited to meet Iqbal and other members of the Muslim Delegation. The speech that Iqbal made on this occasion is reproduced below :

The principle that underlies the demands made by the Muslims of India is very simple and cannot fail to appeal to the British people. As you know the population of the Mussalmans of India is over 70,000,000. Half of this population is scattered all over the country. The major

portion, however, of this population is comparatively compact, especially in the Provinces which constitute the large West Indian quarter. In Bengal the population of the Mussalmans is about 57%, in Sind it is about 73%, in the Frontier Province it is about 95%.

Now, the point of the Muslims of India is that, as a people representing a distinct historical tradition and homogeneity, which is not possessed by any other community in India, as such people they want to live their own lives, and develop on their own cultural lines. This is the principle that underlies the demands made by them. These demands are embodied in the resolutions of the All-India Muslim Conference and of the All-India Muslim League.

As you know, the communal question in India has been the cause of great anxiety both to yourselves and ourselves. We tried our best during the last ten years to come to an understanding with our own countrymen, but failed. Eventually, the question was decided by His Majesty's Government. Although there are certain points on which we have yet to complain, the most important Community of Muslims has decided to work the situation and to see what comes out of it. There are other demands which

are now being discussed by the Round Table Conference. We have placed these demands before the Conference and we are grateful to you that you have given an opportunity to us to place them before you.

We have placed these demands before the Conference under the guidance of His Highness the Agha Khan, that worthy statesman whom we all admire and whom the Muslims of India love for the blood that runs through his veins.

Now, you are familiar, I think, with the underlying principle which I have just stated, assuming now the form of concrete demands. Now these concrete demands are, in the first place, separate electorates, in the second place, majority in those provinces at least in which we happen to be in majority, and we claim as a demand, that is to say, a national demand, for immediate provincial autonomy. Again, we demand the separation of Sind. We demand equal status for the Frontier Province and, further, we demand introduction of reform in Baluchistan. We further demand 33% in both Houses, Upper and Lower, in order to safeguard our interests in the Centre.

Now, I will not go into details ; I will say only a word about three of these things. 33% in the Centre ; introduction of reform

in Baluchistan and Provincial autonomy. It is necessary for me to say a few things about our demand of 33% in the Upper and Lower houses because I believe some misunderstanding was caused somehow as I read in some of the papers here. The papers tried to make out that the Muslims of India had modified their demand insofar as this demand of 33% was concerned. Now the feelings of the Muslims of India on this point, as embodied in the Resolutions of the All-India Muslim League, is that the Muslims consider this their minimum safeguard in both the Houses. Of course, we realise that there are some difficulties in the way and we hope that the Indian States, which now form a part of the All-India Federation, will see how it will be possible to come to an understanding with them so that we may be able to secure what we want. We quite appreciate their difficulties, but this appreciation of their difficulties does not mean that we have modified our demands. The demand as embodied in the Resolution of the Muslims of India is that we strongly feel that our interests can only be safeguarded by 33% in both Houses.

As to the Reforms to be introduced in Baluchistan, I have got to make a sug-

gestion. It is this: that the British Baluchistan, Kalat and the states of Las Bela may be combined or turned into a kind of Baluchistan Federation and, as such, meet in the Indian Federation.

As to provincial autonomy, I must tell you—I consider it my duty to tell you—that we lay the strongest stress on this point. I believe, personally, and I hope that every Indian Muslim agrees with me on this point, that this forms the very soul of the demands which we have put forward before the British people and before our own country. Our countrymen do not agree with it and the other day in the Conference a compromise was suggested, but, as far as I know, the Muslims of India are very strong on this point and our statesmen and members of the sub-committee which was formed for the discussion were very strong on this point, and did not agree with the compromise that was suggested.

But I must tell the representatives of the British people that we strongly feel this and it makes the very soul of the demands put forward by the Muslims.

Now, these are a few of the important demands which I have placed before the Round Table Conference. On account of these demands our countrymen say we are

Pan-Islamic and not patriotic enough and they also say that we are communalistic. Now with regard to Communalism and Pan-Islamism I want to say a few words to you. Now if a man belongs to a cultural community, he feels that it is his duty to protect that culture. In that case I appeal to you whether you will look upon such a man as unpatriotic. I think it is the duty of every Briton to protect his country if his country is in danger. In the same way it is the duty of every Mussalman to protect his culture, his faith, if he finds that things due to him are not safeguarded. After all, it is a man's faith, his culture, his tradition, which are worth living for and dying for.

Four or five years ago as President of the All-India Muslim League, I suggested as a possible solution the formation of a large West Indian Muslim State. While this suggestion of mine was not embodied in the demand of the Muslims of India, my personal opinion still is that this is the only possible solution. I wait until experience reveals the wisdom or unwisdom of this suggestion.

Islam does not recognise the differences of race, of caste or even of sex. It is above time and above space, and it is in this

sense that all mankind are accepted as brothers.

We are 80,000,000 in India and we want to protect our own culture, our own historical tradition.

I, therefore, respectfully submit that the demands the Muslims of India have placed before you are worth your consideration, because a powerful India will solve for ever the question that is most prominent in politics at the present time, the question of the cooperation of the East and West. India lies between the East and West, and if the Muslims are allowed an opportunity, with the co-operation of England, they can serve the people of Asia and of England.

LIFE IN MADRID

On his return from England Iqbal visited Spain. In Madrid he gave a lecture on "Intellectual World of Islam and Spain" under the Chairmanship of Mr. Asin Palacios, the famous author of *Islam and Divine Comedy*. The report of this lecture was published in a Spanish daily *El-debate*. The Academy is grateful to the Spanish Embassy, Karachi, for its English translation, reproduced below.

As a tourist and also with the desire to get in touch with Spanish intellectuals of the Arabic School, Sir Muhammad Iqbal has arrived in Spain. Last evening he gave a lecture on "The Intellectual world of Islam and Spain" which was held in the new building of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters in Moncloa.

Sir Muhammad Iqbal is, as Mr. Asin Palacios said last night, a subtle Philosopher and a fine poet, "one more example of those select beings who in Islamic Spain cultivated with equal good fortune the divine arts of poet and the profound studies of metaphysics." "At the side of Gandhi," added the wise Priest, "and other illustrious notable Hindus and Musulmans, he took a seat at the Supreme Council of the Round Table." But not only is our visitor different from Gandhi as a politician, the holy man of nationalism. Iqbal is the intellectual type. Politics and his participation in the Round Table is a mere accident. Neither does he show, like Gandhi, his inadapt-

ibility to European ways, made manifest in his resistance to change his way of dress. Iqbal, culturally formed in the Law Universities of Cambridge, dresses in the European style up to a modern jacket. His head gear is his only racial distinctive mark.

He is accompanied in this journey by his daughter, slim and whitefaced like any other European.¹

In the lecture, he put the influence of the poets and philosophers and of Islamic Spain in relief over the Muslim intellection up to the Far East. He mentioned how all of them are studied, especially Ibn Jaidun, and he also cited Al-Biruni, Al Masudi and Al-Kindi. He made reference to the multiple investigations being carried out in this aspect.

In his speech of introduction, Mr. Asin referred to him as an illustrious jurisconsult, who comes from the most remote limits of the Islamic East to bring the echo of the Musulman soul from its distant country, which evokes, in romantic longing, the remembrance of our medieval Andalousia. He mentioned the importance that for the history of mysticism has his work entitled *Development of Metaphysics in Persia* in which he discovers systems of the Persian

1. In his letter to Attiya Begum (pp. 10-11), Iqbal refers to this lady as his secretary. It was wrongly presumed by the correspondent to be his daughter.

Dr. M. Iqbal at this year's meeting. This is the mystics related to Ibn Arabi of Murcia, precedent of the doctrine of the unconscious as seen by Schopenhauer and Hartman. Sir Muhammad Iqbal succeeded, like Ibn Arabi, in emptying into the tormented moulds of his poesy and rhyme, his philosophic doctrines under the suggestive title of *Asrar-i-Khudi*, a pretty poem. He makes reference to the investigations on Ibn Arabi and says that India and Andalus, in the extreme confines of the Islamic world, offer to the historian of culture the common feature that they were both experimental laboratories of cultural synthesis. There the Islamic culture was established with the Aryan and the Semitic elements while here it was established with the Greek, Roman and Christian elements; there this integral culture is operative while here it is only a subject for historical research. And yet great minds of these two far-off countries feel alike the charms of science and art.

LECTURE NOTES

While in London during Round Table Conference, Iqbal received an invitation from Mussolini to visit Italy. This invitation was arranged by Dr. Scarpa who was then Consul of the Italian Government in Bombay and was a great admirer of Iqbal. Iqbal met Mussolini and then delivered a lecture in Rome. The following are the notes of this lecture in his own hand. The same lecture was later delivered by Iqbal in Egypt.

A—The most remarkable event of Modern History—movement of Islam towards the West and movement of Russia towards the East. On a proper understanding of these movements depends our understanding of:

- (i) The likely fate of modern civilization;
- (ii) The relation of England with the world of Islam on its moral and political and economic aspect.

B—Let us try to understand them.

There are three forces that are shaping the world of to day:

- (1) Western civilization. Its formation:
 - (a) Inspiration from Christianity;
 - (b) Scientific method and mastery over nature—Islam and Scientific method (Briffault);
 - (c) Separation of Church and State; Development of the Ethical tone of West-

ern civilization and developme.. of territorial nationalism ending in 1714.

(2) Communism

Karl Marx and Hegel

Negation of Church

Ascendency of materialism as Philosophy of life.

(3) Islam لا اله الا الله محمد الرسول الله. Its present decay and various views; germ of greatness. It is a method of personal illumination on the one hand and social experiment on the other hand.

As a method of personal illumination: Revolves round the ego. Mysticism. Not proximity but Power.

قد افلح من زكئها قدخاب من دسئها*

As a social experiment. Last Sermon. Idea of humanity.

(i) The abolition of blood relationship as a principle of social solidarity.

Man not earth-rooted.

The movement of prophets.

(ii) Congregational prayer and institutions

(iii) Socialism

C— But there can be no denying that Islam has lost its hold on matter. It is moving towards the West. It is not decay

*Reference is to the Quranic verse (xci. 9-10): Truly he succeeds that purifies it (soul); and he fails that corrupts it.

but reawakening; it is search for power. The first realization of it came in 1799. Tippu and Navarino¹. Since then various movements appeared:

Wahabism, Babism, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan.

The movement of Islam towards the West means regaining of that hold. England and Islam.

Atheistic Materialism and Islam.

D—England and Islam

Political and Economic aspect

Islam suspicious; letter from Morocco.

In order to win Islam she must be trusted.

1. India, N.W. India. The organization of Islam.

2. Palestine, Arabia, etc. The Arab world. Kashmir.

E—The friendship of Islam worth having.

1. See Shamloo, *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal*, (1st Ed.), p 124. Navarino refers to the battle of Navarino, fought between the Turks and the Western Powers. Date given by Iqbal is not correct. It took place not in 1799 but on October 20, 1827.

IQBAL'S LETTER ABOUT CONVERSION OF UNTOUCHABLES TO ISLAM

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the leader of the untouchables in India, in his presidential speech at the Bombay Presidency Depressed Classes Conference held at Yeola, Nasik District, on October 13, 1935 declared that the only solution of the problem of the untouchables was to sever their connection with Hinduism and to embrace any other religion.

Though it was more a political than a purely religious problem, the Muslims of the sub-continent tried to convince Dr. Ambedkar and others that they would benefit both politically and socially by embracing Islam. The leading ulama of the Muslim world and especially of Egypt took cognisance of this situation and decided to send a Mission to India to discuss suitable means for converting these classes to Islam.

On hearing of this report, Iqbal wrote a letter to the Rector of al-Azhar. Unfortunately the original text of this letter could not be traced but its summary as it appeared in the Egyptian daily *al-Balagh* (25th. July, 1936) is reproduced below.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF IQBAL TO THE MISSION OF AL-AZHAR

The only obstacle which the Egyptian Mission will meet with in India is the fact that the majority of the Untouchables live in Southern India and speak six different languages in none of which high religious ideas can be

properly expressed. From this fact arises the difficulty of finding persons who are capable of translating the speeches of the learned Egyptian missionaries who will be sent there. The Islamic Associations of India have not been able to solve the difficulty as yet.

It is however thought that the visit of Egyptian Missionaries to India will have a good influence on the Islamic movement and will infuse vigour into the Islamic Associations of India.

Iqbal made the following proposals to the Egyptian Mission to India :

1. Those who are sent should be good-looking men who are able to expose the Islamic religion in the light of modern thought and experiences : they have to insist on the fact that Islam elevates the pagans of Africa to the level of civilized peoples.

2. It is necessary that they should behave in a manner that suits the fame of the Muslims of Egypt.

3. It is necessary that the Mission have a secretary to make propaganda in all parts of the Islamic world.

4. It is necessary that Mission on its return should take back a certain number of young Untouchables who have been converted to Islam, in order that they might study at Al-Azhar for a time, so as to be transformed

into true Muslims.

The writer ends his letter with the sad remark that the richest among the Muslims do not care at all for Islamic questions.

24.2.1938, Mian Mohammad Shah

THE BOOK THAT IQBAL PLANNED TO WRITE

In 1933 when I was privileged to act as his scribe, Allama Iqbal handed over to me a few sheets of paper being synopsis in his own hand of what he contemplated to be an "Introduction to the study of Islam" with special reference to its jurisprudence. With the eye-sight failing quickly his intention was to dictate to me what would have been an epoch-making and authoritative book in English on Muslim Polity and Muslim Jurisprudence. But, alas, his plans (originally entrusted to him by the Ruler of Bhopal) remained unexecuted as his health began progressively to deteriorate and on April 21, 1938, the flame of his life extinguished.

Since then I have treasured these notes as a national trust and at one time brought their existence to the notice of Quaid-i-Azam. He wrote to me on March 24, 1943: "With regard to the synopsis of a book which Iqbal wanted to write regarding the reconstruction of Islamic Jurisprudence, I would like to see it and then consider the name of a competent person who could pursue the matter further. As it is a subject of jurisprudence, a lawyer only will be able to do justice to it."

Sd/- Milan Mohammad Shafi

This plan was reproduced first in *Tolu-i-Islam* and later in *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*. The former was a complete reproduction but defective in several places as many words and phrases were left undeciphered. The latter was incomplete with several defective readings here and there.

The editor has tried his best to give a full and faithful reproduction of this important plan, to which references of the Quranic verses used in the text have been added. One word (second lecture, part E, *athar*), however, remains doubtful. The editor shall be grateful for any suggestion in this respect.

A. It is necessary to study Islam.

- (i) It has power and vitality.

At times it has shown its power of getting rid of accretions. New Movements. I pin no faith on them but they indicate confusion and inner unrest.

- (ii) Islam and modern world and British Empire.

B. Islam and Empire.

The effect of Arab Empire on Islam.

They destroyed Rome and Persia and built another Imperialism. Causes of Empire building:

- (i) Religious zeal; burning ardour to regenerate mankind;

- (ii) Hunger

Whatever may be the causes the effect was not good. Empire brought men belonging to earlier ascetic cultures, which Spengler describes as Magian, within the fold of Islam. The result was the conversion of Islam to a pre-Islamic creed with all the philosophical controversies of these creeds:

روح 'نفس' قرآن: حادث or قديم وغيره
(*Ruh, Nafs, Quran: Hadith, Qadim*). Real Islam had very little chances.

C. Difficulties of modern student of Islam.

He must wade through a tremendous literature and read the Quran. I have done so and try to give you what I honestly believe to be real Islam.

D. What is Islam?

Is it religion? Etymology of religion.

دين (*din*) as used in the Quran. Obedience to the Law (read v.18, Quran). Characteristics of early Asiatic religions.

(i) Revelation in early religion—a mystic process.

Islam laid the foundations of understanding it scientifically. Quran, Ibn Khaldun, Sufism.

(ii) Salvation نجات (*Najat*)

(iii) Wholly unwordlines (لارهبانيه) ¹

caves, catacombes. Cf. Christianity and Islam. Jesus: Saint. والله يخرجكم من الظلمات الى النور.

(iv) Fear of the invisible لا تخف عليهم ولا هم يحزنون ²

(v) Some secret teaching. Cf. Spengler, Vol. II, page 246. Read also Martineau, Vol. I⁴.

(vi) Belief in the unreality of the world and time. ما خلقت هذا باطلا - هل اتى على الانسان ⁵

(vii) Fatalism.

(viii) Theocracy.

Islam was a protest against all pre-Islamic religions in the world as it was found at the time Islam appeared.

The world is real. Time is real.

No more prophets (Expected ones).

No freedom from limitation. No mediation.

No *Qismat* (fatalism). Is Islam a Theocracy?

Relation of Church and State.

What is State? A contract like marriage.

E. But Islam is much more than religion.

Peace internal and external (Cf. v. 18)

(i) It is deracialisation of man (external peace);

(ii) It aims at economic equality (internal security)

F. This lecture to close.

Two closing observations:

(i) The message of Islam;

(ii) Islam is not the foe or even rival of Christianity.

In the work of civilization it is co-worker.

Second Lecture: *The Law of Islam*

See book of Dickinson, *After Two Thousand Years*.

In Magian culture 'Revelation' a mystical process.

In Islamic sufism this mystical process understood scientifically.

Is it morality touched with emotion?

A. Religion. Is it belief in a God or gods with some kind of worship? in caves?

(i) Is it wholly otherworldliness? Monasticism (Mithraism) (Darkness) (Mosque)

٦ لا رهبانية في الاسلام، لاتنس نصيبك في الدنيا

(ii) Is it fear of the invisible?

٧ لا خوف عليهم ولا هم يحزنون

(iii) Is it intimacy with the supersensible?

Partly yes, but the supersensible opened, to be approached in scientific spirit. Ibn Khaldun, idea of finality.

(iv) Is it some secret teaching to be handed orally (mystery?)

All early magian religions believed in it. (Spengler, p. 246, Vol. II); Islam : No

٨ قد تبين الرشد من الغي

(v) Religion (origin of word).

مذهب (*Mazhab*) not used in the Quran.

Words used in the Quran:

دين، ملت، منهاج، دين (*Millat, Minhaj, Din*)

What is the meaning of ملت and دين ?

(vi) Martineau, Vol. I⁴

B. Islam—a protest against all religions in the old sense of the word.

(i) Abolition of Prophethood:

٩ ومن ورائهم برزخ الى يوم يبعثون

Islam and Time هل اتى على الانسان ١٠

(ii) The idea of Salvation (*Najat*) in Islam.

Is it a Salvation-religion?

نجات (*Najat*) is used only once in the Quran. What is *Najat*?

(iii) No secret teaching.

(vi) Belief in God: غيب (*Ghaib*)

Deracialisation of mankind

اختلاف السنتكم الخ and وشعوباً¹¹

Economic equality (قل العفو etc.)¹²

C. Church and State ?

Is Islamic community a juristic person?

Is Islamic State a juristic person?

Relation of Church and State.

What is State? Like marriage a contract.

The *Amir* is the *Shaikhul Islam*, etc.

Hereditary Monarchy. History of Islam.

Priesthood.

Karbala? Effect of it.

D. Islam and the Woman.

E. Islam and Capitalism.

(i) To the Magian culture 'Revelation' is a mystical process in which some spirit enters the body of a person who speaks it. In Islam *Wahy* (Quote verses: يرسل من ورائي الحجاب¹³) is universal property of life in which a man comes into contact with the ultimate springs of life. It manifests itself in three ways. It is abolished as a source of knowledge. In Islam contemplation of *Athar*¹⁴ spreads into thought and action. It realises the immensity of the world in which old

conceptions of race, community, creed dwindle into nothing. It is light ¹⁵ الله نور السموات والارض. It draws the world from caves to the open day light.

¹⁶ والله يخرجكم من الظلمات الى النور

(ii) The word Salvation (نجات)

What is *Najat*? Liberation from what? —Not from the limitations of individuality ¹⁷ (وجنكم فرادى) —not liberation from the tension of consciousness. It is relief of the Ego's loneliness in the Universe. The conception of God—Comrade: ¹⁸ هو معكم ¹⁹ والى رفيع الاعلى

(a) Sleep liberates

²⁰ لا تأخذنه سنته ولا نوم، قم الليل الا قليلا

(b) Wine liberates and breaks the vigour of consciousness: ²¹ اجتنبوه

(c) Dancing also liberates:

²² مرو باللغو مرو كراما

All these means of escape from space and time are discouraged. You should overcome space and time by ²³ الابطسلطان الخ i.e. mastering actuality by understanding

²⁴ تفكرو فى الخلق السموات الخ

Fear of the visible actually, i. e. Space and Time is removed when we begin to understand things as causal relations. ²⁵ لا خوف عليهم ولا هم يحزنون

— knowledge of world as nature—actuality.

Fear overcome not by charms but by formula.

(d) Knowledge of world as movement —history—sufism.

(iii) ایمان (*Iman*) — Security.

Religious movements in Islam:

Ibn Taimiyya

Abdul Wahhab

Babi

Ahmadiyya etc.

} Prophecies

} All more or less

} Magian

Syed Ahmad—Rationalism

The new movement

The coming of the expected one

وغیره (Jesus) مسیح

(i) 26 ورآئهم برزخ الی یوم یبعثون No return

(ii) Traditions—Bukhari.

1—Reference is to the tradition: 'There is no monkery in Islam.'

2—Reference is to the Quranic verses (xxxlii. 43; lvii. 9): "(that) He may bring you from the depths of darkness into light."

3—Ref. to the Quranic verse (li. 38): "On them shall be no fear, nor shall they grieve."

4—Most probably reference is to *A Study of Religion* by Martinus, 2 Volumes.

5—Ref. is to the Quranic verses (lii. 191): "Not for naught has thou created (all) this"; (lxxvi. 1): "Has there not been over man a long period of time. . . ."

- 6—The first is the prophetic tradition: There is no monkery in Islam ; while the second refers to the Quranic verse (xxviii. 77): "Nor forget thy portion in this world."
- 7—Quranic verse (ii. 38), quoted in footnote 3.
- 8—Ref. is to the Quranic verse (ii. 256): Truth stands out clear from error.
- 9—Ref. is to the Quranic verse (xxiii. 100): Before them is a partition till the day they are raised up.
- 10—Quranic verse (lxxvi. 1) quoted in footnote 5.
- 11—Ref. is to two Quranic verses: (xxx. 22): And among his signs is . . . the variations in your languages and your colours; (xlix. 13): We made you into nations and tribes that ye may know each other.
- 12—Ref. is to the Quranic verse (ii. 219): They ask thee how much they are to spend; say: What is beyond your needs.
- 13—Quranic verse (xlii. 51): It is not fitting for a man that God should speak to him except by inspiration or from behind a veil or by sending of a Messenger. . . .
- 14—The word here could not be rightly deciphered. It may be *Athar*.
- 15—Quranic verse (xxiv.35): God is the light of the heavens and earth. . . .
- 16—Quranic verses (xxxiii. 43 and lvii. 9) mentioned in footnote 2.
- 17—Quranic verse (xix. 95): And every one of them will come to Him singly on the Day of Judgement.
- 18—Prophet's words spoken about God on his death-bed.
- 19—Quranic verse (lvii. 4): He is with you wheresoever ye may be.
- 20—Quranic verses (ii. 255): No slumber can seize Him nor sleep; (lxxiii. 2): Stand (to prayer) by night, but not all night.
- 21—Quranic verse (v. 93): Eschew such (abominations). . . .

22—Quranic verse (xxv. 72): They pass by futility with honourable (avoidance).

23—Quranic verse (lv. 34): Not without power (Sultan) shall ye be able to pass (beyond the zones of the heavens and earth).

24—Cf. the Quranic verse (iii. 191): : And contemplate the (wonders of) creation in the heavens and the earth.

25— Quranic verse (ii. 38) quoted in footnote 3.

26—Quranic verse (xxlii. 100) quoted in footnote 9.

POSTHUMOUS DEGREE OF D. LITT TO IQBAL

By the Toyo University, Japan.

The Japan-Pakistan Cultural Association organised a meeting at Toyo University on the occasion of the 22nd death anniversary of Dr. Muhammad Iqbal.

The Toyo University has over recent years been the venue of these meetings. The University was established on November 23, 1887, by the well-known Buddhist philosopher Dr. Inoue. The University is mainly concerned with imparting education in the liberal arts. Its four faculties are : law, economics, sociology and liberal arts. The number of students stands at a little more than 5,000. The University is known for its interest in and high concern for Asian affairs. Its study group, called Asian-African Institute, is very well thought of among students of Asian affairs. Before the war, the University had approximately 40,000 books in its library on Muslim history and culture. These books were destroyed during the war. The present President of the University was formerly administering the research project on Muslim history and culture in the University.

The University conferred posthumously, degree of Emeritus Doctor of Literature on

first time that the Toyo University has conferred such a degree, though some other universities in Japan have conferred posthumous degrees on Rabindrarath Tagore and M. K. Ghandi.

The Pakistan Ambassador made a speech on this occasion in which he high-lighted the various aspects of Iqbal's life. The Ambassador's speech was followed by speeches by Prof. Gamou, the noted Urdu Scholar, and Mr. Imaizumi, President of the Japan Muslim Association. The former in his speech stressed that any attempts for understanding European or Western Civilization needed a close, deep acquaintance with Muslim history and culture. He also said that the Iqbal's early acquaintance with Europe and its culture, far from impressing him, raised new questions in his mind which led to his attempts to reorganize religious thought in Islam. The President of the Japan Muslim Association in his very brief speech referred to the spiritual vacuum in this country which, he thought, Islam could fill. As a first step he suggested that students and scholars need to be acquainted with Islamic precepts and principles. It was not necessary to accept and be converted to Islam right away.

The function lasted for about 2½ hours and was presided over by the President of the Toyo University, Mr. Cshima.

IQBAL AT ALIGARH

(November 23, 1929)

On one of his visits to Aligarh, Honorary Life membership of the Intermediate College Union was conferred on Iqbal. The programme of this meeting as well as the address of welcome presented to Iqbal on this occasion is reproduced here through the courtesy of Dr. Abdullah Chaghatal.

PROGRAMME OF THE MEETING

- (1) Hon'ble members of the Union will take their seats in the I.C. Union Hall at 8 p.m.
- (2) The guests will take their places not later than 8.15 p.m.
- (3) The procession will be formed in the Drawing room and will enter the hall at 8.30 p.m. in the following order:
 - (i) The Ex-officio Members of the Select Committee;
 - (ii) The Vice-presidents and the Honorary Secretary;
 - (iii) The President of the Union and Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal;
 - (iv) The Hony. Librarian and Members of the Cabinet.
- (4) All will stand up and will remain standing till the President of the Union has taken his seat.
- (5) The Vice-Chancellor, Pro-vice-Chancellor, Members of the Select Committee and outside guests will sit on the dais.



Courtesy: Dr. Abdullah Chaghatai
Iqbal at Aligarh
receiving honorary degree

- (6) The Members of the staff and other guests will occupy the first six rows of seats in front of the dais.
- (7) The recitation from the Holy Quran.
- (8) The Honorary Secretary will request Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal to accept the Honorary Membership of the Union.
- (9) The Members of the Ministry will shake hands with Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal and garland him.
- (10) The Vice-president will read the Address.
- (11) Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal will reply to the Address.
- (12) The President will take Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal and declare the proceedings closed.
- (13) All will remain standing till the procession has left the hall in the order in which it entered.

ADDRESS

To

Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal

Kt., M.A., Ph. D., Bar-at-Law

Sir,

It is with a feeling of deep and sincere reverence that we, the Members of the M.U. Intermediate College Union, offer you our most cordial welcome on the occasion of your presence in our midst this evening. Believe us, Sir, we are fully conscious of the unique opportunity we

have this evening of seeing our national poet who has inspired the heart of the age so deeply in life and blood, and discern in it another unmistakable sign of the magnetic personality of our beloved Vice-Chancellor, Nawab Masood Jung Bahadur.

We have every reason to feel proud that not only your fame as an original thinker has spread beyond the borders of India but the ideal of life for which you stand, its strength and its faith, has become one of the deepest formative influences through the length and breadth of the Muslim world. We are afraid, Sir, our words will hardly be able to express our gratitude to and appreciation for the man, who more than any one now living, has restored to the Mussalmans their sense of national solidarity and self-respect. You have brought to us all that was best in the past, the acute reflections of our ancient myths, the freshness and luxuriant imagery of Persian poetry, the cosmic speculations of the Arabs, and the messages of Rumi and Urfi. You have not only revived the old truths but created in us a power of appreciating them and turned our hearts to the greatness of your message, even as the Sun-flower turns towards the light by that wonderful combination of philosophic insight and poetic power for which the name of Iqbal stands. It holds us spell bound. We search in vain for

anything like it in the work of the masters. You have included in the comprehensive fold of your poetry and thought all that has been best in east and west, in the Superman of Nietzsche and the humility of the ascetics, in the verse of Goethe and the philosophy of Kant, and have, by your creative power of words, inspired by a unique sense of music and rhythms, given it a width of appeal far beyond any Indo-Muslim poet of the past.

Dimly, as in a dream, we see amongst us for but a short while one of the great ancients, aye one greater than they; and generations to come shall remember the story of his visit.

We feel proud of the honour which you, Sir, have conferred on us by consenting to become a Honorary Life Member of this Union. Now that you have become one of us, we feel confident that we shall often have you in our midst and thereby keep ourselves in touch with the greatest, the noblest and the finest gospel that our age has to give — the radiation of Islam as understood and interpreted by one of the most comprehensive and inspired intellects of the modern world.

We have the honour to be,
Sir

Your Obedient and Humble Servants,
Members of the M.U. Intermediate College Union
_____ Aligarh

SUPPLEMENT

IQBAL'S TWO LETTERS

Through the courtesy of Dr. Ashiq Husain Batalvi, the Academy was able to obtain certain extracts from Iqbal's two letters to Sir William Rothenstein which were quoted in his autobiography, *Men and Memoirs* (3 volumes). The first letter was most probably written in 1931 and the second in 1934-35.

When in Paris I met Bergson. We had extremely interesting conversation on philosophical subjects. The substance of Berkeley's philosophy is that in perception matter reveals the whole of itself without a remainder; not so the case with the mind. This is a way of putting Berkeley. Our conversation lasted for two hours. Bergson is old and very ill. He does not see people, but was good enough to make an exception in my case. Unfortunately, the friend who accompanied him and made a record of the conversation, could not afterwards decipher his own handwriting

SECOND LETTER

I am glad that you are keeping in touch with India. The great need of Asia is that the best minds of England should know her and understand the problems that arise out of her present awakening—problems on which, in my opinion, depends the whole future of the British race and modern civilisation. As you know, literature is not and has never been a profession

in India. Music and painting are professions to a certain extent ; literature is not. I know this from personal experience. I have written something in the way of literature ; but I have to earn my daily bread at the Bar. Indeed my rivals and other interested persons have always carried on a propaganda against me on account of my literary pursuits and tried all sorts of means to prejudice the men in authority against me in order to ruin my career as a professional man. In this they have succeeded so far. Please excuse this personal reference. I should have never mentioned it to a less sympathetic mind. However, I am happy to know that as one of the leaders of modern art you are in touch with the Viceroy of India who, I am sure, will appreciate the advice you give him from time to time. I hope to meet you again in 1935. The Rhodes Trustees have so kindly offered me through Lord Lothian the Rhodes lectureship. I shall have to deliver three or more lectures to the Oxford University. I was asked to come in April 1934; but it was not possible to do so for reasons which I wrote to Lord Lothian.

LETTER TO JINNAH

(Nov. 8, 1934)

Besides thirteen letters of Iqbal to the Quaid-i-Azam published by Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf (Lahore), Iqbal sent some other letters, probably three or four, to him. These letters were drafted by Mr. Ghulam Rasul, Secretary of the Provincial Muslim League, and approved by Iqbal who, on account of his growing illness, could not write himself. As these letters expressed the mind of Iqbal about the political situation then obtaining in the province, it was thought advisable to include the one letter the Academy was able to get, in this collection.

Similarly Iqbal decided to issue a statement to the press regarding the true position of the Provincial Muslim League *vis-a-vis* the Unionist Party of Sir Sikander Hayat Khan. On the advice of the Quaid-i-Azam, however, this statement was subsequently not released to the press.

Both, the letter and the statement, are reproduced below through the courtesy of Dr. Ashiq Husain Batalvi.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

With reference to your letter dated 1st November 1947 addressed to Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal I am directed by him to reply as follows:

1. The agreement reached between Sir Sikander and yourself at Lucknow has formed the subject-matter of keen controversy in this Province. As soon as Sir Sikander returned to the Punjab he issued a statement to the effect that as far as the Punjab was concerned, "there was no change in the position except that the

Muslim members of the Unionist Party, who are not members of the Muslim League, would be advised to join the League, if they so desired." It was further stated that in future bye-elections the Muslim members who would contest the election on the League ticket would have to give an undertaking that they would join the Unionist Party on being elected, and they would naturally have the support of the Unionist Party. Other members of Sir Sikander's party also issued statements to the effect that the Punjab Provincial Muslim League would, under the Jinnah-Sikander agreement, pass under the control of the Unionist Party. Sir Chhotu Ram, in a signed statement issued to the Press, stated that the Punjab Parliamentary Board will pass under the control of the Unionist Party and that the result would be that the League in the Province would have no independent existence except as a subordinate body of the Unionist Party. These statements of the members of the Unionist Party created a great sensation amongst the Musalmans of the Province who were astounded that an agreement should have been reached under which the League instead of being the dominant party should take up the role of a subordinate body to the existing Unionist Party which in popular esteem is a group of downright reactionaries. Under the

circumstances, I, as Secretary of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League and with the concurrence of Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, issued a statement in which the misunderstandings created regarding the position of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League were sought to be dispelled. I merely reproduced the salient features of the agreement and repeated that the Muslim League Party so formed would be subject to the Rules and Regulations of the All-India Muslim League and the Muslim League Central and Provincial Parliamentary Boards. Malik Barkat Ali, M.L.A. also issued another statement in which he reproduced the terms of the agreement and made it clear that it would be the Muslim League Party within the Legislature which shall maintain or enter into alliances or coalitions with other groups consistently with the fundamental principles of the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League. I enclose herewith the copies of the statements. These statements had a very reassuring effect on the Muslim masses, but the prominent members of the Unionist Party were displeased with these statements. I also enclose herewith the comments of the *Tribune* on these statements. On the 22nd of October 1937. I, under orders of Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, sent 93 application forms to Sir Sikander Hayat Khan with the request that he may get

them signed by the Muslim members of the Unionist Party in the Legislature. This opportunity was taken as all the said members were in Lahore in connection with the Viceregal visit. Not a single form has yet been got signed and sent to us. In fact, I myself asked some Muslim members of the Legislature to sign these forms. Some of them gladly did; but a word was sent round by Sir Sikander Hayat Khan that they should not sign the forms. This is the present position. Sir Sinkandar and some of his friends are creating the impression that the Muslim League has come under the control of the existing Unionist Party and that the result of the Jinnah Sikander agreement is that the only Muslim League member in the Legislature will join the Ministerial Party without any Muslim League *bloc* coming into existence in the Assembly. Such an impression is deemed fatal to the reputation of the All-India Muslim League and if permitted to continue, will completely alienate the sympathies of the Muslim public in the Province. I may state that if our statements had not been issued, the credit of the All-India Muslim League would have suffered a terrible decline in this Province

2. You will be glad to know that a deputation of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League consisting of Khan Bahadur Malik Zaman

Mehdi Khan, Malik Barkat Ali, Mr. Ashiq Hus-sain Batalvi and myself has been touring the Province and addressing very huge gatherings in various towns. The enthusiasm displayed by the Muslim public on these occasions in support of the All-India Muslim League and the Punjab Provincial Muslim League was simply wonderful. As a result of this effort on our part already thirty four branches have been opened and more are opening. The coming month is of *Ramzan-i-Sharif* and we may have to postpone our tour during that month. On the occasion of these tours not a single member of Sir Sikander's party accompanied us.

3. Mr. Maqbul Mahmud did not supply Malik Barkat Ali with a copy of the Jinnah-Sikander agreement. Hence a telegram was sent to you. In the meantime Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal sent word to Sir Sikander that he might supply him with a copy of the said agreement. The said copy has been supplied. I cannot say whether the copy so supplied is correct because I understand from Mr. Maqbul Mahmud that after the terms had been agreed on the 14th October, 1937 at 11 p.m., in your room, Sir Sikan-der suggested further changes and ultimately an agreement in the form supplied to Dr. Sir Mu-hammad Iqbal was reached. As we have no knowledge of these suggested changes it is

requested that copy of the agreement in your possession may be sent to us. Mr. Maqbul Mahmud told Malik Barkat Ali when the latter asked him for a copy that the copy had been sent to you.

4. Now as to the matters on which you have sought suggestions from Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal :

- (a) In regard to the invitation extended by Sir Sikander to the All India Muslim League to hold its special session at Lahore in February, 1938, we welcome the invitation but we are not in a position to make any suggestion until a clear and unambiguous settlement is reached to the effect that the Muslim members of Sir Sikander's party will without any further delay sign the League pledge and form, and declare themselves as the Muslim League Party within the Provincial Assembly. If we judge the situation aright, there is an effort being made to resile from this position.
- (b) As regards the Organising Committee, already the Provincial League exists and we are forming District, Tehsil and Village branches. There is no need here for any Organising Committee.
- (c) As regards the Working Committee, I would suggest five seats for the Punjab. Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal requests that he is not in

a position on account of his ill-health to attend the meetings of the Working Committee and therefore the name of Malik Zaman Mehdi Khan, Deputy President of the League, may be substituted for him. Malik Barkat Ali should be kept on, but the name of Mr. Ghulam Rasul, Bar-at-Law, should be added. As regards Sir Sikander and Mr. Ahmed Yar Khan Daultana much will depend on the decision to sign the League ticket and to constitute and declare without further delay the Muslim League Party within the Legislature. In the event of their agreement to this course, care should be taken that their representation shall in no case exceed the representation given to the present League Party.

Yours sincerely,

Ghulam Rasul

for Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal

PRESS STATEMENT
(*February, 1938*)

On the 14th of October, 1937, the Hon'ble Sir Sikander Hayat Khan as the leader of the Unionist Party in the Punjab made the following statement in the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League held at Lucknow.

That on his return to the Punjab he will convene a special meeting of his party and advise all Muslim members of the party who are not members of the Muslim League already to sign its creed and join it. As such they will be subject to the rules and regulations of the Central and Provincial Boards of the All-India Muslim League..... The Muslim members of the Legislature who accept the League ticket will constitute the Muslim League Party within the Legislature. It shall be open to the Muslim League Party so formed to maintain or enter into a coalition or alliance with any other party consistently with the fundamental principles of the policy and programme of the League.

This is the material portion of the so-called Jinnah-Sikander agreement. The rest does not concern us for my present purpose. When this statement appeared in the Press, I was really overjoyed as I felt that the breach in the ranks of the Musalmans occasioned by the existence of

an independent Unionist Party would be repaired and the Muslim community would be able to pull its weight. I accordingly directed Mr. Ghulam Rasul to send to Sir Sikander about ninety membership forms of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League so that the latter might get them signed by the Muslim members of the Unionist Party. This was done about the third week of October 1937. No reply was received and consequently a reminder was issued. The reminder also remained unacknowledged. So far, not a single membership form has been received back from Sir Sikander.

I am informed by Malik Barkat Ali, M.L.A., that this matter was discussed in the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League held at Delhi on the 30th of January 1938. There it was stated by a responsible member of the Unionist Party that the signatures of the Muslim members of that Party had been obtained on a form in which the person signing expresses his willingness to become a member of the Muslim League subject to the terms of the Jinnah-Sikander "Understanding". It must be here stated to clarify the position that Sir Sikander claims an oral understanding between himself and Mr. Jinnah besides the written agreement, the material portion of which has been quoted above. This matter was brought to the notice of Mr.

M.A. Jinnah during the course of the discussion in the Council meeting, and Malik Barkat Ali, M.L.A., informs me that Mr. M.A. Jinnah straightaway denied the existence of any oral understanding beyond the terms of the Jinnah-Sikander agreement. This agreement was variously interpreted and created a great deal of confusion in the lay mind as to the attitude of the Unionist Party towards the Muslim League. About four months have passed and the Muslim public should be apprised of the exact position. Notwithstanding the pledge given at Lucknow, nothing has been done to implement or carry out the terms of the Lucknow agreement. I am, therefore, issuing this statement so that the public may know that the Muslim League and the Unionist Party stand apart, and the amalgamation of the Muslim Members of the Unionist Party with the Muslim League, which, it was hoped, would follow in the wake of the Jinnah-Sikander agreement has not so far taken any shape.

It is hardly necessary for me to state that the doors of the Muslim League are open to every Muslim who signs the League Creed, and I am glad to say that some members of the Provincial Legislature have already signed the League Creed.

LETTER TO LADY ARNOLD

Through the courtesy of Mr. Waheed Ahmad (U.K.), the Academy was able to procure the following unpublished letter of Iqbal addressed to Lady Arnold on the death of her husband, Sir Thomas Arnold.

Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal M.L.C.

Barrister-at-Law

Lahore

16th July, 1930

My dear Lady Arnold,

It is impossible for me to tell you and Nancy of the terrible shock which came to us all when the news of the untimely death of Sir Thomas Arnold arrived in India. As you know he was loved by pupils and all those who came into contact with him otherwise. I know words expressive of grief can bring but little consolation to you; but I assure you that your grief is shared by people in England, India and all those countries where his work as a great Orientalist was known. Indeed his death is a great loss to British scholarship as well as to the world of Islam whose thought and literature he served with unabated zeal till the last moment of his earthly life. To me his loss is personal, for it was his contact that formed my soul and put it on the road to knowledge. No doubt from our point of view that luminous flame of life is now extinguished, but it is my very firm convic-

tion that to those who, like him, devote their life to love and service death means only 'more light'.

I earnestly pray that God may grant eternal peace to his loving soul and may give you and Nancy fortitude enough to bear with patience the loss caused by his untimely death.

Yours sincerely,
Muhammad Iqbal

IQBAL'S LETTER TO THE *TIMES* LONDON

Through the courtesy of Mr. Waheed Ahmad, we are reproducing below a letter of Iqbal under the title "North-West Moslem Provinces" published in the *Times* (October 12, 1931, p. 8) in reply to a letter under the title "Pan-Islamic Plotting" by Edward Thompson which was published in the same paper a few days earlier (October 3, 1931). The points raised and expressed relate to the famous address of Iqbal to the All-India Muslim League. Edward Thompson, the writer of the letter, is the person who maliciously tried to attribute to Iqbal the saying that "Pakistan would be injurious to India as a whole and to Muslims specially", a statement later on incorporated in Jawaharlal Nehru's *Discovery of India*.

PAN-ISLAMIC PLOTTING

The accusation of "Pan-Islamic plotting" which you depore in the leading article entitled "Indian Minorities" in your issue of September 29, has its source in such statements as this, in Sir Muhammad Iqbal's Presidential Address to the All-India Moslem League last December. In the printed report it is set in italics, lest anyone should miss it:

"I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-Government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Moslem State appears to be the final destiny of Moslems, at least of North-West India."

Anyone who asks that the Hindu case (which has been shockingly mismanaged) be given fair consideration is branded as anti-Moslem. So let me say that I admire the democracy which the Aga Khan finds in Islam as opposed to Hinduism, and I think he might have gone further (had not courtesy restrained him) and pointed out Islam's great superiority to Christianity in its practice of human brotherhood. And I am not arguing against the establishment of Moslem "communal provinces" in North-West India. But what Sir Muhammad Iqbal demands is a confederation "within or without" the Indian Federation.

Look at the map and see what sort of defensible frontier would be left to the rest of India.

Dr. Edward Thompson,
Boarshill, Oxford

NORTH-WEST MOSLEM PROVINCES

Sir,

Writing in your issue of October 3 last, Dr. E. Thompson has torn the following passage from its context in my presidential address to the All-India Moslem League of last December, in order to serve as evidence of 'Pan-Islamic Plotting':

I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-Government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Moslem State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Moslems, at least of North-West India.

May I tell Dr. Thompson, in this passage I do not put forward a "demand" for a Moslem State outside the British Empire, but only a guess at the possible outcome in the dim future of the mighty forces now shaping the destiny of the Indian sub-continent. No Indian Muslim with any pretence to sanity contemplates a Moslem State or series of States in North-West India outside the British Commonwealth of Nations as a plan of practical politics.

Although I would oppose the creation of another cockpit of communal strife in the Central Punjab, as suggested by some enthusiasts, I am all for a redistribution of India into provinces with effective majorities of one community or another on lines advocated both by the Nehru and the Simon Reports. Indeed, my suggestion regarding Moslem provinces merely carries forward this idea. A series of contented and well-organised Moslem provinces on the North-west Frontier of India would be the bulwark of India and of the British Empire against the hungry generations of the Asiatic highlands.

Yours faithfully,
 Muhammad Iqbal
 St. James Place, S. W.1
 October 10, 1931

LETTER OF IQBAL TO MRS. STRATTON

Mr. Alfred Willam Stratton was the registrar of the Punjab University as well as Principal of the Oriental College, Lahore, for some years, starting from 1899. On his death in 1902, Iqbal wrote a letter of condolence to his wife which is reproduced below from *Letters to India*, published in London 1908.

It is impossible to forget him, so great is the intensity of the impression which he has left upon our minds. It is no exaggeration to say that it was his personality alone which turned our attention to the American People and their noble and disinterested character. We in India do not make many distinctions: he was a Canadian but to us he was American. I believe it is through Dr. Stratton's influence that some people here are thinking of joining American Universities, and I am one of them.*

* And it may be said that Muhammad Iqbal made a good many inquiries regarding the terms of admission to American Universities before he finally took up work in England. (Remarks by the editor of *Letters to India*.)

IQBAL'S COMMENTS ON *ISLAM IN PRACTICE*

Iqbal expressed his views about a book *Islam In Practice* by Mr. Ghulam Mohammad, former Headmaster, Islamia High School, Sialkot City. We are giving below Iqbal's views through the courtesy of Mr. Ziauddin Barni.

A book of well-chosen stories which reveals the spirit of Islam in the concrete situations of life. I strongly recommend it to our Islamia Schools which I have no doubt will see their way to place it in the hands of their students.

(Sir) Mohammad Iqbal

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