

Truth about the Split

By
Hadrat Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad
Khalifatul Masih II^{ra}

ISLAM INTERNATIONAL PUBLICATIONS LTD.

آئینہ صداقت

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by Hadrat Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad^{ra}

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First English Edition 1924
Second English Edition 1938
Third English Edition 1965
Present Edition 2007

Published by:

Islam International Publications Ltd.
'Islamabad' Sheephatch Lane,
Tilford, Surrey GU10 2AQ,
United Kingdom.

Printed in Great Britain by
Clays Ltd, St Ives plc

ISBN: 1 85372 972 8

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

The Promised son^{ra} of the Promised Messiah and Mahdi^{as}; the manifest Sign of Allah, the Almighty; the Word of God whose advent was prophesied by the Holy Prophet Muhammad^{sa} and the Promised Messiah^{as} as well as the past Prophets; a Star in the spiritual firmament for the like of which the world has to wait for hundreds of years to appear; the man of God, crowned with a spiritual halo from which radiated such scintillating rays of light as would instil spiritual life into his followers and captivate and enthral those who were not fortunate to follow him; an orator of such phenomenal quality that his speeches would make his audience stay put for hours on end, come rain or shine, deep into the late hours of the evenings while words flowed from his tongue like honey dripping into their ears to reach the depths of their soul to fill them with knowledge and invigorate their faith; the ocean of Divine and secular knowledge; the Voice Articulate of the age; without doubt the greatest genius of the 20th century; a man of phenomenal intelligence and memory; an epitome of the qualities of leadership; the one whose versatility cannot be comprehended—Hadrat Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad^{ra} (1889-1965), Muslih Ma‘ud (the Promised Reformer) was the eldest son and the second successor (Khalifa) of the Promised Messiah^{as}. He took charge of the Ahmadiyya Jama‘at at the young age of 24 when the Jama‘at was still in its infancy and nourished it to its maturity for more than 50 years with his spiritual guidance, prayers, tears, toil and blood. Not only

did he fortify the foundations of the Community laid down by the Promised Messiah^{as}, but expanded the structure of the Jama‘at by initiating various schemes, organizations, and programs taking his inspiration from the Promised Messiah^{as} and under the Divine guidance. His foremost concern, to which he devoted all his life, was to accomplish the mission of the Promised Messiah^{as}—the daunting task of spreading the message of true Islam in its pristine purity to the ends of the world. To achieve this, he initiated *Tahrik-e-Jadid* through which spread, and continues to spread, the missionary work all over the globe. His acute intelligence, keen intellect, deep and extensive scholarship and above all his God-given knowledge enabled him to produce a vast corpus of writings, speeches etc. His oeuvre is so vast that it will take many years to see the light of publication.

When the Promised Messiah^{as} fervently prayed to God to grant him a Sign in support of Islam, Allah gave him the good tidings about this son of his and said:

"...He will be extremely intelligent ... and will be filled with secular and spiritual knowledge ... Son, delight of the heart, high ranking, noble; a manifestation of the First and the Last, of the True and the High; as if Allah has descended from heaven. Behold a light cometh. We shall pour our spirit into him..."
[Revelation of 20th February 1886]*

* Translation from Urdu by Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan in his English translation of *Tadhkirah*—the book containing dreams, visions and verbal revelations vouchsafed to the Promised Messiah^{as}. [Publisher]

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

The name of Muhammad^{sa}, the Holy Prophet of Islam, has been followed by the symbol ^{sa}, which is an abbreviation for the salutation (ﷺ) *Sallallahu 'Alaihi Wasallam* (may peace and blessings of Allah be upon him). The names of other Prophets^{as} and messengers are followed by the symbol ^{as}, an abbreviation for (ﷺ) *'Alaihissalam/ 'Alaihimussalam* (on whom be peace). The actual salutations have not generally been set out in full, but they should nevertheless, be understood as being repeated in full in each case. The symbol ^{ra} is used with the name of the Companions of the Holy Prophet^{sa} and those of the Promised Messiah^{as}. It stands for (رضي الله عنه/رضي الله عنهم) *Radi Allahu 'anhu/'anha/'anhum* (May Allah be pleased with him/with her/with them). ^{rh} stands for (رضي الله تعالى عنه) *Rahimahullahu Ta'ala* (may Allah's blessing be on him). ^{at} stands for (الله تعالى) *Ayyadahullahu Ta'ala* (May Allah, the Al-Mighty help him).

In transliterating Arabic words we have followed the following system adopted by the Royal Asiatic Society.

- | | |
|---|--|
| ا | at the beginning of a word, pronounced as <i>a, i, u</i> preceded by a very slight aspiration, like <i>h</i> in the English word 'honour'. |
| ث | <i>th</i> , pronounced like <i>th</i> in the English word 'thing'. |
| ح | <i>h</i> , a guttural aspirate, stronger than <i>h</i> . |
| خ | <i>kh</i> , pronounced like the Scotch <i>ch</i> in 'loch'. |
| ذ | <i>dh</i> , pronounced like the English <i>th</i> in 'that'. |

ص	<i>s</i> , strongly articulated <i>s</i> .
ض	<i>d</i> , similar to the English <i>th</i> in 'this'.
ط	<i>t</i> , strongly articulated palatal <i>t</i> .
ظ	<i>z</i> , strongly articulated <i>z</i> .
ع	‘, a strong guttural, the pronunciation of which must be learnt by the ear.
غ	<i>gh</i> , a sound approached very nearly in the <i>r</i> 'grasseye' in French, and in the German <i>r</i> . It requires the muscles of the throat to be in the 'gargling' position whilst pronouncing it.
ق	<i>q</i> , a deep guttural <i>k</i> sound.
ء	’, a sort of catch in the voice.

Short vowels are represented by:

a for —َ— (like *u* in 'bud');

i for —ِ— (like *i* in 'bid');

u for —ُ— (like *oo* in 'wood');

Long vowels by:

a for —ِ— or ٱ (like *a* in 'father');

i for ى —ِ— or —ِ— (like *ee* in 'deep');

u for و —ُ— (like *oo* in 'root');

Other:

ai for ى —ِ— (like *i* in 'site')♦;

au for و —ِ— (resembling *ou* in 'sound').

Please note that in transliterated words the letter 'e' is to be pronounced as in 'prey' which rhymes with 'day'; however the pronunciation is flat without the element of English

♦ In Arabic words like شَيْخ (Shaikh) there is an element of diphthong which is missing when the word is pronounced in Urdu.

diphthong. If in Urdu and Persian words 'e' is lengthened a bit more it is transliterated as 'ei' to be pronounced as 'ei' in 'feign' without the element of diphthong thus 'ے' is transliterated as 'Kei'. For the nasal sound of 'n' we have used the symbol 'ń'. Thus Urdu word 'میں' is transliterated as 'meiń'.*

The consonants not included in the above list have the same phonetic value as in the principal languages of Europe.

We have not transliterated Arabic words which have become part of English language, e.g., Islam, Mahdi, Quran**, Hijra, Ramadan, Hadith, ulama, umma, sunna, kafir, pukka etc.

For quotes straight commas (straight quotes) are used to differentiate them from the curved commas used in the system of transliteration, ‘ for ع, ’ for ء. Commas as punctuation marks are used according to the normal usage. Similarly for apostrophe normal usage is followed.

Publishers

* These transliterations are not included in the system of transliteration by Royal Asiatic Society. [Publishers]

** Concise Oxford Dictionary records Quran in three forms—Quran, Qur’an and Koran. [Publishers]

PREFACE

It is well known that the Ahmadiyya Muslim Jama'at (Community) for the Regeneration of Islam in this age was founded by Hadrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian, the Promised Messiah and Mahdi^{as}.

When Hadrat Ahmad died in May 1908, the Community elected Hadrat Hakim Maulawi Nuruddin who, accordingly, became the First Khalifa of the Promised Messiah^{as}. Dissensions, however, began to raise their head, so that when Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} died in March 1914, and the Jama'at elected Hadrat Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad as the Second Khalifa and Successor of the Promised Messiah^{as}, a party of Ahmadis headed by Khwaja Kamaluddin of the Woking Mission, and Maulawi Muhammad Ali of Lahore, seceded from the main body of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Jama'at. They not only denied Hadrat Khalifatul Masih II^{ra}, but rejected now the very idea and institution of Khilafat. Maulawi Muhammad Ali withdrew from Qadian and settled in Lahore as President of the new Anjuman Isha'at-e-Islam. The party has since come to be known as the Lahore Group of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community, Ahmadiyya Anjuman-e-Isha'at-e-Islam and Ahl-e-Paigham.

A few years later, Maulawi Muhammad Ali wrote an account of these dissensions in English and had it

published in parts of the world where Ahmadiyyat had just begun to be known. This he called *The Split* or *Ahmadiyya Movement Part IV*. To enlighten Ahmadis in distant parts of the world, where the very misleading account contained in *The Split* had appeared, as well as to guide those who had become disheartened by Ahmadiyya dissensions, a true account of these dissensions seemed called for. The Amirul Mu'minin, Hadrat Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad, Khalifatul Masih II^{ra}, accordingly, wrote a full reply to *The Split*. This was in Urdu and was called *A'ina'-e-Sadaqat*. (lit The Mirror of Truth) A much needed English version of it was produced in 1924, under the title *The Truth about the Split*. It proved very helpful in spreading a true account of the events which led to the Ahmadiyya dissensions.

The first English version appeared in 1924 under the auspices of the Nazarat Da'wat-o-Tabligh (Department of Preaching and Propagation), Qadian.

It was followed by two more editions under the auspices of Tahrik-e-Jadid. The present edition is being published by Islam International Publications Ltd., London in a new format.

Munir-ud-Din Shams
Additional Wakil-ut-Tasnif,
London,
October 2007

In the Name of Allah, the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful.
We praise Him and Invoke His blessings upon His Exalted Prophet^{sa}

He alone is the Helper!
May His grace and mercy be with us!

FOREWORD

A book like this dealing with differences which have led to the secession of a few hundred members from the main body of the Ahmadiyya Movement is of little direct value to our missionary work. I had therefore no intention of publishing any such book for circulation in countries which, being unfamiliar with Urdu, knew little about the split which some individuals sought to create in the Community. But as Maulawi Muhammad Ali M. A in his book *The Split*, has already given publicity to these matters among people and in countries to whom such knowledge could be of little benefit and as such publicity is likely to prove injurious to the spread of the Ahmadiyya Movement,

I am compelled to write a reply to his allegations and to publish it in countries affected by his propaganda. I do so in the hope that my reply may serve as an antidote to the poison with which the Maulawi Sahib has sought to prejudice the minds of people, and that for all seekers of truth and lovers of

righteousness it may serve as a fingerpost to the straight path of divine guidance.

It is with this object that I offer this book to all seekers of truth. I pray that God may bring the truth home to all. For, guidance belongs to Him and comes from Him alone. He alone is aware of secrets of our hearts, and He alone knows what belongs to the Unseen. Nothing is hidden from His sight, and no mystery is outside His ken. "God, our Lord, guide us to Thy straight path, and confirm us in Thy eternal faith, and inspire into our hearts truth and uprightness and grant to us the Will to eschew disorder and disturbance! Humiliate our enemies and help us in our struggle! Thou art the Lord of all lords and the Best of all judges! And our last prayer is that Allah's name may be glorified, the Lord of all the worlds!"

INTRODUCTION

Maulawi Muhammad Ali has recently published a book entitled *The Split* in which he has discussed the issues which have lately caused a division in the ranks of the Ahmadiyya Community.

The Split

The Split has been widely circulated in such parts of India where Urdu is not generally understood and in such countries outside India where the Movement has just begun to spread, and its raison d'etre, as stated by the author, is that he wants to appeal to the Ahmadiyya Community to make one united effort: to discard those false doctrines which, according to him, have been newly promulgated by me. Thus he writes: "I appeal to the good sense and moral courage of the Ahmadiyya Community to denounce these false doctrines with one voice before they take root like the false doctrines attributed to the Messiah".

Published in English

It seems to me, however, that the object of publishing the book is quite different from the one here described, and this conclusion will be forced on

every intelligent reader who cares to peruse its pages. For, in the first place, the book has been written in English, whereas the vast majority of the followers of Ahmad^{as} at present are his own countrymen, who joined him during his lifetime and lived in his company and heard his words as they fell from his lips, and read his books in the language in which he wrote them. Up to now the number of such Ahmadis is in excess of that of all the Ahmadis put together who live in other countries. English is not the mother tongue of any of them; nor do they, with a very few exceptions which do not amount even to one per cent of the total, read or understand that language.

Was it then the author's solicitude for the progress of the Ahmadiyya Movement and his love for Islam, that impelled him to bring out this book? May be, the spread of beliefs taught by me which, according to him, were extremely offensive and provocative, had resulted in arresting the progress of the Movement, in countries outside the borders of India, or may be, my dangerous teachings had served to alienate people from the Movement, so that in the interest of the Movement and for the sake of Islam, the Maulawi Sahib was compelled to inform the people at large that the beliefs promulgated by me were false and contrary to the teaching of the Promised Messiah^{as}

who taught everything in strict conformity with Islam and whose views agreed with the views entertained by the Maulawi Sahib's part. Let us remember, however, that in those countries outside India, e.g. Ceylon, Mauritius, Africa, etc. where Ahmadiyyat has obtained a footing, there has never been, nor is there now, any mission working on behalf of the party of the Maulawi Sahib. Whatever progress Ahmadiyyat has made in those countries has been accomplished in my time and through my instrumentality. I speak not, however in self-praise. I speak only of a favour which the Lord bestows on whomsoever He pleases. God had ordained this blessing and this reward for my humble efforts. At a time, when internal dangers had seriously imperilled the life of the Community and friend and foe had alike begun to think that the Movement had come to the end of its days, God granted to me the power to discharge even towards countries outside India hitherto unaware of the existence of the Movement my duty and obligation to bring to their notice the inestimable favour which God had vouchsafed to the world by raising the Promised Messiah^{as}. Thus, whatever new adherents the Movement has secured in foreign countries, have been secured in spite of those 'narrow views' which the Maulawi Sahib has been pleased to attribute to me.

Therefore, it cannot be said that the publication of his book was prompted either by the solicitude of the author for the advancement of the Movement or by an apprehension entertained by him that the propagation of my views would retard the progress of the Movement.

There remains, however, another possible motive. Can it be that the Maulawi Sahib was moved to write this book by the thought that although it was through my efforts that the Movement had obtained a footing in foreign lands, yet publication by the Maulawi Sahib of the 'true' doctrines was likely to accelerate its spread at least in foreign lands? But what are the actual facts? In spite of the "strange and paradoxical" nature of my views, thousands of people year after year continue to enter my *Bai'at* (oath of spiritual allegiance) even in India which, in the matter of religion, may still be regarded as the teacher of all Eastern Asia and where in comparison with other countries there prevails a more active interest in, and a wider diffusion of, the knowledge of religion. In contrast to this, it may be noticed that the Maulawi Sahib and his friends who, to quote his own words, form "a large number of the educated members of the Community" and who are men of great "moral courage" have within the last eight years been unable

to secure even as many converts as have sometimes entered my *Bai'at* in the course of a single month—among whom are to be counted men of the highest attainments both in secular and religious learning.

Aim of The Split

The only reason which can therefore be assigned to this publication, is the envy and jealousy which the Maulawi Sahib entertains towards me personally and which makes him very unwilling to see any success attend my endeavours. He has advanced so far in his envy that he seems to have ceased to care for any harm which his activities against me may cause to the general interest of Islam and Ahmadiyyat. Thus, knowledge of the success which continues to attend my humble efforts both in Northern India and elsewhere, has induced him, all other means failing, to resort to the device which he has tried on many occasions in North India—the device, namely, to present my principles in the worst possible guise, and in language calculated to excite the ire of non-Ahmadis, and to push this propaganda into distant lands with many a false story added to it. His object is to create in the people at large such an active hostility against the Movement that it should prevent them from joining its fold, and that it should make worse

the lot of those few earnest souls, who in places far away from the centre of the Movement and hemmed in on all sides by opponents had, in spite of very adverse circumstances, responded to the call of the Divine Summoner. Such a consummation will perhaps bring solace to the heart of the Maulawi Sahib, and though it may mean death and destruction of the true Islam, it will at the same time spell a failure of my endeavours. (May God preserve us from such an eventuality).

The Maulawi Sahib, however, appears to have overlooked the fact that men who join a Divine movement at least in its earlier days, are generally such as are prepared to stake their lives when they accept the truth, and no difficulty can persuade them later to swerve from its path. In the case of the Companions of the Prophet Muhammad^{sa}, did not the unsheathed swords of their enemies fail in their attempt to turn them from their path or to obliterate them from the face of the earth? Similarly also in the case of the Imam of this age, did not the utmost efforts of his enemies fail to grind to dust the men who followed him? And in the light of such instances, does the author of *The Split* expect that the fire of opposition which it has been his endeavour to kindle, will succeed in burning to ashes Ahmadis in distant

lands or that they will either be destroyed or compelled to renounce the truth they have accepted? No, God willing, this will never come to pass. Every man who possesses a grain of faith knows for certain that truth can never thus be overthrown. To one who has once accepted the truth all difficulties appear as nothing compared with the abandonment of truth.

Would that the author of *The Split* had gained wisdom from the experience of the failures which have attended his activities in India! The number of men who have joined his following as a result of his endeavours for the last eight years, has been exceeded many times over by Ahmadis who have entered my *Bai'at* and many of them are men, who even in worldly rank and position are in no way inferior to any of his followers; and then out of his followers also a very considerable number has left him and joined me.

As in the case of the first Messiah, some of his followers, when they despaired of the conversion of the Israelites turned their attention to other nations, even so our opponents, when they despaired of success with that group of Ahmadis, who joined the Promised Messiah^{as} during his lifetime, have since turned their attention to people in other lands. But

they might have remembered that there is a difference between the two Messiahs^{as}. The first was a representative of the Mosaic dispensation, while the latter was a representative of the Islamic dispensation, which is superior to the Mosaic dispensation. The first Messiah was put on the Cross but the second Messiah was saved from any such humiliation. Similarly, unlike the disciples of the first Messiah, the disciples of the second will be saved from all designs to turn them from the path of truth.

Strong Language used by Maulawi Muhammad Ali

After explaining my object in publishing the present work and before I enter upon my subject proper, I cannot help expressing my regret at the fact that the Maulawi Sahib has not been able to discard his habitual incivility. In all his writings against me published hitherto in Urdu, his language has been offensive to a degree.¹ On the other hand, in all my

¹A few instances may be quoted by way of illustration. They will show the general nature of Maulawi Muhammad Ali's mode of expression. In *An-Nubuwwat fil Islam* on page 314 he writes, "Miyān Sahib (i.e. the present writer) says that the parents of the Holy Prophet^{sa} had not given him the name of Ahmad^{sa}". In the first place the statement is a lie. The fact has been admitted by the Promised Messiah^{as} himself. "In another place Maulawi Muhammad Ali says, "It is foolish to say that the prophecy does not refer to the Holy Prophet^{sa}". On page 319 he writes about me: "He made this false statement in the *Haqiqat-un-Nubuwwat*, that he knew the fact even then. He

writings I have always taken due care not to depart from the code of civility and propriety observed among all honourable men and have availed myself of all opportunities to draw his attention to this habit of his. It is however a great pity that he has never cared to pay any heed to my advice and has continued to use the strong language which he set out to use in the very beginning of this controversy. People living in other countries are not aware of what in this country is a matter of common knowledge that it was Maulawi Muhammad Ali who started the practice of publishing controversial tracts addressed to individual persons or containing personal references. It was he who only a

has sought to cover his mistake by a lie". "As if he (referring to the writer) would sometimes make a false statement for fear of stating a controversy". In his book *Tabdil-e-'Aqida ka Ilzam*, (which is a reply to my tract *Muhammad Ali Sahib ki Tabdil-e-'Aqida* Maulawi Muhammad Ali writes: "Miyān Sahib (meaning the present writer) and his disciples consider it light to be *Athim* (sinner) or *Azlam* (extreme wrongdoer), but deem it as worse than death to bear witness to truth, therefore they have refused to make a statement of the truth"... "These black hearted criminals did not see"... "May not this party be the representatives of those whom you, till yesterday, considered to be the worst of all the dwellers on earth"... "You may call and inquire of these men who are blind of moral vision, who give the name of apostates to the servants of the faith, whether such rashness on their part in face of the public declaration of a person will not make them liable to the curse of God"... "If the Pir is truthful than his party are proved to be deceivers of mankind, On the other hand, if the party represents the creed taught by the true religion then the Pir been an advocate of falsehood"... "Today, to deny these facts will serve not only to besmirch their faces, but it is certain that persistence in the denial will blacken their hearts and bring upon them the divine curse, and prove them to be fit objects of the appellaton: "Ye who apostatised after being believers".

few days before the death of Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, at a time when his condition was very precarious, wrote a tract containing his opinions on some points of controversy. But as he was afraid that if the matter came to the notice of Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} his design would be undone, so with the utmost circumspection and cleverness, he had the tract printed and published in Lahore and did neither read it out to Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, nor inform him of its purport, nor consult him about its subject matter. This was contrary to the usual practice of Ahmadis who, as a rule always consulted and obtained the previous sanction of their Khalifa whenever any book or announcement was to be published on any controversial subject, or on any important issue. It was in accordance with this rule that Khwaja Kamaluddin submitted to Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, all his articles on the question of *Kufr* and Islam. Similarly before publishing anything on the subject of the Cawnpore Mosque disturbances, the authorities of the *Paigham-e-Sulh* of Lahore sent a special agent to Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} to ascertain his views. It is of course another matter whether those views were also correctly reported later on, or not. The fact remains that a certain deference was paid to the Khalifa. But in the case of this tract Maulawi Muhammad Ali did not care to make even the barest

mention of it to Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, although as a matter of fact he had in that tract attempted an extraordinary interpretation of the Khalifa's Will. At the least he might have consulted the Khalifa regarding the interpretation of the Will to find out whether his own views on the subject agreed with those of the Khalifa. But Maulawi Muhammad Ali did not choose to adopt this course and preferred the way of secrecy. The same course was also adopted in the matter of the publication of the tract. He did not have it printed at Qadian, but sent it all the way to Lahore for printing it, although two or three presses were available for the purpose at Qadian, none of which could complain of pressure of work. Then at Lahore the tract was not published as soon as it was printed. It was held back in anticipation of the day when Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, should depart from life, so that whatever had been said regarding him in the tract should remain unrefuted.

In short, it was Maulawi Muhammad Ali who came first into the lists with a work in which a reference was made to me and to my friends attributing to us beliefs which he said were impious and inconsistent with holy life. In all his subsequent writings also he has continued to refer to us in the same discourteous manner. His contemptuous

mention of my name has been of a kind not sanctioned by honourable men while making personal references. In the work under reply, although there are comparatively fewer instances of such verbal strictures, yet the author has not failed to apply to me such opprobrious epithets as *Zal* (pervert) and *Muzil* (one who causes others to go astray from the path of Islam), as will be noticed by every reader of the book. In the same book the author has mentioned my name as M. Mahmud. It is not clear what he means by that form of address. I shall, however, continue to deal honourably with him, and although the insulting tone which he has assumed and which seems to grow more and more unbearable, calls for the use of stronger language. I shall take care not to imitate him or to transgress the bounds of propriety.

Argument from the Parallelism between Ahmadiyyat and Christianity

After drawing the attention of my readers to the manner of Maulawi Muhammad Ali's writing I shall next proceed to meet the points raised by him in his work under review. Maulawi Muhammad Ali has opened his book with the observation that since the Ahmadiyya Movement is a counterpart of Christianity, it was necessary for the maintenance of

the parallelism that there should arise in it a party which should depart from the truth and drift to the side of excess. He has laid special stress upon this point and seems to think that this parallelism or analogy is sufficient to decide the issue between us. But he has failed obviously to realise that an analogy is not an identity and that things compared need not necessarily correspond in all points; that when one person admits of comparison with another person, the former may and sometimes does excel the latter both in rank and quality. The Promised Messiah^{as} is not, fortunately, the only example we have of a historical parallel. His Master the Holy Prophet Muhammad^{sa} is another example of such a parallelism, for, he had, his prototype in Moses^{as}. But, nevertheless, the disciples of the Holy Prophet^{sa} had not to undergo the same experiences as the disciples of Moses^{as}, nor did they behave in a similar way under similar circumstances. In the Holy Quran, God has described a similarity of the Holy Prophet^{sa} to the Prophet Moses^{as} in the following words:

إِنَّا أَرْسَلْنَا إِلَيْكُمْ رَسُولًا شَاهِدًا عَلَيْكُمْ كَمَا أَرْسَلْنَا إِلَىٰ فِرْعَوْنَ رَسُولًا ۗ (Al-Muzzammil, 73:16)

"Verily We have sent to you a Prophet, who is a witness to you, in the same way as We sent a Prophet to Pharaoh."

In this verse the Holy Prophet^{sa} has been spoken of as the like and counter-type of Moses^{as}. The Old Testament speaks to the same effect. God said, to Moses^{as},

"I will raise them up a Prophet^{sa} from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put my words into his mouth and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him."
(Deut 18:18).

Thus the Holy Prophet^{sa} was no doubt the like and counter-type of Moses^{as}. But in spite of their many resemblances, we find that the success which attended the Holy Prophet^{sa} was far greater than that of Moses^{as}. Moses^{as} had been promised the land of Canaan as a permanent home. A similar promise was made to the Holy Prophet^{sa} regarding the land of Haram (Mecca). But when Moses^{as} advanced to the conquest of the country, his people, in spite of their promises to help him, answered him saying:

يُمُوسَىٰ إِنَّا لَنْ نَدْخُلَهَا أَبَدًا مَا دَامُوا فِيهَا فَذَهَبْ أَنْتَ وَرَبُّكَ فَقَاتِلَا إِنَّا هَاهُنَا
قَاعِدُونَ ﴿٥٥﴾
(Al-Mā'idah, 5:25)

"Moses! We will never enter this land so long as there dwell therein its former possessors. Go yourself and your Lord and fight. We shall be sitting here."

Only a few men were left with Moses^{as} and the idea of a forcible entry into the promised land had to be abandoned. In contrast with this, we find that when the Holy Prophet^{sa} came to Medina the covenant which he received from the Ansar (the citizens of Medina) was to the effect that only in case an enemy attacked him in Medina, would they (the Ansar) be bound to protect him. The covenant was sworn by the Ansar as the Oath of ‘Aqba tendered to the Holy Prophet^{sa} some time before the Hijra. The famous historian Ibni Hisham writes that the Ansar had made the following covenant with the Holy Prophet^{sa}.

"O Prophet^{sa}! we shall not be responsible for your safety so long as you are outside Medina. Our responsibility will commence with your arrival in that city. We will protect you from all such enemies and by all such means as we protect our wives and children."

This meant that just as they sacrificed their lives in order to protect their wives and children from death and imprisonment, even so they would do to protect the Holy Prophet^{sa}. After this covenant, when the time came for the battle of *Badr*, and the Holy Prophet^{sa} decided to meet the foe some distance outside the city

of Medina viz. at *Badr*, he felt, writes Ibni Hisham, a certain anxiety lest the Ansar should think that they were bound to help him only in case the enemy attacked him in their city and were under no obligation to assist him in case he wanted to lead them to meet the enemy outside the city. He asked the people about their decision; whereupon Sa'd bin Ma'adh stood up and answered, "Prophet^{sa} of God! do you ask us regarding our intention?"

"Yes", answered the Holy Prophet^{sa}. Then said Sa'd: "O Prophet^{sa} of God! we have believed in you, and have testified to your truth and have borne witness that whatever you have brought, is all from God; wherefore we have entered in to an oath and covenant with you to-day and do submit to your command. O Prophet^{sa}! lead us wherever you will, we will always be with you. And we swear by the God Who has sent you with His true message, that if you should lead us to the yonder sea (meaning the Red Sea) and enter its bosom, we also will enter the same and not one of us will hold back. We are not unwilling should you lead us even tomorrow to meet the enemy. We shall be patient in battle and steadfast in

fight. We believe that in the field of battle you will see in us what will gladden your eyes. Proceed, then, O Prophet^{sa}! and may the blessings of God be with you."

If one were to compare this answer with that of the followers of Moses^{as}, one cannot help noticing a difference of conditions between the two peoples, hardly to be met with between any two other nations. But even more remarkable than the above was the answer given by Miqdad bin Amr who, as a matter of fact, reproduced with necessary adaptation the very words used by the followers of Moses^{as}. He said "By God we are not going to answer you in the words in which the followers of Moses^{as} answered their Prophet^{sa} viz. 'Go you and your Lord and fight. We shall only sit and wait.' On the contrary, we answer "Proceed, O Prophet^{sa}, with your Lord and fight; we will be with you among the fighters." (Vide *Ibni Hisham* Vol. I.)

Thus, there was indeed a great difference between the companions of Moses^{as} and those of the Holy Prophet^{sa}. A similar difference may also be noticed in the dealings of God with each of the two Prophets themselves. Moses^{as} did not enter into the promised land. He died while he was camping near it with his

followers. The promised entry into the land was effected in the following generation. On the other hand, it was granted to the Holy Prophet^{sa} to enter Mecca victoriously and in triumph, surrounded by his Companions, and the land was given to him for all time to come.

Jesus^{as} of Nazareth and Ahmad^{as} of Qadian resembled each other by reason of their filling similar roles in the Mosaic and Islamic dispensations respectively. They were each the *Khatam-ul-Khulafa* (Seal of the Apostolic Successors) of their lines. Between them personally and between their followers, however, a similar difference might be perceived as between the original founders of the two dispensations. When, for example, one of the most eminent of the companions of Jesus^{as} was questioned by his enemies regarding his master, saying "Surely thou also art one of them, for thy speech betrayeth", the disciple cursed and swore saying, "I know not the man". On other hand, when one of the eminent disciples of Ahmad^{as} fell into a similar, nay even a more dangerous situation, he ceased not to confess his faith in his master. The situation in the latter case was more dangerous because the persons who questioned the disciple in the first case were two of them women and the third an Israelite who held no power in the

state; while in the latter case the person who examined the disciple was no less a personage than the king of the country; and while in the first case the inquiry was repeated only three times and was answered as often in the negative, in the latter case the examination was held a large number of times and was always replied to in the affirmative. I refer to the martyrdom of Sahibzadah Maulawi Abdul Latif, a very learned and saintly gentleman of Afghanistan. He had heard about the Promised Messiah^{as} and had read his books. He believed in him and came down to Qadian to spend some time in his company. When he returned to his country, being a person well-known for his learning and influence, so much so that he had been selected to perform the coronation ceremony of Amir Habibullah, the present Amir,² the news of his conversion was soon carried to that monarch. The latter was at the same time besieged by the Maulawis, who urged that the Sahibzadah had turned an infidel and deserved the punishment of death. The Amir was obliged to take action. He at first sent some of his officers and asked Maulawi Abdul Latif to renounce his faith. When he refused to comply with the request,

² Amir Habibullah was living at the time when this book was being written. At the time of its publication he had already met his death at the hands of an assassin.

the Amir summoned him to his presence and personally asked him to give up his new faith threatening him with punishment under the fatwa passed by the Maulawis. Maulawi Abdul Latif remained unmoved and the Amir at last sentenced him to be stoned to death according to the fatwa.

When the prisoner was taken to the place of execution, because of the great regard in which he was generally held, the Amir with his chief officers went to the place in order to be present at the execution. The prisoner was half interred in the earth in order to receive his punishment. In that condition the Amir approached him personally and said, "Akhundzada! It is not too late yet. For God's sake have pity on your own life and upon your wife and children." Maulawi Abdul Latif answered "Protect me God! How am I to gainsay truth? Life, wife and children, what are they worth, that for their sake I should renounce the truth? You must not expect such a thing from me. I am not in the least afraid to give up my life for the sake of my faith." Upon this, a shower of stones was hurled upon him and he was most cruelly done to death. This event took place in 1903, and is typical of the difference that exists between the followers of the first and those of the second Messiah. A similar difference may also be marked in the

manner of God's dealings with the two Messiahs. In the case of the first Messiah, his enemies were allowed to succeed so far as to put him upon the cross, but in the case of the second Messiah, although his enemies tried their best to bring about his discomfiture, charging him at one time with abetment of murder, yet God was pleased completely to confound their machinations, and to destroy many of his enemies during his lifetime.

In short, while there is a remarkable similarity between the dispensations brought by Muhammad^{sa} and Moses^{as} respectively, there is also a plainly visible difference between the Divine blessings and assistance which accompanied the two. It ought not therefore to be concluded from the mere fact of similarity between the two dispensations, that the followers of the Promised Messiah^{as} were sure to commit the error of exaggerating the truth like the followers of the first Messiah. By following such a method of analogy, one might as well prove that the majority of the Companions of the Holy Prophet^{sa} were hypocrites, because the Holy Prophet^{sa} was a counter-type of Moses^{as} and the majority of the companions of Moses^{as} did indeed prove to be hypocrites when the moment came for action. (May God protect us from such views). We know, however,

how the spiritual power of the Holy Prophet^{sa} saved the majority of his immediate followers from following in the footsteps of the Jews except, of course, the few who indeed proved to be hypocrites. Similar also, the spiritual power of the Promised Messiah^{as} was to save the majority of his followers from committing the mistake made by the followers of the first Messiah. And this is what has actually happened. The major portion of his followers, with the exception of a small section, have maintained their connection with the centre of the movement and continue to hold to their old beliefs. But, just as in the case of the Holy Prophet^{sa} there arose after him a small party, who denied the validity of the Khilafat (Apostolic Succession) and endeavoured to belittle the Prophet's rank, and who made their public appearance during the time of Hadrat Ali^{ra}, the son-in-law or, so to speak, the son of the Holy Prophet^{sa}, so also in the present case, when one of the sons of the Promised Messiah^{as} came to hold the Khilafat there has appeared a small party like the earlier Kharijites, whose motto was:

الطَّاعَةُ لِلَّهِ وَالْأَمْرُ شُورَى بَيْنَنَا

meaning "Obedience belongs to Allah alone; in affairs (of the Community) mutual counsel of the members

should prevail." In other words, the Khalifa was nothing, all power was to vest in a parliament. The same is the motto of the party presided over by Maulawi Muhammad Ali viz. that the Khilafat has no validity and that the affairs of the Community should be under the control of an Anjuman. But just as the Kharijites, after a few years of agitation and violence, at last disappeared and were lost, so also now, God willing, the same fate awaits their modern successors.

Argument from the New Testament

Maulawi Muhammad Ali has quoted certain verses of the New Testament to show that when the enemies of the first Messiah accused him of blasphemy by having claimed to be the 'son of God,' the charge was rebutted by the Messiah saying that the name 'son of God' which had been given to him was only metaphorical and had been used in the same sense in which the name 'God' had been used with reference to the previous Prophets. But after the death of Jesus^{as}, his followers began to call him the 'son of God' in a literal sense, that is, in the same way as we understand the word 'God' to signify the Creator of the universe; and it was in this sense that the Jews accused him that he had claimed the title. From this Maulawi Muhammad Ali proceeds to argue that just

as it happened in the case of the first Messiah, even so it was necessary that it should happen, and as a matter of fact, it has actually happened, in the case of the second Messiah. His enemies accused him of having claimed to be a Prophet. This charge he denied explaining that he had been called Prophet only metaphorically. But after his death his followers, like the followers of the first Messiah, began to claim for him prophethood in the same sense in which the claim was attributed to him by his enemies. Such is Maulawi Muhammad Ali's reading of the parallelism. To me, however, it seems that while Maulawi Muhammad Ali is right in noticing a certain parallelism between the two cases, he has committed an error in the application of the parallelism.

The verses quoted from the New Testament show that the Jews charged Jesus^{as} with having claimed to be the 'son of God' in a literal sense. Jesus^{as} denies the charge and says that he claims to be the 'son of God' in the sense in which the previous Prophets were called 'God'. After the death of Jesus^{as} his followers attributed to Jesus 'Godhood' in the sense implied by his enemies.

With this example before us if we turn to the case of the second Messiah, the first thing we have to

inquire into is what was the charge brought against him by his enemies. We find that his enemies charged him with having claimed to be a Prophet with a new law, as will appear from the following quotations from one of his letters published in the *Akhbar-e-'Am*, a daily paper of Lahore. (This is the oldest paper of the province. Its editor and proprietor are Hindu gentlemen. In this paper a report had been published to the effect that the Promised Messiah^{as} had renounced his claim to be a Prophet. Thereupon, the Promised Messiah^{as} addressed a reply to the editor in his own handwriting under date the 23rd May, 1908, i.e. only 2 or 3 days before his death. A few lines from the letter are here quoted. The Promised Messiah^{as} wrote:

"In the *Akhbar-e-'Am* of the 23rd May, 1908, in the second line of the first column, it has been reported about me, that at the dinner I pronounced a denial of my prophethood. In reference to the same, it should be known that in that meeting what I said was simply this, that I had all along been informing the public through all my writings and declare even now that the accusation, brought against me, is entirely unfounded, namely that I claim prophethood of a kind

which entails severance of all my connection with Islam, which in other words means that I claim for myself a substantive prophethood such as leaves no need for me to follow the Holy Quran and introduces a new *Kalima* (formula of creed) and a new *Qibla* (direction to which to turn our face in prayer) and abrogates the laws of Islam and ignores the authority and example of the Holy Prophet^{sa}."

While thus exonerating himself from the charges of his enemies, he proceeded in the very same letter to elucidate his own claim in the following words:

"The grounds on which I claim to be a Prophet amount to this that I have, been vouchsafed the privilege of converse with God, who speaks to and converses with me, answers my questions, uncovers for me things unseen, and discloses to me such secrets of the future as are not opened to any save such as are in special favour with Him. Due to the abundance of such experiences, He has been pleased to call me a *Nabi* (Prophet). Thus, I am a *Nabi* by virtue of the

command of God and it would be a sin on my part were I to deny the fact."

Again speaking about other prophets^{as} he says,

"Among those favours (which they enjoyed) were prophecies and predictions in view of which those former Prophets were called *Nabis*." (*Eik Ghalati Ka Izala*).

A study of these quotations will show that the charge brought against the Promised Messiah^{as} by his enemies was his alleged claim to be a Prophet with a new law. This charge the Promised Messiah^{as} insistently denied. What, he said, he claimed was that he was a *Nabi* in the sense that knowledge of future events was frequently granted to him, and that it was in this sense that the title of *Nabi* had been conferred upon Prophets of old.

The above circumstances offer indeed a close parallel to those of the first Messiah, but in such a parallelism, correspondence to those followers of the first Messiah, who after his death began to call him the 'son of God' in the sense wrongly imputed to him by his enemies, was to be sought in those followers of the Promised Messiah^{as}, who thought him to be a Prophet with a new Law, that being the charge

wrongly brought against the Promised Messiah^{as} by his opponents. The correspondence could in no way apply to us, because we never called the Promised Messiah^{as} a Prophet in the sense imputed by his enemies and persistently denied by himself.

Wrong Application of Analogy.

Was there then ever actually a party which believed the Promised Messiah^{as} to be a *Nabi* with a new law, teaching a new creed and abrogating the Holy Quran? On page 15 of *The Split*, Maulawi Muhammad Ali has himself made mention of the actual existence of such a person. This gentleman, who calls himself an Ahmadi holds the opinion that the Islamic formula should henceforth be read as "*La ilaha-illallah Ahmad Rasuluallah*". Thus Maulawi Muhammad Ali has himself borne testimony to the fact of the actual existence of a party which holds that the Promised Messiah^{as} was actually a *Nabi* in the sense imputed by his enemies and persistently denied by himself. Possessing such a knowledge, was it fair and honest on the part of Maulawi Muhammad Ali to apply the analogy to me and my party? For as a matter of fact, as I have already said, the analogy cannot apply to my party at all, but to those who regard the Promised Messiah^{as} as a *Nabi* with a new law and

deem it legitimate to insert his name in the formula of the creed. But it has suited his purpose thus deliberately and intentionally to accuse me of something of which he knows me to be perfectly innocent.

Right Application of Analogy

Now, with regard to this remarkable gentleman (Muhammad Zahiruddin, vide pages 12-17 of *The Split*) and his relations in a certain place, he writes about me as follows: "The said Miyañ Sahib (referring to me) regards the Promised Messiah^{as} as a *Nabi* and a *Rasul*, who brought no new law and followed the law of a previous Prophet, and shrinks from practically following the commands and prohibitions contained in the Promised Messiah's^{as} revelations, and refuses to regard the Promised Messiah^{as}, agreeably to the purport of his writings, as a *Nabi* and continues to persist in his mistaken views." At another place he writes: "Contrary to the opinion held by the whole of the Ahmadiyya Community, it is my belief that the Promised Messiah^{as} not only made the people acknowledge him to be a Prophet without a law, but did clearly make a claim of being a Prophet with a new law." About the

Qibla, Muhammad Zahiruddin writes: "The same revelation viz".

(Al-Baqarah, 2:126) **وَاتَّخِذُوا مِن مَّقَامِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ مُصَلِّينَ** ط

"Adopt the seat of Abraham as thy place of prayer "was vouchsafed also to Hadrat Mirza Sahib, (i.e. the Promised Messiah^{as}) the only difference being that in the Holy Quran the name 'Abraham' referred to the Abraham who built the Kaaba whereas in the revelation of Hadrat Mirza Sahib the name referred to himself, and further that the mosque of Haram was substituted in the latter case by Qadian. Thus when he declared it illegal (for his followers) to pray behind other Muslims, the reason was not that there was any difference between their prayer and that of his own followers, nor that the Maulawis had pronounced a fatwa of heresy against him, but the underlying motive was to create a party in preparation for the ultimate change of the *Qibla*".

It is clear from these extracts that the writer is an exponent of the view that Hadrat Mirza Sahib was a Prophet with a new law and had set up for his followers a new *Qibla* (viz. Qadian), in which direction, therefore, his followers ought to turn their faces when saying their prayers, and that they ought also to substitute his name in the formula of faith. The

extracts also go to show that I and my party are opposed to him in such views. It will thus appear that the analogy which the author of *The Spilt* has sought to establish between my party and the followers of the first Messiah exists, if anywhere, in the party composed of the above mentioned gentleman and two or three others who share his views. As for ourselves, we believe in the prophethood of the Promised Messiah^{as} in the same sense in which he himself claimed the title. In the notice named *Eik Ghalati Ka Izala* published by the Promised Messiah^{as}, he says, "In all my writings wherein I have denied being a *Nabi* or a *Rasul*, I have done in the sense that I have not brought any new book, nor was I a new substantive Prophet. Nevertheless, as I had received spiritual blessing from my leader the Holy Prophet^{sa} and been given his name, and been gifted by God with knowledge of future events. I was indeed a *Rasul* and *Nabi* though without a new law. I have never denied being a *Nabi* of the latter kind, and since it was in this sense that I was called a *Nabi* and *Rasul* by God, I do not even now deny being called *Nabi* and *Rasul* in such a sense". We call God to witness that it is exactly in this sense that we believe in the prophethood of the Promised Messiah^{as}, and even our enemies, in spite of thousands of false charges which they are apt to bring

against us, will not venture to deny this statement. The case of the followers of the first Messiah was far otherwise. They did not accept him to be the "Son of God" in the same sense in which that title was claimed by that teacher. There is, therefore, no point of resemblance between ourselves and them. We may indeed be compared to that group of men who were among the true followers of the first Messiah, whose praise has been mentioned in the Holy Quran. The misguided followers of the first Messiah may of course be compared to that section of men who believe the Promised Messiah^{as} to be a Prophet with a new Law.

What, however, is extremely surprising to us is to see that in spite of all these facts, this last named part seems to be in special favour with Maulawi Muhammad Ali and his friends. A common antagonism towards me seems to have served as a bond of union between them. Muhammad Zahiruddin was made a member of the advisory committee, which was formed at Lahore after the death of Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}. (vide the *Paigham-e-Sulh* of 24th March, 1914) and his articles against me found a place in Maulawi Muhammad Ali's magazine called the *Al-Mahdi*. They have since continued to have frequent interviews and Muhammad Zahiruddin

reports that Maulawi Muhammad Ali once offered to employ him in the service of his Anjuman, on condition that he would not preach his views openly by notices and lectures, but he would, of course be free to ventilate them in private. But this is not all. The Lahore Anjuman (presided over by Maulawi Muhammad Ali) allowed Muhammad Zahiruddin on the occasion of their annual conference of 1918 to appear on their stage and to speak in support of his peculiar views. Here then is a most inexplicable paradox. Maulawi Muhammad Ali charges my party with sharing the views of Muhammad Zahiruddin. But all Zahir's connections are with Maulawi Muhammad Ali and Maulawi Sahib's connections are with Zahir. Such a union only illustrates the old adage "Birds of a feather flock together." Both of them are bent upon the destruction of the Ahmadiyya Movement. Both are, therefore, willing to act in concert, because although they differ regarding the means to be employed they both agree on their common end.

New Testament Parallel Proves the Promised Messiah^{as} a Prophet

Before, however, I leave this point, I think it worthwhile to point out that the verses quoted by Maulawi Muhammad Ali from the Gospels, far from

proving any resemblance between my party and those followers of Jesus^{as} who unduly magnified his rank, furnish rather an additional proof of the prophethood of the Promised Messiah^{as}. To further elucidate this point, I would repeat that the verses go to show that the enemies of Jesus^{as} accused him of having 'made himself a god' (to be Son of God meant to the Jews the same as to be God). In reply Jesus^{as} asked them whether it was not written in the Bible that they (the Prophets) were gods. If therefore men who were only Prophets had been called gods, how could it be a blasphemy to call oneself Son of God? From this Maulawi Muhammad Ali concludes, and he is right in his conclusion, that Jesus^{as} called himself 'son of God' in one sense while his enemies accused him of having claimed godhood in another sense of the word. As a matter of fact, Jesus^{as} claimed to be god in the same sense in which the Prophets before him were called gods. As Maulawi Muhammad Ali writes on page 5 of *The Split*, "He (Jesus^{as}) says that before him those who received the word of God were called gods though they were men".

Let us now look at the case of the Promised Messiah^{as}. He himself says that his enemies accused him of having claimed prophethood in the sense of being the founder of a new Law. (Vide letter

published in the *Akhbar-e-'Am* already quoted). This charge corresponds to that which the Jews brought against Jesus^{as}, namely that he claimed godhood in the sense of being actually the Deity or His partner, both of which were blasphemies. The Promised Messiah^{as} denies the charge of his enemies and says that he never claimed prophethood in the sense ascribed to him by them. This corresponds to the denial of Jesus^{as} that claimed to be 'son of God' in the sense ascribed by the Jews. Then again the Promised Messiah^{as} adds that the meaning which his enemies assigned to the word *Nabi* was incorrect; because, although it is true that the Prophets who promulgated new Laws were rightly called *Ambiya'*, yet the word was not limited in its application to such men, but was applicable and had been actually applied to other people who promulgated no new Laws. In fact, according to the Promised Messiah^{as}, the word *Nabi*, in its true significance, did not bear any such restricted meaning. He says, "Among the Israelites there have been several *Ambiya'* to whom no Law was revealed. They only announced prophecies which they received from God and which served to establish the truth and prestige of the Mosaic religion. It was these prophecies that entitled them to be called *Ambiya'*. The same is the case with my mission. If I am not to

be called a *Nabi*, what other distinctive word is there which will distinguish me from other recipients of Divine revelation?" (Vide Diary published in *The Badr*, dated the 5th March 1908). Similarly in *Eik Ghalati Ka Izala* he writes: "Remember this for certain that for this Umma (followers of Muhammad^{sa}) it is promised that, they will be awarded all those favours which were ever granted to any *Nabi* or *Siddiq*. Among these favours were prophecies and predictions, in view of which the former Prophets were called *Ambiya*'. "In other words, the Promised Messiah^{as} says to his opponents that he was not a *Nabi* in the sense they ascribed to that word, but he was a *Nabi* in the sense of the word in which the former Prophets were called *Ambiya*'. This answer of the Promised Messiah^{as}, it may again be seen, is quite analogous to that made by Jesus^{as}, viz. that, he was god in the sense in which the former Prophets were called gods. This is obviously the sense of Jesus^{as}' answer as has been admitted by Maulawi Muhammad Ali himself in the following words: "Jesus^{as} applied to himself the words 'son of God' in the same sense in which others before him were called gods". (*The Split*, page 6.)

Such being the views of Jesus^{as}, it necessarily followed that those followers of Jesus^{as} who called

him God or son of God in a sense different from that in which the Prophets before him were called gods, were misguided and mistaken. Pursuing the same line of reasoning, what must one think of those people, who after a similar answer from the Promised Messiah^{as} viz. that he was a *Nabi* in the same sense of the word in which the former Prophets were called *Ambiya'*, would still persist in calling him a *Nabi* in a sense different from that in which the prophets^{as} of Israel and all previous Prophets were called *Ambiya'*? And is this not what is now being done by Maulawi Muhammad Ali and his partisans? The answer is obvious and there can be little doubt as regards the views of these men.

Maulawi Muhammad Ali Refuted by his own Arguments

Moreover, if we were to accept their view as correct, it would expose us to serious criticism from our Christian critics. The Messiah of Islam, they would say, like the Messiah of Judaism, had answered his enemies saying that he was a *Nabi* in the same sense in which the previous Prophets were called *Ambiya'*. If, in the presence of such an explanation, Muslims felt justified in making a difference between his *Nubuwwat* (prophethood) and that of the previous

Ambiya', could not Christians claim a similar privilege, viz. to claim for Jesus^{as}, notwithstanding, his own assertion to the contrary, a godhood in a sense different from the godhood of the previous *Ambiya'*? The argument with which Maulawi Muhammad Ali would confront the Christians clearly amounts to this that since Jesus^{as} himself had explained that he was 'god' only in the sense in which the previous Prophets were called 'gods', there was no justification on the part of his followers "to reject the explanation given by Jesus, "and to claim godhood for him in any other but the same sense. (Vide page 6—*The Split*). Under the circumstances, may we not ask him how, in the case of the second Messiah—in view of his assertion that he was a *Nabi* in the same sense in which the previous Prophets were called *Ambiya'*—the Maulawi Sahib would justify himself in saying that the old Prophets were *Ambiya'* in one sense but the Promised Messiah^{as} a *Nabi* in another sense? If in spite of the answer which the Promised Messiah^{as} gave to his opponents, Maulawi Muhammad Ali considers himself justified in regarding the older Prophets as genuine *Ambiya'* and the Promised Messiah as a mere titular *Nabi* ('not actual prophethood'; not the perfect prophethood of a real Prophet.' Vide page 149—*The Split*), then

consistently with the same rule he ought to interpret his quotation from the New Testament in the sense that the previous *Ambiya'* were really Divine, whereas to Jesus had been granted merely the name of God, or in the alternative, to accept the Christian view that the old Prophets merely bore the name of God whereas Jesus was really Divine. In view of the above facts, let me now appeal to the "good sense and moral courage" of the Maulawi Sahib to consider and decide whether the verses quoted by him from the New Testament, point to his party or to mine as counter-part of the misguided followers of Jesus^{as}. The Christians, notwithstanding the explanation of Jesus^{as}, that he was 'god' in the sense in which the previous Prophets were 'gods', persisted in asserting that the word carried one sense when applied to the Prophets and another when used in reference to Jesus^{as}. So the author of *The Split* and his party, notwithstanding the clear statement of the Promised Messiah^{as} that he was a *Nabi* in the same sense in which the previous, Prophets bore that title (as may well be seen from the quotations from his writing given above), would still persist in saying that the older Prophets were *Ambiya'* in one sense and the Promised Messiah^{as} a *Nabi* in another sense. The difference between the author of *The Split* and his followers and the misguided followers of Jesus^{as} lies

in this, that the latter while altering the meaning of the words 'God' and 'son of God' remained faithful to their Master attributing to him through excess of love a rank higher than was really his due; but the author of *The Split* and his friends, out of excessive hostility, would only attribute to their Master a rank much lower than he actually occupied. But the truth is that it rested neither with the one nor with the other to elevate or depreciate the rank of their respective Masters.

Two Further Testimonies

Dwelling on the subject of this analogy, I wish here to quote two further testimonies. One is a testimony from the author of *The Split* himself and the other is a testimony from the Christian Gospels. Both prove the similarity between Maulawi Muhammad Ali's party and the mistaken followers of Jesus^{as}. As for the first, it may be remembered that in December, 1909, there was held at Lahore, a public meeting at the instance of Ahmadis at Lahore, with a view to refuting some of the charges brought against Islam by a certain Christian preacher. At that meeting the present writer as well as Maulawi Muhammad Ali and Khwaja Kamaluddin had each to deliver a lecture. Maulawi Muhammad Ali was to speak on "The

Sublimity of Jesus as Depicted in the Quran", which was to refute the position taken by the Christian missionary that the Quran itself testified to the superiority of Jesus^{as} over the Holy Prophet^{sa}. I was to speak on "Salvation" and to show which of the two religions—Christianity or Islam—furnished the true teaching relating to salvation. Khwaja Kamaluddin's topic was "A comparison of the Quran and other Scriptures". Khwaja Kamaluddin and myself had spoken on our respective subjects before it was the turn of Maulawi Muhammad Ali, who had occasion to make some reference to the speeches of both of us. In refuting the Christian contention that the Quranic words:

(Āl-e-ʿImrān, 3:47) **يُكَلِّمُ النَّاسَ فِي الْمَهْدِ وَكَهْلًا**

went to prove the superiority of Jesus^{as}, Maulawi Muhammad Ali cited my personal case as an example pointing out how marvellously deep and true were the observations made by me in my lecture although I was then only 20 years of age. My age, the lecturer said, was the age of play; my address was therefore a veritable instance of **يُكَلِّمُ النَّاسَ فِي الْمَهْدِ** the same, the lecturer continued, was the case with Jesus^{as}. By the way, the readers may note that at that time, Maulawi Muhammad Ali saw in me a certain resemblance to Jesus^{as}, although now he seems more disposed to

compare me with Jesus^{as} misguided followers. On the other hand, when making a reference to Khwaja Kamaluddin, the words which escaped the speaker were, "as has just now been said by Khwaja Kamaluddin, the St. Paul of our Movement". Hardly had the words been uttered when a hush fell upon the assembly, and the face of the speaker himself, as he turned towards the Khwaja betrayed a considerable amount of confusion. Maulawi Muhammad Ali will not, I believe, deny this incident to which I myself and many other people, present in the assembly, are prepared to bear sworn testimony. It was not a private discourse. It was public lecture and Providence put the words into the speaker's mouth. Nor could it be that Khwaja Sahib was compared to St. Paul without any reason. The similarity could hardly have occurred to the speaker without a certain basis in fact. The truth was that Maulawi Muhammad Ali had at that time perceived the direction towards which Khwaja Sahib was then drifting, and the thought in his mind found unconscious expression through his lips. But unfortunately later on he himself chose to follow the same course and became ultimately the leader of the party which shared the views of Khwaja Sahib!

بہیں تفرقت رہے از کجاست پہنچا

Mark how far thou hast drifted;

From where to where thy path has led!

To speak next of the testimony of the Christian Scriptures, it may be noticed that according to those writings the first mistake which the disciples of Jesus^{as} committed after the disappearance of their Master, was not on the question of 'Godhood' or 'sonship' of Jesus^{as}. As a matter of fact, the Scriptures are quite innocent of that controversy. The idea of the 'God-hood' of Jesus^{as} arose about three centuries later as a result of the conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity. History bears out that the doctrines of the 'Godhood' of Jesus^{as} and of the triunal personality of the Deity were gradually introduced into Christianity through the influence of the religions then prevalent in Europe. The first departure which the followers of Jesus^{as} made from his teachings was in the matter of softening the strictness of the Law and adapting it to the views of other communities with a view to inducing them to accept the new religion. As may be seen from the New Testament. Paul and Branabas had in Antioch granted certain relaxations of the Mosaic Law to the gentile converts. But certain men who came down from Judea taught the brethren and said,

"Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved". When therefore Paul and Baranabas had no small dissension and disputation with them, they determined that Paul and Barnabas and certain other men should go up to Jerusalem unto the apostles and elders about this question... But then rose up certain men of the sect of the Pharisees, who believed, saying that it was needful to circumcise them and to command them to keep the Law of Moses^{as}. And the apostles and elders came together to consider this matter. And when there had been much disputing, all the multitude kept silence, and gave audience, Barnabas and Paul declaring what miracles and wonders God had wrought among the gentiles by them.... Then pleased it the apostles and elders with the whole Church to send chosen men of their company to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas. And they wrote letters by them after this manner. The apostles and elders and brethren send greetings unto the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia. For as much as we have heard that certain which went out from us have troubled you with words, subverting your souls, saying you must be circumcised and keep the Law, to whom we gave no such commandment. It seemed good unto us, being assembled with one accord to send chosen men unto

you with our beloved Barnabas and Paul, men that have hazarded their lives for the name of God, Lord Jesus Christ. We have sent therefore Judas and Silas, who shall also tell you the same thing by mouth. For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things: that you abstain from meats offered to idols and from blood and from things strangled and from fornication, from which if you keep yourselves, ye shall do well. Fare ye well. (The Acts 15).

Maulawi Muhammad Ali and his party may now consider whether the line of action adopted by them is not the same as that followed by the early Christians. While on the one hand in order to win the goodwill of non-Ahmadis and to secure their cooperation they professed it as highly injurious to the interest of Islam even to mention the name of the Promised Messiah^{as} in their speeches and writings, on the other, in order to placate non-Muslims they do not hesitate even to detract from the dignity of the Holy Prophet^{sa} himself. For instance, it has been confessed by Khwaja Kamaluddin that once a person wrote to him saying that he approved of everything spoken by the Khwaja except that the latter attributed to the Holy Prophet^{sa} a rank superior to that of Jesus^{as}. Such an attitude, the writer said, did not commend itself to him, and was an

obstacle in his path. Khwaja Kamaluddin wrote in reply that the Muslims were commanded:

(Al-Baqarah, 2:137) لَا تَفْرُقْ بَيْنَ أَحَدٍ مِنْهُمْ

i.e. not to make any distinction between the Prophets^{as}, and that accordingly Muslims did not attribute to any of the Prophets a rank superior to that of others. But all the while Khwaja Sahib must have been aware that the verse referred to by him did not signify what he had sought to make out of it for the benefit of his correspondent. His object in detracting from the dignity of the Holy Prophet^{sa} was nothing else than to make his correspondent form a favourable opinion regarding Islam and to increase the number of his own converts. Further, it lies to his account that he sought to overstep the bounds of the Islamic Shariah (Law) by eating meat improperly slaughtered. He also contrived by devious means to secure from Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} permission to pray in England behind a non-Ahmadi Imam. These and many other facts go to show that his general attitude was to relax as much as possible the provisions of the Islamic Law in order to win the good opinion of non-Ahmadis. They also show how close is the resemblance between the party of Maulawi Muhammad Ali and that of early Christians. 'Then look well and ponder, O ye gifted with sight.'

Argument from Hadith

Muhammad Ali has adduced in support of his case a saying of the Holy Prophet^{sa} to the effect that the Muslims will once follow the ways of the Jews and the Christians. Maulawi Muhammad Ali argues from this that while the general body of Muslims have played the part of the Jews by their denial of the Promised Messiah^{as}, it was necessary for the fulfilment of the prophecy that another section should play the part of Christians by following their ways, and it accordingly happened that after the death of the Promised Messiah^{as} one large party of his followers began unduly to exalt his rank. This argument does contain some truth in so far as by reason of the Promised Messiah^{as} being the countre-type of the first Messiah, it was natural that some of the followers of the former should actually play the role of the followers of the latter. But that is by no means the main sense of the saying referred to. As has been explained by the Promised Messiah^{as} himself, to be turned into Jews refers to the denial of the Promised Messiah^{as}, and to be turned into '*Dal*' means to be actually converted to Christianity. The saying of the Holy Prophet^{sa} referred to by Maulawi Muhammad Ali is in fact not a separate prophecy but simply an elucidation of one of the prophecies contained in the

Holy Quran. In the opening chapter of the Holy Quran, God has taught the believers to pray:

إِهْدِنَا الصِّرَاطَ الْمُسْتَقِيمَ ۝ صِرَاطَ الَّذِينَ أَنْعَمْتَ عَلَيْهِمْ غَيْرِ الْمَغْضُوبِ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا الضَّالِّينَ ۝ (Al-Fātihah, 1:6, 7)

"O God! lead us to the right path, the path of those on whom thou hast showered Thy favours, excepting those who have been the objects of (Thy) wrath and the misguided." This prayer contains prediction of three events which were to occur in the later history of Islam. The first was that among Muslims there were to arise men who would be recipients of the greatest of Divine favours—including the attaining to the rank of Prophets^{as}. There was also to arise among them a party which was to be "the object of Divine wrath", and there was to be another section of them who were to be the *Dal* or the misguided. The parties referred to in the *Maghdubi 'Alaihim* (objects of wrath) and the *Dal* (the misguided) were described by the Holy Prophet^{as} himself. According to him, the first referred to the Jews and the second to the Christians. This may be seen in Tirmidhi's collection of Hadith, where it has been narrated on the authority of Adi Ibn Hatim that the Holy Prophet^{sa} said that the Jews were the *Maghdubi 'Alaihim* and the Christians the *Dal*. This interpretation by the Holy Prophet^{sa} himself therefore leaves no doubt that the prayer contained in the

opening chapter of the Holy Quran is a prayer for security from being turned into Jews and Christians. The prediction of the Holy Prophet^{sa} that Muslims will follow the ways of those who had gone before them, and his answer—"Of whom else?"—to the question of his Companions whether he meant that they would follow the ways of the Jews and the Christians do not therefore make a separate prophecy, but are simply an elucidation of the prophecy already contained in the opening chapter of the Holy Quran. I shall now proceed to a discussion of the meaning of the prophecy and shall in the first place consider the interpretation given to the prophecy by the Promised Messiah^{as}, because the person whose advent formed the subject matter of the prophecy was certainly the most competent authority to furnish a correct interpretation of the same. After that I shall go on to consider the meaning of the Holy Prophet's saying from the point of view of mere common sense.

The Promised Messiah^{as} writes on page 63 of the *Tuhfa'-e-Golarhwiyyah*: "Only two dangers have been mentioned. The one is internal viz. acting like the Jews and persecuting the Promised Messiah^{as}, and the second external, viz. conversion to Christianity. You ought to know and remember well that in the opening chapter of the Holy Quran, the dangers against which

Muslims have been taught to pray for protection are only two in number, viz. (1) to deem him an infidel who was to arise as the Messiah^{as} in Islam—to bring him into contempt, to seek to cast aspersions upon his character, to pronounce the fatwa of death against him. These are the dangers referred to in the verse "*Ghairil Maghdubi 'Alaihim*". (2) The second danger against which the Muslims have been taught to seek protection in the chapter, is the danger of Christianity and the fact that the chapter closes with the mention of this danger indicates that the danger of Christianity will be like a mighty flood and will surpass every other danger."

This interpretation by the Promised Messiah^{as}—that by being turned into Jews what was signified was antagonism to the Promised Messiah^{as}, and that by being turned into Christians was meant actual conversion to Christianity of many of the Muslims of his time and not that his own followers would act the role of the Christians—ought to have been conclusive for every Ahmadi. Nevertheless, Maulawi Muhammad Ali chose to put a new interpretation on the prophecy and on the Quranic verse. Such an attitude on his part will hardly come as a surprise to those who during the last four years have observed his gradual lapse from loyalty to his Master, but it cannot

fail to strike those before whom the Maulawi Sahib has appeared for the first time in his new role.

Next, when we consider the prophecy in the light of actual events, we may notice that even from the point of view of common sense, the interpretation given by the Promised Messiah^{as} is the only one which can be deemed valid and correct. The Holy Prophet^{sa} had prophesied that Muslims would come to resemble Jews and Christians. We may notice that in religious matters the only likeness to the Jews which Muslims have acquired is that, like Jews, Muslims at large have denied the Messiah who appeared among them. They have not indeed adopted any of the peculiarities which distinguish Judaism from other faiths; nor has any considerable party of them actually joined the rank of the Jews who, it maybe noted, are as a rule reluctant to admit strangers into their community. Therefore, to be the like of Jews clearly signified, in the case of Muslims, denial of their Messiah and antagonism to him. But, on the other hand, "following the ways of the Christians" can justly be interpreted as actual conversion to Christianity; for, as a matter of fact we find that at the present time all the Muslim sects with the solitary exception of the Ahmadiyya Community are unanimous in unduly magnifying the dignity of Jesus^{as}

and in according to him a rank superior to that of the Holy Prophet^{sa}. For it is a patent fact that the Muslims have been so deeply imbued with the doctrines of Christianity that while they admit that their own Prophet is dead and lies buried in an earthly grave, they believe that Jesus is still alive residing in the heavens. They thus corroborate the divinity of Jesus^{as} by attributing to him a kind of living and eternal existence. Further, they entertain the belief that Jesus like the Almighty God was a quickener of the dead. Such opinions do in fact make the Muslims the counter-types of Christians, because in strange contrast with such beliefs regarding Jesus, we may note that Muslim theologians do not admit regarding their own Prophet that he infused life even into a single bird. Thus these Muslims do in a way surpass the Christians in attributing to Jesus the power of creation. They also believe that Jesus possessed knowledge of the unseen, so much so, that knowledge of the last day, universally regarded as a special prerogative of God was, according to them, another of the peculiarities possessed by Jesus^{as}. In view of such a similarity of beliefs, there is little room for doubt that present-day Muslims have become virtually like Christians. The latter represent one of the most actively proselytizing peoples of the world, and have

by this time already converted several millions of Muslims to their faith. All these facts are clear and palpable as the day; but still to close one's eyes to them and—contrary to the views of the Promised Messiah^{as}—to seek to discover the like of Christians among his own followers is, to say the least, highly unfair and improper on the part of one who still professes to be one of his disciples.

The Two Messiahs Contrasted

It is no doubt true that as a necessary corollary of the fact that the Promised Messiah^{as} was a counter-type of Jesus^{as}, a certain number of the former's followers like those of the latter were destined to deviate from the right path, but that event is not obviously what is referred to in the prophecy we now have under consideration. The secession from among the followers of the Promised Messiah^{as} was a comparatively minor and insignificant event, something like what happened at the time of the Holy Prophet^{sa}. In the latter case the bulk of the followers of the Holy Prophet^{sa} continued to adhere to the right path and only an inconsiderable number turned away from it, while contrary was the case with the followers of Moses^{as}, the bulk of whom failed him at the last hour. Accordingly we might expect that in the case of

the Messiah^{as} of the Muhammadan dispensation the major portion of his followers would remain loyal to truth, and only a comparatively insignificant section would deviate from the same; for while we may remember that the Promised Messiah^{as} was a counter-type of the first Messiah, we cannot forget that he was a representative, not of the Mosaic, but of the Muhammadan dispensation, and that in him we had, not only a counter-type of Jesus but also a likeness of Muhammad^{as}.

The Promised Messiah^{as} himself writes: "Then coming in the name of Jesus^{as} I too should have met the fate of the Cross, had I not borne the name of Ahmad—in which lies the secret of all my power."

What is meant by the above verse is that from the fact that he was the counter-type of Jesus^{as} it might have been expected that the Promised Messiah^{as} would undergo all the sufferings which were endured by the first Messiah, and he too would be put upon the Cross. But as the Promised Messiah^{as} bore also the name of Ahmad, a fact which was to determine all the circumstances of his case, his career turned out to be different from that of the first Messiah. Traditions reported from the Holy Prophet^{sa} also support the same view, viz. that in the Reformer who was to come

in the latter days, the aspect of Messiah-ship was to be subordinate to the aspect of Mahdi-ship. The Hadith has it that the Mahdi would lead the prayers before the Messiah. When we read this Hadith along with the other reported Hadith—*La Mahdi illa 'Isa* [there is to be no Mahdi (in the time of the Messiah) save the Messiah himself], we can easily realise the fact that by assigning the leadership to the Mahdi it was clearly signified that the function of Mahdi would be more important than the function of Messiah. Actual events also bear out the same interpretation, since we may see that the success which has attended the Promised Messiah^{as} has far surpassed that which attended the labours of the, first Messiah.

PART ONE

Refutation of Maulawi Muhammad Ali's Account of Ahmadiyya Dissensions.

After dealing with the alleged resemblance between my Jama'at and the followers of Jesus^{as}, Maulawi Muhammad Ali proceeds to describe the history of dissensions in the Ahmadiyya Movement, and endeavours to show how after the death of the Promised Messiah^{as} a certain conjunction of circumstances gradually led the present writer to introduce changes in my former beliefs.

Alleged Innovations

These changes, according to Maulawi Muhammad Ali, relate to three matters; (1) that I propagated the belief that Hadrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was actually a *Nabi*; (2) the belief that he was 'the Ahmad' spoken of in the prophecy of Jesus^{as} referred to in the Holy Quran in Al-Saff 61:7; and (3) the belief that all those so-called Muslims who have not entered into his *Bai'at* formally, wherever they may be, are *kuffar* and outside the pale of Islam, even though they may not have heard the name of the Promised Messiah^{as}.

That these beliefs have my full concurrence, I readily admit. What I deny is the statement that I have been entertaining these views since 1914 or only three or four years before. On the contrary, as I shall presently show, the first and the last of these beliefs were entertained by me even during the lifetime of the Promised Messiah^{as}, while the second belief developed soon after the death of the Promised Messiah^{as} as a result of the teachings I received from Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, and of the various discourses I had, with him on the subject.

I shall speak first of the question of prophethood. My arguments on the subject will be stated at length in their appropriate place later on. For the present I only deem it necessary to state in brief that, in my opinion, the fact that the Holy Prophet Muhammad^{sa}, who was the most truthful of all men and the most jealous guardian of the honour of Islam, repeatedly gave the name of *Nabi* to the Messiah that was to come, is ample evidence of the fact that the expected Messiah was to be actually a *Nabi*. But since it has been claimed by the Holy Quran that its teachings are for all countries and for all ages, it follows that no new Prophet could be expected who may bring a new Law. The saying of the Holy Prophet^{sa} with reference to himself—"Ana Akhirul Ambiya" (I am the last of

the Prophets) goes also to prove the same thing, viz. that after the Holy Prophet^{sa} no other Prophet is to appear who should attain the rank of prophethood except through obedience to him. In other words, whoever should after the Holy Prophet^{sa} attain the rank of *Nabi* must be one from among the followers of the Holy Prophet^{sa} and must achieve the rank through the spiritual grace of the Holy Prophet^{sa}.

Regarding the prophecy *Ismuhu Ahmad* contained in the Holy Quran (Al-Saff, 61:6), my opinion is that the passage contains a double prophecy, relating to two persons, one a counter-type and the other his prototype. The counter-type of course is the Promised Messiah^{as}, while the prototype is the Holy Prophet^{sa}. The passage under reference speaks directly about the counter-type. A reference to the prototype of course comes in, but only indirectly inasmuch as the counter-type of a Prophet necessarily presumes the existence of his original. Thus the verse does furnish a prophecy regarding the original Prophet from whom the immediate subject of the prophecy derived his dignity. The prophethood of the Holy Prophet^{sa} was not a derived one. He was an original Prophet who was not indebted to any human teacher for the grace of prophethood, but was himself a dispenser of grace to others. To consider him as a recipient of spiritual

grace from any human teacher is in my view a detraction from his proper dignity. For these reasons and on certain other grounds, I hold the opinion that the subject of this prophecy is primarily the Promised Messiah^{as} who is the reflex of the Holy Prophet^{sa} and the counter-type of Jesus Christ. But the whole question is one regarding which no decision on the basis of revealed authority has been left by any of the Prophets. Any discussion of the question therefore has little more than mere academic interest. If any person holds a different view regarding the interpretation of the verse, all that I shall say is that he is mistaken, but I shall never deem him, on that account, any the less an Ahmadi and much less shall I deem him a sinner. In short, the question as to who is the proper subject of this Quranic prophecy is not at all of such moment as to make it a problem of any great religious importance.

As for the question of *Kufr* (unbelief) of non-Ahmadi Muslims, my belief is that *Kufr* really arises from a denial of God. Hence, whenever there comes any revelation from God of such a nature that its acceptance is obligatory on every man, a rejection of the same leads to *Kufr*. Belief in such a revelation, however, presupposes belief in the bearer of the revelation. Hence it follows that a belief in the bearer

of such revelation is a necessary part of one's faith. The man who rejects a Prophet thus necessarily becomes a kafir, not because he denies the truth of any particular Prophet X or Y, but such denial will necessarily lead him to reject a revelation of God. To me, the *Kufr* which arises from the denial of any *Nabi* has its basis in this principle and not in any personal quality of the *Nabi*. And inasmuch as the revelation of which the acceptance is obligatory on mankind comes only through Prophets, it is the rejection of such recipients of Divine revelation, and not of others that leads to unbelief. Now, as we hold that the revelation which came to the Promised Messiah^{as} are such that their acceptance is obligatory on mankind in general, to us, the man who rejects the Promised Messiah^{as} is a kafir agreeably to the teachings of the Holy Quran, although he may well be a believer in all the other truths of religion because the presence even of one of the necessary conditions of *Kufr* is sufficient to make a man kafir. I may however add that in my opinion *Kufr* arises from a denial of one or more of the fundamental articles of religion, not because such a denial makes a man the object of unending punishment, but because the denial makes him guilty of rebellion against God and leads to the extinction of his spiritual life. Now, as Islam bases its judgments

upon what is patent and not upon what is possible, it cannot but class as kafir such as fail to accept any of the Prophets, even though such failure may be due to their want of information concerning him. In the latter case, they will not, of course, be the objects of Divine punishment. The denial would be due to causes altogether beyond their control. It is in accordance with the same principle that Muslims have so long with one accord designated as *kuffar* all those who have not accepted the faith of Islam, without taking into consideration the question whether or not such failure is occasioned by want of adequate information concerning the Holy Prophet^{sa}. And the doctor is yet to be born who will class in the category of Muslims the Esquimaux of the North Pole, the Red Indians of America, the Hottentots of Africa or the Maoris of Australia, or those millions of Christians, who living in central Europe or in other out of the way places have not yet heard anything regarding the teachings of the Holy Prophet^{sa}.

Such are my convictions. Whether they are right or wrong it is not my present purpose to discuss. I shall discuss their merits later on. My object here is only to present in brief only a statement of my convictions as they are, for the benefit of the reader.

After this statement of my convictions, I wish next to make certain observations on the account of the course of events which, according to Maulawi Muhammad Ali, led up to the split in the Ahmadiyya Movement. I hope, to make clear to every fair minded reader, who will care to weigh the facts without bias or prejudice, how Maulawi Muhammad Ali in his narration of the events has intentionally departed from truth and dispensed with the fear of God. For it is possible that a wrong exposition of doctrine, or a wrong use of argument may be attributed to some misunderstanding on the part of the writer, but what if we find him perverting not one or two but a long series of events to suit a premeditated purpose? In the latter case we are constrained to attribute the action to a conscious design of deceiving the unwary reader.

Eleven Misstatements in Maulawi Muhammad Ali's account of Dissensions

Maulawi Muhammad Ali³ has related the story as follows: (1) The first man who promulgated belief in

³ For a long time I have shown every deference to Maulawi Muhammad Ali and refrained from making any imputation regarding his motives. But moderation on my part has only resulted in increasing the harshness of his tone and making him forget the necessity of being mindful of the feelings of others. I therefore think that now the time has come to expose his real character before the people and to show how he has been designedly trying

the Promised Messiah's^{as} *Nubuwwat* was one Zahiruddin, a clerk in the Canal Department at Gujranwala, and his writings containing the belief may be traced as far back as 1911. The first of these writings was entitled *Nabiyyullah Ka Zahur* or *The Appearance of a Prophet of God*, which was published in April 1911 and must have been written towards the close of 1910 or in the early months of 1911. In this book the writer tried to prove that Muhammad^{sa} was not the last of the Prophets but that Prophets would continue to appear after him. (2) Much notice of this book was not taken by the Ahmadiyya Community. But probably the contents of the book or some other leaflet on the same subject was brought to the notice of Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}. Upon this there was some correspondence between the Khalifa and Zahiruddin and as a result an announcement was made by the Khalifa to the effect that as Zahiruddin was promulgating new beliefs he was not to be considered to have any connection with the Ahmadiyya Community. This was followed by repentance on the part of Zahiruddin. (3) But the repentance was not long-lived. On the 20th April 1913, he published another pamphlet in which he

to mislead them. Of course, as I have already stated, it will be far from me to emulate him in his abusive style.

sought to reply to the objection taken by the Ahmadis that he had started a new formula of faith. The reply was nothing but an admission of what was alleged. Upon this the Ahmadiyya Community again cut off all connection with him and although the ostensible ground for his ostracism was his alleged claim to Khilafat but—as he himself disowned making any such claim—the real reason was no doubt the promulgation of these new beliefs. No direct refutation of the latter was published by the Community although an indirect refutation of them was to be found in the saner views which found expression in the newspapers of the Ahmadiyya Community and in some books. (4) In 1909 Maulawi Muhammad Ahsan brought out a book on the subject of a controversy held at Rampur, between himself and Maulawi Sanaullah of Amritsar, under the auspices of the Nawab of Rampur. On page 67 of the book under the heading "Discussion relating to partial prophethood in subordination to complete prophethood," Maulawi Muhammad Ahsan wrote: "By following the Holy Prophet^{sa} one can be granted partial prophethood in subordination to complete prophethood for helping the cause of the religion of Islam. "Later on, the same learned old man wrote an article in the monthly journal *Tashhidhul Adhhan*

edited by me (the writer of this book) under the heading "Prophethood among the followers of Muhammad," in which he showed that the only prophethood which could be granted to Muslims was *Nubuwwati Juzwi* i.e. partial prophethood. (5) While Zahiruddin was circulating his peculiar views, I (the writer of this book) broached the question of *Kufr* of those who did not formally accept the *Bai'at* of the Promised Messiah^{as}. This article, it was stated, was shown to Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, but in what sense he understood the article is clear from a later announcement issued by Khwaja Kamaluddin and signed by the Khalifa. In this announcement it was explained that the article written by me could be accepted only if it was interpreted as signifying that those who did not accept the Promised Messiah^{as} are only deniers of or unbelievers in the Promised Messiah^{as}, and not actually outside the pale of Islam, for otherwise the article would be opposed to the plain teachings of the Promised Messiah^{as}. (6) Towards the end of the life of Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, the question again came into prominence, and towards the close of 1913, once again, I made the announcement that the deniers of the Promised Messiah^{as} were all *kuffar*. I also found fault with the fatwa of the first Khalifa allowing Ahmadis to pray behind non-Ahmadi

Imams, though in the pilgrimage which I performed in 1912, I myself said prayers in congregation behind a non-Ahmadi Imam and so did all the Ahmadis who performed the pilgrimage at that time. When the news of the renewal of the question reached the Khalifa, being seriously ill himself, he asked Maulawi Muhammad Ali to enlighten the Ahmadiyya Community on this question and gave him some notes regarding the same. (7) He even warned me (the present writer) that I had not realised the true significance of the question of *Kufr* and Islam. (8) Accordingly Maulawi Muhammad Ali wrote a pamphlet and read it out to the Khalifatul Masih who approved of views expressed therein. This pamphlet, however, although written in the lifetime of Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} could not be published before his death. (9) People had accepted me (the present writer) as their Khalifa under a misconception and now many of them were openly expressing their aversion to my doctrines. Maulawi Sayyid Muhammad Ahsan of Amroha, the oldest and the most learned living companion of the Promised Messiah^{as}, was one of the adherents of the present writer at the time of the dissension of March 1914, but in 1916 he published a handbill declaring that I was not fit for the position to which I had been elected, as I was misleading the

Community into false beliefs viz. (i) that all the followers of the Qibla professing the *Kalima* (the Muslim formula of faith) are unbelievers and outside the pale of Islam, (ii) that the Promised Messiah^{as} is a full and real Prophet, not a partial Prophet or a Muhaddath (iii) that the prophecy relating to Ahmad (Al-Tahrim, 66: 6) is for the Promised Messiah^{as} and not for the Holy Prophet Muhammad^{sa}. (10) The learned Sayyid was not the only one who made such a declaration. Many educated persons had done the same before him in the *Paigham-e-Sulh* and besides them other educated Ahmadis were realising the great error into which the Community was being led and their dissatisfaction with the beliefs taught by me was becoming more and more pronounced every day. (11) But there was one step which, according to Maulawi Muhammad Ali, I took in the beginning and by which I have succeeded in keeping my section of the Community in the dark. I condemned the opposing section of Ahmadis (i.e. friends of Muhammad Ali) as *Fasiqs* and prohibited my followers from having any relations with the members of that section, so much so, that they were forbidden to take food with them at the same table or to have friendly relations with them or to read any literature issued by them. Thus, my followers remained generally ignorant of the

arguments which were given against the novel beliefs which I was teaching and, being ignorant, they thought that my teachings were not different from those of the Promised Messiah^{as}.

These are the eleven points raised by Maulawi Muhammad Ali in describing the history of the dissensions. Before entering upon a discussion of the merits of the beliefs which divide us, I wish to deal with these points in order to make it clear to the readers, unacquainted with these matters how far our opponents have been regardful of truth and facts.

Was Zahiruddin the Originator of Ahmadiyya Dissensions?

In describing the history of the dissensions, the first misstatement made by Maulawi Muhammad Ali is that the disputed beliefs had their origin in one M. Zahiruddin who in April 1911 wrote a book named *Nabiyyullah Ka Zahur* and thus laid the foundation of the belief in the *Nubuwwat* (prophethood) of the Promised Messiah^{as}. I wish to point out that in making this statement Maulawi Muhammad Ali has done a plain violence to truth. Muhammad Zahiruddin is too small a person to be the author of the belief in the prophethood of the Promised Messiah^{as}. Was he present with the Hoy Prophet^{sa} when the latter said

that the Masih Ibni Maryam to come would be a *Nabi*? Was it M. Zahiruddin who put these words into the mouth of the Holy Prophet? Were the words—revealed to the Promised Messiah^{as}—'A *Nabi* came to the world but the world accepted him not, etc. etc' revealed to him by God or by M. Zahiruddin? To attribute these words to a person as ignorant, benighted and full of self-conceit as M. Zahiruddin is nothing less than a blasphemy against the Divine words and against the Holy Prophet^{sa}. I may even ask—Was there any Ahmadi present with the Holy Prophet^{sa} when he declared the *Nubuwwat* of the Promised Messiah^{as}?

Moreover, let us all remember that long before the publication of Zahiruddin's book I had announced the prophethood of the Promised Messiah^{as}. If Zahiruddin was really the originator of the doctrine I may well inquire—how was it that full five years before the publication of this book, and during the lifetime of the Promised Messiah^{as}, I could describe the Promised Messiah^{as} as a *Nabi*, in my writings? How was it that Maulawi Muhammad Ali himself could commend those writings of mine which contained open reference to the prophethood of the Promised Messiah^{as} and even cite them in proof of the truth of the Promised Messiah^{as}. Maulawi Muhammad Ali

admits that M. Zahiruddin's book had been finished in April 1911, and thinks that it must therefore have been written towards the close of 1910 or in the early months of 1911. The book contains 120 pages of small size and might have taken at the most a month in writing. But even assuming Maulawi Muhammad Ali's estimate to be correct, it may well be asked how could the contents of this book published in 1911, have possibly been, known to me in 1906, when I so emphatically declared the prophethood of the Promised Messiah^{as}? What I say relates to the year 1905 when I was only seventeen years old. In that year in collaboration with the late Shaikh Abdur Rahim of Malerkotla, Chaudhary Fateh Muhammad Siyal M. A—later Muslim Missionary—and some other students, I decided to publish a periodical to advance the cause of the Movement and to create in the younger members zeal for the service of religion.

Accordingly after securing the approval of the Promised Messiah^{as} and requesting him to select a suitable name for the periodical, we published the same under the name *Tashhidhul Adhhan*. At the instance of these friends I myself undertook the editing of it. The first number was issued on the 1st March 1906. In the introductory article written by me and published in the first number, I made mention of

the prophethood of the Promised Messiah^{as} and explicitly called him by the name of *Nabi*. On page 10 of that issue, writing about the Promised Messiah^{as} and addressing the people of the world in general I wrote: "Do you think that because you belong to a great nation or because you possess gold and jewels, or because you have a large following, or because you are a millionaire or a king or a scholar or head of a pious foundation or a fakir—that there is, therefore, no need for you to obey this *Rasul*?" Again in the same article on page 11 of that issue I wrote: "Only a few have accepted him, most have rejected him. This has been the Divine rule in the case of all previous *Ambiya*'; and the same has been the case now." Similarly on page 8, I wrote: "In short, every nation has been expecting a *Nabi* and the time assigned for his advent is the one we are now in, Our beloved Prophet Muhammad^{sa} mentioned certain signs which were to mark the advent of this *Nabi* and in other ways made it easy for us to recognise him. Such predictions go to prove how high and great the rank is of our Prophet." Similarly on pages 5 and 6, I wrote: "We are now to see whether or not there is any need for a *Nabi* to appear in this age, and whether we should call this age a good or an evil one. So far as can be seen, no age of the world has exceeded the

present in vice and crime. The whole world has been crying with one voice that the high water mark of iniquity has been reached. This is the age which more than any other stands in need of a Divine Messenger." This article was so much approved by Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, that in the mosque he urged many people, among them Khwaja Kamaluddin, to read it. He also praised the article in the presence of the Promised Messiah^{as}. But perhaps such encomiums by the Khalifatul Masih^{ra} will not be so convincing to Maulawi Muhammad Ali as his own remarks. He may therefore look upon the comments which he himself made on this article in the *Review of Religions* while reviewing the *Tashhidul Adhhan*. Those comments bear sufficient testimony to the nature of the views then entertained by him. He wrote: "The editor of the magazine is Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad, son of the Promised Messiah^{as}. In the first number there is an introductory article from his pen running over 14 pages. The article will, of course, be read in due course by members of our Movement but what I wish to do is to cite this article before the opponents of our Movement as a manifest evidence of the truth of the Movement. The article purports to say that when disorders prevail, on the earth and the majority of the people abandon the path of God, and betake

themselves to the path of vice, and sit down like vultures to feast on the carrion of a dead world forgetful altogether of the life to come, at such a time it is always the rule with God that from among the same people He raises a *Nabi* to remind the people of the time of His true teachings and to point out to the people the right way to Him. Then such of them as have been blinded by their vices in the intoxication of material enjoyment, either laugh at the words of the *Nabi*, or persecute him and his followers, and seek to overthrow his Movement. But since the Movement is founded by God, it cannot be destroyed by the machinations of man. On the contrary, the *Nabi* even under such circumstances informs his adversaries in advance that it is they who will ultimately be overthrown and that a portion of them will be destroyed and making of them an example God will guide the rest to the right faith. All these prophecies come to pass as predicted. This is the rule with God, which has always held true, and the same has happened in the present case. "These were the remarks made by Maulawi Muhammad Ali on my article published as introductory to the *Tashhidhul Adhhan* on the 1st March 1906 during the lifetime of the Promised Messiah^{as}. After this I may leave it to every fair-minded reader to consider for himself the

question that if it is true, as is stated by Maulawi Muhammad Ali, that the belief in the *Nubuwwat* (prophethood) of the Promised Messiah^{as} was an invention of M. Zahiruddin and that the Promised Messiah^{as} was not a *Nabi*, then how could it be that, as early as 1906, while the Promised Messiah^{as} was yet alive, it was already known to me that he was a *Nabi* and I attached so much importance to the point that I made it the central theme of my introductory article in the *Tashhidhul Adhhan* that just as in the past *Ambiya*⁷ had been raised by God so also in this age there was need for another Prophet and he was no other than the Promised Messiah^{as}? But I may waive the question for a while and assume that even then I was acting under the influence of M. Zahiruddin and it was at his suggestion that I spoke of the Promised Messiah^{as} as a *Nabi* but there still remains the other question viz. how was it that in reviewing the article a writer of Maulawi Muhammad Ali's experience, who now poses as the sole mandatory for the reform of the Community, should have expressed himself in such laudatory terms? In that article I had said very explicitly that the Promised Messiah^{as} was a *Nabi* and had said so not once or twice but quite a number of times, and had moreover added that it was the Promised Messiah's^{as} claim that God had vouchsafed

to him His revelations just as he did to Adam^{as}, or Noah^{as} or Abraham^{as} or Moses^{as} or Jesus^{as} or Muhammad^{sa}. [*Tashhidhul Adhhan* No. I, Vol. I, page 1—9]. If it had been a fact that at that time the members of the Community did not regard the Promised Messiah^{as} as a *Nabi*, then my words should have come to Maulawi Muhammad Ali as an unpleasant surprise, inasmuch as in the said article another person after the Holy Prophet^{sa} had been styled a *Nabi*. It is not open to Maulawi Muhammad Ali to say that he had reviewed my article without proper scrutiny because in his review he was able to quote a summary of my article in my own words. He must, therefore, have read at least that portion of the article which he had quoted and even in this portion there was mention of the Promised Messiah^{as} as a *Nabi*. If the belief in his *Nubuwwat* had been promulgated after the death of the Promised Messiah^{as}, then it was only natural that Maulawi Muhammad Ali should have raised a cry of protest on coming across such a claim in my article. But on the contrary, we find him referring to it as a miracle of the Promised Messiah^{as} that there should arise such a noble thought in the bosom of one of his children at an age when young men are apt to be occupied with play, which fact according to Maulawi Muhammad

Ali was proof of the complete unison between the public and private life of the Promised Messiah^{as}, since such unison alone could produce a deep impression upon the young mind of a child. All this, however, has now changed. According to the present opinion of Maulawi Muhammad Ali, my views published in the *Tashhidul Adhhan* are highly dangerous, dark and full of error. In other words, the article had put the axe at the root of Islam and things had been said in it which in the opinion of Maulawi Muhammad Ali were to prove the source of a dissension hitherto unknown in Islam. The article was a poison cup intended to destroy all spiritual life. What therefore was meet was not to refer to it as a miracle, but to greet it with execration and abhorrence and instead of saying that such excellent views of his son proved the truth of the Promised Messiah^{as}, Maulawi Muhammad Ali should have likened me to the son of Noah and seriously warned the people not to be deceived by my doctrines, which were not those taught by the Promised Messiah^{as}, who never claimed to be a *Nabi* and never intended that the term should be applied to him. He might have gone even further. Apprehensive of the harm that was likely to be caused to Islam by my article, he might have gone to the Promised Messiah^{as} crying and lamenting and told

him of the mischief that had been done and might have urged that I should be expelled from the Community. By this means he might have saved the Community from a grave calamity and won a great reward. But on the contrary we find at that time Maulawi Muhammad Ali heartily commending my views. May we now ask whether at that time Maulawi Muhammad Ali himself was one of that undiscerning set of admirers regarding whom he wrote "Being brought up within the narrow circle of admirers of his father, he contracted the narrow views which fall to the lot of young men brought up under similar circumstances" (*The Split* p. 23), or was it that he was aiming merely at flattering me when he wrote the remarks quoted above? Or, was he aware that the Promised Messiah^{as} really claimed to be a *Nabi*, but feared that as he was still alive a rejection of his prophethood might lead to an exposure of his (the Maulawi's) own secret thoughts and the discovery of the truth? Or, was it also his own conviction at that time that the Promised Messiah^{as} was really a *Nabi*! These are the only three possible motives which could have actuated Maulawi Muhammad Ali when he commended my views. One would naturally feel curious to ask which of them it was that inspired his action? Was it a desire to humour me? Was it the fear

of an exposure? Or was it real personal conviction? For myself, I am disposed to think that at that time Maulawi Muhammad Ali honestly shared the conviction that the Promised Messiah^{as} was a *Nabi*. To attribute the origin of the doctrine to M. Zahiruddin is thus a very unhappy invention on the part of Maulawi Muhammad Ali. Maulawi Muhammad Ali had a passing fancy and proceeded to use it as a foundation to build upon it an airy castle. As a matter of fact the Ahmadiyya Community has since the lifetime of the Promised Messiah^{as} recognised him as a *Nabi*. In particular, Maulawi Muhammad Ali as well as myself have alike borne written testimony to this conviction and the only difference between us is that I have up to this time remained faithful to my old convictions while Maulawi Muhammad Ali has already retracted them.

In connection with this changed attitude of Maulawi Muhammad Ali, it is remarkable how close a parallel it offers to the case of Maulawi Muhammad Husain of Batala, one of the greatest opponent of the Promised Messiah^{as}. The latter also in the early years of the Promised Messiah's^{as} career held up to universal admiration the very revelations of the Promised Messiah which later on he pronounced to be heretical, and in his review of the Promised

Messiah's^{as} work *Brahin-e-Ahmadiyya* attributed to it an excellence nothing short of the miraculous. Regarding the said work he wrote. "In my opinion it (*Brahin-e-Ahmadiyya*) is a book the like of which has not up till now been produced in the history of Islam... and its author has proved himself such a loyal steadfast servant of Islam offering in its service his wealth, life, pen and tongue, that an example equal to his it is hard to find even among the early Muslims. If there is any one who is disposed to consider my words a mere oriental exaggeration, then I would request him to mention at least one book of like merit." And similarly the greatest opponent of the Promised Successor of the Promised Messiah^{as} in reviewing in early years an article by that Successor containing views, stigmatised later as false by that very opponent, has expressed himself in the following laudatory words. "The editor of the magazine is Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad, son of the Promised Messiah^{as}. In the first number there is an introductory article from his pen running over 14 pages. The article will be read in due course by members of the Movement but what I propose to do here is to cite before the opponents of the Movement, this same article as a manifest proof of the truth of the Movement." Further on he wrote alluding to the same

article. "But the intense love for religion and zeal for the service of Islam so transparent in the above unvarnished words are some-thing miraculous." He continued: "Now let those black-hearted people who call Mirza Sahib an impostor answer this question: If all this is an imposture then whence arose this genuine zeal in the heart of this young boy? Falsehood is dirt and ought to produce only obnoxious fruits and not something so pure and beautiful of which we can hardly find a parallel." Again he wrote: "Consider whether we can ever deem him an impostor whose teaching and training have produced such a fruit." [*The Review of Religions* (Urdu ed.), Vol. V, p. 119]. Thus it would appear that there is a most extraordinary coincidence between the case of Maulawi Muhammad Ali and that of Maulawi Muhammad Husain of Batala. Bold indeed must be the man who can say that such a coincidence was there without a Divine purpose. The hand of God can clearly be seen at work behind the two conjunctions of circumstances. "A sufficient matter for reflection for any one who will reflect."

In short, it is incorrect to say that it was from M. Zahiruddin that I first derived this belief in the prophethood of the Promised Messiah^{as}. The facts are that some five years before the publication of M.

Zahiruddin's book, and during the lifetime of the Promised Messiah^{as} in my introductory article in the *Tashhidul Adhhan* I had already declared the prophethood of the Promised Messiah^{as}, and Maulawi Muhammad Ali had commended that very article and published a summary of the same in his own magazine *The Review of Religions* (Urdu edn), and Maulawi Sahib referred to my views as a miracle of the Promised Messiah^{as}, and used the same as an argument against the opponents of the Movement. All these facts are sufficient to prove that at that time Maulawi Muhammad Ali himself believed that the Promised Messiah^{as} was really a *Nabi*. Nor was the article the only one published by me. There were also others in which I mentioned the prophethood of the Promised Messiah^{as}. For example, one of my article was published in *The Badr* of 10th May 1906, which concluded with the following words:

"For God's sake take warning and bow down your heads in humility before Him, and supplicate His true *Rasul* saying بِاسْمِ مُحَمَّدٍ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ (Oh Messiah! pray to God for our safety from the epidemic.)" (*The Badr*, 10th May 1906, page 8).

Again, on page 10 of the *Badr* of 1st May, 1906, in my article entitled *Al-Hakam* and *Watan* there

occurred the sentence "The earth and the Heavens may pass away but the word of this divine *Nabi* can never fail of fulfilment."

These two quotations also serve to show that even in the lifetime of the Promised Messiah^{as} I entertained the belief that he was a *Nabi*, and that I did not keep the conviction a secret in my own bosom but availed myself of every opportunity to declare it in public.

After quoting these references published during the lifetime of the Promised Messiah^{as}, I would now quote some others published after the death of the Promised Messiah^{as}, so that it may be clear to all seekers of truth that at no time has it been my policy to make a secret of my convictions, nor have I ever been slow to give publicity to them. On the contrary, ever since I have begun to write, I have repeatedly brought these views to the notice of the public and my writings form, first article on the subject up to now, form a long, connected and continuous series without a link missing.

The most important events in the history of the Community subsequent to the death of the Promised Messiah^{as} are of course those which immediately followed his death. Agreeably to the Divine rule in the case of the Promised Messiah^{as} as in the case of the

previous *Ambiya'*, his death took place under circumstances which led his enemies to believe that the work which he had set out to accomplish would now be completely undone. Even some of the professed Ahmadis were shaken much as the tribes of Arabia were shaken on the occasion of the death of the Holy Prophet^{sa}. In view of such circumstances, it was felt necessary in order to frustrate the attacks of enemies and to strengthen the hearts of friends that steps should be taken to allay those doubts and misgivings which the opponents of the Promised Messiah^{as} sought to create regarding his work. Accordingly, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} as well as many other Ahmadis including myself wrote articles refuting the objections raised by the opponents. One of my articles was published in the *Tashhidhul Adhhan* of June and July 1908, and was also issued separately as a booklet. It was named "*Sadiqon Ki Raushni Ku Kaun Dur Kar Sakta Hai*" (Who Can Extinguish the Light of the Righteous) by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, acting under the direction of a revelation. The book and the magazine were largely circulated both among Ahmadis and non-Ahmadis, with a view to counteracting the doubts and misgivings which the enemies of the Promised Messiah^{as} had sought to create after his death. In this

little book, at no less than 22 places I called the Promised Messiah^{as} by the name of *Nabi*.

It is not necessary here to quote all the passages in full. The interested reader may consult the book itself for his satisfaction. Here I wish to quote only a few lines by way of example. This will suffice to convince the reader how in this book the Promised Messiah^{as} was called a *Nabi* by me: (*Tashhidhul Adhhan* Vol. 3 page 217)—"Well, if they should still persist in their denial, then what else can one do than say in the words of the Promised Messiah's^{as} revelation i.e.

إِنَّمَا أَشْكُوا بَثِّي وَحُزْنِي إِلَى اللَّهِ (Yūsuf, 12:87)

"There came a *Nabi* and spent days and nights grieving for the people till he departed from this life. But still the people persisted in their denial." We do not pray to God for the destruction of these unbelievers; we have anguish in our hearts for their sake and a yearning that God may grant to them His guidance and the grace to recognise His *Nabi*. They may mock and scoff at us but we would still pray for them "God Omnipotent! Thou knowest our hearts and art aware how sorely stricken they are for the sake of these erring ones. Thou Knower of the unseen and the manifest! Mark our sufferings and have pity on us and relieve us of our woe and inform our brethren of the path of Thy guidance, the path of light which Thy

Nabi has opened for us and grant them the grace to recognise the same."

Thus, at a time when the death of the Promised Messiah^{as} had thrown the whole Ahmadiyya Community into a spasm of grief, the fact that I repeatedly called him a *Nabi* while Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, Maulawi Muhammad Ali himself, and all the other members of the Community raised not a voice against my action, rather on the contrary, they looked upon it with approving eyes conclusively proves that it was at that time, not only my own conviction but a conviction of the Community as a whole that the Promised Messiah^{as} was a *Nabi*.

Similarly, on the occasion of the Annual Conference of the year held in April 1909, the speech delivered by me contained the following words. This speech was published both in *The Badr* and in the *Tashhidhul Adhhan*. Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, was in the chair, I said: "This Divine promise was not made to us in order that we might believe in the death of Jesus^{as}; rather, God promised to us through His *Rasul*, the Promised Messiah^{as} that if we should make a purchase similar to what was made by the previous people, then we too should receive a similar favoured treatment" (*Tashhidhul Adhhan*, February 1909, p.

28). Further on I said, "God is no tyrant. We may look to ourselves and observe that one of His *Ambiya'* came to us and left us having done his work." (p.39). Later on, I again spoke on the same subject in the Annual Conference held in December, 1910, This speech was published in the *Badr* of 19th January, 1911. In this speech also I laid special stress upon the prophethood of the Promised Messiah^{as}, which point might be said to have been the central topic of the whole discourse. The reason for this lay in the following circumstances. In 1910, my respected and valued friend Mufti Muhammad Sadiq, and Maulawi Sadrudin, one of the friends of Maulawi Muhammad Ali, were sent out on a missionary tour. In the course of their tour they had occasion to meet Maulawi Shibli, the well-known founder of the Nadwatul Ulema. In the conversation that ensued, mention was made of the prophethood of the Promised Messiah^{as}. In answer to a question by Maulawi Shibli the two gentlemen said that they called the Promised Messiah^{as} a *Nabi* in the strictly literal sense of the word. Although the answer was quite accurate, seeing that the literal significance and the theological connotation of the term *Nabi* are identical, yet the form of the answer conveyed a certain impression that the word *Nabi* bore a certain technical meaning when

used by the Divine Being. It seemed to me undesirable that such a dubious mode of expression should find general currency in the Community. The apprehension was further deepened when I marked that during that year a number of Ahmadis had mixed themselves up with some of the secular topics of the day (e.g. agitation over the Muslim University question) and were gradually breaking away from the central purpose of the Movement. This knowledge made me resolve to draw the special attention of the Community to this question on the occasion of the Annual Conference. Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, was not present during the speech, but Khwaja Kamaluddin, Maulawi Muhammad Ali, and Maulawi Muhammad Ahsan were all present. In the presence of these gentlemen and before the Community at large I spoke on the point, and that speech of mine clearly shows that I had all along believed the Promised Messiah^{as} to be a *Nabi*. A few extracts from the speech which was published in the *Badr* of 19th January, 1911, may be quoted.

"He is God who out of His bounty granted to you the grace to follow a *Nabi*."

Again referring to the difference between Ahmadis and non-Ahmadis, I said: "I have seen two

dealers trafficking in the same article, each averring with reference to his own goods 'sir! my goods are of a special quality.' But in your case you may even point to an obvious difference between the two parties. Nevertheless, there are those among you who will say 'No, no, there is no difference'. What, is it no difference that you follow a *Nabi* whereas the other party rejects that *Nabi*?"

"Remember also that Mirza Sahib was a *Nabi* and that this rank of *Nubunwat* he attained by following closely the Holy Prophet^{sa} who was the *Khatamun Nabiyyin* (the Seal of the Prophets), and I do not know how many others there are who may be destined to attain to the same rank. Why should we not call him *Nabi* whom God called *Nabi*?⁴ We may see in one of his later revelations God addressing him saying:

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ اطْعِمُوا الْجَائِعَ وَالْمُعْتَرَّ

(O *Nabi*! feed the hungry and the poor).

"Whoever considers even a single word of the Promised Messiah^{as} to be false is

⁴ These lines were specially underlined in the *Badr*.

rejected of God, because God does not keep any of His *Nabis* in error till the time of his death."

"Why would you renounce one mark which distinguishes you from others. You have accepted a *Nabi*, one who was the elect of God; while your opponents have rejected him. In the lifetime of the Promised Messiah^{as} a suggestion was made that Ahmadis and non-Ahmadis might work together in the preaching of Islam. But the Promised Messiah^{as} asked "Which Islam will you preach to the world? Will you hide the signs which God has vouchsafed to you and conceal the favours which He has shown to you?"

"Even so, one *Nabi* came to us from God. If we follow him we shall be the recipients of the same rewards which were promised to the Companions of the Holy Prophet^{sa}."

From these passages it is evident what my convictions were regarding the prophethood of the Promised Messiah^{as}. The speech was delivered in the

presence of Khwaja Kamaluddin, Maulawi Muhammad Ali and Maulawi Muhammad Ahsan. They had particular reason for being present at the time, as my speech was to be followed by the reading of the Annual Report of the Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya and the appeal for contributions, and they were all members of the Anjuman. Thus, it would appear that none of them could plead want of knowledge of my views on the subject of the Promised Messiah's^{as} prophethood.

From the above it should also be evident that all my writings from the year 1906 to December 1910 go to prove that I had all along believed the Promised Messiah^{as} to be a *Nabi*. Later on, in March 1911, I wrote an article on the status of those who did not believe in the Promised Messiah^{as}. This was published in the April issue of the *Tashhidhul Adhhan* and in the *Badr* of 4th May 1911, and *Al-Hakam* of 14th May 1911. This was followed by a long succession of writings and lectures on the subject, knowledge of which has not been denied and cannot be denied even by Maulawi Muhammad Ali.

In the light of the above facts, I would now ask every fair-minded reader to say whether it could be said or even imagined that the influence of

Zahiruddin's teachings and particularly a study of his book *Nabiyyullah Ka Zahur* led me to a belief in the *Nubuwwat* of the Promised Messiah^{as}. This book, on the admission of Maulawi Muhammad Ali himself, is the first book written by Zahiruddin on the subject of the prophethood of the Promised Messiah^{as}. Maulawi Muhammad Ali also admits that the writing of the book was completed in April 1911. On the last page of the book there is a note saying 'Finished writing, the 26th of April, 1911,' and on the same page there is another note 'This is by the publisher Chaudhary Barkat Ali' from which it appears that the book was sent to the press on some date subsequent to the 5th July 1911. On the other hand, it may be observed that my article on the subject of '*Kufr* or Islam' of non-Ahmadis, which was in fact not the first but the last article on the above controversy (as has been already explained), was published in the *Tashhidhul Adhhan* of April 1911 and, as will appear from the following quotation from the *Badr* of 15th April 1911, had been written in March 1911. The learned editor of the *Badr* in one of his replies to Maulawi Sanaullah published in the *Badr* of 16th April 1911, while explaining his views regarding the status of non-Ahmadis, wrote as follows: "On this subject Hadrat Sahibzadah Mahmud Ahmad Sahib has already written an elaborate article

and submitted the same to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}. It is to be hoped that every important aspect of the question will be found thoroughly discussed in that article." It is a general rule with newspapers that they bear a date one day in advance of the actual date of publication, that is, they bear the date on which they are made over to the post office. Thus this number of *The Badr* must have been actually written on 15th April, 1911. The editor remarked that the article was already before Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, from which it would appear that the article had been submitted to the Khalifatul Masih^{ra} sometime before the writing of this note. It may therefore be concluded that the article was written in March 1911. The question therefore arises—How could my article which was written in March 1911 and published in the following month, be the result of M. Zahiruddin's book which was written in April 1911 and published in July 1911? And what can be said regarding the honesty of an author who, though fully aware of the respective dates of the two writings, does nevertheless, only in order to mislead and misguide people living in distant parts of the world, proceed to state that the work which was written one month after my last article on the subject of the prophethood of the Promised Messiah^{as} and published three months

after the same, was the origin and source from which I had derived my views. Can a person be deemed worthy of calling people to faith who does not himself shrink from practising deception in matters of faith? A man who has no scruples while indulging in such a distortion of facts can hardly be a fit person to invite others to truth.

I really wonder how Maulawi Muhammad Ali could venture to state that M. Zahiruddin's book was the origin of my writings, and his beliefs the source of my inspiration. He admits that my article on '*Kufr* or Islam' was published in April 1911, and the note—quoted above—in the *Badr* bears ample testimony to the fact that it had been written in the month of March preceding. On the other hand, in the book written by M. Zahiruddin on the page which bears the note referred to by Maulawi Muhammad Ali and only four lines below the note is to be found the statement that the work was published in July 1911. The date—5th July 1911—has in fact been noted in bolder type than that in which has been printed the date quoted by Maulawi Muhammad Ali. In view of facts so obvious, and in spite of possessing full knowledge regarding them, the statement of Maulawi Muhammad Ali that it was Zahiruddin's book which inspired my article could not but be due to a design on his part to mislead

his unwary readers. Errors of reasoning may be assigned to some honest mistake, but the manipulation of a long series of facts and their presentation in a distorted manner cannot be ascribed to any such mistake. The fact of the matter is that M. Zahiruddin by reason of his obnoxious beliefs had deviated far from the true teaching of Islam and Maulawi Muhammad Ali thought that if somehow or other he could trace my beliefs to the influence of Zahiruddin, there would result a general disinclination in the public mind for my beliefs, while a corresponding inclination would result for the beliefs advocated by Maulawi Sahib. It is, however, futile for him to entertain such a hope for who could succeed in throwing dust at the moon or in concealing a light describing it as darkness!

As I have already proved and, as is well known to Maulawi Muhammad Ali himself, though he may not find it convenient to admit it in public, belief in the *Nubuwwat* of the Promised Messiah^{as} has been entertained and openly advocated by me since the lifetime of the Promised Messiah^{as}. After his death, during the years 1908, 1909 and 1910, to be quite precise, the belief was preached by me continuously through my various writings. My last contribution on the subject, which to suit his ends Maulawi

Muhammad Ali has described as the first, was written one month before the book by M. Zahiruddin was written and three months before it was published. Under the circumstances, to describe Zahiruddin as the source of my inspiration and the author of beliefs which I advocate, is a travesty of facts of which there are but few parallels in the world. The author of the belief is the Promised Messiah^{as} or rather, we may, say, the Holy Prophet^{sa} himself who spoke of the Promised Messiah^{as} as a *Nabi*. We may go even further and say that the author of the belief is God Himself, in as much as He it is who addressed the Promised Messiah^{as} as *Nabi*.

We know there are Christian historians who, blinded by prejudice, seek to deceive the world by affirming that Islam was the product of the collective deliberation of certain little known persons of the time of the Holy Prophet^{sa}. Their rashness in making such a statement is, however, put in the shade by the hardihood displayed in this instance by Maulawi Muhammad Ali. For, as the proverb goes, 'Bold must be the thief who goes with a light in his hand'. Christian historians seek to distort things which happened a long time ago, while Maulawi Muhammad Ali speaking about views which he himself endorsed in 1906, which have since been

continuously promulgated, and of which he has been well aware himself, now seeks to assign their origin to a book published in 1911!

Factors Relating to Zahiruddin's Expulsion

We now proceed to the next point in Maulawi Muhammad Ali's narrative of the history of the dissensions. He writes: "Much notice of the book was not taken by the Ahmadiyya Community. But probably the contents of the book or some other leaflet on the same subject were brought to the notice of the first Khalifa. Upon this, there was some correspondence between the Khalifa and Zahiruddin and as a result an announcement was made by the Khalifa to the effect that as Muhammad Zahiruddin was promulgating new doctrines he was not to be considered as having any connection with the Ahmadiyya Community. "*(The Ahmadiyya Movement, part IV, The Split, by Maulawi Muhammad Ali).*

The following points deserve special attention in the above statement;

(i) The contents of the book—*Nabiyyullah Ka Zahur*—or some other leaflet on the same subject

were brought to the notice of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}.

(ii) This led to some correspondence between Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} and Zahiruddin. Apparently this means that after reading the book or some other leaflet, Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} wrote to Zahiruddin.

(iii) When nothing fruitful resulted from the correspondence, Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} made an announcement to the effect that as Muhammad Zahiruddin was promulgating new beliefs he was not to be considered as having any connection with the Ahmadiyya Community.

Before entering upon a systematic refutation of these statements, I wish to say at once that all these statements are incorrect and have been made designedly with a view to misleading the public.

There is no doubt that M. Zahiruddin now entertains beliefs repugnant to the teachings of Islam and of the Promised Messiah^{as}, but no such beliefs found a place in the book *Nabiyyullah Ka Zahur* nor was the book at all looked upon with disfavour by the Ahmadiyya Community. Maulawi Muhammad Ali says that the book *Nabiyyullah Ka Zahur* or some other leaflet on the same subject was brought to the notice of Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, who was therefore

displeased with it. This statement is altogether unfounded. Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} was not displeased with the book *Nabiyyullah Ka Zahur*. Evidence of this will be seen in the facts narrated below.

In the years 1911 and 1912, some tracts were published by two men named Maulawi Yar Muhammad and Abdullah Timapuri. Each of these men claimed to be the Imam (leader) of the Community under special authority from God. There was therefore some danger of people being deceived by their tracts and notices. Hence, Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} was obliged to make an announcement against them in one of his speeches. But the words used by him in the announcement were general and only Abdullah Timapuri was mentioned by name. The words of the announcement were as follows:

"Again, there are young men who are in too great a hurry to write books although they possess neither the wisdom nor the insight required by an author. Mere fancies are of little avail so long as one does not get into touch with facts. Such writings give rise to dissension. If, therefore, difficulties

should arise, one ought to seek help from God and have recourse to prayer.

I would warn our members to shun such people. There is a number of them who go about giving publicity to their pretensions." (The *Badr* 25th January 1912)

When the above was published, friends of Maulawi Muhammad Ali, namely Khwaja Kamaluddin, Dr. Ya‘qub Baig, Dr. Muhammad Husain and others gave out that the announcement was concerning M. Zahiruddin’s book *Nabiyyullah Ka Zahur*. Zahiruddin thereupon in a letter to Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, made the inquiry whether the Khalifatul Masih^{ra} had made any such announcement about his book. In reply, the Khalifatul Masih^{ra} wrote to him saying that the announcement did not appertain to his book but to notices issued by Maulawi Yar Muhammad and Abdullah Timapuri. Subsequently we find M. Zahiruddin in his letter dated 22nd June 1912 to Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, referring to the Khalifa’s assurance in the following words: "Your favour is to hand. In reply I beg to submit that if in making the announcement the men you had in mind were only Abdullah Timapuri and Maulawi Yar Muhammad, then it would have been well to mention the names of

the two men in the announcement as it would have saved people from all risk of misunderstanding. In answer to this letter Khalifatul Masih^{ra} wrote: "You said that it contained a reference to you. I answered that it contained no reference to you, and contrary to my views of what is proper in such cases. I mentioned to you the names of the persons to whom my announcement referred. But in spite of that you have now declared in very plain words that you are opposed to the beliefs entertained by Nuruddin (meaning himself)" [letter of Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, dated 11th July 1912]. This correspondence was published in *Al-Hakam*, the oldest organ of the Movement, on 14th October 1912, i.e. in the lifetime of Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, and it is from the same journal (pages 6 and 7) that the above excerpts have been made. A perusal of the two excerpts will make it clear to the reader that in making the statement that Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} disapproved of Zahirudin's book and held a correspondence with him on the subject Maulawi Muhammad Ali has not been faithful to facts. For, as is evident from the correspondence held between Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} and Zahiruddin, Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} denied the fact that he had made any announcement adverse to the book *Nabiyyullah Ka Zahur*. If it was a fact that the correspondence had

originated from a perusal and disapproval of the book, then what need was there for Zahiruddin to refer to the announcement in order to prove the Khalifa's displeasure, for in that case the letter of the Khalifa itself could have served as sufficient evidence of the Khalifa's displeasure. But instead of referring to any such letter, we find Zahiruddin writing to the Khalifa that he had made an announcement against Zahiruddin's book, which fact we find was being denied by the Khalifa. The latter wrote that the announcement had in view the notices circulated by certain men and in order to substantiate his word he had, contrary to his usual practice, mentioned even the names of those against whom the announcement had been made. These facts are sufficient to prove that the Khalifa did not disapprove of the book *Nabiyyullah Ka Zahur* or any other leaflet on the same subject. He rather, repudiated the suspicion that he had in any announcement expressed a disapproval of the book and found fault with Zahiruddin who, in spite of the assurance on his part, had proceeded to assert in clear terms that he was opposed to beliefs entertained by the Khalifa. If it was actually after a reading of the book *Nabiyyullah Ka Zahur* or some other leaflet on the subject that the Khalifa began his correspondence with Zahiruddin, then there appears no reason why the

Khalifa should have tried to dispel the suspicion that there was reference to Zahiruddin in the Khalifa's announcement, nor any reason why Zahiruddin should not have been included among the persons alluded to in the said announcement. Under the circumstances one also fails to understand why the Khalifa should have had to complain that when he had clearly pointed out that Zahiruddin was not the subject of the announcement, the latter should still persist, in saying that he differed from the Khalifa in his beliefs. If the Khalifa had actually disapproved of Zahiruddin's book, then whether the fact was mentioned in the announcement or not, a difference in beliefs would still have been an established fact. But, the Khalifa denied the existence of any such differences and asked why Zahiruddin still insisted that he had differences with the Khalifa, when the Khalifa had already assured him that the announcement bore no reference to him. From this statement, it is clear that up to that time the Khalifa did not think that there were any differences between him and Zahiruddin in the matter of beliefs, and considered it groundless and unreasonable that Zahiruddin should speak of differences with the Khalifa.

The second point in which Maulawi Muhammad Ali has departed from the truth in his narrative of facts

relating to M. Zahiruddin, is that the Khalifa started correspondence with Zahiruddin after a perusal of the book. As a matter of fact, the correspondence was started not by the Khalifa but by Zahiruddin. The reason why Maulawi Muhammad Ali has used language which would convey that it was the Khalifa who started the correspondence seems to be that Maulawi Muhammad Ali wants to prove that the Khalifa, when he read the book, was highly displeased with it and wrote to Zahiruddin about it. But as would appear from the contemporary notices of these events, correspondence on the subject was initiated by Zahiruddin and the occasion for it, as can be ascertained from *Al-Hakam* of 14th October 1912, arose as follows: The Khalifatul Masih^{ra} had gone to Lahore to take part in a certain function. There he delivered a speech on this same question, which divides to-day the two sections of Ahmadis—the adherents and the seceders. The editor of the *Zamīndar* was also present at the speech of which he subsequently published a garbled report⁵ in his paper. He wrote that Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} had declared all non-Ahmadis to be Muslims. Zahiruddin, when he

⁵ This report was wrong. The editor of the *Al-Hakam* had recorded the whole speech which, after due perusal and corrections by the Khalifatul Masih was published by him in his own paper. Between this authoritative report and the *Zamīndar* report there was a great difference.

read the report, made haste to write without adequate deliberation a very impertinent and disrespectful letter to the Khalifa. He found fault with the Khalifa's views and declared them to be opposed to the teachings of the Promised Messiah^{as}. Upon this, the Khalifa wrote to him with the greatest affection and tried to explain matters to him. But Zahiruddin was lacking in uprightness and understanding. He increased in his impertinence, and in spite of the fact that a correct, version of the speech had in the meantime been published in *Al-Hakam* and many of his objections had already been satisfactorily answered, he remained obdurate and doubtful of the good faith of the Khalifa. This may be seen from his letter published in *Al-Hakam* of 14th October 1912, wherein he wrote: "Your favour is to hand. If the persons you had in view were only Abdullah Timapuri and Yar Muhammad." These words clearly show that, in spite of the assurance by the Khalifa that his announcement did not relate to Zahiruddin and that it related only to Maulawi Yar Muhammad and Abdullah Timapuri, Zahiruddin was still unsatisfied with the assurance, and signified his disbelief by an 'If'. He also proceeded to reiterate his former statement that he was opposed to the beliefs of the Khalifa.

All this correspondence and the way in which it began has been set forth in *Al-Hakam* of 14th October 1912. It fully contradicts the version given by Maulawi Muhammad Ali that it was the Khalifa who began correspondence with Zahiruddin, after he had read *Nabiyyullah Ka Zahur*. It shows, on the contrary, that it was Zahiruddin who really began the correspondence, and that the origin of the correspondence did not lie in the fact of the Khalifa's disapproval of the book *Nabiyyullah Ka Zahur* but in the fact of Zahiruddin reading a garbled version of the Khalifa's speech at Lahore and his taking exception to it. It is therefore no small thing on the part of Maulawi Muhammad Ali that he should venture to distort facts published and known to the public, should in fact invent a new set of facts quite different from those already published, and then incorporate them in *The Split*.

The third point relating to Zahiruddin, which Maulawi Muhammad Ali has mentioned is that after the correspondence an announcement was published by Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} to the effect that "as Muhammad Zahiruddin was promulgating new doctrines he was not to be considered as having any connection with the Ahmadiyya Community." As I have already said, this statement of Maulawi

Muhammad Ali is also wholly false and contrary to facts. Maulawi Muhammad Ali found it necessary, in order to compass his purpose, to prove that the book *Nabiyyullah Ka Zahur* was really at the root of all these dissensions and that the Khalifa was opposed to the views set forth in it. He, therefore, tried to distort the actual facts and to fabricate new facts which would lend support to his version. In the announcement by the Khalifa, it was not mentioned that as Muhammad Zahiruddin was promulgating new doctrines, he was not to be considered as having any connection with the Ahmadiyya Community. What the Khalifa wrote was that as, notwithstanding his assertion that a certain announcement did not refer to him (Zahiruddin), he still persisted in saying that he was opposed to beliefs held by the Khalifa, therefore, on the basis of his letter (and not on the basis of his book) the Khalifa announced that Zahiruddin had no connection with the Ahmadiyya Community.

As stated by Maulawi Muhammad Ali, this announcement by the Khalifa, was published in the *Badr* of 11th July 1912. I shall here quote the announcement in full in order that readers may judge for themselves how far Maulawi Muhammad Ali has been honest in his statement of the case. The announcement was as follows:

"Zahiruddin Arupi"

"Some time ago, an announcement was made in the *Badr* to the effect that people some times published notices of their own accord, which notices must not be considered to have been published on behalf of the Movement, inasmuch as they are not published with the permission or approval of the Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. Soon after this, upon a communication received from Munshi Zahiruddin Arupi, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} has been pleased to order the following announcement in the papers: The recent notice had no reference to Muhammad Zahiruddin, but referred to Maulawi Yar Muhammad and Abdullah Timapuri, It is a pity, however, that Muhammad Zahiruddin has chosen to make a strange response to that announcement. In a recent letter he has informed me that he disagrees with my beliefs. Accordingly, on the basis of his letter, I inform my Community that Muhammad Zahiruddin differs from me in his beliefs. Under these circumstances, he has, as it were, run from the shower to stand

under the gutter. If he had mentioned some minor point of difference, it could have been passed over in silence. But now as he speaks of a difference of belief and is firm in his convictions, therefore, I have no further connection with him, nor have my Community anything to do with him. This is a very strange response which Muhammad Zahiruddin has made!

(Al-Baqarah, 2:157) **إِنَّا لِلَّهِ وَإِنَّا إِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ** ﷻ

'Verily for God we are and to Him we return.' The above is a translation of the announcement in the *Badr*. One may well mark that in this announcement there is neither directly nor indirectly any reference to the fact that Zahiruddin had been promulgating new beliefs. The announcement merely states that as notwithstanding the Khalifa's assurance that a certain announcement did not refer to him, instead of feeling ashamed of what he had written and making amends for the impertinence of his conduct, Zahiruddin wrote to the Khalifa that he had differences of belief with the Khalifa. It was therefore,

on the ground of his letter that the Khalifa announced that under the circumstances Zahiruddin had no connection whatsoever with the Khalifa, nor anything to do with the Khalifa's followers."

Now let any one read the above announcement side by side with the following words of Maulawi Muhammad Ali: "As Muhammad Zahiruddin was promulgating new doctrines he was not to be considered as having any connection with the Ahmadiyya Community." The words "promulgating new doctrines" have obviously been put intentionally by Maulawi Muhammad Ali in order to prove the connection that the reason for excommunicating Zahiruddin from the Ahmadiyya Community was his book—*Nabiyullah Ka Zahur* or some other leaflet on the same subject. As a matter of fact, in the Khalifa's announcement there is no reference to any book or tract published by Zahiruddin but only to a letter which he addressed to the Khalifa, wherein—in spite of the written assurance given by the Khalifa that his announcement was not, directed against any of the publications of Zahiruddin but was directed against the notices published by Maulawi Yar Muhammad and Abdullah Timapuri— Zahiruddin impertinently proceeded to address the Khalifa in the words: "Sir, I

differ from certain beliefs held by you, and so long as you do not prove the error of my views I shall continue to stand by them." (*Al-Hakam*, page 46, October 1912.) Accordingly, we find that in the reply to the letter which was sent to him privately by the Khalifa, he proceeded to say: "You contended that it had reference to you. I assured you that it bore no reference to you and contrary to my practice, I even mentioned to you the names of the persons referred to in the announcement. But in spite of that, you state very boldly that you are opposed to beliefs entertained by Nuruddin and stand firmly by your own beliefs". In another letter, the Khalifa wrote, "Because you state in your letter that you differ from beliefs held by me, I do not consider you an Ahmadi". If one were to read those quotations side by side with the public announcement, one would clearly see that the Khalifatul Masih^{ra} expelled Muhammad Zahiruddin from the Ahmadiyya Community, not on account of any actual differences of belief, but on account of Zahiruddin's own profession in writing that he differed from the beliefs held by the Khalifa, and that he was firmly attached to his own beliefs. In fact, the Khalifatul Masih^{ra} was sorry that when he had explicitly stated that Zahiruddin was not the subject of his announcement, the latter should persist in stating

that he was opposed to the Khalifa's beliefs. And when a follower confesses that he holds beliefs contrary to those of the Khalifa of his time and that he will not give in spite of explanations, but will only further stiffen in his opposition, what remedy is there for such a case but to exclude the recalcitrant from the Community?

The question may now be asked, when there were no actual differences of belief or doctrine between the Khalifa and Muhammad Zahiruddin, and when the incorrect version of the speech published by the *Zamiñdar* had already been corrected by *Al-Hakam*, and when the Khalifa himself had contradicted the unfounded report regarding Muhammad Zahiruddin's book to which some persons had given publicity, what ground was there for Zahiruddin to urge that he had differences of doctrine with the Khalifa? To understand this, it should be remembered that although the book *Nabiyyullah Ka Zahur* contained nothing repugnant to the teachings of the Movement, yet at the time (1912), when his differences with the Khalifa began, a change had begun to come over the views of Zahiruddin. He had begun to entertain the belief that he too was the subject of some prophecies by the Promised Messiah^{as}. He had, in fact, actually begun to spread such views among Ahmadis and was

aiming at a rift in the Community. In his letters, he had made it a rule to charge the Khalifa with want of veracity. For instance, as already pointed out it was clear from his letters that he received with suspicion the assurance by the Khalifa that his announcement did not relate to Zahir, and inwardly believed that the report of the speech as published by the *Zamiñdar* was the correct one, while the one published in *Al-Hakam* was intended to satisfy Ahmadis. It was on account of this that in his correspondence, in spite of the repeated assurances by the Khalifa, Zahiruddin persisted in declaring that he was opposed to the doctrines of the Khalifa. When, however, he found that the Khalifa had expelled him from the Community and that nobody took his part, he recanted outwardly and apologised for his conduct and was received back into the Community. But in reality he was only waiting for a more favourable opportunity. Thus, his professed doctrinal difference with the Khalifa was not based upon any actual facts. It had its basis in the secret conviction that the doctrines outwardly avowed by the Khalifa were sheer camouflage, his actual beliefs being far other than those which he openly professed. Zahiruddin wanted to persuade the Community to this view about the Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. But his machinations proved

unavailing and he met with complete discomfiture. In corroboration of my view about Zahiruddin it may also be mentioned that Zahiruddin is one of those few men who held that in fulfilment of one of the visions of the Promised Messiah^{as}, Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} had turned an apostate towards the latter part of his life.

This is some of the internal evidence which goes to disprove the allegation made by Maulawi Muhammad Ali that Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} expelled M. Zahiruddin because he disapproved of his book *Nabiyyullah Ka Zahur*. I shall now proceed to adduce some external evidence. First, there is the fact that reference to the book *Nabiyyullah Ka Zahur* is to be found in various places in the Ahmadiyya literature, but nowhere has a voice been raised in condemnation of the book. On the contrary, wherever any comment is to be found, it is invariably in commendation of the book. In *The Badr*, volume for 1911, may be seen an acknowledgement of the receipt of the book and an advertisement of it issued by the editor, but not a word which may be said to be adverse to the book. If the book was really so objectionable, how was it that notices regarding it, were issued in the newspapers of the Movement by the editors of the papers but not a word was said to warn the Community against its obnoxious contents? It is no doubt true that particular

notice need not be taken of every minor difference of view but doctrines promulgated in the book in question were, in the words of Maulawi Muhammad Ali himself, so dangerous in their nature that the Khalifatul Masih^{ra} had to expel Zahiruddin from the Community on account of them. How then could such a dangerous book have been passed without an adverse notice?

If the notice in the *Badr* were all we had on the point, it might be said that the editor of The *Badr* had published the advertisement in the way of an acknowledgment of the book and had not actually scrutinised its contents. We find, however, that even *The Review of Religions*, of which Maulawi Muhammad Ali himself was at the time the editor, published a highly commendatory notice of the book, which I quote below in full:

"Nabiyyullah Ka Zabur Part I...This is a booklet of 126 small sized pages written recently by our friend Munshi Zahiruddin in support of the claim of the Promised Messiah^{as}. In this book there is a long and elaborate dissertation on the word *Khatamun Nabiyyin*. It also contains many other matters both instructive and important. It has

resolved a large number of doubts and objections by cogent arguments. It discusses a large number of Quranic verses from new standpoints. The signs, which have been adduced by the Holy Quran in evidence of the truth of a genuine Prophet, have been enumerated in the book together with their original references, and they have been illustrated in their application to the Promised Messiah^{as}. Some of the peculiar and novel arguments of the Chakrhalawi sect have been very satisfactorily refuted. The book is really worth a perusal. The paper and the print are also good." (*The Review of Religions*, October 1911).

Regarding the above quotation, Maulawi Muhammad Ali is reported to have said that at the time to which this quotation from the Review relates, he was busy with the translation of the Holy Quran, and could not devote sufficient attention to *The Review of Religions*, and that therefore any matter published in *The Review of Religions* at the time cannot fairly be cited against him. I am prepared to accept this plea. But what I say is not that this review was composed by Maulawi Muhammad Ali himself, and that therefore, it is admissible as evidence against

him. What I say is that the Ahmadiyya Community did not regard the book in the light suggested by Maulawi Muhammad Ali and this, because we find that in the accredited organ of its central executive—the Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya—a very emphatic and favourable notice of the book was published by the editorial staff, it matters not whether by the pen of Maulawi Muhammad Ali or by any other writer. If the book was considered as objectionable as Maulawi Muhammad Ali would have us believe, such a review of it was quite impossible. It should be remembered that there is one important difference between 'articles' and 'reviews' published in any paper. Articles may sometimes be published which express views opposed to those of the editor. It is not necessary that opinions of correspondents should always conform to those held by editors. But with reviews the case is different. Commendatory notices of books are always evidence of the fact that the editorial staff of the paper is in full agreement with the views expressed by the reviewer. If, however, in this instance, it was a case of mistaken judgment on the part of the reviewer, then it was the duty of members of the Community to raise a voice against the reviewer. And the least one could expect was that as soon as—according to Maulawi Muhammad Ali, Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, after reading the

book and corresponding with the author had ordered his expulsion from the Community, the Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya, in whose organ the appreciation had been published or Maulawi Muhammad Ali himself who was formally, if not actually, the editor of that organ and was therefore, in the eyes of the public, responsible for its reviews, or the writer of the appreciation himself, should have taken steps to undo the harm that had been done to the Community by means of the notice and to inform the Community that the book contained sentiment so dangerous as to have led Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, to expel its author from the Community, and that whatever commendation of the book had been published in the Anjuman's magazine was a mistake which need not mislead any of the members.

In addition to evidence furnished by this commendatory notice in *The Review of Religions*, there is other strong evidence which disposes of the allegation by Maulawi Muhammad Ali. This is that the whole story of the expulsion of M. Zahiruddin and his re-admission into the Community was published in *Al-Hakam*, the oldest newspaper of the Movement, during the lifetime of Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}. The same article which contained the story, contained also a commendation of the book *Nabiyyullah Ka Zahur*. It

could not possibly be that while announcing the pardon granted to Zahiruddin *Al-Hakam* should at the same time have been commending the book, publication of which had led to the author's excommunication, and had compelled him to sue for pardon. Would not such levity on the part of the editor of *Al-Hakam* have rendered himself liable to excommunication by Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}? Is it possible that the editor, while noting that Zahiruddin had committed a mistake and now repented and was sorry, should have himself committed the same offence and commended that very poisonous book? Anyone who cares to peruse the article in *Al-Hakam*, cannot but arrive at the conclusion that the expulsion of Zahiruddin from the Community was not based on "the contents of the book (*Nabiyyullah Ka Zahur*) or some other leaflet on the same subject." (It is important to remember that up to that time no other book or leaflet on the same or a kindred subject had been published by Zahiruddin.) In expressing his views on the story of the excommunication and pardon, the editor of *Al-Hakam* wrote: "The service rendered to the Movement by Maulawi Zahiruddin by his publication of the books *Nabiyyullah Ka Zahur*, *Vedon Ka Fatur* and *Radd-e-Chakrhalawi*, is not such as we can afford to forget." These words clearly show

that the book *Nabiyyullah Ka Zahur* did not provide the ground for expulsion for had it been so, the oldest organ of the Movement, while dwelling on the story of the expulsion, could not have expressed itself in such glowing terms in appreciation of the book.

But in addition to the above, there is yet another consideration which proves the groundlessness of the allegation made by Maulawi Muhammad Ali. This is that while, according to Maulawi Muhammad Ali, it was the book *Nabiyyullah Ka Zahur* which was the ground for the expulsion of Zahiruddin, it remains to be explained why I was not similarly expelled on the ground of what I wrote on the subject of *Kufr* of those who had not accepted the Promised Messiah^{as}, especially as what I wrote was, according to Maulawi Muhammad Ali, founded on the doctrine of *Nubuwwat* taught by Zahiruddin, although as a matter of fact my article had been published before Zahiruddin's book, and had been read in its entirety by Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, himself?

I feel sure that a consideration of the whole evidence—internal and external—will force upon every judicious reader the conviction that Maulawi Muhammad Ali has knowingly and intentionally attempted to compile a false history of the Movement

in order to mislead those who live in distant lands. Whoever makes a study of the facts and the references to newspaper writings quoted above cannot fail to confess to a feeling of amazement at the following words of Maulawi Muhammad Ali:

(i) "Much notice of the book does not seem to have been taken by the Ahmadiyya Community."

(ii) "But probably the contents of the book or some other leaflet on the same subject were brought to the notice of the late Maulawi Nuruddin Sahib then head of the Ahmadiyya Community, and after some correspondence between Zahiruddin and Maulawi Sahib, an announcement was made by the latter in the paper *The Badr* dated 11th July 1911 (this announcement has already been quoted at length some pages back and is itself sufficient disproof of Maulawi Muhammad Ali's allegation) to the effect that as Muhammad Zahiruddin was promulgating new doctrines, he was not to be considered as having any connection with the Ahmadiyya Community." (*The Split* pp-13, 14).

Zahiruddin's Second Expulsion

The third point, worthy of note in Maulawi Muhammad Ali's account of the dissensions, is that in April 1913, Zahiruddin published another tract in which he tried to prove that the new *Kalima* (formula of faith) promulgated by him was not an error and that therefore he was once more out off from the Community, and though ostensibly this was because he was a claimant to the Khilafat, really it was because of the promulgation of the new beliefs.

There is no doubt that Zahiruddin published another tract in April 1913, but, so far as I am aware, there was nothing like an announcement of his expulsion from the Community, because the opinion, expressed by him in the tract, was so much at variance with Islam that no need was felt either by the Head of the Ahmadiyya Community or any learned member of it to excommunicate him from the brotherhood. The person who formulates a new *Kalima* after the Holy Prophet^{sa}, ispo facto withdraws himself from the Movement, and there is no need for his formal expulsion from the Community. This, in my opinion, was the reason why no announcement regarding him was published by the Community. It is, therefore, incorrect to say that either the Community or their leader said anything regarding Zahiruddin's claim to

the office of Khalifa. Like Maulawi Muhammad Ali himself, M. Zahiruddin was one who did not recognise the validity of Khulafa'. He could not, therefore, be a claimant to that office. What he claimed was that he was the Promised Muslih (reformer). He held the opinion that a claim to the leadership of the Community was valid only if established on the basis of a revelation vision or prophecy. Accordingly, we find that he was never charged by the Community with having made a claim to the Khilafat, nor was there any announcement ever made of his exclusion from the Community on the ground of any such claim. It is true that the Community, in actual practice severed all connection with him, but that was because of the novel doctrines forged by him, e.g. formulating a new *Kalima* (formula of faith), turning the face towards Qadian while at prayer, asserting that the Promised Messiah^{as} was a *Nabi* with a new Shariah (Law), denying the authority of Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} and charging him with various malpractices. So far as I can recollect, the only person who took any notice of his writings was Mir Qasim Ali, editor of the *Al-Haq*. In his paper, then published from Delhi, he referred to him in the following words:

"A perusal of Zahiruddin's book has given me a mixed feeling of regret and disappointment. Regret, because the said gentleman has apparently taken 'the road to Turkistan, thinking that he was going to the Kaaba'; and disappointment, because I fail to discover in the book any evidence of scholarship or any new information which might prove of advantage to the Ahmadiyya Movement or to Islam; or if there is any, it is at any rate too deep to be perceived by a man of my understanding and attainments." He continues, "I would respectfully request members of the Movement, who are given to public writing, to bestow on the bills of Zahiruddin the same amount of attention which they have been devoting to Abdullah and Yar Muhammad." (*Al-Haq*, May 30th and June 7th, 1913),

From the above extracts it is clear that apart from dismissing Zahiruddin's doctrines with contempt, the only notice taken by the Community of those writings was to leave them severely alone, and this has been ever since the attitude of the Community towards writings of this kind.

Argument from Article by Maulawi Muhammad Ahsan

The fourth misstatement in the account of Ahmadiyya dissensions as related by Maulawi Muhammad Ali, is that Maulawi Muhammad Ahsan, in his report of a controversy held at Rampur, published under the heading 'Discussion relating to Partial Prophethood in Subordination to Complete Prophethood', has stated that "by following the Holy Prophet^{sa} one can be granted partial prophethood in subordination to complete prophethood for helping the cause of the faith of Islam." Maulawi Muhammad Ali writes: "The same learned old man wrote an article in the monthly paper *Tashhidhul Adhhan* edited by M. Mahmud under the heading 'Prophethood among the Followers of Muhammad' in which he showed that the only prophethood which could be granted to Muslims was *Nubuwwti Juzwi* or partial prophethood." What Maulawi Muhammad Ali means to prove by this citation is that the belief of the more eminent Companions of the Promised Messiah^{as} was that the door of prophethood was closed after the Holy Prophet^{sa}, the door only of partial prophethood being left open. Another point which Maulawi Muhammad Ali seeks to prove from the fact that the article was published in the magazine of which I was

myself the editor, is that at that time I either shared the same views with Maulawi Muhammad Ahsan or did not venture to give public utterance to my own views for fear of Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}. I am, however, sorry to submit that the facts of the case fail to bear out either of the two conclusions which Maulawi Muhammad Ali seeks to draw from them. In the first place, the words of Maulawi Muhammad Ahsan possess no special authority. They may be regarded as possessing the same value as the words of any other learned man. In the second place, the publication of his article in the *Tashhidul Adhhan* cannot lend any special value to the views expressed therein, because the article was published in October, 1913, when I had already for two years ceased to have any active connection with the magazine. At that time Qazi Muhammad Zahuruddin Akmal was the de facto editor of the Magazine. The managing body of the paper, however, continued to print my name on the cover in order to retain its popularity, inasmuch as it was I who had been editing it since its foundation. Under the circumstances, if any particular view was at that time published in the magazine, it cannot justly be cited against me. I was not then its active editor nor were the articles published in the magazine shown to me whether in original or in proof. Nevertheless, if

Maulawi Muhammad Ali would still insist upon holding me responsible for the matter in the magazine, on the ground that my name was connected with it as its nominal editor, then it would be only right and proper that Maulawi Muhammad Ali should himself accept responsibility for the notice of the book *Nabiyyullah Ka Zahur*, published in *The Review of Religions*.

But apart from the question of responsibility, I deem it necessary to point out that a consideration of Maulawi Muhammad Ahsan's articles goes to show that they by no means justify the conclusion drawn by Maulawi Muhammad Ali. For, excepting the use of the term *Juzwi Nubuwwat*, the articles serve only to confirm the *Nubuwwat* of the Promised Messiah^{as} in the sense claimed by us.

What concerns us is the writer's intention, not the terms which he uses. A difference of terms is of no great moment so long as we agree on the meaning of those terms. It is true that Maulawi Muhammad Ahsan in his article in the *Tashhidhul Adhhan* spoke of the *Nubuwwat* of the Promised Messiah^{as} as a *Juzwi Nubuwwat* (or Partial Prophethood) but at the same time he added regarding all the Israelite Prophets, raised after the Prophet Moses^{as}, that their *Nubuwwat*

also was *Nubuwwati Juzwi*. He wrote: "Hence it follows that prophecies regarding future events granted in proof of the truth of Islam will be transmitted through the medium of *Nubuwwat* and that is what is meant by *Nubuwwati Ghair Tashri'i* (Prophethood without Law) or *Nubuwwati Juzwi* (Partial Prophethood). All the *Ambiya'* who came after Moses^{as}, were honoured by the gift of this kind of *Nubuwwat* because the *Nubuwwat* of *Ahkam* (Law-bearing Prophethood) had ceased among the Israelites with the advent of the Torah" *Tashhidhul Adhhan* October 1913, page 500). From these words it is clear that according to Maulawi Muhammad Ahsan, the *Mubashshirat* (Gift of Prophecy) promised to the followers of the Holy Prophet^{sa} in

لَمْ يَبْقَ مِنَ النَّبُوءَةِ إِلَّا الْمُبَشِّرَاتُ

(Nothing remains of *Nubuwwat* except *Mubashshirat*), was nothing else than *Nubuwwati Ghair Tashri'i* or *Juzwi Nubuwwat*, and that it was this kind of *Nubuwwat* which was granted to the Israelite Prophets after the Prophet Moses^{as}. Now, this exactly is our own position, and to add to it even so much as a title is regarded by me as an act of heresy. I go even further and think it necessary to add that the Prophets, who came to the Israelites after Moses^{as}, although

they were Prophets without Law, all derived their prophethood without the intermediation of Moses^{as}. But the Promised Messiah^{as}, although he was a Prophet without Law like the Israelite Prophets who came after Moses^{as}, yet received the gift of prophethood, not directly but through the intermediation of the Holy Prophet^{sa}. Thus, I have no difference with Maulawi Muhammad Ahsan in the views expressed by him in the *Tashhidul Adhhan* regarding the nature of the Promised Messiah's^{as} *Nubuwwat*. The only objection I can take to the article is that he calls this kind of *Nubuwwat*, *Nubuwwati Juzwi*. We do not describe the Promised Messiah^{as}'s *Nubuwwat* as *Nubuwwati Juzwi*. Thus the attempt of Maulawi Muhammad Ali to cite the article of Maulawi Muhammad Ahsan in support of his position serves only to prove his own lack of understanding. He seems to have been taken in by the terra *Nubuwwati Juzwi* but what one can see from Maulawi Muhammad Ahsan's article is that all the Prophets who came to the Israelites after Moses^{as} were endowed with *Nubuwwati Juzwi*. Thus, if the prophethood of David^{as}, Solomon^{as} and Jesus^{as} is to be classed as *Nubuwwati Juzwi*, I have no objection in this sense of the term, to apply it to the prophethood of the Promised Messiah^{as}. But I am sure Maulawi

Muhammad Ali will never accept this sense of the term. He cites authority only so long as it agrees with his own views.

I wish here to quote a few passages from some of the other writings of Maulawi Muhammad Ahsan in order to prove my contention. Maulawi Muhammad Ahsan, elsewhere speaks of Maulawi Muhammad Ali in the following words:

"Maulawi Muhammad Ali has not understood the meaning of the term *Juz'wi Nubunwat* (partial prophethood) nor of *Majazi Nubunwat* (metaphorical prophethood), nor of *Zilli Nubunwat* (reflex prophethood), because he is of opinion that just as we may call somebody a lion because of his great prowess, so likewise the name of *Nabi* has been given to the *Jariullah fi Hulalil Ambiya'* (revelation title of the Promised Messiah^{as}, meaning Fighter for Allah in the mantles of the Prophets). God protect us! Maulawi Sahib does not even understand to whom the term *Majazi* is being applied. My dear friend, metaphor strictly is false. If the Promised Messiah^{as} is *Nabi-i-Majazi* in this sense, then his prophethood is false! God

protect us from such views! The fact is that the Holy Prophet^{sa} is the original Prophet, and the Promised Messiah^{as} a succeeding Prophet. Whatever of the original Prophet may be attributed to the succeeding Prophet is in the nature of a *Majaẓ* (metaphor), as may be seen in many of the revelations of the Promised Messiah^{as}, as for example in the revelation

(Al-Şaff, 61:10) هُوَ الَّذِي أَرْسَلَ رَسُولَهُ بِالْهُدَىٰ وَدِينِ الْحَقِّ

This is the meaning of *Majaẓ*. Similarly Maulawi Muhammad Ali has also failed to understand the meaning either of *Nubuwwat Juzwi* or *Zilli*. I have already explained in *Sitta-i-Daruriya* that under such circumstances if there should happen to arise an equality between the original and the reflex, there is still no harm, because the superiority will still remain with the original on account of its priority.' This is what is signified by *Zilliyyat* (Reflexion). Nor has Maulawi Muhammad Ali understood the meaning of the term *Juzwi*; because, according to the generally accepted Hadith, "nothing remains of *Nubuwwat* save

Mubashshirat" (prophecy). Thus, only because the *Jariullah* (the Promised Messiah^{as}—Tr.) has not brought any new Shariah (Law) save the Shariah of Islam nor any new book superseding the Holy Quran, he is called a *Juzwi Nabi*."

Likewise, the following lines of Maulawi Muhammad Ahsan are quoted from his book *Sitta-i-Daruriya* where, in order to confute the deniers of the prophethood of Ahmad the Promised Messiah^{as}, he proves from the verse *Khatamun Nabiyyin* the continuance of prophethood in the *Khairul Umam* the best of people meaning the Muslims), and refutes the doctrine advocated by Maulawi Muhammad Ali. He writes:

"Regarding the meaning of the word *Nabi* and *Rasul*, there is a very great divergence of opinion prevailing among the doctors of religion, but if from among the conflicting mass of opinion we are to accept the meaning furnished by the *Tafsir-e-Kabir* what is there to prevent us from such a course? The meaning given there is as follows: "*Rasul* is a *Nabi* who in addition to miracles, has had a book revealed to him,

and a *Nabi* other than a *Rasul* is one to whom no book has been revealed and who has simply been commanded to call people to a book previously revealed.' (Volume VI, page 92). Thus, if it is proved that, in accordance with the above definition the Promised Messiah^{as} is a *Nabi* and not a *Rasul* and wherever the name *Rasul* has been applied to him it is to be understood in the sense of *Nabi*, I do not see what objection can there be to such a view." (*Sitta-i-Daruria*, p. 67). He writes further: "The verse should be understood in a sense that would signify praise and exaltation of the "Holy Prophet^{sa} with God. That is the proper sense of the verse. Now, let us see what this sense can properly be. It is that after the advent of the Holy Prophet^{sa}, there can arise no Prophet such as will bring any new command of Shariah (Law), which is not already to be met with in the Holy Quran or in the Sunna (Practice) of the Holy Prophet^{sa} or which will abrogate any command of Islam." (Ibid p. 59). Again: "The Holy Prophet^{sa} was the 'Seal of the Prophets,' which means that the excellences of all the earlier Prophets were to

be found in him. (Ibid p. 61). What is signified by the term, 'Seal of the Prophets,' is that the Holy Prophet^{sa} had attained the highest stage of perfection granted to Prophets, not that the grace of his prophethood would never reach any of his followers.)" Ibid p. 64). Again he writes: "If the Holy Prophet^{sa} is the Prophet of Prophets only in reference to the Prophets before him, then, in the first place such a claim would be lacking in evidence, inasmuch as there is no Prophet who has attained to the rank of Prophet by following the Holy Prophet^{sa}. In the second place, such a belief will attribute to the Holy Prophet^{sa} one kind of excellence—that

(Al-Aḥzāb, 33:41) وَلَكِنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ وَخَاتَمَ النَّبِيِّينَ

of personal perfection. But it will withhold from him the other kind of excellence—that of making others perfect. May God save us from such a view! Now, as a matter of fact even the Prophets of whom he is the Master, enjoyed this kind of excellence—that of making others perfect. For example, among the followers of Moses^{as}, there arose hundreds of Prophets who attained to the

rank by virtue of faithfully following Moses^{as} their teacher; and yet let us remember what the Holy Prophet^{sa} said: 'Had Moses^{as} been alive, he would have had no choice but to follow me.'" (Ibid p. 71). Maulawi Muhammad Ahsan writes further on: "To understand the term *Khatamun Nabiyin* in this sense adds to the dignity and glory of the Holy Prophet^{sa}, inasmuch as it makes both the preceding and the succeeding Prophets depend upon him." (Ibid p. 66). And again: "We claim two things for the Holy Prophet^{sa}. The first is that after the advent of the Holy Prophet, there cannot appear till the last day another Prophet who will bring a new Shariah (Law), and the second that obedience to the Holy Prophet^{sa} keeps the door open for *Juz'wi Nabis* (partial Prophets) to appear for the defence of Islam, and to function in subordination to the perfect Prophet."

Argument from my Article *Kufr-o-Islam*

The fifth point raised in Maulawi Muhammad Ali's account of the dissensions, is that while M. Zahiruddin was broadcasting his beliefs, I took up the

question of *Kufr* (unbelief) of those who did not formally accept the *Bai'at* (oath of allegiance) of the Promised Messiah^{as}; and that although it is stated by me that the article which I wrote on this subject, was shown to Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} the way in which the Khalifa understood the article was clear from a latter announcement, issued by Khwaja Kamaluddin and signed by the Khalifa. In this announcement it was explained that my article could be accepted only if it was interpreted as meaning "that those who did not accept the Promised Messiah^{as} were only deniers of, or unbelievers in the Promised Messiah^{as} and not actually outside the pale of Islam."

Before I proceed to criticise this statement of Maulawi Muhammad Ali in the light of what actually happened I wish to draw the attention of the readers to the statement itself. The gist of Khwaja Kamaluddin's article, reproduced by Maulawi Muhammad Ali, is so devoid of sense that it can hardly fail to surprise the intelligent reader. What sense can there be in the statement that those who did not accept the Promised Messiah^{as} were deniers of the Promised Messiah^{as}? Can anybody in his senses think it possible that one might not accept the Promised Messiah^{as} and yet be a believer in the Promised Messiah^{as}? If this and nothing more, was to be understood by my article,

was not my article a piece of sheer inanity, and, in that case, was not the action of the Khalifatul Masih^{ra} in correcting it and sanctioning its publication something still less complimentary? To say therefore that the Khalifatul Masih^{ra} permitted the publication of my article because he understood it in the sense quoted by Khwaja Kamaluddin, is something altogether without foundation, and constitutes in itself a refutation of Maulawi Muhammad Ali's contention.

But I do not stop here. I am prepared to cite the writings of Maulawi Muhammad Ali himself in refutation of his own statement. In his book, Maulawi Muhammad Ali writes: "M. Mahmud had taken up another point viz. the question of *Kufr* of those who did not formally accept the *Bai'at* of the Promised Messiah^{as}." Now if, as stated by Maulawi Muhammad Ali my article did not deal with the *Kufr* of non-Ahmadis, but, in the words of Khwaja Kamaluddin, merely laid down that those who did not accept the Promised Messiah^{as} were deniers of the Promised Messiah^{as}, how could Maulawi Muhammad Ali trace my belief on the point, to the leaflet issued by Zahiruddin (of course, actually subsequent to my article)? To prove the point that those who did not accept the Promised Messiah^{as} were deniers of the Promised Messiah^{as}, it was certainly immaterial

whether the Promised Messiah^{as} was a *Nabi* or a not-*Nabi*. A claim like that could be made about every claimant and every truth. I do not claim to be a *Nabi*, but a proposition like the one put forward by Maulawi Muhammad Ali, can, without breach of propriety, be made even about me. It can be said that those who do not accept me are my deniers. It is only the doctrine of *Kufr*, which could have been derived from the doctrine of *Nubuwwat* of the Promised Messiah^{as}. Thus, it is evident from the writings of Maulawi Muhammad Ali himself that the subject I had stressed in my article was the *Kufr* of those who did not accept the Promised Messiah^{as}.

This article of mine was read by Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, from beginning to end and was approved by him for publication. The following events prove the point.

The reason why in March 1911, I wrote an article on the subject of the *Kufr* of those who did not accept the Promised Messiah^{as}, was that at that time some Ahmadis, under the influence of non-Ahmadis, had begun to write in some non-Ahmadi papers that there was no material difference between Ahmadis and non-Ahmadis, both being Muslims. I was afraid lest this erroneous view should find currency in the Ahmadiyya Community.

So I wrote the article and submitted it to Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, for his approval. This was in March 1911. At that time he was seriously indisposed. The article therefore remained with him for a considerable time. During this time some organs of the Ahmadiyya Movement made references to the article. But as the article remained in the custody of Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, it began to be rumoured by some advocates of Khwaja Kamaluddin's views that the article had been strongly disapproved of by the Khalifa. The Khalifa's indisposition continued, and I thought it improper under the circumstances to trouble him with a reminder. At length, after a month, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, partially regained his health. He then looked through the article and, at several places, corrected it in his own hand. When he had finished I was sitting beside him. He returned the article to me saying "Miyañ, I do not like being hard. You are young, but I am old." (These, or to this effect, were the words he used). Among those also present at the time was Maulawi Sadaruddin. He, forthwith, reported it to his friends at Lahore, with what additions of his own, I do not know. But within a few days the report had gone round that Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} had disapproved of my article, while the fact only was that the article contained references to persons,

who were at the time members of the Community, and Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} had disapproved only of these references, fearing they might prove a source of discord. He had, therefore, crossed out the objectionable passages. What remained of the article, fully accorded with his own views and conformed to his own beliefs. But as it had been rumoured that Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} had disapproved of my article, I thought it improper to publish it without obtaining his permission again. I had in fact resolved not to publish the article at all in case Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} disapproved of it in the slightest detail. Accordingly I wrote the following letter to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}.

"My Master and Leader! Peace be on you! You have not been pleased to put any marks on my article to show which words you think are too severe; also if I myself were to go through the article again, it would be of little or no use, because the words which failed to strike me as too severe when I first wrote the article, are not likely now to strike me as such. I, therefore, doubt whether it is at all proper for me needlessly to give you cause for displeasure. God is more jealous than I; He will Himself look

after His own affairs, and He being All-powerful, it is but vain on my part to be so solicitous about His work. If anything is going to happen contrary to His pleasure, He will Himself cause its prevention. It happens, however, that without my previous knowledge references to the article have been published in *Al-Hakam* and the *Badr*. If, under the circumstances, the article does not appear it may afford those already given to calling me names, occasion to think that all talk about the article was a hoax, intended to thwart and terrify them. If, therefore, there is nothing wrong in such a course, I would solicit permission to publish an announcement in the papers to the following effect: The editors of *Al-Hakam* and the *Badr* have, in their respective papers, made references to a certain article of mine. This was done without my knowledge or approval. But as it was impossible for me to publish the article without the permission of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}—fearing it should cause discord in the Community—I submitted the article to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} who has been pleased to disapprove

of it. I am, therefore, not in a position to publish the article, and take this opportunity to request other friends also to write no more on the question, which may, henceforth, be considered as finally decided. In case, however, you consider it improper that such an announcement should be made, I shall refrain from doing so. It will but add one more reproach to where there already are so many.

MAHMUD."

In reply to the above, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, wrote the following words on the margin of the letter. (The original letter together with Hadrat Khalifatul Masih's^{ra} reply are still with me),

"My dear, I have now marked the proper places. I have no disagreement regarding the main purport of the article—none whatever. But you see, even one commissioned by God, who would be justified by virtue of his commission to speak with some degree of severity, has been commanded:

فَبَارِحْمَةٍ مِّنَ اللّٰهِ لَئِن تَ لَّهُمْ ؕ وَلَوْ كُنْتَ فَطَّاعِلِيْظَ الْقَلْبِ
لَا نَفْضُوْا مِّنْ حَوْلِكَ (Āl-e-‘Imrān, 3:160)

Your youth and physical weakness impel you to severity. To me, a milder course seems preferable. Let the article go to the press."

It is evident from this reply that the Khalifatul Masih marked the passages which appeared to him to have been strongly worded. It is also clear that what displeased him in the article were merely some words which I had used about some weak Ahmadis. This is evident from the fact that the Quranic verse quoted by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} bore reference not to the disbelievers but to the followers of the Holy Prophet^{sa}. As it was, the objectionable words had now been crossed out by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}, who was also pleased for a second time to allow its publication. It was then that I made over the article to the printers. Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} had also directed that the proofs should be shown to him. The manager of the *Tashhidul Adhhan* was accordingly directed not to print the magazine without first showing the proofs to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. At this stage, I had to go to Amritsar for a few days on a certain business. During my absence, it was rumoured that the Khalifatul Masih^{ra} had been shown a passage from the *Tiryaqul Qulub*, from which it followed that the Promised Messiah^{as} had not called his deniers *kuffar*,

Thereupon, I submitted to the Khalifatul Masih^{ra} reference to the explanation which the Promised Messiah^{as} had himself given of this passage, and once more, I put it to the Khalifatul Masih^{ra} that if he did not approve of the publication of the article, I would gladly withhold it. In reply, the Khalifatul Masih^{ra} said "I am no hypocrite. You had better publish the article." What he meant was that in granting me permission to print the article, he had not acted with duplicity. My purpose in putting the question again and again was to prevent all possible objections. Later on, the proofs of the article were also submitted to the Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. But again there was delay in his looking through the proofs. This gave occasion to our friends to spread, for a second time, the report that the Khalifatul Masih^{ra} had the copy washed from the printing stone and prohibited the publication of the article. But ultimately the proofs also were looked through by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} and so the article at last was published.

It is clear from all this that the article in question was not published in haste. It was read through twice, from beginning to end, by the Khalifatul Masih^{ra} himself, and was corrected at various places in his own hand. (The original article, corrected by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih is still with me and is evidence of

my statement.) The question of its publication was repeatedly submitted to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. Under such circumstances, the article, although written by me could justly be regarded as that of the Khalifatul Masih^{ra} himself. For he looked through it more than once and corrected it with his own hand.

I shall now proceed to give here a summary of the article in question and to quote fully a few passages, in order to enable every reader to judge for himself whether it was possible to read into my article any meaning other than the one it really conveyed. The article was elaborately entitled—'A Muslim is one who believes in all the Messengers of God.' The title itself is sufficient to show that the article was not meant to prove merely that those who did not accept the Promised Messiah^{as} were deniers of the Promised Messiah^{asr}. Its object rather was to demonstrate that those who did not believe in the Promised Messiah^{as} were not Muslims. The article commences with an introduction, in which it is stated that a certain similarity pervades the histories of all the Prophets and their Movements, and that likewise opponents of the Prophets also bear among themselves a certain resemblance. But as the Promised Messiah^{as} bore a special likeness to Jesus, it followed that the history of the life of the Promised Messiah^{as} and of that of his

Movement would resemble, more than others, the history of Jesus^{as} and his followers. Nevertheless, as the Promised Messiah^{as} was also the spiritual counterpart of the Holy Prophet^{sa}, it was certain that the followers of the Promised Messiah^{as} would be saved from the serious disasters which overtook the followers of Jesus^{as}. The article then proceeded to state that after the death of Jesus, non-Christian communities encompassed the ruin of the faith preached by Jesus^{as} by adopting a policy of amity towards the Christians. Something similar was going on at the present time. Non-Ahmadis were trying to induce us to join their fold. The reason for this was that Satan had discovered that he could make no impression upon Ahmadis by a frontal attack; he had, therefore, set up after them irreligious folks of the day in the hope that they would succeed in injuring the Ahmadiyya Movement under the guise of friendship. Accordingly, the cry had been raised that the difference between Ahmadis and non-Ahmadis was not serious enough to justify their maintaining such a distance. It had also been urged that it is of no benefit to either of the two parties to call others *kuffar*, Those they say, who called the Mirza Sahib (the Promised Messiah^{as}) kafir were obviously wrong, but it was now for Ahmadis to forgive and forget. Such were the

specious arguments advanced by the advocates of rapprochement. But praise be to God—I proceeded to say—Who endowed some of us with insight, and they realised the true dignity of His Messenger. They were not prepared to regard as ordinary the denial of him for whom heaven and earth had borne testimony, who was the Promised One of all the earlier Prophets, for whose sake the great God humiliated and brought to naught so many of the learned savants and saints from amongst the so-called Muslims, and who had the promise that till the last day, God would let his followers have the upper hand over his enemies.

Regarding the main subject of my article, I wrote that as we believed the Promised Messiah^{as} to be one of the Prophets of God, we could not possibly regard his deniers as Muslims. It is true we did not consider them to be *kafir billah*, (deniers of God), but how could we doubt that, they were *kafir-bil-ma'mur* (deniers of a God's Messenger)? Those who say that they regarded Mirza Sahib as a righteous person and so did not deserve to be called *kuffar*, ought to consider whether a righteous person ever spoke an untruth. If Mirza Sahib^{as}, was indeed a righteous person, what possible objection could there be to their subscribing to his claim. After this, the article proceeded to quote passages from the writings of the

Promised Messiah^{as} to show that he regarded his deniers as *kuffar*. Some of the passages, quoted in the article, are reproduced here in brief: To the apostate Abdul Hakim of Patiala, he wrote: "At any rate, when the great God has revealed to me that every body whom my Call has reached and who has failed to accept my claim, is not a Muslim, and is liable to account before God, how can I at the instance of one individual, whose heart is steeped in a thousand darkneses, ignore the command of God. It is easier to cut off such a one from my Community. Accordingly from this date I hereby exclude you from the Community of my followers." Following this, I proceeded to explain the purport of the above passage in the following words. "The above words apply not merely to those who take an active part in denouncing the Promised Messiah^{as}; but every person who fails to accept him is not a Muslim. Further on, I explained, in the words of the Promised Messiah^{as} himself, the meaning he attached to the expression "reaching of Call." This was that the Promised Messiah^{as} had made his Call reach every part of the globe, and hence the whole world might be said to have received his Call. It was unnecessary for this purpose that the information should be carried separately to each individual. After this, I went on to prove from the

writings of the Promised Messiah^{as} that those who did not explicitly style the Promised Messiah^{as} as a kafir but nor did they accept his claim, were to be classed with those who styled him as a kafir; so also were those who only waited for fuller information and put off entering into his *Bai'at*. Then in my own words. I summarised the purport of the quotations as follows: "Thus, according to these quotations, not only are those deemed to be *kuffar*, who openly style the Promised Messiah^{as} as kafir, and those who although they do not style him thus, decline still to accept his claim, but even those who, in their hearts, believe the Promised Messiah^{as} to be true, and do not even deny him with their tongues, but hesitate to enter into his *Bai'at*, have here been adjudged to be *kuffar*." After this, some more quotations were given in support of the main contention, and the weakness implicit in the overture for friendship was exposed, and the Promised Messiah's^{as} fatwa (pronouncement) which forbade Ahmadis to pray behind non-Ahmadi Imams was quoted. And lastly, it was argued from a verse of the Holy Quran that such people as had failed to recognise the Promised Messiah^{as} as a *Rasul* even if they called him a righteous person with their tongues, were yet veritable *kuffar*.

Such was my article which was twice read through by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}, and corrected in several places in his own hand, and regarding the purport of which he remarked that he had no difference whatsoever. Now, after reading the above and after perusing those passages which I have quoted, is it possible for any intelligent person to imagine that Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} could possibly take the article to say no more than that those who did not accept Hadrat Mirza Sahib were only deniers of Hadrat Mirza Sahib?

The question now remains, how was it that Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} at all put his signature to the incorrect version of the article given by Khwaja Kamaluddin? In answering this, we should remember in the first place that, in view of the circumstances described above, it is altogether impossible to conclude, from the mere fact of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} signing the announcement by Khwaja Sahib, that he disapproved of my article. This, because the written approval which Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} accorded to my article and the corrections he himself made in it still exist. Nor can it be supposed that Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} misunderstood the purport of my article, because it was impossible even for a mere schoolboy to receive the article in the sense

attributed to it by Khwaja Kamaluddin. Seeing, therefore, the impossibility of both these alternatives, the only alternative left is to believe that either Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} did not actually read the Khwaja's announcement, and authorised its publication merely upon hearing about it from Khwaja Sahib or that the ambiguous announcement, wherein Khwaja Sahib by the deft use of a tortuous style had tried to undo the effect of my article, had been wrongly understood by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. The announcement by Khwaja Sahib as well as the substance of it, given by Maulawi Muhammad Ali, would show that Khwaja Sahib had intended to attain his end by the use of ambiguous language. But for this, he could well have declared in plain words that non-Ahmadis were Muslims. He had no business to try and interpret my article while I was alive and was well able to interpret it myself. If any doubt really existed regarding its intention, he ought to have referred the matter to me. The very line of action, adopted by him, shows that he aimed at hood-winking the public, and it was to this end that he employed an equivocal style of expression. If Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} really read the announcement and sanctioned its publication, then he must have misunderstood its purport; and there is corroborative evidence in support of this view.

It happened that when the announcement by Khwaja Kamaluddin was published, there was general whispering among the people that Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} was vacillating, sometimes saying one thing and sometimes another; that while on the one hand, he had put his signature to my article, he had, on the other, also signed the announcement by Khwaja Sahib. One gentleman brought this to the notice of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. I was at the time sitting nearby. Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} denied that there was any discrepancy between his actions, and said that he had signed the announcement by Khwaja Sahib only because Khwaja Sahib had assured him that he had nothing to object to in Miyañ Sahib's (the present writer's) article and that his announcement had been prepared only to save those thousands of Ahmadiis who lived on the frontier from being molested by their opponents, and that it was simply to appease the frontier-men, that he had expressed the sense of the article in language calculated to avert trouble. I remember that there were present at the time two or three other persons also, and, so far as I remember, there was present also an Ahmadi from the frontier, who had in a letter already made reference to this very question. Very likely, it was Mufti Muhammad Sadiq who brought this question to the

notice of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. I do not know whether Mufti Muhammad Sadiq still remembers the incident but for myself I am prepared to affirm it on oath. I now ask Maulawi Muhammad Ali and his friends whether he or they are prepared to affirm on oath that Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} really understood the purport of my article in the sense alleged by Maulawi Muhammad Ali. I am sure, they will never venture to do so, and will only make excuses to escape the oath. They know full well that it is impossible to understand my article in any but its own evident sense.

Misstatement about Saying Prayers behind Non-Ahmadi Imams

The sixth item which calls for attention in Maulawi Muhammad Ali's account of the dissensions, is his statement that towards the close of 1913, I once again made the announcement that the deniers of the Promised Messiah^{as} were *kuffar*, that this announcement reached the ears of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} and that his fatwa allowing Ahmadis to pray behind non-Ahmadi Imams was also criticised by me. Though during my pilgrimage to Mecca in 1912, I had myself said my prayers behind non-Ahmadi Imams, and so had all Ahmadis who

went on pilgrimage during the time of Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}; that as Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} was ill at the time, he ordered Maulawi Muhammad Ali to enlighten the Community on this question and even dictated to him some notes on it.

The whole of this account, including the allusion to a fatwa issued by Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, permitting Ahmadis to pray behind non-Ahmadi Imams is false, as false as any of the others. The facts are that Khwaja Kamaluddin, from a natural timidity of temperament and a desire to win the goodwill of 'non-Ahmadis had ever been trying to secure an order permitting Ahmadis to pray behind non-Ahmadis. When he went to England, he wrote repeatedly to Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} urgently requesting for the grant of such permission, even urging that unless such permission was given, there would be trouble. People in England would be prejudiced against Islam, and all his missionary activities would be jeopardised. As Khwaja Sahib was already looking for an excuse, Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, when he read his letter, said, "Let him pray behind them." This, so-called permission was forthwith cabled to Khwaja Sahib by his friends, and was utilized by the former, in praying behind that prominent opponent of the Ahmadiyya Movement Zafar Ali Khan, editor of the *Zami'ndar*, to the

permanent undoing of his own faith. The permission, however, could in no way be treated as a fatwa, because neither the Khalifatul Masih^{ra}, nor any other person has any authority to issue a fatwa contrary to the express fatwa of the Promised Messiah^{as}. It is the latter who is our proper Teacher and Guide. Nobody except him has the authority to issue a fatwa on his own account. Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} himself was but a disciple of the Promised Messiah^{as}, and had like others, sworn allegiance to the Master. He was, therefore, bound to obey the injunctions of the Promised Messiah^{as} as much as any of his other followers. As a matter of fact, Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} himself never claimed any superior authority. He once wrote, "I swear by God that I believe with my heart in all the claims of the Promised Messiah^{as} and hold firmly to them, and it is my faith that the acceptance of them is a necessary condition of salvation. Nuruddin." Again he once said: "Listen! your disputes fall under three classes. The first class relates to such matters and principles regarding which a decision has been left by the Promised Messiah^{as}. Those who go against any such decision cease to be Ahmadis. Then, there are matters regarding which the Promised Messiah^{as} has remained silent. With regard to these, it is not for you to speak until you have first received

permission thereof from me. Therefore, while the Khalifa is silent or till the Khalifa of the Khalifa does not appear in the world, you have no business to pronounce opinions on these matters."—(From a speech at Lahore: *Al-Hakam* June 21 and 28, 1912.) If one were to read the above words of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} side by side with the fatwa of the Promised Messiah^{as} quoted below, one might see whether it was possible even to imagine Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} issuing a fatwa permitting Ahmadis to pray behind non-Ahmadis.

The Promised Messiah writes: "Remember that God has informed me that it is forbidden to you and forbidden altogether that you should pray behind any *Mukaffir* (who attributes *Kufr* to another), *Mukazzib* (a denier) or *Mutaraddid* (a doubter). Your Imam should be one who is one of yourselves." (Appendix, *Tuhfa'-e-Golarhwiyyah*, page 18).

What Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} wrote to Khwaja Kamaluddin pertained to Khwaja Sahib himself and was a comment on his individual condition. It was not a fatwa, as may easily be understood from the following incident. Somebody wrote to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} for permission to pray behind a non-Ahmadi Imam, and Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}

accorded the permission. Upon this, the elder brother of the applicant also wrote to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} soliciting a similar permission. In reply, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} directed that he should first make himself like his younger brother, and then a similar permission would be granted to him. The younger brother did not care even to say his daily prayers. If the permission sought were likely to induce him to be regular in his prayers, there would be no harm done. It is evident from the reply and even from the fact that the elder brother thought it necessary to write such a letter, that the permission granted by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} was not of the nature of a fatwa, but a concession allowed to meet the special circumstances of a particular individual. Similarly, it was in view of the weakness of Khwaja Sahib and under the apprehension that withholding of permission might prove too severe a trial for Khwaja Sahib's faith, that Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, accorded to Khwaja Sahib permission to pray behind non-Ahmadis. We would never be justified in treating the permission as a general fatwa. It was only a particular direction applied to a particular individual. As for the statement that I criticised the fatwa, it is absolutely without any kind of evidence to support it. For, when there was no fatwa, it is idle to speak of anybody

criticising or denying the fatwa. When we believed that the authority of the Promised Messiah^{as} is final, there was little need for me to find fault with anything contrary to the Promised Messiah's^{as} fatwa. Even assuming that Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} had actually issued a contrary fatwa, still, according to us, such a fatwa could not have formed part of our faith.

Maulawi Muhammad Ali has charged me with having offered prayers—while on pilgrimage to Mecca—behind a non-Ahmadi Imam, and this, in accordance with a fatwa of Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}. This is a misstatement which, in spite of his knowledge of the true facts, Maulawi Muhammad Ali continues to repeat. The facts are as follows.

In the year 1912, I went on pilgrimage to Mecca in company with Sayyid Abdul Muhyi Arab, visiting Egypt on our way. My maternal grandfather, Mir Nasir Nawab Sahib, also went on pilgrimage the same year. He went to Mecca direct from Qadian. We met at Jaddah, and from there journeyed together to Mecca. On the very first day at Mecca, while we were circumambulating the Kaaba, time came for the evening prayers. I wished to withdraw, but our way was barred and the service had already commenced. Mir Nasir Nawab Sahib told me that Hadrat Khalifatul

Masih^{ra} had ordered that, while at Mecca, we might pray behind non-Ahmadi Imams. Upon this, I joined the service. Later on, when we were still in the precincts of the Kaaba, came the time for the night prayers, and we joined as before. When we returned to our residence, I said turning to Sayyid Abdul Muhyi Arab,

"The prayers we offered were only to comply with the command of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}, let us now offer our prayers for the sake of Allah. Such prayers cannot rightly be offered behind non-Ahmadi Imams." We, then repeated both the services. The next day, I believe, we joined another service behind a non-Ahmadi Imam. But I began to feel that although we subsequently repeated the service, a certain weight was oppressing my mind, and I felt that if I continued like that, I should certainly fall ill. At last on the second day, I was compelled to speak on the subject to Sayyid Abdul Muhyi Arab. I said. "My regard for my grandfather prevents me from putting the question to him, but will you kindly inquire of him whether Hadrat Khalifatul Masih's orders in this matter were

given to him directly or was it that he learnt of them from a common report." Upon inquiry, it transpired that there were no direct orders but that my grandfather had heard that some such orders had been given to some person. I thanked God for the news and from that time, in spite of objections from various quarters, we always offered our prayers in our own congregation. We were in Mecca for about 20 days. At all times we offered our prayers either in our own house or in the Kaaba in a congregation of our own. And it was a special favour of God that although, as a general rule, none save the few recognised sects were allowed to form a congregation within the quadrangle of the Kaaba, no one objected to our congregation; and it often happened that many latecomers joined us in our prayers and swelled our congregation to a considerable size. My grandfather felt apprehension lest his part in the matter might in future, prove a source of trouble. He, therefore, said that he would bring the question to the notice of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} on his return to Qadian. When at last we returned, our friends one

after another invited us to functions arranged to welcome us. Among others, Miyañ Hamid Ali an old servant of the Promised Messiah^{as}, who had attended upon him for 40 years invited us to tea. The guests included Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}, Mir Nasir Nawab Sahib, Sayyid Abdul Muhyi Arab and myself. One gentleman, Hakim Muhammad Umar, put the question to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. The latter replied that he had never given any fatwa of that kind, that his permission was given only to such people as were weak and timorous. Such people, if they found themselves begird, by non-Ahmadis, might perform their prayers behind non-Ahmadis, and repeat their prayers when they returned to their places. Thanks to God that my action thus accorded both with the fatwa of the Promised Messiah^{as} and with the views of the Khalifa of the day."

But here the question may be asked, why did I choose to carry out the supposed command of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}, and perform *Namaz* behind non-Ahmadi Imams when there existed already a contrary fatwa of the Promised Messiah^{as}? The answer is that

from the practice of the Companions of the Holy Prophet^{sa} of Islam it is evident that they considered it obligatory in such matters to carry out the commands of the Khalifa of the day, even when they did not agree with him regarding their propriety. Accordingly, we find in *Bukhari* and in other books of tradition and history that once, when Hadrat Usman^{ra} was the Khalifa, he departed from the practice of the Holy Prophet^{sa}, and during a certain Hajj—while in a state of journey—performed four *Rak'at* of *Namaz* at Safa, instead of two. This caused considerable excitement among some of the Holy Companions, but nevertheless they all followed him in performing the full four *Rak'at*, Hadrat Abdur Rahman bin 'Auf^{ra} resolved that in his own congregation he would perform only two *Rak'at* of *Namaz*. But he chanced to meet Abdullah bin Mas'ud^{ra} who inquired of him whether the Khalifa had issued any new command. Abdur Rahman^{ra} said, 'No,' and added that, as for himself, he had performed only two *Rak'at* of *Namaz*, Abdullah bin Mas'ud^{ra} said that it was true that all evidence went to prove that the Holy Prophet^{sa} had performed only two *Rak'at* of *Namaz*, but then when he (Abdullah bin Mas'ud^{ra}) had heard that the Khalifa of the day had performed four *Rak'at*, he too had performed the same number of *Rak'at*. (At the time of

the pilgrimage, on account of the large number of pilgrims, the prayers at Mina 'are offered in several separate congregations.) Abdullah^{ra} also advised Abdur Rahman^{ra} to do likewise and told him that it was improper to act in a manner contrary to the practice of the Khalifa. Upon this, Abdur Rahman^{ra} admitted the truth of Abdullah's remarks, and promised in future to follow his advice. All this is related in the *Bukhari*. Nevertheless, these people were so deeply attached to the Holy Prophet^{sa} that Abdullah bin Mas'ud^{ra}, when he had finished his prayer, besought Allah to accept only two *Rak'at* of his *Namaz*. Agreeably to this precedent, when I was told that the Khalifa had issued certain orders, I chose to comply with the same (although later on it transpired that the Khalifa had issued no such orders), and just as a Companion of the Holy Prophet^{sa} had supplicated to God that only two out of the four *Rak'at* of *Namaz*, performed by him might be accepted, similarly, when I returned to my residence, I also performed my *Namaz* again. Thus, it was a special favour of God that He gave me the opportunity to follow in all respects the example of the Companions of the Holy Prophet^{sa}.

Full details of what happened during the pilgrimage have been narrated by me on occasions,

and have several times been published in print, but Maulawi Muhammad Ali would still persist in misrepresenting the facts to the people, and try to induce them to believe that, while I had myself said my prayers behind non-Ahmadi Imams, I was now dissuading others from doing so. I would ask every fair-minded reader to say whether it is possible for any reasonable person, acquainted with the details of what happened, honestly to charge me with any such duplicity, and whether to describe facts in the way in which Maulawi Muhammad Ali has done, is not really an attempt to mislead the people? He learnt of them from me and my companions. Is it not unfair on his part to relate one part of the story and suppress the other parts?

Next, there is the statement that Hadrat Khalifatul Masih charged Maulawi Muhammad Ali with the duty of enlightening the Ahmadiyya Community on the question of the *Kufr* or Islam of non-Ahmadis, and that he himself dictated some notes on the subject which were the basis of Maulawi Muhammad Ali's pamphlet. Regarding this statement, so much, of course, is true that Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} who was at the time very seriously indisposed, did ask Maulawi Muhammad Ali to write a tract and also that he dictated some notes to Maulawi Muhammad Ali, but

it is untrue and completely untrue to say that Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} asked Maulawi Muhammad Ali to prove that non-Ahmadis were Muslims, and that this direction by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} was occasioned by any speech or writing of mine. The facts are that in those days Maulawi Muhammad Ali was busy translating the Holy Quran into English. He had often to consult Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} about the interpretation of particular verses. In the course of one such interview, while I was present with Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}, the latter expressed himself saying, "Maulawi Sahib (addressing Maulawi Muhammad Ali)! There are verses in the Holy Quran regarding which people have a general misconception and find it difficult to reconcile them with other verses. For example, there is the verse:

وَلَوْلَا دَفْعُ اللَّهِ النَّاسَ بَعْضَهُمُ بِبَعْضٍ لَّهَدَمَتْ صَوَامِعَ وَبِيَعٍ وَصَلَوَاتٍ

(Al-Hajj, 22:41) وَ مَسْجِدٌ يُذَكِّرُ فِيهَا اسْمُ اللَّهِ كَثِيرًا

and the verse

أُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْكٰفِرُونَ حَقًّا (Al-Nisā', 4:152)

and some other verses regarding which it is generally thought that they are in conflict with other verses of the Holy Quran. You are now writing your commentary. You would do well to write something in explanation of this supposed conflict. I shall help

you with some notes". Agreeably to these remarks, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} continued from time to time to dictate notes about the meaning of these verses. This conversation took place, while I was present with Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}, and I am prepared to vouch for its truth upon oath. May I inquire whether Maulawi Muhammad Ali also is similarly prepared to Vouch upon oath for the accuracy of his version of the incident? The allegation that Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} ordered Maulawi Muhammad Ali because of some announcement made by me, is such an outrageous distortion of facts, that I really wonder how Maulawi Sahib could resort to it.

A Supposed Warning by Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}

The seventh item in Maulawi Muhammad Ali's account is the statement that Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} warned me that I had not understood the true significance of the question of *Kufr* and Islam. In this connection I wish parenthetically to note that in cases of difference of opinion, there are matters regarding which it is possible, without attributing actual dishonesty to one's opponent to say that the latter is labouring under a misconception. But the account given by Maulawi Muhammad Ali is so far at variance with the facts that one can hardly help

expressing the view that he has distorted the facts intentionally. The real facts of the case are as follows: Some 15 or 20 days before his death, Hadrat Kahalifatul Masih, while dictating notes to Maulawi Muhammad Ali, observed, in the course of a point: "There are people who wonder at me and ask what has happened to me that at times I call non-Ahmadis Muslims and at times *kuffar*. They have failed to understand it. Yes, even our Miyañ (meaning the present writer) has not understood it." Relating to this incident, I have already published in my *Al-Qaulul Fasl* sworn testimonies of several persons who were present at the time. The same are reproduced below:

"I was with Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} with several other friends including Miyañ Sahib (the present writer,) when in the course of his discourse Hadrat observed "The question of *Kufr* and Islam is regarded as a most difficult one but in spite of what people say regarding me—that I sometimes call non-Ahmadis Muslims and at other times *kuffar*—God has given me such an understanding of the question as has not been given to anybody else, not even to our Miyañ. I swear by the Omnipresent and

Omniscient God that this was what Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} said."

(Sd.) (Maulawi Sayyid) Muhammad Sarwar (Shah), Principal, Madrassah-e-Diniyyat, Qadian.

"The above statement, so far as I can remember is quite true except that instead of the words

مجھے کہتے ہیں

i.e. 'People say regarding me', my impression is that Hadrat Khalifatul Masih said

لوگ مجھ پر اعتراض کرتے ہیں

i.e. 'People object to me' that I sometimes call the non-Ahmadis *kuffar* and at other times Muslims."

(Sd.) (Maulawi) Sher Ali, B.A editor, *The Review of Religions*.

"So far as I can remember Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} while hearing translation of the Holy Quran which was being done by Maulawi Muhammad Ali expressed himself

saying 'It is objected that I sometimes call non-Ahmadis Muslims and at other times *kuffar*. It is a difficult matter which has not been understood by any body, not even by the Miyań (the present writer). This is another of those questions which remain to be explained to non-Ahmadis.'

(Sd.) (Khan) Muhammad Ali Khan, Jagirdar of Malerkotla uncle of the Nawab of Malerkotla.

"I went to the house of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih to inquire about the state of his health. I saw Maulawi Muhammad Ali reading out the notes of his translation of the Holy Quran. Sahibzadah Sahib (the present writer) was sitting near the head of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. At that time Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} observed 'It is objected against me that I sometimes call non-Ahmadis *kuffar* and sometimes Muslims. It is a delicate point which even our Miyań (the present writer) has not quite understood'."

(Sd), Mehr Muhammad Khan of Malerkotla, at present resident of Qadian.

From this evidence it would appear that the observation made by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} did not refer to the question of *Kufr* and Islam as such. It referred rather to the general complaint of inconsistency in his writings—that he sometimes called non-Ahmadis Muslims and at other times *kuffar*. It was about this complaint that he said, that it arose from a mistaken view of his writings, that there was a general failure to understand their proper sense, that the inconsistency was merely imaginary and that the misunderstanding was so common in the Community that even I had not escaped its influence. These observations of Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} were indeed well founded and as a matter of fact they still hold true. I have just observed that it is difficult to understand how Khalifatul Masih^{ra}, I endorsed the article by Khwaja Sahib after having certified the correctness of views set forth in my article. The only possible explanation of the action lies in supposing that Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} if he at all read the article by Khwaja Kamaluddin, did not on account of the ambiguity of its language, get at its real intention. He was, therefore, quite justified in remarking that even I had failed to understand the inconsistency. As a

matter of fact, even to this day, I am at a loss to reconcile the two actions. As a last resort one may be driven to interpret the few in the light of the many, and the ambiguous in the light of that which is certain. But who can conclude from Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}'s remarks that according to him I had not understood the question of *Kufr* and Islam? Even supposing that a person had failed to understand how Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} could subscribe to an article which proved that non-Ahmadis were *kuffar*, and again endorse another article which negated the conclusions of the first, does it necessarily follow that that person fails also to understand the very question of *Kufr* and Islam? The Holy Quran of course makes mention of a class of people who—

(Al-Nisā', 4:47) يُحَرِّفُونَ الْكَلِمَ عَنْ مَوَاضِعِهِ

'change the words from their proper application', but we were not prepared to meet with an illustration of the same in the learned author of *The Split*. May God have mercy on him and open his eyes!

Again, all thinking minds may well note the Khalifa's remarks—' people generally have failed to understand the matter, and even our Miyañ has failed to understand it'. From these words it rather appears that, according to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}, of all

Ahmadis I was the person most fitted to understand the matter, and that as even I had failed to reconcile the inconsistency, it was obvious that others also had failed to do so. To quote the remarks of Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} is no advantage to Maulawi Muhammad Ali. The remarks in no wise lead to the conclusion that Maulawi Muhammad Ali understood the question any better. They prove, on the contrary, that the question had not been understood by any Ahmadi. If the remarks implied any warning to me, they implied a greater warning to Maulawi Muhammad Ali because while the remarks make a relieving qualification—even our Miyañ—in my case, they include Maulawi Muhammad Ali in the general category. It may here be noted that the Maulawi Sahib has here again tried to trick the reader. While quoting Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} he has dropped out the word **بھی**—even—which is the key to the whole intention of the remarks made by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. The word, however, is present even in the distorted description which his own paper, the *Paigham-e-Sulh*, published of the incident. The words quoted in the *Paigham-e-Sulh* are:

میاں نے بھی نہیں سمجھا

—'even the Miyañ has not understood it'
 (*Paigham-e-Sulh* March 3, 1914).

What is more important is that Maulawi Muhammad Ali in his own work, *Kufr-o-Islam*, has retained the word even in his reference to this incident. The omission of the word even from the quotation in *The Split* affords, therefore, yet another proof of Maulawi Muhammad Ali's tendency to tamper with texts.

This offence of Maulawi Sahib increases in gravity when we remember that after the death of Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, and before the question of a successor had yet been decided, Maulawi Sahib, in the course of a conversation with me, made a reference to this incident, when I duly corrected his version of it. As the incident was then of recent occurrence, Maulawi Muhammad Ali did not at the time venture to question my statement. He murmured an admission, and then quickly changed the subject of conversation. Then again, sworn statements of those present on the occasion have since been received and published. There is thus little possibility that Maulawi Muhammad Ali may have forgotten the incident. All the circumstances, therefore, point to the inevitable conclusion that Maulawi Muhammad Ali has been

purposely distorting the facts. In addition to the sworn testimony of several persons present on the occasion, I myself am prepared to affirm on oath the truth of my version of the incident, and shall be glad to know whether Maulawi Muhammad Ali, and his friends, who were present, are prepared to affirm on oath their version of the incident. I am sure none of them will be so bold as to take such an oath. They will only make pretences to escape the ordeal.

Maulawi Muhammad Ali's Leaflet—*Kufr-o-Islam*—Did Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} Approve It?

The eighth item in Maulawi Muhammad Ali's narrative is the statement that he wrote a small pamphlet which was read over to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} that the latter approved of the views expressed therein, but that the pamphlet could not be published in the lifetime of Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}. There is no doubt that Maulawi Muhammad Ali did write a pamphlet on the question of the *Kufr* or Islam of non-Ahmadis, and read it over to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. But the statement that he approved of the views referred to therein is what I find hard to believe. There is no written testimony which could bear out the fact of Hadrat's approval, while, on the

contrary 'evidence' both external and internal, goes to prove the reverse. As external evidence, I quote below statements from Hafiz Raushan Ali Sahib and Dr. Khalifa Rashiduddin, L.M.S.

Facts connected with the tract *Kufr-o-Islam* by Maulawi Muhammad Ali, as narrated by Hafiz Raushan Ali Sahib:

"I remember that towards the close of his life, while Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} was prostrate in his last illness, very likely sometime in the month of February 1914—he was still living in his own house in old Qadian—I was once sitting in the office of the *Al-Fadl* in company with Sahibzadah Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad, when there came to us my teacher Hafiz Ghulam Rasul Wazirabadi. He told us that Maulawi Muhammad Ali had written an article on the subject of *Kufr* which he would read out to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} next Friday after the service, and that he intended to read it out in private. Upon this Sahibzadah Sahib said that he too would be present at the reading, and that as the subject concerned an important question of belief we also should

be present at the time. Accordingly, when Friday came, I resolved to visit the house of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} soon after the Juma prayers, and so I did. When I reached the yard of the house, the following came out of the room of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}: (1) Maulawi Muhammad Ali (2) Mirza Ya‘qub Baig (3) Shaikh Rahmatullah and (4) Dr. Muhammad Husain Shah. At that time Maulawi Muhammad Ali held some papers folded in his hand. They inquired of me whether the Juma prayers were over. I answered, "Yes", I felt sure that they had foregone the Juma prayers in order to secure the desired privacy to read out the article to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. I also learnt that Dr. Khalifa Rashiduddin had also been with them, but had left before my arrival. I then went over to the house of the Doctor for further inquiry and asked him whether they had attended the Juma prayers. He said that Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} had to be given a bath, so it was necessary for the doctors to remain in attendance. I said, that Maulawi Muhammad Ali and Shaikh Rahmatullah were no doctors. Why then did

they miss the *Juma* prayer? To this, the Doctor replied that they had waited there in order to read out an article to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. I inquired "And did they read out the same to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih?" The Doctor said, "No, twice or thrice they asked leave to read, but Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} declined saying he was going to take rest. Thus they failed in the object for which they had forgone their *Juma* prayers". After this I came back to Sahibzadah Sahib and related to him the whole story. Then I went back to the house of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih and sat down determined not to leave the place till Maulawi Muhammad Ali had either read the article or returned home disappointed. Maulawi Muhammad Ali waited in the house of Maulawi Sadruddin looking for the time when I should leave Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}, while I looked for the time when Maulawi Muhammad Ali should read out his article to him. At length came the time for the *Maghrib* prayers. Maulawi Muhammad Ali now departed for his house out of town, and I departed for the *Maghrib* prayers. After the

prayers I said to Sahibzadah Sahib, "Friday has passed and Maulawi Muhammad Ali has not read out his article to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}." To this Sahibzadah Sahib replied "Well, when he is determined so far to keep it a secret and does not wish that we should know anything about it, it is better to leave him alone. How long can we keep watch over him? Let us instead pray to God and fast that these troubles and travails may be averted." After this, we paid no further attention to Maulawi Muhammad Ali. The latter, however, did not have the opportunity to read out his article either on Saturday or on Sunday following. But the night following Sunday or, may be, the night following Monday he made arrangements, to prevent people from coming to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih's^{ra} house and had the opportunity to read out the article. He posted some Pathans to guard the doors of the house and told them it was the Khalifa's command that nobody should be allowed to enter in. At this time, Mir Nasir Nawab Sahib called to inquire about the health of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. The guards told him that nobody

was permitted to enter. Similarly, Sufi Maulawi Ghulam Muhammad B. A. also came to inquire of his health. He also was sent back. Then came Dr. Khalifa Rashiduddin. He too was stopped by the guards. But he said that he was a doctor and nobody could prevent his entrance. He forcibly made his way in. Coming to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} he inquired of him whether he had given orders not to allow people to come in. Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} replied that he had given no such orders. Dr. Khalifa Rashiduddin subsequently reported that at that time Maulawi Muhammad Ali was reading out his article to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. When he had finished, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} asked him whether he felt fully satisfied with the article. Maulawi Muhammad Ali said, "Yes." Thereupon, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} said that he himself was not fully satisfied with the article. Maulawi Muhammad Ali made several attempts to get Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} to sign the article, but always remained unsuccessful.'

Written on the 27th August, 1919, by Ata Muhammad, Assistant to Hafiz Raushan Ali Sahib."

"I attest that the above account has been dictated by me.

(Sd.) Raushan Ali."

"I attest the correctness of the account dictated by Hafiz Raushan Ali and state that it is all in accordance with facts and is quite accurate.

(Sd.) Khalifa Rashiduddin,

Civil Assistant Surgeon (Retired),

Physician in attendance on Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra},"

In addition to the above testimonies, there was the testimony of the late Sahibzadah Abdul Hayi, son of Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, who told me that Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} did not approve of the article and said that it required further consideration and that therefore Maulawi Muhammad Ali must not make haste to publish it. This testimony received confirmation from actual facts, as we may notice that the article was not published so long as Hadrat

Khalifatul Masih^{ra} was alive, although another pamphlet which Maulawi Muhammad Ali wrote later, in anticipation of the death of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} on the subject of succession to the Khilafat, was published during his lifetime. What is the conclusion to be drawn from all this evidence? This question, which hardly needs an answer, will be answered by the conscience of every reader.

Did the Bai‘at on the Hand of the Second Khalifa take Place in Ignorance?

The ninth item in Maulawi Muhammad Ali’s account is that Ahmadis accepted my *Bai‘at* under several misconceptions, and that many of them are now openly averse to beliefs held by me. For example, even Maulawi Muhammad Ahsan, the oldest and the most learned living Companion of the Promised Messiah^{as}, has issued a handbill declaring that I am not fit for the office of Khilafat, because I have been promulgating the following erroneous beliefs.

(i) That all the followers of the *Qibla*, professing the *Kalima*, are *kuffar*.

(ii) That the Promised Messiah^{as} was a perfect and real Prophet and not a partial Prophet or *Muhaddath*.

(iii) That the prophecy about Ahmad in Chapter Saff of the Holy Quran relates to the Promised Messiah^{as} and not to the Holy Prophet^{sa}.

In dealing with these charges, I wish in the first instance to state that it is altogether wrong to say that people accepted my *Bai'at* under any misconception regarding my views. My principles and beliefs had been published long before I was elected to the office of Khalifa. My views on the question of the prophethood of the Promised Messiah^{as} had been expounded in a lecture I delivered in 1910. This lecture was duly published in the organs of the Ahmadiyya Movement. They were also to be found in other writings of mine. I had also published a tract on the subject of the *Kufr* of those who did not accept the Promised Messiah^{as}, and, in the words of Maulawi Muhammad Ali himself, I had in 1913 once again announced that those who did not believe in the Promised Messiah^{as} were *kuffar*. In the presence of so many repeated declarations, how can it be said that people entered my *Bai'at* through a misconception? It is true that there are a few who first entered my *Bai'at* and then renounced it. But, on the other hand, more than a hundred times their number have later replaced these defections. When I was elected there was only an inconsiderable number who accepted my *Bai'at*.

The majority of the Jama'ats in centres outside held back through misunderstandings created by these very people. But God worked on my behalf and gradually gathered the whole Community to my side. It is wrong therefore to say that people entered my *Bai'at* through any misconception. They continue still to enter and from December last up to now (March 1919), about 25 persons from among the followers of Maulawi Muhammad Ali have accepted me as the true Khalifa. All this has happened in spite of the fact that I have refrained from devoting any attention to my opponents who have been spending the bulk of their funds and energy against me. Wherever our men have gone to preach the truth of Ahmadiyyat, there their men have followed them in order to create an aversion in the public mind against us and often against Ahmadiyyat itself. If I, on my part, had cared to devote to these people even half the time which they have been wasting in their activities against us, then, by the grace of God, we could have had even larger results. It seems to us better, however, that our energy should be devoted to the propagation of Islam and the advance of Ahmadiyyat. Accordingly, all our lecturers are directed to work only among non-Ahmadis and non-Muslims. On the other hand, nearly all the lecturers of Maulawi Muhammad Ali's party

are engaged in misleading Ahmadis. Nevertheless, those who have deserted us to join Maulawi Muhammad Ali's party are few, and have been compensated many time over by those who have left his party to join us. I am prepared, in case Maulawi Muhammad Ali desires, to furnish proof.

As for his statement that a majority of the enlightened Ahmadis are opposed to my views, it is but a claim for which Maulawi Muhammad Ali has still to furnish some evidence. Of course, if we start with the assumption that those who belong to his way of thinking are enlightened and those who do not are not, then certainly not a majority but rather all the enlightened members of the Community have abandoned my party and joined his. If, however, such an assumption is inadmissible, then there is no evidence for Maulawi Muhammad Ali's claim. For, if there are any men learned in religion whom Maulawi Muhammad Ali can produce from among his followers, then there is a much larger number of them whom I can produce from among my followers. This is, however, a futile method of arguing, useless for the establishment of truth. If, however, Maulawi Muhammad Ali is fond of arguing in this way, we are quite prepared to stand even this comparison of strength.

Maulawi Muhammad Ali's narrative seeks also to prove that the enlightened members of the Community who still continue as my followers, are opposed to the beliefs held by me. If words used by him, which carry the above sense, are deliberate and intentional, then I cannot but say that he has only attempted to mislead people. For those who are with me agree in my beliefs, and if there is anywhere any stray exception, the case is beyond my knowledge, and such exceptions can in no wise serve as the basis of an argument. I do not, of course, speak of those few men who are openly consorting with Maulawi Muhammad Ali, but who still for considerations of expediency are averse to making a public declaration of the renunciation of this *Bai'at*. These men by their conduct have proved themselves hypocrites. But even they are negligibly small in number.

Now to those statements which Maulawi Muhammad Ali has made concerning Maulawi Sayyid Muhammad Ahsan. In the first place, I wish to say that the statement made by Maulawi Muhammad Ali that Maulawi Sayyid Muhammad Ahsan is the oldest living Companion of the Promised Messiah^{as} is quite wrong. There are among my followers men still living who entered into the *Bai'at* of the Promised Messiah^{as} long before Maulawi Sayyid Muhammad

Ahsan, and who had become attached to the Promised Messiah^{as} at a time before the said Sayyid Sahib had even heard his name. For example, there is Shaikh Hamid Ali Sahib^{ra6} who was the third of those who accepted the *Bai'at* of the Promised Messiah^{as}, and Munshi Rura Sahib,⁶ retired Tahsildar of Kapurthala, who was the seventh or eighth of those who entered into the Promised Messiah's^{as} *Bai'at*. This last gentleman, some years ago, migrated to Qadian. He is one of those who possessed a special attachment for the Promised Messiah^{as}, and about him the Promised Messiah^{as} wrote on page 799 of *Izala'-e-Auham*. "He is attached to me by a bond of love." The Promised Messiah^{as} entertained a special affection for him, a fact well-known to visitors to Qadian. Munshi Rura Khan belonged to the Ahmadiyya Jama'at of Kapurthala. With regard to this Jama'at, the Promised Messiah^{as} was pleased to remark, "I hope that by the grace and bounty of God you will be with me in this life and the next." (Letters of the Promised Messiah^{as} to Muhammad Khan Sahib of Kapurthala, dated 27th January, 1894—reproduced from the *Badr*, October 1st, 1908). All members of this Jama'at are in my *Bai'at*. Similarly, there is Mir Inayat Ali Shah Sahib^{ra}

⁶ Both of them were living at the time of the writing of the book, but have since died.

of Ludhiana who was the ninth of those who accepted the *Bai'at* of the Promised Messiah^{as}. There is also Maulawi Abdullah Sahib of Sanaur, who is the witness of a great miracle of the Promised Messiah^{as}, and regarding whom the Promised Messiah^{as} made the prophecy, "I am fully assured that God has filled your heart with sincerity and love. You possess a natural affinity and your love is such that it cannot change with the passing of time." (Extract from the Promised Messiah's^{as} letter to Maulawi Abdullah of Sanaur, dated 6th March 1908. This letter will be found fully reproduced elsewhere in this book). This gentleman too is, by the grace of God, among my followers. There is also Munshi Zafar Ahmad Sahib, who was one of the earliest to accept the *Bai'at* of the Promised Messiah^{as}, and who entertains a more than ordinary attachment for the Promised Messiah^{as}, and is at present a member of the Kapurthala Jama'at. Similarly, there are Munshi Abdur Rahman Sahib and Munshi Fayyaduddin Sahib, both of Kapurthala. All of them are deeply devoted members of the Movement, and all of them entered into the *Bai'at* of the Promised Messiah^{as} long before Maulawi Muhammad Ahsan. There is also Pir Sirajul Haq Nu'mani who was not only one of the earliest to accept the *Bai'at*, but had also at several times lived

in the company of the Promised Messiah^{as}. These gentlemen not only joined the Promised Messiah^{as} earlier than Maulawi Muhammad Ahsan, but are mostly such as enjoyed more of his society than was the case with Maulawi Sayyid Muhammad Ahsan. Thus it is altogether wrong to say that Maulawi Sayyid Muhammad Ahsan is the oldest Companion of the Promised Messiah^{as}. The earliest work in which the Promised Messiah^{as} enumerated the names of the men who joined him is *Izala-e-Auham*. Of the persons mentioned therein, there are eighteen now alive regarding whom the Promised Messiah^{as} was pleased to record his remarks. Out of this number, fourteen have entered my *Bai'at* and four have joined the party of Maulawi Sahib. Can there still be any doubt as to which side enjoys the confidence of the majority of the Promised Messiah's^{as} Companions?

Nor am I prepared to agree with Maulawi Muhammad Ali that Maulawi Sayyid Muhammad Ahsan is the most learned man in the whole of the Ahmadiyya Movement. It is no easy matter to determine the extent of a person's learning. In my opinion, Maulawi Sayyid Sarwar Shah Sahib and Qazi Sayyid Amir Husain Sahib are in no way inferior to Maulawi Sayyid Muhammad Ahsan in the matter of scholarship. I may also include Maulawi Hafiz

Raushan Ali Sahib who, although young in years, may be reckoned among the aged in learning. Thus, neither on ground of years, nor on the ground of learning, does Maulawi Sayyid Muhammad Ahsan enjoy any such pre-eminence over the rest of the Community as might entitle his pronouncements to any special authority. It is true that by reason of his learning and his age he enjoyed the general regard of both the educated and the ordinary members of the Movement; and, as for myself, I do even now hold him in esteem for the sake of the respect he enjoyed in the past. I am of opinion that the said Sayyid Sahib is labouring under a sad delusion, and that God willing, when he recovers his normal self, he will turn again to the Centre. May God fulfil the hope that it is only a passing trial which he is undergoing, and that he will come out victorious in the end, and that God will save him from the fate of the old woman, spoken of in the Holy Quran, who span her yarn during the day and undid it during the night. Amen!

I now proceed to deal with the charges upon the grounds of which Maulawi Sayyid Muhammad Ahsan claims to depose me from the Khilafat. I would, however, note in passing that the appointment of a Khalifa is the work of God, and that it lies with God alone to depose him. It is in no man's power either to

appoint or to depose a Khalifa. Thus my appointment as Khalifa was not due to Maulawi Muhammad Ahsan, nor could I be deposed by his command. It is, indeed, one of the favours of God, that since the announcement of deposition by Maulawi Sayyid Muhammad Ahsan, further success has come and continues to come to me. From that time up to now (March 1919), some fifteen to twenty thousand new members have joined me and every day brings more and more success. May God add to the success. Amen!

It is not my intention at this stage to enter into a discussion of the charges brought against me by Maulawi Sayyid Muhammad Ahsan, nor shall I attempt here to prove or disprove the beliefs which he states. A full discussion of these beliefs will be made further on. All I wish to say at this place is that it is hardly proper on the part of Sayyid Sahib to attack me on the ground of those beliefs. It was certainly open to him to say that the error of those beliefs is now manifest to him, and that he has therefore, decided to renounce them, or he could have said that, in addition to those beliefs, there were some novel beliefs which I had adopted, and that it was on account of these that he would now renounce my *Bai'at*. But he has no justification to speak of the beliefs held by me, as

novel or heretical, or to make them the ground of an announcement against me. I say this because he has been familiar with those beliefs for a long time before now, and was well aware of them, when the *Bai'at* of my Khilafat was held. For, as Maulawi Muhammad Ali admits, my article on the subject of *Kufr* of non-Ahmadis was published in the *Tashhidhul Adhhan* of April 1911 and, as he further admits, I have since been writing regularly on the subject. Thus when even in the lifetime of Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, I had declared non-Ahmadis to be *kuffar*, and this was well-known to members of the Movement, I can only wonder why Maulawi Sayyid Muhammad Ahsan, who knew all this, entered into my *Bai'at*. If my beliefs were really such that their entertainment rendered me unfit for the office of Khalifa, how was it that on the day of the election in the Masjid Nur, it was he who stood up to propose me for the Khilafat, and he who made a powerful speech in my support? A more proper attitude for him, on seeing people wish to enter into my *Bai'at*, would have been to dissuade them from doing so, to point out that I had pronounced all Muslims to be *kuffar*, and that therefore I was not fit to be their Khalifa. As it happens, I have had no occasion to enter into any elaborate discussion of this question of *Kufr* of non-Ahmadis, since my election

as Khalifa. The most important article I wrote on the subject was the one published during the lifetime of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}. Accordingly, if holding this belief is really a valid ground for my deposition from the Khilafat, the blame attaches to Sayyid Sahib who, in spite of my holding the belief, was so strong in his support of my election as Khalifa. Besides, it may also be noted that on the eve of the meeting at which God was pleased to decide the question of successor to the Khilafat, Maulawi Muhammad Ali came to pay me a call. There were present on the occasion Maulawi Muhammad Ahsan, Dr. Khalifa Rashiduddin, and Nawab Muhammad Ali Khan, Jagirdar of Malerkotla. Maulawi Muhammad Ali at that time laid stress upon this very question. He pointed out that it was difficult to proceed with the election of a Khalifa, because there was such serious disparity of beliefs prevailing in the Community. One party regarded the Promised Messiah^{as} as a *Nabi* and his deniers as *kuffar* while the other party refused to subscribe to any such doctrine. Upon this, it was Maulawi Muhammad Ahsan who engaged Maulawi Muhammad Ali in argument, and tried to establish the validity of our beliefs. But I restrained him pointing out that the occasion was not one for the settlement of differences of belief. The question immediately before

us was how to find a solution of the impasse, and in any case a settlement of beliefs required time. I am prepared to swear to the truth of this incident, and I ask Maulawi Muhammad Ali to say whether he too is prepared to swear that he did not refer at this meeting to our beliefs, and that Maulawi Muhammad Ahsan was not one of those who argued with him in order to establish their validity.

Now, to the subject of prophethood. On this subject also, as I have already stated, I had publicly explained my views in a speech I delivered on the occasion of the Annual Conference of the year 1910. I had there stated in plain words that the Promised Messiah^{as} was a *Nabi*. I have already quoted a number of passages from this speech. Here I shall content myself with quoting one more passage. "A *Nabi* from God has appeared among us. If we follow him, we shall reap all the rewards promised to the Companions of the Holy Prophet^{sa}." In this passage not only was the Promised Messiah^{as} distinctly called a *Nabi*, but mention was also made of the eminence of his rank by saying that his followers were to be classed with the Companions of the Holy Prophet^{sa}. When I delivered the speech, Maulawi Muhammad Ahsan was present in the gathering and no sooner had I finished speaking

than he broke out reciting in a loud voice the Quranic verse

(Al-Mā'idah, 5:55) لَا يَخَافُونَ لَوْمَةَ لَائِمٍ

"They do not fear the slander of any slanderer."

This, however, was not all. The next day, Maulawi Sayyid Muhammad Ahsan himself delivered an address in the Masjid Aqsa. In the course of this address also, he praised my lecture and in these words: "There was a revelation to the Promised Messiah^{as}

إِنَّا نُبَشِّرُكَ بِغُلَامٍ مَّظْهَرِ الْحَقِّ وَالْعُلَا

'I give you glad tidings of a boy, the manifestation of truth and greatness'."

The revelation was in accord with the prophecy contained in the Hadith relating to the Promised Messiah^{as} يَتَزَوَّجُ وَيُولَدُ لَهُ—that he would marry and would be granted sons who would be great. We have accordingly, amongst us Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad who, in addition to being the noble son of a noble father, has in spite of his extreme youth disclosed, in the sermon he delivered in explanation of some Quranic verses, such a depth of knowledge and such an insight into truth as is indeed without a

parallel. Now if any one were to slight him, and to speak about him saying that he was a child of yesterday, reared by their hands, given to sport and frolic, then one ought to remember that such remarks were the characteristic of the Pharaoh who spoke to Moses^{as} saying 'Did we not rear thee in our midst as a child? You lived amongst us many a year of your life'. Well brother! If such thoughts were to arise in the heart of any of you, you should seek forgiveness of God, because the end of the Pharaoh was bad indeed. (The *Badr* for January, 1911). Thus, it is impossible to say that Maulawi Sayyid Muhammad Ahsan had no knowledge of the beliefs which I held.

He knew all about them. He accepted my *Bai'at* with full knowledge of their nature. And now, on the ground of those same beliefs, he has renounced my *Bai'at*. Who is there who, under the circumstances, will look upon his action with approval? One more point to be remembered, in this connection, is that my belief regarding the nature of the Promised Messiah's^{as} prophethood is the same as that of Maulawi Sayyid Muhammad Ahsan, as stated by him in the *Tashhidul Adhhan*. The difference is merely one of terminology.

Yet a third doctrine, alleged to have been newly promulgated by me, is my belief that the Promised Messiah^{as} is the object of the prophecy relating to Ahmad which occurs in Chapter Al-Saff of the Holy Quran. Whatever may be the merit of this belief of mine, it was promulgated long before Maulawi Sayyid Muhammad Ahsan took the oath of *Bai'at*; and even after its publication the said Maulawi Sahib remained for a long time on friendly relations with me. It was, in fact, during the lifetime of Khalifatul Masih I, that I wrote an article on the subject of the prophecy relating to Ahmad; only, it could not be shown to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. My friend Qazi Zahuruddin Akmal published the article in the *Tashhidhul Adhhan* soon after I became Khalifa, and it was no less than two years after its publication that Maulawi Sayyid Muhammad Ahsan announced his revocation of the *Bai'at*. During all this time he consistently supported me and my party, and opposed Maulawi Muhammad Ali and his coadjutors. Thus, it would appear that even this belief could not be the real ground for his revocation of the *Bai'at*.

Before finishing this point, I wish to cite one written testimony from the pen of Maulawi Sayyid Muhammad Ahsan himself which shows that all the three doctrines had met with his entire approval, that

he had bestowed upon the opponents of these doctrines opprobrious names like Pharaoh, etc. In fact, it appears that it was due to my advocacy of these very doctrines that he recognised me to be the Promised son of the Promised Messiah^{as}.

When, towards the close of the year 1914, Khwaja Kamaluddin returned from England, he delivered a lecture at Lahore at a meeting of the friends and partisans of Maulawi Muhammad Ali. The lecture was printed and widely distributed. I published a reply to it in my book called *Al-Qaulul Fasl*. In that book I discussed all the three questions: (i) the prophethood of the Promised Messiah^{as}, (ii) *Kufr* of non-Ahmadis, (iii) the Quranic Prophecy relating to Ahmad. By way of illustration I shall here quote a few passages from the book, bearing upon all the three subjects:

"If one were to define *Haqiqi Nabi* (real Prophet) as a Prophet who is not an impostor or pretender but a Prophet who has really been sent by God, who bears the title of *Nabi* in the sense of an accredited messenger of God, agreeably to the sense in which the word is used in the Holy Quran and possesses all the attributes requisite in a *Nabi* in their proper measure, then in view of

such a definition, I would say that the Promised Messiah^{as} was a *Haqiqi Nabi*, but, of course, I would not give him that name if it is understood to mean that he brought a new Law." (*Al-Qaulul Fasl*, page 12). Again, "According to us what is meant by the Promised Messiah^{as} being a *Zilli* or a *Baruzi Nabi*, is simply this that his *Nubuwwat* (prophethood) was attained by virtue of his pupillage and obedience to the Holy Prophet Muhammad^{sa}, whereas the previous Prophets attained this rank directly, and the words do not imply that the *Nubuwwat* (prophethood) of the Promised Messiah^{as} was something of the nature of an honorary title which had no real substance behind it, or that his *Nubuwwat* did not entitle him to the status and privileges of Prophets." (*Al-Qaulul Fasl*. p. 18)

In the same book, there is to be found from page 2 to 26 a discussion of the question of the *Nubuwwat* of the Promised Messiah^{as}. Therein light has been thrown upon every possible aspect of the question, and nothing has been omitted from the discussion. Further on from page 27 to 32, has been discussed the prophecy concerning Ahmad. A few extracts from this

discussion are now quoted: "The Promised Messiah^{as} has called himself Ahmad, and said that it was he who was the real object of the prophecy, because he said that in this passage (the verse *Ismuhu Ahmad* in Chapter Al-Saff of the Holy Quran), there is a prophecy concerning Ahmad, alone, whereas the Holy Prophet was both Ahmad and Muhammad." (*Al-Qaulul Fasl*, page 27). Again, I wrote on page 31, "The person who is referred to in *Ismuhu Ahmad* is the Promised Messiah^{as}." In short, in six pages of the book I proved by quotations from the writings of the Promised Messiah^{as} and the testimony of Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, that the Promised Messiah^{as} was the real object of the Quranic prophecy concerning Ahmad. Regarding the question of *Kufr* of non-Ahmadis, I wrote on page 33 of the book, "The other question discussed by Khwaja Sahib is that of *Kufr* of non-Ahmadis. Regarding this question, I have already published the writings of the Promised Messiah^{as} which have a bearing on the subject. Further explanation is unnecessary. My belief continues to be the same as before." Below in a footnote, it was noted 'For details, see *Tashhidul Adhhan* for April 1911.' This was the number in which was published my article running over 40 pages on the subject of *Kufr* of non-Ahmadis, from which several extracts have

already been quoted above. I wrote, "Thus, whatever the Holy Quran says concerning such people as disbelieve in any Prophet is applicable to the deniers of Mirza Sahib (the Promised Messiah^{as})." *Al-Qaulul Fasl*, p. 33).

From the above quotations, it is evident that the book *Al-Qaulul Fasl*, declared in the clearest possible terms that the Promised Messiah^{as} was a *Nabi*, and his deniers *kuffar*, and that he was the object of the prophecy contained in the Quranic verse relating to Ahmad. The book was published in January 1915, and a copy of it was forwarded to Maulawi Sayyid Muhammad Ahsan. Maulawi Sahib in a letter to Qazi Zahuruddin Akmal wrote about the book as follows:

"I have had the book *Al-Qaulul Fasl* read over to me from beginning to end. I have already expressed my opinion about it that it has given to the opponents of the Khilafat a conclusive argument in proof of their error."

Further, a letter also came to me from Sayyid Muhammad Ya'qub, son of Maulawi Sayyid Muhammad Ahsan wherein he wrote on behalf of his father: "The book *Al-Qaulul Fasl* was read over by me to my father. He was so glad to hear the claims and the arguments that he forgot, for the moment the

discomforts of age and the pains of the ailments from which he has been suffering, and gave vent to his feelings in the words, 'Praise be to God, I have lived to see the day for which I had been waiting for years'." The writer continued, "I may mention here on behalf of my father regarding this tribe of the Pharaoh namely, the Lahore party, that it has transpired that one Devil⁷ among them, in speaking about the book *Al-Qaulul Fasl*, referred to its author saying that he was an evil minded man, a liar, a man of craft and that he would work to expose all his toils. These foul words are among the least uttered by the man. His condition is in fact similar to that of the Pharaoh. If he will not repent, then, in the end, he will be engulfed in a Hood of darkness. Amen!" Dated, February 11, 1915.

From these letters, written by or on behalf of Maulawi Sayyid Muhammad Ahsan, it would appear that he had carefully heard the book *Al-Qaulul Fasl* from beginning to end, and had found its conclusions both valid and well-demonstrated. In other words, he considered the subject matter of the book to be at once correct and well-substantiated by the testimony of God and His holy men. He was so pleased to hear the

⁷ This term Maulawi Muhammad Ahsan used with reference to Khwaja Kamaluddin.

book that he forgot his physical discomfort; and moreover its hearing enabled him to discover in me one he had been waiting for, for years. (He was here referring to the prophecy relating to a Promised son of the Promised Messiah^{as}, a subject to which he was never tired of referring in all his writings and discourses). We may also note that he regarded the decriers of the book as the followers of the Pharaoh or like the Pharaoh himself—men who were in danger of being engulfed in a flood of darkness. After such exuberant assurances of approval and support which Maulawi Sayyid Muhammad Ahsan was pleased to accord to my beliefs, it seems altogether inexplicable that he should on the ground of those very beliefs, now announce his renunciation of my *Bai'at*. Such an abrupt change is incredible in any rational person. I am certain the actual reasons must be far other than those avowed. Either the said Sayyid Sahib has been grossly deceived, or words have been attributed to him which he never uttered. At any rate, it is hardly right to say that the oldest and most learned of the living Companions of the Promised Messiah^{as} has written against my beliefs, because after such an unreserved support of them, for the same person to call them heretical can never be expected from any-rational man. Regarding the subject of the *Kufr* of

non-Ahmadis I had, as already mentioned, published an article in *Tashhidhul Adhhan*. This article was cordially supported by Maulawi Sayyid Muhammad Ahsan in a certain letter, some extracts from which are quoted below and will, it is hoped, be found illuminating by every fair-minded reader. Maulawi Sayyid Muhammad Ahsan wrote in reference to my article above mentioned: "In my opinion, in the discussion on the subjects of *Kufr* and kafir, you have fully discharged your duty of conveying the message. Henceforth, there is no more need for you to devote your attention to this subject. As the Holy Quran says, 'They can never do you any harm so long as you are yourself rightly guided'." This letter dealt with the subject of my article on the *Kufr* of non-Ahmadis, which was published in April 1911. The letter itself was written by Maulawi Sahib on the 6th September 1911 from his home at Amroha.

What the Enlightened Members of the Community Think.

The tenth item in Maulawi Muhammad Ali's narrative is that, besides Maulawi Sayyid Muhammad Ahsan, other enlightened members of the Ahmadiyya Community are now realising the error of my beliefs

and their dissatisfaction is becoming more and more pronounced every day.

I have already dealt with this subject, but I may mention here once more that, by the grace of God, all the members of my Jama'at, except such rare instances as may be known to God alone, are quite at one with me in the matter of beliefs. It would indeed be surprising if in this age of free thought and speech, educated men should find themselves opposed to my doctrines and still remain my followers, and in spite of the fact that I possess no temporal authority or power. The fact that they are with me, is itself a positive proof of the fact that they are at one with me in their views. But, nevertheless if Maulawi Muhammad Ali still thinks that he is right in his statement, then the best course for him is to publish a list of such educated members as are dissatisfied with my beliefs. If, however, he has in his mind the few who have gone over to him from among my followers, then I would request him to compare their number with the number of those who have left his ranks in order to enter my *Bai'at*.

Charge of Narrow-Mindedness

The eleventh item in Maulawi Muhammad Ali's account is his charge of narrow-mindedness against

me. This, he says, has led me to condemn Ahmadis as *Fasiqs* (rebels). Such a charge comes with very bad grace from him who, in the very first pages of his book has been pleased to call me and my Companions by the name of *Dal* (perverts). I ask which is the harsher term, *Dal* or *Fasiq*. *Dal* implies such a bad sense that Muslims have been taught to pray five times a day, that is, in all their daily prayers, that they may be saved from being turned into *Dal*. But, nevertheless, Maulawi Muhammad Ali has not scrupled to bestow that title on us. (pp. 3—8 of *The Split*). If, however, it is contended that we have been given that name under the authority of the Quran and the Hadith then our rejoinder is that the name of *Fasiq* has been given to Maulawi Muhammad Ali and his party in conformity with the verse relating to the institution of Khilafat in Chapter Nur of the Holy Quran, where after promising the advent of Khulafa' from among Muslims, the Holy Quran proceeds to say that those who will not obey such Khulafa' will be *Fasiqs*. Thus, whereas our opponents possess no justification for giving us the name of *Dal*, we have the sanction of the Quran in our use of the term *Fasiq*. Besides the explicit dictum of the Quran, we possess the precedent of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} who openly called them *Fasiqs* who refused to obey his

commands, and so far as we know Maulawi Muhammad Ali and his partisans still profess to respect his decisions.

Do We Keep People in the Dark?

The twelfth item in Maulawi Muhammad Ali's narrative of the dissensions is that I have prohibited my followers from having anything to do with members of the other section; that I have prohibited them from eating at the same table with them, from mixing with them in social intercourse, and from reading any book or tract published by them. Thus my followers have been kept ignorant of the arguments which are being given in refutation of such of my beliefs as are contrary to the views of the Promised Messiah^{as}. This last link in Maulawi Muhammad Ali's account of the events which led up to the split in the Community is as feeble and flimsy as any of his other statements. I have never forbidden any of my followers from making friends with any members of the seceding party, or from eating at the same table with them, or from reading their literature. The whole charge is a libel fabricated by Maulawi Muhammad Ali. In fact on the contrary, I find that when in the year 1915, at the death of Maulawi Abdul Hayi, son of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, Maulawi Muhammad

Ali paid a visit to Qadian in company with some of his friends, I took the opportunity to invite him to my house, and sent Maulawi Sher Ali to escort him to my place, but Maulawi Muhammad Ali was pleased to decline the invitation. Similarly, when earlier in the same year, I had an occasion to pay a visit to Lahore for some medical consultation, some of my friends sent invitation to Maulawi Muhammad Ali and some of his friends. But they declined the invitation. On another occasion, Shaikh Rahmatullah, one of the partisans of Maulawi Muhammad Ali, paid a visit to Qadian and proceeded directly to the Maqbarah-e-Bahishti. Somebody brought the news to me, whereupon I sent somebody to escort him to my house, and also went personally to meet him. I requested him to stop at Qadian, but he declined the request on the plea of urgent work. In a like manner, members of my party make it a point to mix with members of the other party, wherever such meetings are possible. But there are people who are prone to pick quarrels and are intent upon mischief. Their sole object is to deceive others, and they always wait for an opportunity to create trouble. These are the men who sow the seeds of disbelief and dissension. From such people my followers, of course, make it a point to keep away; nor do I myself approve of such

association. But, nevertheless, so far as I can remember, I have never as yet issued any pronouncement on this subject. Apart, however, from these considerations, may not one ask of Maulawi Muhammad Ali, what right has he to bring the present charge against me, seeing that he himself declined to accept my invitation? He himself stands charged with departing from the example of the Holy Prophet^{sa} in declining my invitation. After that it was no longer my duty to accept his invitation. To accept his invitation, under the circumstances, would have been dishonourable, and believers ought never to compromise their honour. I sought long not to cut off relations with this opposite party, and to see them return to the fold of truth. But Maulawi Muhammad Ali, from the beginning, saw his advantage in dissension and strife. It was because of this that he departed from Qadian, and founded a new Anjuman of his own, and published various slanders against me. After that, what right has he to expect that I should continue to be friendly with him? In the first place, by their denial of the Khilafat and by their attempt to create a breach in the Community, Maulawi Muhammad Ali and his associates—who were at the bottom of these dissensions—made themselves liable in the eye of the Shariah to have all intercourse with

them suspended,⁸ and to be left severely alone by the Community. But, nevertheless, when as a kind of special concession, I sought to keep up relations with them, they plainly declined to respond to my overtures, and refused to accept our repeated invitations. And now they have the grace to lay the same charge at our door! Maulawi Muhammad Ali and his associates sometimes point to a certain article by Qazi Zahuruddin Akmal in support of this charge. This article was written after the return of Khwaja Kamaluddin from England, and it contained an exhortation to the Community to beware of him. But my accusers ought to remember that, in the first place, the article was not written by me; it expressed the view of one individual member of my following. In the second place, the article contained an exhortation to Ahmadis generally relating to a leading disturber. It did not speak of the mutual relations of the two sides, or of their leading members. This was apparent from the fact that the writer himself called at their headquarters, in order to see Maulawi Muhammad Ali, but the latter paid no attention to him, and failed to show him the ordinary civility due to a visitor. If the article was intended by the author to have any

⁸ Sa'ad who did not acknowledge the Khilafat of Hadrat Abu Bakr had all relations cut off with him by the Companions.

general application, then there was no reason why he himself should have gone to meet Maulawi Muhammad Ali. The fact is that the charge is merely an excuse fabricated with a view to justifying their own aloofness from me and my Jama'at. A careful inquiry will show how my Jama'at have all along shown more readiness to mix with his adherents than they have shown to mix with mine. On the occasion of their annual gathering a good few of my followers invariably go and attend, but none of his adherents have ever attended our annual gatherings except on the last occasion when some of their members attended in response to a special invitation. Moreover, whenever any one of our members has happened to go among them, everything has been done to show him disrespect and contempt. For instance, only a few days ago I received a letter from one of my friends Miyañ Abdul Aziz, a P. W. D. overseer, which said that he had gone to those people but they did not allow him to stop with them. In short, they have now increased so much in their animosity to my Jama'at and have gone so deep in duplicity that any one of my friends who goes to mix with them runs the risk of hurting his self-respect. At present, their general attitude towards my adherents is one of indifference, save towards such people whom they expect to win

over to their views or from whom they hope to derive some advantage.

As regards a study of their books, it may confidently be asserted that there will be found more members of my party who have studied their books than members of Maulawi Muhammad Ali's party who have cared to make themselves acquainted with our books.

And lastly, I wish to state that while I have been busy writing this part of my reply there has been yet another opportunity to disprove and expose the utter groundlessness of the charge made by Maulawi Muhammad Ali that I have kept my followers in the dark by prohibiting them from hearing the arguments of his party. This happened as follows. Our annual gathering for the year 1918, which on account of my indisposition could not be held as usual in December 1918, was held in March 1919. On this occasion, I sent a special invitation to members of the other section. In response, some 30 selected members of Maulawi Sahib's party attended our meetings. They requested me for permission to speak at one of our meetings. Seeing that they were our guests, I acceded to the request, and asked them to appoint one of their number who might explain their views to those

assembled, and speak for such time as they granted to one of our members to speak at one of their meetings. To this, they replied that among their number there was none who could speak on the occasion. They, therefore, asked that Sayyid Mudassar Shah might be permitted to speak on their behalf. They also requested that the time allotted to the speaker should be longer than that which was allowed in their meetings to our representative. I acceded to both these requests. Accordingly, after a speech by Maulawi Hafiz Raushan Ali on the subject of the prophethood of the Promised Messiah^{as}, Sayyid Mudassar Shah was granted one hour in which he explained to the audience, consisting of some 6,000 Ahmadis assembled from all parts of the country, the views of the rival section. After he had finished, his arguments were refuted by Mir Muhammad Ishaq. The arrangement removed once for all the complaint of the rival party that Ahmadis were prevented from hearing the arguments of their side. Praise be to God, the address of the rival party only served to strengthen the conviction of Ahmadis in their beliefs and to expose the weakness and error of the rival views. Mir Muhammad Ishaq's speech, in fact, served as another illustration of the Quranic truth: When truth comes falsehood vanishes.

I have now refuted one after another all those items in Maulawi Muhammad Ali's account which needed refutation. I am confident that whoever goes through my refutation with an impartial mind will be fully convinced that Maulawi Muhammad Ali in his book *The Split* has indulged in a whole series of misstatements, that in his account of the dissensions he has on not less than twenty-four occasions, taken recourse to intentional prevarications entirely oblivious of the awe and fear of God. People who live far away from the headquarters of the Movement, who are not in direct touch with its affairs, who have not been eyewitnesses cannot realise the gravity of those prevarications. Nevertheless, the strong evidences here produced should enable them to arrive at a just appraisal of the truth. And as in the proverb—a few grains from the pot are sufficient to show what the rest of the contents are like—the many prevarications and misstatements noticed above cannot but serve as index of the nature of the person who had recourse to them. Matters for which I have furnished documentary evidence require no further proof. As for matters, for which written evidence is not forthcoming and which must therefore rest upon oral evidence, I challenge Maulawi Muhammad Ali, in case he regards any of them to be false, to say on

oath that they are so and that I have deliberately so stated them. But I am certain that Maulawi Muhammad Ali will never adopt this method of testing the truth. He looks upon oaths and prayer trials—as methods of settling the truth—with scorn and scoffing, even though they are fully recognised as methods of evidence by Islam, and constitute one of the signs of its truth. The truth is, he is troubled with a bad conscience and is afraid that such a trial would lead to his undoing.

And our last words are "Glory to Allah, the lord of the worlds".

PART TWO

The True Story of the Split

After refuting the misstatements which Maulawi Muhammad Ali has made in his account of the split I proceed next to give a true account of the events which led to it; so that, on the one hand Ahmadis who are not yet acquainted with the truth about the split may become acquainted with it and, on the other those who have been thrown into a state of indecision by this spectacle of dissensions in the Community, who therefore hesitate to join the Ahmadiyya Movement even though they entertain sympathy for it may become acquainted with the true story of the split, and be in a position to judge the Movement and make up their minds about it.

It is inevitable in the case of every spiritual movement, that among its followers there should be some who enter it because they believe in its truth but who nevertheless are very superficial in their judgement and convictions. The truth does not seem to go very deep into their hearts. In the first ebullition of their zeal they seem to go further than many a sincere follower. But as their faith strikes no deep

root, they are always liable to cut themselves off from the main body of the movement, and to reject the truth at any time. A number of such persons joined the Ahmadiyya Movement founded by the Promised Messiah^{as}, and they brought about not only their own secession but the secession of many others from the ranks of the Movement.

In my opinion the person at the root of these dissensions is Khwaja Kamaluddin who has attained great fame because of his connection with the Woking Mission. Maulawi Muhammad Ali is only a disciple who joined Khwaja Sahib a long time after.

This view—that the story of Ahmadiyya dissensions goes back to Khwaja Kamaluddin—has often been expressed by our side. It was Khwaja Sahib, we have said, who first began to have doubts about the Promised Messiah^{as}, which doubts he communicated to Maulawi Muhammad Ali upsetting Maulawi Sahib in consequence. In view of this it seems to me that to Maulawi Muhammad Ali's attempt to connect Ahmadiyya dissensions with Zahiruddin—this has been fully discussed by me in Part I of this book—is only a counterblast to our view which connects the dissensions with Kamaluddin.

There is no doubt that when Khwaja Kamaluddin entered the Movement he did so as a sincere believer in its truth. But this is quite different from saying that it was a deep conviction of the truth of the Movement which made him join its fold. The cause of his joining the Movement was that he had at that time begun to feel dissatisfaction with Islam, and to feel an attraction towards Christianity. But as it is hard to part with one's family and friends, Khwaja Sahib fell a victim to a most intense mental conflict. It was therefore a great relief to him to see how the exponents of Christianity cowered and fled before the onslaughts of the Promised Messiah^{as}. He discovered that even within the fold of Islam it was possible for one to plant his feet firmly, and to resist the attacks of Western learning and science. As this release from a terrible mental conflict he owed to the Promised Messiah^{as}, he quickly joined the ranks of his followers. Considering his mental attitude at the time, it cannot but be said that he joined the Movement with a sincere heart. It is natural for one, who has been saved from a great disaster, to hold his saviour as high as he possibly can. It was, therefore, natural that Khwaja Sahib came to believe in the claims of the Promised Messiah^{as}. But it appears he never entered into a close study of those claims. His faith had its

roots in gratitude to the Promised Messiah^{as} who had saved him from becoming a Christian and from the pangs of separation from relatives and friends. It is clear that such a faith could not have lived for a very long time. With the lapse of time and the consequent fading from his memory of the days when he stood between Christianity and Islam—when, on the one hand, the many captivating allurements of Christianity were tempting his mind, and, on the other, the fear of parting from everything dear was tearing his soul—his faith began to decay, so much so that at the time of the prophecy relating to Abdullah Atham he very nearly turned an apostate. In 1897 there was held at Lahore a Conference of Religions. The Promised Messiah^{as} was invited to write a paper for this Conference. It was Khwaja Kamaluddin himself who brought the invitation. The Promised Messiah^{as} in those days was suffering from an attack of diarrhoea, but, nevertheless, he undertook to write this paper. When, by the Grace of God, the paper was finished, the Promised Messiah^{as} made it over to Khwaja Sahib. But Khwaja Sahib gave expression to a feeling of disappointment saying that the paper would not meet with appreciation at the Conference. In fact it would merely invite derision. But God revealed to the Promised Messiah^{as} that his paper would prove the

best of all the papers at the Conference. Accordingly, he wrote out a notice announcing the revelation. This notice also, the Promised Messiah^{as} made over to Khwaja Sahib directing him to have it printed and posted in advance all over the city of Lahore. He also spoke many a word of comfort and encouragement to Khwaja Sahib. But as Khwaja Sahib had already decided that the paper was worthless, he gave no publicity to the notice nor did he let anybody else do this. At last when some people reminded him of the command of the Promised Messiah^{as}, and pressed him to publish the notice, he managed to have a few copies of the notice posted secretly on the walls of the city, and they were put so high that they could not easily come to the notice of the public. But now that they had been put, the Promised Messiah^{as} could be truthfully assured that his command had been carried out? For, in the opinion of Khwaja Sahib, the paper regarding which God had been pleased to foretell that it would prove the best in the Conference, was not good enough to be read at that great gathering. At last arrived the day which had been fixed for the reading of the paper. The reading commenced, and before many minutes had passed, a complete stillness prevailed and a spell fell upon the audience. The allotted time was over but the interest of the audience

was unabated. More time was given but the addition proved inadequate. Then, at the request of the audience, the Conference was extended by one clear day to enable the reading of the paper to be concluded. Friend and foe declared with one voice that the paper by the Promised Messiah^{as} was undoubtedly the best that had been read at the Conference, and thus what had been foretold by God was duly fulfilled. But this great prophecy was robbed of its effect through the lukewarm faith of Khwaja Sahib. For, now all we can do is to recount the history of those days, but all the difference in the world would have been made, had the prophecy been published duly and well before the time came for its fulfilment. The importance which such a publication would have given to the prophecy can easily be imagined by everybody. This and other incidents of a similar nature go to prove that Khwaja Kamaluddin had failed to realise the true inwardness of the Ahmadiyya Movement, and his adherence to the Movement was really due to gratitude for benefits derived from the Promised Messiah^{as}. For example, the opponents of the Promised Messiah^{as} at various time brought law suits against the Promised Messiah^{as}, Khwaja Sahib used to look after these suits on behalf of the Promised Messiah^{as}. During all these

transactions he exhibited many a sign of weakness of faith, but a reiteration of those signs would not be appropriate at this place.

Suggestion to Convert *The Review of Religions*

In 1905, a suggestion was made by *The Watan* that if *The Review of Religions* should refrain from making any mention of the Promised Messiah^{as}, and devote itself solely to propagating the general principles of Islam, then it would be possible for the general body of Muslims outside the Ahmadiyya Community to support and subscribe to *The Review*.

Khwaja Sahib at once consented to act on the suggestion, and proposed that *The Review* should have an appendix attached to it and in that appendix should be published matters connected specially with the Ahmadiyya Movement, the body of the magazine to contain only topics connected with the general principles of Islam. The proposal raised such a storm of protest that at last Khwaja Sahib had to give in and the whole idea had to be abandoned. But this proposal by Khwaja Sahib and Maulawi Muhammad Ali served to encourage one Dr. Abdul Hakim, who had already for some time been labouring under the influence of certain heterodox notions, to initiate

correspondence with the Promised Messiah^{as}. The apparent occasion of the correspondence was the understanding which Khwaja Sahib had entered into with the editor of *The Watan* with regard to *The Review of Religions*, but in the course of this correspondence were formulated for the first time certain doctrines which subsequently proved to be the basic principles of the Lahore seceders.

Dr. Abdul Hakim wrote his first letter to the Promised Messiah^{as} early in 1906, the purport of which was as follows:

(1) That it should be legal for us to offer prayers behind other Muslims, except such as designated us as *kuffar*.

(2) That the proposal made by Khwaja Kamaluddin and Maulawi Muhammad Ali with regard to *The Review of Religions* should be accepted and carried out.

(3) That the claims of the Promised Messiah^{as} were subordinate to Islam and not fundamental to it; the presentation of his claims, therefore, should not be allowed to stand in the way of propagation of Islam.

(4) That in the order of presentation some scientific method should be followed. The more

general principles pertaining to *Shirk* (polytheistic tendencies) and *Bid'at* (innovations) should be presented to the public before the presentation of the personal claims of the Promised Messiah^{as}.

(5) That undue prominence should not be given to the question of the death of Jesus. Other doctrines of Islam should also receive due attention.

(6) That the moral tone of the Ahmadiyya Community should receive special attention for its improvement.

(7) That the Ahmadiyya Community had proved slack in the work of propagation, which duty required their special attention. They had ceased to show ordinary courtesies to non-Ahmadis, although remissness in propagation was primarily their own fault.

(8) That the true guides to Islam were healthy instincts and a sound teaching, not merely prophecies. It was, therefore, the greatest temerity to speak of the teachings of the Holy Quran as dead. (The reference here is to what was said in reply to the suggestion made by *The Watan*, viz. that all omission of the Promised Messiah^{as} would leave only a dead Islam for presentation to the world—Author). If Ahmad and Muhammad were not different in their teachings, why

should the teachings of Muhammad in the form in which they had been presented to the world during the last 13 centuries be now regarded as obsolete. There could be no greater insult to Islam than to suppose that the mainstay of its life depended upon a personality which appeared in the world thirteen hundred years after the advent of Islam.

(9) That this was an age of learning and much good would have accrued from the presentation of philosophical interpretations of the Holy Quran. The Appendix proposed for *The Review of Religions* might have been printed separately, and subscribed to exclusively by members of the Community. This arrangement would have increased the circulation of *The Review of Religions*. But, unfortunately, Ahmadis chose to follow the path of narrow-mindedness, and while non-Ahmadis offered to break down barriers, Ahmadis themselves worked to keep them erect.

In another letter Dr. Adbul Hakim wrote: "What! do you think that not one out of thirteen crores of Muslims is truly God-fearing and righteous, that the spiritual influence of Muhammad has ceased to work in the entire mass of Muslims, that Islam has become altogether a body without life, that the Holy Quran has altogether lost its influence, that God and

Muhammad^{sa} and the Quran and the Divinely planted instincts and human reason, have all alike become outworn and useless, so that outside your own Community there remains no righteous person either in the general body of Muslims or in the mass of mankind, and that they have all turned black-hearted, doers of black deeds and inmates of Hell?"

At this place, I do not propose to state what answers the Promised Messiah^{as} gave to the questions of Dr. Abdul Hakim. I propose to discuss these questions further on and in more detail. Here I should like only to state what the Promised Messiah^{as} wrote in reply: "If you are worried by the question—how can it be that the multitudes who are not members of our Community have no righteous persons among them—then, pursuing the same trend of thought you might also ask whether millions of Jews and Christians who reject the truth of Islam have no righteous persons among them. At any rate, when God has been pleased to reveal it to me that every person who has heard my call and failed to accept my claim, is not to be considered a Muslim, and is answerable before God for it—then under the circumstances, how can it be that I should overlook this Divine command at the instance of a person whose heart is enwrapped in a thousand shrouds of darkness? It is better that I

should cut off such a person from the body of my Jama‘at. Accordingly, I hereby and from to-day excommunicate you from my Jama‘at."

The immediate effect of this sharp and severe chastisement by the Promised Messiah^{as} was that no other member of the Community at the time could gather courage to support and subscribe to the views expressed by Abdul Hakim. But, nevertheless, it would appear that the ideas had already found deep root in the hearts of some members of the Community, and chief among them was Khwaja Kamaluddin. Facts go to show that the faith of Khwaja Kamaluddin at this time had already begun to crumble. His subsequent writings make it clear that he really had fallen a victim to these views of Dr. Abdul Hakim, and today it is an open secret that it is just these views which Khwaja Kamaluddin advocates.

So far as I can judge, Maulawi Muhammad Ali did not at first subscribe to these views. But Khwaja Sahib discerned in him a very useful instrument for the attainment of his purpose. So he persisted in his endeavours to win Maulawi Sahib over to his views. In course of time, he managed to do so and encouraged Maulawi Muhammad Ali to criticize even the Promised Messiah^{as}. I do think, however, that

during the lifetime of the Promised Messiah^{as} there was not much slackening of faith in Maulawi Muhammad Ali. But as soon as the Promised Messiah^{as} breathed his last, a remarkable change began to come over him. Little things contributed to this change. Maulawi Muhammad Ali had always been of an irritable temper. He never could tolerate anything adverse to his own way of thinking. He was also slow to forget when once he became offended. He would stick at nothing to injure those who differed from him. While the Promised Messiah^{as} was alive, he often became annoyed with Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} in matters concerning the Anjuman. When at the death of the Promised Messiah^{as} it was proposed to elect Hadrat Maulawi Nuruddin Sahib as Khalifa, it caused serious umbrage to Maulawi Muhammad Ali. He resented the election, and demanded authority for the institution of the Khilafat. But the unanimity of the Community on the occasion and the general helplessness prevailing at the time restrained him, and led him to enter the *Bai'at* of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}. Nay more, he himself became one of the signatories of the notice in which it was announced that Hadrat Maulawi Nuruddin Sahib had been elected Khalifa in accordance with the terms of *Al-Wasiyyat*. (The Will of the Promised Messiah^{as}). In spite,

however, of this outward allegiance, he remained unconvinced at heart, and in the circle of his friends and associates his conversation often assumed a tone which implied denial of the Khilafat. Thus, gradually he formed around him a party of men who shared his views. The most important person who joined him was of course Khwaja Kamaluddin. Khwaja Sahib had been seeking to win over Maulawi Muhammad Ali to his own views, and the best way of doing so now seemed to be to subscribe to the attitude which Maulawi Muhammad Ali had assumed with regard to the Khilafat. Accordingly not fifteen days had passed after the death of the Promised Messiah^{as} when, on a certain occasion in the presence of Maulawi Muhammad Ali, Khwaja Kamaluddin addressed me saying, "Miyañ Sahib, what is your opinion regarding the powers of the Khilafat?" To this I replied that the time to decide the question of powers was when the *Bai'at* had not yet been sworn. When the Khalifa had declared in clear words that after entering into his *Bai'at* we would be required to render him complete obedience, when we had heard these words and had still entered into his *Bai'at* what right had we, who had thus chosen to be servants, to determine the powers of the master? On hearing this reply, Khwaja Sahib changed the topic of conversation.

About this time, Maulawi Muhammad Ali began to entertain certain grievances against our mother, Hadrat Ummul Mu'minin. (Mother of the Faithful). Whether these were real or imaginary, Maulawi Muhammad Ali took them to heart. He went even so far as to refer to them in the columns of *The Review of Religions* (Urdu edition). As I had always been a staunch supporter of the Khilafat idea, his prejudiced mind induced Maulawi Muhammad Ali to think that my support to the Khilafat arose from the fact that I aspired to become Khalifa myself. To his opposition to the Khilafat idea, therefore, he now added opposition to members of the Promised Messiah's^{as} family, especially opposition to me. To promote this opposition he even had recourse to steps enumeration of which is neither possible nor desirable at this place.

In the meantime, the days of the Annual Gathering (*Jalsa*) approached near and friends of Maulawi Muhammad Ali made special preparation for addresses on the occasion. In these addresses they sought one after another to impress upon the Community that the real successor and Khalifa appointed by the Promised Messiah^{as} was no other than the Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya (Central Ahmadiyya Association), of which Maulawi Muhammad Ali and others were the trustees.

Obedience to them therefore was obligatory upon the whole Community. This subject was stressed so much and by so many speakers that some of those present were able to guess at the real purpose of the speakers which they realised, was to depose Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} from his office and to inaugurate their own Khilafat. For out of the fourteen members of the Sadr Anjuman about eight were particular friends of Maulawi Muhammad Ali. Some of them had made common cause with him, and others supported him because of the general esteem in which they held him. The Khilafat of the Sadr Anjuman, therefore, virtually meant the Khilafat of Maulawi Muhammad Ali who had managed by intrigue to secure the undivided control of all its affairs. On account of an urgent business, I could not be present at all the speeches delivered on the occasion of that year's Jalsa, and even when I was present, my attention was not drawn to this aspect of those speeches. As subsequent events showed some of those present were able to guess the underlying plan of the speakers. The question which now began to be discussed in the circles of their friends were—What were the proper functions of the Khalifa? Who held the supreme authority over the Community, the Sadr Anjuman or Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}? No suspicion of what was going on,

however, had yet entered my mind. The Community had become divided into two rival camps. One was endeavouring to convince the rank and file that the proper successor of the Promised Messiah^{as} appointed by the Promised Messiah^{as} himself was the Sadr Anjuman. The other opposed this view and held to the terms of their *Bai'at*. All this time, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, had no knowledge of these discussions, and I too was quite unaware of them. At last, Mir Muhammad Ishaq submitted in writing certain questions to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} and requested that light might be thrown on the subject of Khilafat. Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} sent the questions to Maulawi Muhammad Ali for reply. The reply which Maulawi Sahib wrote proved amazing to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}. For, in that reply the status of the Khalifa had been so far reduced as to leave him little else to do with the Community save to accept the *Bai'at* from new entrants into the Community. Upon this Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} ordered that a large number of copies of the questions should be made, and that these should be circulated in the Community with a request for reply. He also appointed a date (31st of January, 1909) when representatives of the Community from different centres were asked to assemble at Qadian for the purpose of a conference. I

continued however to have no idea of the trouble until I had the following dream.

I dreamt that there was a house divided into two parts. One part was complete, while the other was yet unfinished. The unfinished part was being-roofed over. The rafters had been laid but the planks had not yet been nailed. Upon the rafters was placed some straw and near it stood Mir Muhammad Ishaq, my younger brother Mirza Bashir Ahmad, and another boy, a relative of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, named Nisar Ahmad, who has since left the world—(may God shower His mercy upon him). Mir Muhammad Ishaq held in his hand a match-box, and it seemed he was about to strike a match in order to set fire to the straw. I tried to stop him, saying that the straw, it was true, would ultimately be burnt, but time for it had not yet come. He therefore should not set fire to it yet, lest some of the rafters also should get burnt along with the straw. This made him desist from the attempt, and I walked away. I had not gone far when I heard a noise, and turning back I saw Mir Sahib hurriedly striking match after match and trying to set fire to the straw. He was in a hurry fearing I should return and stop him and owing to this haste the matches were extinguished as soon as lighted. Upon seeing this I ran back with a view to stopping him, but before I could

reach the place, one of the matches had lit up, and with it Mir Muhammad Ishaq was able to set fire to the straw. I ran up and trampled upon the straw, and managed to extinguish the fire but even so, the ends of some of the rafters were burnt. I mentioned the dream to my esteemed friend, Maulawi Sayyid Sarwar Shah Sahib. He smiled and said "Bless you! the dream has already been fulfilled." He told me certain things, but either he did not know them well or he could not at that time describe them fully to me. I then wrote out the dream and submitted it to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. He read and replied to me in a note that the dream had already been fulfilled. Mir Muhammad Ishaq had submitted certain questions in writing, which, it was feared, might create trouble and prove a trial for some. This was the first time that I came to know of the trouble that was afoot, and I came to know of it through a dream. After this, I received my copy of the questions which Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} had ordered to be circulated for reply, and I began to offer special prayers to God to solicit His guidance for a correct answer to those questions. It was true that I had already entered into *Bai'at* with Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} and there was no doubt that my reason had convinced me of the need of Khilafat. Nevertheless, I began to think about the subject with a perfectly open

mind, and began to pray to God that He should guide me to the truth. The day gradually came near when replies to the questions had to be submitted to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}. I wrote down whatever I could think of at the time, on the subject, and made over my reply to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. But still my heart was not at rest. I longed that God should Himself show me the way. God is my witness how sore and trying those days proved to me. I spent days and nights in sorrow and grief, fearing lest I should commit a mistake and displease my Master. But in spite of my anguish and restlessness, no kind of light came to me from God.

The Grave Day: 31st January 1909

At last came the night on the morrow of which the appointed meeting was to have been held. People gathered from all sides and their faces showed they were fully alive to the momentous nature of the day that was to dawn on the morrow. It appeared that every effort had been made to convince the people who came from outside that the proper representative of the Promised Messiah^{as} was none other than the Anjuman and that the Khalifa was simply to accept the *Bai'at*. All along their journey to Qadian, special efforts had been made to convince them that the

existence of the Community was at stake, that a few wicked people had raised the question in order to serve their private ends, and that their aim was to secure control of the purse of the Community in order to enable themselves to act in accordance with their own sweet will. In Lahore, a special meeting of the Ahmadiyya Jama‘at was convened by Khwaja Kamaluddin at his own house, and it was explained to members that the entire Movement was in danger, that the proper representative of the Promised Messiah^{as} was none other than the Anjuman and that if this view was not accepted it would ruin the Community and destroy the whole Movement. Signatures were also obtained from the people to a statement to the effect that according to the writing of the Promised Messiah^{as} the Anjuman was his proper successor. Only two men, viz. Hakim Muhammad Husain Qureshi, Secretary Anjuman Ahmadiyya, Lahore, and Babu Ghulam Muhammad, foreman, Railway Office, Lahore refused to sign the statement. They said that they had sworn the oath of allegiance to a person who was superior to them in learning and piety and who exceeded them all in his devotion to the Promised Messiah^{as}. They would, therefore only follow that which he would be pleased to command. In short, the statement was drafted and signed, the people had been

instructed, and Khwaja Kamaluddin came fully prepared to Qadian. Since it was a matter which concerned their faith, and the rank and file had been assured that a false step at this stage would condemn the Community to perpetual ruin, there was a great stir of feeling in the Jama'at. Many were ready to lay down their lives for the sake of the cause and some made bold even to declare that, if the Khalifa came to an unsatisfactory decision, he would be deposed from the Khilafat forthwith. Others waited in silence for the Divine decision. Still others displayed enthusiasm in support of the Khilafat and were ready to make every sacrifice for the sake of maintaining its authority. Speaking generally, nearly all the people who had come from outside, and who had been under the instruction of Khwaja Sahib and his friends, as also a portion of the residents of Qadian, were inclined to hold the view that Anjuman was the proper successor of the Promised Messiah^{as}. A majority of the residents of Qadian no doubt supported the authority of the Khilafat.

Those who have subsequently joined the ranks of the Movement and have not had occasion to witness the pain and suffering which the Promised Messiah^{as} had had to endure for its establishment, nor have they known of the travails through which the Movement

had to pass in order to attain to its present height cannot realise the mental agony through which Ahmadis passed in those days. With the exception of a few selfish individuals, the whole of the Community, no matter what beliefs or doctrines they held was, as it were, in a state of living death. Every one of us seemed to prefer that he and his kith and kin should be put to death with the most cruel tortures rather than that they should cause a dissension in the ranks of the Community. That day the earth, in spite of its wide expanse, seemed all too cramped for us and life, in spite of all its comforts, seemed worse to us than death. As the night advanced and morning drew near, my restlessness increased and I moaned and prayed to God, saying "Lord; it is true I have preferred one opinion to another. Nevertheless, my Lord, I do not wish to be one of the faithless. Be Thou my guide, and lead me to the right course. I desire not to prefer my own opinion. I seek the Truth, and long for the Right." In the course of my prayers I resolved that if God did not vouchsafe to me any reply I would not attend the meeting and save myself from being a party to any dissension. When my resolution reached this stage, the door of Divine mercy opened. God covered me with the mantle of His grace, and the following words involuntarily came upon my lips:

(Al-Furqān, 25:78) قُلْ مَا يَعْبُونَكُمْ رَبِّي لَوْلَا دُعَاؤُكُمْ

Say, 'What cares my Lord for you, unless you prostrate yourselves humbly before Him.' When these words came, I experienced a new illumination. I was convinced that my view of the question was the correct one, because in the verse the word Qul meaning Say signified that I was to speak these words to others, from which it followed that it was not me but those who held views contrary to mine with whom God was displeased. It was then that I rose and offered thanks to God. My heart was at ease, and I waited for the morning.

It is common with Ahmadis that they get up some time during the latter part of the night to perform *Tahajjud* prayers. But this night was specially remarkable in this respect. Many there were who spent the whole of it in a vigil. As early as the time for *Tahajjud* prayers, most of them had assembled in the Masjid Mubarak to pray to God for guidance and help. On this occasion, so many and so moving were the prayers offered that I am sure they reached and must have moved the Divine Throne. Nothing was heard save the wailing and sobbing of supplicants. Every eye was turned to the Lord of the universe and to no one else. Every hope leaned on the Great God and on no one else. At last came the morning, and

with it began preparation for the morning service. There was some delay in the arrival of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{fa}. Friends of Khwaja Sahib were glad of the opportunity and availed themselves of it by addressing the people once more. I was in my house pacing the yard, waiting for the service to begin. Our house adjoins the mosque. The voice of Shaikh Rahmatullah Sahib reached my ear. He said, "God's wrath! a few designing men want to ruin the Community by raising a stripling to the Khilafat." My mind at the time was a total blank. I could not therefore see that myself was the stripling referred to. I continued to ponder over the words in amazement, and I could not guess their meaning. Subsequent events, however, demonstrated that his fears were not justified. Khulafa' are not appointed by men. God however, had already resolved that one day this same stripling upon whom they looked with such contempt would become Khalifa and through him would be carried the message of the Promised Messiah^{as} to the four corners of the earth. God had resolved to prove that He was All-Powerful, that He stood in no need of help from any quarter. These men who were trying to fight the Divine plan seem to have had an instinctive premonition of events, which had already been decreed by God. Thus, until the arrival of Hadrat

Khalifatul Masih^{ra}, the question was well talked over in the mosque, and every aspect of it was explained to the congregation. At length, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} came and began the service. The text he chose for recitation was the chapter entitled "Buruj" As he came upon the verse:

إِنَّ الَّذِينَ فَتَنُوا الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَالْمُؤْمِنَاتِ ثُمَّ لَمْ يَتُوبُوا فَلَهُمْ عَذَابُ جَهَنَّمَ
وَلَهُمْ عَذَابُ الْحَرِيقِ (Al-Burāj, 85:11)○

"Those who cause the believing men and the believing women to fall into trial and repent not, for them is the punishment of hell and the torment of burning", a strange influence fell upon the whole congregation. It seemed as though the verse had been revealed just then. The heart of every worshipper was filled with the fear of God. The mosque seemed a hall of mourning. In spite of the utmost effort to control, such loud sobs and moans involuntarily escaped many worshippers that never perhaps had a mother wept more bitterly over the death of her only son. Not a man was there who did not weep. Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} himself had his voice choked by the intensity of the emotion. And such a strange feeling seemed to have passed over the whole people that Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} recited the verse for a second time. Then every member of the congregation seemed half-dead and save the few recalcitrant spirits that were

there, all felt a softening of heart and a renewal of faith and a complete absolution from selfish thoughts. It was a heavenly sign that we witnessed that day, a providential succour which had been vouchsafed to us. The service over, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} retired to his house, and some men produced a writing of the Promised Messiah^{as} and endeavoured again to persuade the people that after the Promised Messiah^{as}, the Anjuman alone was the rightful successor. The hearts of the people at the time were filled with the fear of God. They were unaware of the real intention of the writing. They were, therefore, all the more intensely moved to find that the Promised Messiah^{as} had decided that after him the Anjuman was to be his successor. But nobody seemed to be aware why it was that such feeling was spreading over the people, and what was going to spring from behind the curtain. At last time came for the meeting and people were asked to assemble on the roof of Masjid Mubarak (the mosque which adjoins the house of the Promised Messiah^{as}, and in which he used to perform the five daily prayers). Dr. Mirza Ya'qub Baig came to me and requested me to go to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} and tell him that there was now no apprehension of any trouble, as it had been explained to every body that the rightful successor of the Promised Messiah^{as}

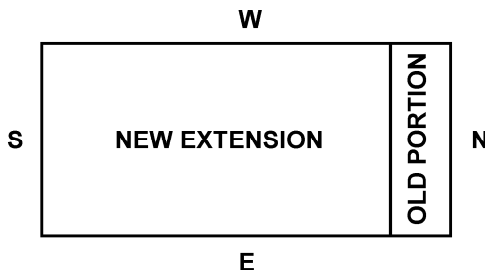
was the Anjuman. I perceived the hollowness of what he said and thought it best to remain silent. But Dr. Ya‘qub Baig himself went to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. I too had reached there. No sooner did he come then he submitted to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} saying, "Blessing! All the people have had it explained to them that the Anjuman is the proper successor of the Promised Messiah^{as}." To this Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} replied, "Which Anjuman? The Anjuman which you think is proper successor of the Promised Messiah^{as} has no status under rules." It was then that perhaps for the first time the party of Khwaja Sahib realised that the matter was not as easy as they had supposed. Before this, although they had anticipated every possible difficulty and prepared the people, in the event of any opposition from the Khalifa, to meet and overrule him, yet they seemed to entertain the hope that Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} would lend his support to their side, and decide the question in accordance with their views. It was because of this that many members of their party who believed in the goodness of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{I^{ra}} used to declare, "Thanks to God, the question has come up for decision during the time of a man as selfless as Khalifatul Masih^{I^{ra}}. Had it come up later, who knows what it would have led to?"

After the people had gathered, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} came to the mosque. The gathering numbered between 200 to 220 men. Most of them were delegates from different Ahmadiyya associations. To an ignorant observer this small gathering of about 200 to 250 men on the bare roof of a mosque without a carpet or mat might have seemed a trifling even a contemptuous sight. But they were men whose hearts overflowed with faith in God and an unquestioning trust in His promises. The gathering was the most momentous in the history of the Ahmadiyya Movement, and therefore in the history of the peace and progress of the world. The superficial observer today may well be dazed by the pomp and grandeur of the Peace Conference now holding its sessions in Paris, but far greater in moment was this gathering upon whose decision was to be founded the future course of the history of mankind. The question at issue at this gathering on that day was—What was to be the nature of the organization of the Ahmadiyya Movement? Was it to follow the line pursued by modern parliaments and associations or was it to follow in the footsteps of the Companions of the Holy Prophet^{sa}? That day therefore was to decide the fate and future of the whole of humanity. It may be too early yet for people to realise this, but many years will

not pass before they will realise that this silent wave of religious enthusiasm was to prove far purer, healthier, and more conducive to the peace of the world than the most spectacular political movements of our time. But to return to the story. The people had assembled over the roof. Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} had arrived. They had prepared for him a place somewhere in the middle. But he declined to stand there, and took his stand in the northern part of the roof, the part which had been built by the Promised Messiah^{as} himself.⁹

Standing there he began his speech. He said that the question of Khilafat belonged to the Shariah i.e.

⁹ The Masjid Mubarak was in the beginning very small in size. It had been built by the Promised Messiah^{as} long before he made any claim to any Divine commission. It was, at first, simply intended to provide for him a place of retirement where he could worship God in solitude. It was built over the lane which adjoins his house, and which had been roofed over for the purpose. There was room in it for only thirty persons to offer their prayers. When, after the announcement of his claim, people began to come and settle in Qadian, and the Community increased in numbers, the mosque was extended with the help of subscriptions raised from the Community. A sketch plan of the mosqus is given below:



the Law of Islam, that the Community could not possibly advance without a Khalifa, that he had been told by God that for every one who should turn apostate, He would give him a Jama'at of new adherents, that therefore he had little regard for what they might choose to decide, and that through God's grace it was his firm conviction that He would remain his Helper. Then, referring to the replies of Khwaja Kamaluddin and Maulawi Muhammad Ali, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih continued: "There are people who would tell me that the duties of the Khalifa consist only of leading congregation in the daily prayers and in funeral services and in accepting *Bai'at* from new entrants. This is the outcome of ignorance and impertinence; such men should therefore repent and seek forgiveness, for otherwise harm is sure to come to them." Proceeding further he observed, "You have caused me great pain by your acts and have brought the office of Khilafat into contempt; that is why this morning I did not take my stand in the part of the mosque which has been built by you; I am standing instead in the portion which was built by the Promised Messiah^{as} himself."

As he proceeded with his speech, the entire gathering with the exception of a few hardened souls had their hearts opened, and in a short time those

same men who had resolved to see the great Nuruddin deposed from his office, came to perceive their folly, and turned from being opponents of Khilafat to being its warmest supporters. In the course of his speech, he also found fault with those who had busied themselves with organising meetings in support of the Khilafat, saying that when the Khalifa had himself summoned people to a meeting, they had no business to hold separate meetings of their own and had no authority from the Khalifa for such an action. After he had finished his speech some people requested for leave to address the meeting. There, however, remained little to be said, for the whole gathering excepting only a few individuals had accepted the right view. Nawab Muhammad Ali Khan, my brother-in-law, and I were asked to express our views. We said that the views expressed by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} were the views which we had all along supported and upheld. Next Khwaja Sahib was called upon to speak. He found it expedient to express himself in vague terms.

Renewal of *Bai'at*

Then Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} said that these people must renew their oath of *Bai'at*, and asked Khwaja Sahib and Maulawi Muhammad Ali to retire

and think over the matter, and if they really felt prepared, then alone should they come and take the oath of *Bai'at* again. Then turning to Shaikh Ya'qub Ali, the editor of *Al-Hakam* who had been the promoter of a meeting in which signatures were taken in support of the Khilafat, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} said that he too had made a mistake and should therefore renew his *Bai'at*. Accordingly these three men renewed their *Bai'at*, and the meeting was dissolved. At that time, a feeling of satisfaction came to dwell in every heart and those present felt that Providence had saved the Community from a grave crisis. But Maulawi Muhammad Ali and Khwaja Kamaluddin who had just renewed their *Bai'at* felt seriously aggrieved, and subsequent events proved that their *Bai'at* on the occasion was a mere show. They never sincerely recognised the authority of the Khalifa. It is reported (on the authority of Maulawi Abdur Rahim Nayyar who was in those days on very intimate terms with these gentlemen) that no sooner had they alighted from the roof of the mosque than Maulawi Muhammad Ali spoke to Khwaja Sahib saying, "To-day we have been badly insulted. It is something more than I can endure. It is as if we had been beaten with shoes in an open meeting." One

wonders at the sincerity of this man who today poses as the reformer of the Community!

If what, Maulawi Muhammad Ali said on coming down from the mosque were supported only by the uncorroborated testimony of Maulawi Abdur Rahim Nayyar, I would not have incorporated it here. For, however, reliable as a reporter he would still have been the only witness of what was said, while my purpose here is to incorporate only such facts as have the most irrefutable evidence behind them. But as later events also proved that when Maulawi Muhammad Ali renewed his *Bai'at* with Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}, he was actuated only by fear and expediency, we have no reason to disbelieve the statement of Maulawi Abdur Rahim Nayyar. There is also another incident which goes to corroborate M. Abdur Rahim's story. Soon after this meeting on a certain occasion when I was present with Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} a message came to him from Maulawi Muhammad Ali to the effect that the Maulawi Sahib had resolved to leave Qadian as he had been insulted and humiliated. This also supports the statement of M. Abdur Rahim Nayyar.

There are hundreds of eye-witnesses to these events. Among the people who took part in this

meeting, there are now some who have joined Maulawi Muhammad Ali's party and others who have entered my *Bai'at*. But I have every hope that if asked to make a statement on solemn oath members of both parties will alike testify to the truth of the facts as I have described them. It is hardly possible for anybody to hide facts of such importance relating to a gathering of such magnitude.

Before proceeding further with the narrative of these events. I wish to make a brief digression in order to present to my reader a picture of the moral condition of these men. This will enable them to judge for themselves how far Maulawi Muhammad Ali and his friends have been sincere in their dealings. When Khwaja Kamaluddin returned home from England for the first time he delivered a lecture on the subject of the dissensions. In this lecture he made a reference to this renewal of *Bai'at* but gave it a most strange colouring. He represented the whole incident as though Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} convinced of the spiritual perfection of these men had asked them to enter into a special *Bai'at* with him. Anyone who reads the description I have given of the incident will be in a position to understand that a person who can depict a *Bai'at*, entered into under circumstances of the whole incident as a *Bai'at* of fealty or a mark of

favour, and thus tries to throw dust into the eyes of others can ill deserve our esteem. The actual words used by Khwaja Sahib were "He (Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}) required from me a second *Bai'at*. This is quite true. But what kind of *Bai'at* was it? *Bai'at-e-Irshad*. Can you say honestly that he got me to renew my *Bai'at*? It was indeed *Bai'at-e-Irshad* and not a renewal of *Bai'at* or *Bai'at-e-Taubah*. After this there is yet another kind of *Bai'at* and that, is *Bai'at-e-Dam*. Now go and look up the books of Sufis to find out from what class of disciples they received *Bai'at-e-Irshad*. They receive *Bai'at-e-Taubah* when they accept a disciple into their following, and when they observe in him the capacity for strict obedience, they receive from him the *Bai'at-e-Irshad*, and when they come to possess full confidence in him, they receive from him the *Bai'at-e-Dam*, (Vide *Andruni Ikhtilafat-e-Silsilah Ahmadiyya kei Asbab*, p. 58).

But to resume, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} was annoyed at the action of these men and most seriously so. He made them renew their *Bai'at*. But while other people had their hearts chastened by the experience, the incident served merely to fan the flames of hatred in the hearts of these men. The only difference the incident made in their conduct was that whereas formerly they sometimes exhibited their feeling in

overt actions, after the incident they took care to conceal them, awaiting the psychological moment when this volcano of hate might be allowed to burst and demolish the edifice of Ahmadiyyat. From this time on, Maulawi Muhammad Ali fell into the hands of the other party who held beliefs different from those of the Community and his dissatisfaction gradually drove him so close to the other party that in course of two or three years by a process of imperceptible change, he came to identify himself wholly with their beliefs.

Intrigue in Anjuman Records

On the other hand, Khwaja Kamaluddin was a man who guided himself by the signs of the hour. He adopted a policy of avoidance in public of all discussions regarding the Khilafat and wished to see the question dropped for the time being. He did so lest the Community should become alert and impervious to any future intrigue. He fully realised that if full light were thrown upon the subject at that time, there would remain no loophole for any further tampering with the question. With this idea he began to render full outward obeisance to the Khalifa, but in the affairs of the Sadr Anjuman adopted a new policy. Whenever occasion now arose for carrying out

commands by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} the records of the Anjuman began to use a new technique. It was not entered as command by the Khalifa but merely as a recommendation by the President accepted by the members. What was intended by this course of action was that the records of the Anjuman might not prove that this body ever took orders from the Khalifa. After the death of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, there was an attempt on just these lines to mislead the Community, which, however, did not favour the attempt. It had therefore to be given up. It is in consequence of this record that these men now avoid any discussion of the question of Khilafat, fearing lest the people should have the memory of those days revived, and lest recollection of their past intrigues should make people doubt their present integrity.

In short, the policy they adopted was that while they complied with all the behests of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}, they carefully avoided using the term Khalifa and used instead the term President. But God wanted to expose them. Accordingly it happened that Hakim Fadl Din Sahib, a very sincere Ahmadi and one of the oldest members of the Community made a will giving away his properties for the purpose of the propagation of Islam. The properties included a certain house which the Anjuman resolved to dispose

of. The person from whom the house had been purchased by the testator applied to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} praying that the house might be sold to him at a price less than what it might command in the open market; and this in consideration of the fact that the house formerly belonged to him and he had to give it up for a very small price under the stress of certain difficulties. Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} granted the prayer and wrote to the Anjuman directing it to sell the house to the applicant at a reduced price. This gave these men an excellent opportunity. They declined to comply with the orders of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}, and thought that when members of the Community would come to know that Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} had resolved to dispose of a property belonging to the Community at a price less than that which was being offered for it in the market they would side with the Anjuman. They discussed and argued the matter with Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} and suggested that the applicant might purchase the house at a public sale, and that there was no reason why the Anjuman should incur the loss. In vain, did Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} explain to them that the applicant had sold the house for a small price under stress of difficulties and, therefore, deserved consideration. They, however, remained obdurate. At

length, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} wrote to them out of displeasure that they might do what they liked; he would have nothing more to say in the matter. When the matter came up before the Anjuman, I was present at the meeting. Dr. Muhammad Husain, Secretary Anjuman Isha‘at-e-Islam, Lahore, mentioned the matter to me saying that as trustees of the Community we were responsible to God. He inquired from me what the proper course was for us to follow. I replied that as Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} desired us to make some concession, it was our duty to do so. Upon this, the Doctor Sahib said that Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} had granted us permission to do as we liked. But when the letter was read, I was able to perceive in it signs of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih’s^{ra} displeasure. I, therefore, pointed out to the members that the letter was an expression of displeasure and not a permission. Therefore, I said, I still adhered to my previous opinion. Upon this, the Doctor Sahib made a long-speech in which he sought to impress upon me the need of the fear of God and of true piety. I, however, was still of the opinion that the course suggested by me was the right one under the circumstances, and that they were free to decide as they thought best. At that time, the majority of the members present supported their view of the case—in

fact I stood alone—and the resolution was passed accordingly. "When the matter came to the knowledge of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}, he summoned them and asked for an explanation. They replied that the decision had been reached by common consent and mentioned me by name among those who were present at the meeting. Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} then sent for me. When I went to him the other members were already with him. Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} exclaimed, "Well Miyañ, how comes it that my explicit commands are thus openly disregarded?" I said, "I have not disobeyed any commands." He said, "In this matter I had given certain orders, then how was it that you acted against them?" I replied, "The members present here will bear witness that I gave them explicitly to understand that in this matter you did not approve of the decision proposed by them and that they ought not to persist in it, and that your letter signified not permission but displeasure." Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}, thereupon, turned to those members and remarked, "Mark! you call him a stripling, yet a stripling understood the purport of my letter and you did not." He added many other words of admonition to the effect that virtue lay in obedience, and that they should change their ways or else they would be cut off from the blessings of God. Upon this

these men expressed regret for their conduct but, nevertheless, from that day efforts began to be made to alienate the people from Hadrat Khalifatul Masih. Charges began to be laid at his door, and in Lahore it began to be urged publicly that he should be deposed from his office by whatever means possible. These activities came to the notice of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. The festival of Eid was close at hand. Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} summoned them all from Lahore. (Khwaja Sahib was not present on this occasion. He had gone to Kashmir. Besides, as I have already said, he preferred to proceed by secret methods.) Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} had resolved to announce their expulsion from the Community in the course of the Eid sermon. Now, they knew full well that resistance was useless and that people would not lend ear to their words. They, therefore, for a second time sued for pardon and some of them had to renew their oath of *Bai'at*. Thus was this danger averted for the time being. But still the experience did not bring about true repentance in their hearts. It served only to make them more guarded in their movements. It was at this time that Khwaja Sahib began his career of public lectures with a view to capturing the public mind. He delivered his lectures and himself wrote eulogistic reports about them for publication in the papers of the

Movement. These reports were sent over the name of someone from among the audience. In this way he managed soon to build reputation for himself. Nor was his popularity to be wondered at. The teachings of the Promised Messiah^{as} on which he drew were intrinsically attractive. Khwaja Sahib possessed natural capacity for eloquence, and was also a past master in the art of self-advertisement. He had a series of articles published in his own praise. Some were written by himself and some by his friends. The demand for his lectures grew and wherever he went, he took the opportunity indirectly or—where possible—directly to speak to Ahmadis regarding the relations between the Khalifa and the Anjuman. The reputation which he had acquired as a lecturer served to leave some impression behind.

Khwaja Kamaluddin Inclines towards non-Ahmadis

It is a well established truth that when a person takes one false step, circumstances oblige him to take another. With the scope of his lectures widened, Khwaja Sahib had more and more occasion to come into contact with non-Ahmadis. He was unfamiliar with the inwardness of the Ahmadiyya Movement, and now a new difficulty confronted him. It often

happened that a lecture of his was preceded or followed one of the five daily prayers. Ahmadis and non-Ahmadis had to offer prayers in separate congregations, and people naturally asked the reason for this separation. The situation was rather awkward for Khwaja Sahib. On the one hand he was not willing to forfeit his newly acquired popularity with non-Ahmadis, and, on the other hand, he was afraid of the displeasure of Ahmadis. In this strait he took recourse to various devices. On some occasions, he would say that the prohibition to pray behind non-Ahmadis was meant only for the common class of Ahmadis, in order to protect them from the influence of outsiders, that it was not intended for advanced Ahmadis like himself, and that he was prepared to offer his prayers behind non-Ahmadi Imams. On other occasions, he would say that he had to work under the orders of an Imam (Leader) and that the question should therefore be addressed to the Imam. Sometimes, he would say that if non-Ahmadis would revoke their fatwa of *Kufr* against the Promised Messiah^{as}, he was ready to offer his prayers behind them. Such and similar were the pleas he offered to excuse his failure to say his prayers behind non-Ahmadis. In fact Khwaja Sahib's ideas had become poisoned already at the time of Dr. Abdul Hakim's apostasy, and the poison began now

to show its effects. Khwaja Sahib was a seeker of fame and popularity, and these restrictions were impediments in his way. He, therefore, resolved to do away with the restrictions at all cost. For this purpose, the first thing he did was to induce Dr. Mirza Ya‘qub Baig to write two articles in the *Paisa Akhbar* and the *Watan* to the effect that the prohibition against praying behind non-Ahmadis was only a temporary one. He thus tried tentatively to lay the foundation of a future movement in favour of a rescinding of the prohibition. But he had made a miscalculation. The articles brought home to some Ahmadis also were encouraged by this sign of weakness on the part of Ahmadis to charge them with narrow-mindedness and intolerance.

At this time, the question was put to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} whether differences between Ahmadis and non-Ahmadis related to essential matters of faith or to non-essentials. He replied that these differences related to essential matters. The reply created a great commotion. The non-Ahmadi papers made virulent attacks on Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} saying that he had magnified minor differences and had thus caused a split among Muslims.

Side by side with this controversy which raged between Ahmadis and non-Ahmadis there now came up another question which formed the subject of a warm discussion among Ahmadis themselves. This question concerned the propagation of Ahmadiyyat. From the moment he started his public lectures—with the exception of the very first—Khwaja Sahib had abstained carefully from making any reference in his lectures to the Promised Messiah^{as}, forgetting that God had ordained obedience to the Promised Messiah^{as} as the sole remedy for all spiritual ills. Khwaja Sahib would studiously avoid all mention of the Promised Messiah^{as}, even when reference to him was called for by the subject of his address. He fully realised that without following such a course he could acquire no popularity among non-Ahmadis. And, as the objection of non-Ahmadis was to the personal claims of the Holy Founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement, the policy adopted by Khwaja Sahib brought him large audiences. Often these swelled into thousands, all eager listeners to what he had to say. Also, as has already been pointed out, Khwaja Sahib took special steps in order to make his lectures popular. The result was that his lectures achieved immense popularity and began to be applauded highly even by non-Ahmadis. Invitations for his lectures,

began to pour in from all sides. When Ahmadis saw this eagerness and interest on the part of non-Ahmadis, many of them failed to realise its proper significance. What was only Khwaja Sahib's personal popularity began to be mistaken by them for the popularity of the Movement. Ahmadiyya Associations at various centres—either of their own accord or at the instance of Khwaja Sahib—began to arrange for special lectures by him. They did so under the impression that by these lectures non-Ahmadis would be brought nearer to the Movement, and would ultimately enter its fold. The epidemic became so prevalent that other lecturers of the Movement also began to adopt the same policy. It seemed imminent that the trumpet which God had sounded through His Messenger was to cease to resound for ever. The time was one of extreme danger for the Movement. Some Ahmadi lecturers began to feel reluctant about making any reference to the Promised Messiah^{as} in their lectures, and even when questioned on the subject, they tried to put it off by vague replies. This was not due to fear or hypocrisy, but the lecturers, following the example of Khwaja Sahib, had come to the honest conclusion that the adoption of his plan would prepare the way for the propagation of the Movement. There were of course some who used to mention the

Promised Messiah^{as} in their lectures, but even they made it a point never to mention him in connection with subjects which were likely to give umbrage to non-Ahmadis. This attitude was not, however, universal in the Community. There was a section of the Community which fully realised the significance of the policy adopted by Khwaja Kamaluddin. This section began to ply Khwaja Sahib with questions as to why he never made any reference to the Ahmadiyya Movement in his lectures. The reply of Khwaja Sahib was always disappointing and in this he showed his kinship with the apostate Dr. Abdul Hakim that the major subjects needed their first attention. When these had been settled, the minor subjects would settle themselves. "When people see us" he said, "serving the cause of Islam, can they help admitting to themselves that we are in the right." His was, he said, the work of a pioneer, clearing the forests and levelling the hillocks; when the road was prepared, the forest cleared and the land levelled, then would be the time for laying down the railways, cultivating the fields and planting the gardens. But why, he was asked, had God already put the world on trial by raising the Promised Messiah^{as} if this pioneer work had still to be done? He was not expected—he was also told—to confine himself only and always to

the subject of the claims of the Promised Messiah^{as}. Only this subject also should receive at least proportionate attention in his lectures. The only response Khwaja Sahib made to these queries and suggestions was that he did not stand in anybody's way that while he was engaged in clearing the road others might go and lecture on other matters. At length on March 27, 1910 the situation compelled me to deliver an address and to point out to the Community the error of that policy. The result was that, with the grace of God, a section of the Community came to recognise this mistake and to realise the danger of the situation. Still, my lecture was not able completely to check this tendency which continued to grow. To this in fact was added the vexed question of the *Kufr* of non-Ahmadis.

It was at the time of this crisis—when, on the one hand, a section of the Community had already started upon a wrong track, and, on the other, non-Ahmadis, taking advantage of the vacillation on the part of some Ahmadis, had started attacking the Movement—that I wrote an elaborate article on the subject of the *Kufr* of non-Ahmadis. The article after necessary corrections by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} was published in the *Tashhidhul Adhhan* in its issue of April 1911. (See also this book p. 126). Under the circumstances of the

time, the article proved very effective and succeeded in completely re-orienting the Community. And God be thanked, for the whole Community, with the exception only of a few individual members, fully recognised the fact that had they continued under the influence of the charm that had been cast upon them, they were sure, sooner or later, to lose the truth which had so recently come to them. Many there were who openly expressed their thanks and gratitude. A new spirit and a new enthusiasm ran over the Community and all Ahmadis with the exception of an insignificant few prepared themselves anew to discharge their duty.

As it happened, Khwaja Sahib and his friends were the party responsible for the policy, which I had set out to guard against. The publication of my article therefore naturally gave them cause for anxiety. Khwaja Sahib accordingly wrote an article in which my article was interpreted in a manner contrary to its real purport and had it endorsed by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} on the representation—and this Hadrat Khalifatul Masih himself told me—that he (Khwaja Sahib) was in entire accord with what I had said but still he thought it right to present the subject in a form which should avoid giving offence to people.

So far as I can see, this was the time when Maulawi Muhammad Ali's attitude underwent a transformation. All his writings previous to this plainly show that he believed the Promised Messiah^{as} to be a *Nabi*. But now the situation had been altered. Now, if Khwaja Sahib had been discomfited in the controversy over the question of the *Kufr* of non-Ahmadis, it would have proved too severe a blow to the hopes of Maulawi Muhammad Ali. For, by reason of the popularity which his lectures had brought to Khwaja Sahib, Maulawi Muhammad Ali had by this time been relegated to a second place in the estimation of the Community. The first place was now occupied by Khwaja Sahib. He had come to wield a more than ordinary influence in the Community, and people of the Jama'at were ready to listen to him and to accept his lead. Maulawi Muhammad Ali and his friends now hoped to take advantage of this popularity in order to compass their own ends. This important factor, it would appear, effected a revolution in the attitude of Maulawi Muhammad Ali, and induced him openly to identify himself with the views of Khwaja Sahib. Thus the party became united both in its beliefs and its policy. Before this, Maulawi Muhammad Ali was himself opposed to the policy followed by Khwaja Sahib in his public lectures. This also appears

from the fact that on the occasion of the Annual Conference of the Community held in March or December 1910, and in the course of a discussion on the need or otherwise of Ahmadiyya public meetings he opposed and attacked Khwaja Sahib. Thus, it was during the year 1910 or 1911, and under the circumstances which I have described above, that a change came over the outlook of Maulawi Muhammad Ali.

Maulawi Muhammad Ali Bolstered Up

While efforts were being made by Khwaja Sahib to undermine the distinctive aims of the Movement—and if he could have had his way, he would not have hesitated to alienate the Jama‘at from its central purpose and to have it absorbed back into the general body of non-Ahmadis—the question of altering the organisation of the Jama‘at had not been forgotten by his party. Two lines of action were adopted to this end. The first was that, as already stated all the directions of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} to the Anjuman were treated and represented as though they were recommendations of the President, and the second was that Maulawi Muhammad Ali began to be bolstered up and treated as a virtual Khalifa. The object was that Maulawi Muhammad Ali should

acquire influence with the Jama‘at as well as prominence among the people outside. Thus at the meetings of the Anjuman it began to be declared openly that whatever Maulawi Muhammad Ali should command would be carried out. On one occasion Shaikh Rahmatullah referring to Maulawi Muhammad Ali said in so many words, "He is our Amir." It is also said that on the occasion of a Conference of Religions held in 1911, where Khwaja Kamaluddin and Maulawi Muhammad Ali went to read their papers, Khwaja Sahib in answer to inquiries made by people, described Maulawi Muhammad Ali as his *pir*, a spiritual chief or leader. This report of the incident has been current since the lifetime of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}. and has never been contradicted by Khwaja Sahib—so that it may be presumed to be true. Similarly on every possible occasion attempts were made to push Maulawi Muhammad Ali to the fore-front so that the public eye should be diverted from Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} and directed towards Maulawi Muhammad Ali. Both plans, however proved futile. The failure of the first was brought about in this way. In 1910, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} wrote to the Sadr Anjuman, saying that as he held the office of Khalifa, he could neither be member nor president of the Anjuman, and that in his place Mirza

Mahmud Ahmad (the present writer) should be elected president. Thus ended the first of the two plans. Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} separated himself from the Anjuman and in his place I was appointed president. It could no longer be said that orders of the Khalifa were carried out not because he was Khalifa but because he was President of the Anjuman.

The other plan was defeated by Khwaja Sahib himself. As soon as he began to be popular he began to push his own personality to the front, and he was able to capture the attention of the people. Maulawi Muhammad Ali thus receded into the background, and his opinion no more carried the weight it formerly did.

Towards the end of 1910, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} fell from his horse, and for some days he remained in a very precarious condition. He told Mirza Ya‘qub Baig, his medical attendant at the time, that he was not afraid of death and that he wanted to know if his condition was really dangerous. For, in that case he would like to dictate some instructions. But these people feared it might be against their interest for Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} to leave any instructions. They, therefore, assured Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} that his condition was not so dangerous, and that if his condition became critical they would give him timely

intimation of it. But as soon as they departed from the presence of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} they held a consultation. At noon, Dr. Mirza Ya‘qub Baig came to me and asked me to proceed to Maulawi Muhammad Ali’s house, as a consultation was to be held there. My maternal grand-father, Mir Nasir Nawab Sahib, had also been invited. When I reached there I found Maulawi Muhammad Ali, Khwaja Kamaluddin, Maulawi Sadruddin, and one or two others. Khwaja Sahib opened the conversation. He said "We have called you because Maulawi Sahib (i.e. Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}) is very ill and weak. As we cannot stay on here—it being necessary for us to return to Lahore—we have been obliged to trouble you at this time, so that we may come to some understanding to avert trouble. We can assure you that none of us aspires to be Khalifa. At least I can assure you that I entertain no such aspiration and a similar assurance will be given to you by Maulawi Muhammad Ali!" Here, Maulawi Muhammad Ali interposed and gave a similar assurance on his part. Khwaja Sahib then continued: "Nor do we find any body better fitted for the Khilafat than you, and this is our considered opinion. But we would request you to do one thing. You should not let the question of Khilafat be decided so long as we do not arrive from

Lahore. We are afraid lest some hasty person should precipitate trouble. It is essential that our arrival from Lahore should be awaited." To this Mir Sahib replied, "Yes, it is necessary that some understanding should be reached to prevent trouble." I, however, realised the gravity of the situation, and remembered at once the practice of the Companions of the Holy Prophet^{sa} who regarded it utterly improper in the lifetime of one Khalifa to discuss the selection of another, even if the selection were contingent upon the death of the living Khalifa. Accordingly I replied that it was a sin to discuss the selection of a successor to Khilafat while a Khalifa yet lived, and to decide that on the death of a living Khalifa a specific person should be appointed to succeed him and that therefore I considered it a sin to speak on the subject.

Readers will note in this speech by Khwaja Sahib certain points, which are specially worthy of attention. Firstly, that only a few hours before, these people had assured Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} that his condition gave no cause for anxiety and that there was no necessity for making a will and yet no sooner had they left his presence than they began to think of his successor. Secondly, that the speech assumed that while they had no desire for the office of Khilafat, I did have such a desire. I did not, however, think it

necessary to enter into any discussion, because an important question of principle was involved, and the safeguarding of that principle was more important than anything else.

As regards the disclaimer by Maulawi Muhammad Ali and Khwaja Kamaluddin of any desire on their part for the Khilafat, subsequent events prove that by such disclaimer they only meant that they had no desire for the title of Khalifa. For, it appears that in place of the old title of Khalifa, they have created the new title of President or Amir which in practice is the same thing as Khalifa. This title is now held by Maulawi Muhammad Ali, while Khwaja Kamaluddin subscribes himself as Khalifatul Masih^{ra}, even though he does not fulfil a single requirement of that office. One might think that his friends in conferring upon him this title and he in accepting it, have been working out the secret design of God to expose to the world Khwaja Sahib's deep desire for the office of Khalifa, for in the absence of the actual office he was content to accept the bare title of Khalifa.

Nor must it be forgotten that subsequent events have amply proved that the proposal made by Khwaja Sahib and his friends was intended merely as a blind.

For, although it could not be clearly seen at that time it is quite plain now that all the time they looked upon me as a bidder for the Khilafat, and wanted by their assurances to allay any suspicions—so that when time came and they should be present on the spot, they could adopt a line of action best suited to their purpose. For, if they were really in favour of my becoming Khalifa, there was certainly no reason for apprehending any trouble in case the election of Khalifa took place before their arrival on the spot. If in their opinion I was really the fittest person for the Khilafat, how could my election to that office become an occasion for trouble?

The Anjuman Ansarullah

It appears from the Holy Quran that circumstances often arise which serve to accelerate the course of spiritual maladies. The same happened in the case of these men. In February 1911, I had a dream. I saw a large palace one portion of which was being demolished. Near the edifice, there was a field in which thousands of men were engaged shaping bricks. I inquired what that palace was and who the men were and why they were demolishing it. One of the men replied that the palace was the Ahmadiyya Jama‘at and that they were dismantling a portion of it in order

to discard some of the old bricks (God protect us) and to replace some of the sun-baked bricks by kiln-made bricks, and that the place was to be enlarged. One particular fact I noted was that all these men faced towards the east. The thought passed through my mind that all the brick-layers were angels, and that as we had failed to put forth the necessary amount of labour towards the progress of the Jama'at, angels had taken up the work with the permission of God (The *Badr*, 23rd February 1911). Moved by this dream, I secured the permission of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} to found a new Society among whose objects were the spread of Ahmadiyyat, implicit obedience to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}, frequent recitations of *Tasbih* and *Tahmid* (singing Glory and Praises of God) and *Durud* (Praying Blessings on the Holy Prophet^{sa}), the study and teaching of the Holy Quran and the Hadith, the promotion of mutual love and trust, and the offering of the daily prayers in congregation. Anybody who desired to become a member of this Society was to offer *Istikhara* (prayer for guidance) on seven consecutive days before he enrolled as a member. No sooner was the foundation of the Society announced than there arose a storm of opposition, and it began to be asserted openly that it was a move to secure the Khilafat. God be praised that a

considerable number of the members of the Society are now associated with the party of Maulawi Muhammad Ali and they are in a position to testify that the Society had nothing to do with the question of succession to the Khilafat. The Society was engaged solely in the work of propagation. This fact has already been formally admitted by some former members of the Society, who are now members of Maulawi Muhammad Ali's party, namely, their lecturers Maulawi Muhammad Husain, alias Marham-e-'Isa and Maulawi Faqirullah, Superintendent of the office of the Secretary, Anjuman Isha'at Islam, Lahore. This Society came to secure nearly one hundred and seventy five members and, by the grace of God, it succeeded in removing the prevailing slackness and, in infusing new enthusiasm for the cause of propagation not only among its own members but also among the general body of the Community. Members who had slackened down were roused to activity, while those who were already active increased in their zeal. Curious about the Society Khwaja Sahib also wanted to become a member but the condition of seven day's special prayers seem to have proved too much for him or perhaps something else stood in his way which at present I cannot recall.

As the object of this Society—the Ansarullah—was the propagation of the Ahmadiyya Movement, I think it relevant at this place to state that just as on the question of Khilafat I had not ventured to take any step until I received a suggestion on the subject from a vision, even so on the question of the best method of public preaching, I deferred coming to any decision until I had offered *Istikhara* on the subject and had been granted a sign from God. It happened in this way. When objections began to be raised by members of the Community to the method of propagation adopted by Khwaja Kamaluddin, I offered prayers of *Istikhara*. After those prayers, I had a vision, in which I was shown that Khwaja Sahib had mistaken dry bread for cake and was offering the same to the public. It was after this vision that I undertook to criticise the method of Khwaja Sahib, a subject on which I had previously maintained perfect silence.

As I have already stated, the Community at large had by this time come to realise fully the gravity of the situation, and was alive to the dangers of the road on which Khwaja Sahib was seeking to lead them.

The major portion of the Community was now prepared to resist every external or internal endeavour to divert them from the central purpose of the

Movement. Nevertheless as Khwaja Sahib and his friends had adopted the policy of outwardly supporting the supremacy of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} and as they came frequently to pay their respect to him and to declare their loyalty, the Community at large failed to gauge the real state of their minds. A certain amount of regard, therefore, continued to be paid to them which, otherwise, they would surely have lost. The policy adopted by these gentlemen was to assure Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} that they recognised the supremacy of Khilafat. So on other questions also they took their cue from the known opinion of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih and studiously echoed his words. This induced Hadrat Khalifatul Masih to believe that they were loyal and sincere in their profession of faith, and let the veil of oblivion cover their past conduct. When anyone made any reference to their antecedents, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} was at times even displeased, and said that errors were common to men and it was wrong to recall their past, seeing that they were now what they ought to be. When, however, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} breathed his last, the fact became evident that they had all along been acting with duplicity. For, now they made public their denial in a matter, in which Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} used to testify to

their affirmation and defend them against the critics who charged them with denial. Under the circumstances anything commendatory said about them by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} cannot be put to their account, except as proof of their hypocrisy during the lifetime of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. Or else, what they affirmed during his life-time they need not have denied after his death.

It should be remembered that mask is after all a mask. Sometimes some movement of theirs would show even to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} that they were only simulating. He often expressed such views in public. But then they came and sued for pardon. He would therefore, attribute their dissembling to some mistake and believe them to be honest at heart. Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} was trustful by nature and forgiving in his dealings with men. Their situation was indeed queer. On the one hand, by giving publicity to their erroneous views they were fast losing influence with the Community. On the other, a fear of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} and an apprehension of excommunication from the Community—for they were anxious that so long as he lived they should continue to be members of the Jama‘at—led them in his presence to make protestations of the most profound devotion to his person. So that when on

occasions their true self asserted itself and exposed their inner nature to him, they made haste to seek his pardon and thus save themselves from the consequences of their conduct.

Apathy to Propagation of Ahmadiyyat

Meanwhile the extent of apathy that had come over the Community in the matter of the propagation of Ahmadiyyat may be measured from the fact that whereas in the days of the Promised Messiah^{as} it was a matter of complaint on the part of Dr. Abdul Hakim that members of the Jama'at loved nothing better than to hear about the Promised Messiah^{as} and to make him the one theme of all their discourses, in April 1912, when I had occasion to accompany a deputation to visit the various Arabic Madrassas with a view to devising a suitable scheme for the Madrassa Ahmadiyya, and had occasion to deliver lectures at Lucknow, Benares and Cawnpore, I observed that everywhere members of the Jama'at were anxious that the lectures should contain no reference to Ahmadiyyat. For, they were afraid that in that case people would either not attend the lectures or else would receive them in a hostile spirit. My reply to this was that it was not my object to win popular applause. What I wished was to deliver the message of truth. If

people would choose not to hear it or choose to receive it in a hostile spirit, it was their own concern. As for myself, I should only discharge my duty in the sight of God. One man from Lucknow who has since entered into my *Bai'at* actually wrote to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}. "Would that you had sent along with the deputation a man of ripe experience, for these men adopt a method of preaching from which troubles may well be apprehended. Miyañ Sahib (i.e. the present writer) is still in his early youth and is apt in his enthusiasm to overlook the suitability of the hour. God forbid that there should occur some violence and our name be brought to odium. There is still time for you to send a person of experience well aware of the need of the times." When I returned from the tour, Hadrat Khalifatul Messiah informed me of the purport of the letter and expressed his strong disapproval of it. At Lucknow it was originally proposed to deliver two lectures. But after one had been delivered, the other had to be abandoned; and this was mainly due to objections raised by Ahmadis themselves, though, of course, difficulties were raised by opponents of the Jama'at also. In private interviews, however, we made it a point to convey our message with the greatest possible clearness. The same was our experience in Benares. Ahmadis of this place professed at the time

conformity to my views. But they also made the request that the lecture should be general in its purport. The reason they gave was that Khwaja Sahib had made great success with his lectures there and it was not desirable that my lecture should fail to achieve similar success and thus make me compare unfavourably with Khwaja Sahib. I, however, did not accept their advice and delivered lectures on the subject of Ahmadiyyat. The audience was always small but I had the satisfaction of discharging my duty. It is surprising that when at the death of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, the Jama'at at Lucknow, who at the time were opposed to my views entered into my *Bai'at*, the Jama'at at Benares who at the time professed agreement with my views held back. May be it was a punishment for the worldliness which they betrayed on the occasion.

In short, people of the Jama'at in those days were undergoing a peculiar probation. On the one hand, in their heart of hearts they were aware that if they persisted in this policy of avoiding an open mention of the Promised Messiah^{as}, then the Movement would soon come to an end. On the other hand, after their experience of the practical success which attended the methods of Khwaja Kamaluddin, they felt afraid that the people would refuse to attend any lectures bearing

on the distinctive claims of the Movement or if they attended, the numbers attending would be small and would afford the rival party ground for claiming that theirs was the right method—it attracted people in larger numbers to hear their discourses, and helped to increase their acquaintance with Ahmadiyyat, and this acquaintance could lead them ultimately to join the Movement. People of the Jama‘at were thus in a state of complete indecision, even while they disapproved of the methods of Khwaja Sahib, they thought that imitation of those methods was necessary for the success of their aim. They thought that if people in general could be brought to see that in the ranks of the Ahmadiyya Community there were persons better informed than Khwaja Sahib, then automatically their attention would be diverted from Khwaja Sahib, and it would then be time to acquaint them with the facts about Ahmadiyyat. They argued that for an exposure of Khwaja Sahib’s methods it was necessary to employ Khwaja Sahib’s own methods. Such a view however, was a mistake. For, if members of the Jama‘at had followed such a course, they would have come after a time to assume the same character as Khwaja Sahib and would ultimately have gone astray from the aims of the Ahmadiyya Movement. Their safety and success lay as before in using every

suitable opportunity to proclaim the truth of the Promised Messiah^{as} without any thought of the size of their audiences or the measure of their popularity. Besides, it was a mere fancy to apprehend that the public would refuse to hear our lectures. People are attracted to lectures by the reputation of those who speak rather than by the subjects on which they speak. A well-known lecturer undertaking to speak even on a commonplace subject would attract a large number of people to hear him. It is another matter that after hearing him they would fall to criticising him. I had occasion, for instance, to deliver a lecture at Cawnpore. As it was stated in the announcement that the lecture would be on the distinctive features of the Ahmadiyya Movement, it was apprehended that only a few people would come and hear. But people came in such large numbers that all of them could not be accommodated in the place where the meeting had been arranged. There were altogether some 1500 people or more, and they were mostly enlightened people, officials and merchants. For two hours and a half they listened calmly to the lecture and even after I had sat down the audience did not stir. Perhaps they thought that I had sat down for a pause. At last it was announced that the lecture was over and that people might depart. Then there was a clamour for the

lecturer to stand up, as there were many who wished to shake hands with him. I marked also that many who had during the day called me a kafir to my face, now pushed forward and not only shook hands with me but also kissed my hands. The reason why so few attended my lectures at Lucknow and Benares and so many attended them at Cawnpore seemed to lie in the fact that at the first two places I was unknown to the people whereas at Cawnpore, on account of the presence of many Punjabi traders, a section of the people knew and respected our family. This induced them to come and attend the lecture, and then truth was able to enter their hearts and their former regard was further enhanced.

In short, the Community at this time suffered from a conflict between two opposite attitudes. This state of affairs continued for about two years. It was now 1912—a memorable year in the annals of Ahmadiyya Movement. This year certain events took place which have since exercised a lasting influence upon its history, and it was in this year, as I think, that foundation was laid of dissensions in the Movement, and it happened in this wise. During this year Khwaja Kamaluddin lost his wife. To forget the loss, he proposed to go out on a tour throughout India. It was, however, publicly announced that the tour was

intended to collect subscriptions for the furtherance of the objects of the Ahmadiyya Movement. The deputation visited various provinces and cities and at last reached Bombay. There they put up in the house of a certain rich Ahmadi. This Ahmadi had at the time some business pending in England, for which he was looking for a reliable agent. He offered to pay Khwaja Sahib a considerable sum in addition to his passage and other expenses if Khwaja Sahib would go and look after his affairs. The attraction, which a visit to England possesses for an Indian, persuaded Khwaja Sahib not to let this opportunity go, and he, therefore, accepted the offer.

A reference to this was made by the *Badr* in its issue of 5th September 1912 in the following words. "In the course of this tour, God has brought to Khwaja Sahib a certain opportunity which will enable him presently to start on a visit to England." The same fact seems to underlie the instructions given by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} to Khwaja Sahib at the time of his departure for England. For, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} said: "While you are there, you must also serve the faith to the best of your power." (the *Paigham-e-Sulh* Vol. 1, No. I, p. 3). Khwaja Sahib had all along aspired after fame. He wished to make the best use of the opportunity which now presented itself to him.

Therefore, without letting the public know the real arrangements, he announced that in the course of the tour he had come to realise the importance of the need of preaching Islam in England, and that for this purpose he was going to give up his large legal practice and was starting for England to proclaim the word of Allah. The truth of the matter was known only to a few. No sooner, however, was the announcement made than from all sides arose a chorus of praise and admiration for the great sacrifice Khwaja Sahib was going to make and even in his lifetime Khwaja Sahib began to be regarded as a kind of religious martyr.

Nor was Khwaja Sahib content with spreading only oral reports. He caused an announcement to be published in the *Zami'ndar* saying: "It has been said that some rich Seth (merchant) or Anjuman or some non-Ahmadi nobleman is sending me to England. The report is entirely unfounded. I am going after relinquishing my practice for the sake of proclaiming the word of God." In phrasing this announcement, care was taken to qualify the word 'nobleman' by the word 'non-Ahmadi' and technically the announcement had been made secure against all attack. It was not a Seth nor an Anjuman nor a non-Ahmadi nobleman who was sending him to England. It was an Ahmadi

nobleman. Khwaja Sahib did not wish people to connect his visit to England with the instrumentality of any Ahmadi nobleman. He wished to create the impression that he was going out not on business nor in consideration of any fees received from a wealthy client but at his own expense and at the sacrifice of his professional work and only in order to proclaim the name of God and overthrow all ungodliness from the world. "I fear, O wayfarer thou shalt not reach the Kaaba. For the path thou art treading leads to Turkistan!"

It has been said in defence of Khwaja Sahib that the gentleman who provided Khwaja Sahib's expenses wished to remain anonymous. But did this gentleman also wish to broadcast the wholly false impression that Khwaja Sahib was going to England at his own expense, at the loss of his profession and for the sake of the propagation of Islam? Supposing that Khwaja Sahib had started for England without having made any such announcement, was there any likelihood of the public coming to know that it was any particular gentleman who had sent him to England? The affair was a secret and no non-Ahmadis and only a few Ahmadis knew anything about it, and the few who knew could not at all be misled by any false reports. What purpose, then, could there possibly

be in making the announcement except pure vanity? For, as the Holy Quran puts it. "They love to be praised for that which they have not done." In short, Khwaja Sahib left for England, and after his departure, his friends most actively began to advertise that he had thrown up a flourishing practice for the sake of preaching Islam in England, and that it was the duty therefore of every Muslim to render him assistance. Khwaja Sahib already had with him money enough to pay for a two years stay in England. But now efforts began to be made to raise funds in case Khwaja Sahib wanted to stay longer.

This was the beginning of Khwaja Sahib's mission to England. His departure served to allay the growing discontent in the Community at his apathy towards the propagation of Ahmadiyyat, and at his adoption of a policy which, it was felt, threatened the obliteration of the distinctive features of the Movement. The apparent sacrifice made by Khwaja Sahib led the Community to rally round him again. Only a few knew what the true state of affairs was. It was at this time that an opportunity arose for me to proceed on pilgrimage to Mecca by way of Egypt. I had it in mind to spend a year or two in Egypt, but after the completion of the Hajj difficulties arose in the way of a visit to Egypt, and I decided to return to

India. During this journey, I found such opportunities of praying to God that I am inclined to think they played their part in saving the Ahmadiyya Community from the dissolution which the dissensions threatened.

Khwaja Sahib had not been many days in England before he met a European lady, the wife of an Indian Muslim, who had, through the influence of her husband, already made a certain approach towards Islam. Khwaja Sahib preached to her and induced her to make a public declaration of her conversion to Islam. The event was widely advertised by Khwaja Sahib and a general impression was created that he was doing very useful work. In order to attract the notice of Ahmadis, Khwaja Sahib gave out that the lady's adoption of Islam was the fulfilment of a vision of the Promised Messiah^{as}. That vision was to the effect that the Promised Messiah^{as} had gone to England and caught some white birds. Thus wrote the Promised Messiah^{as}:

"I saw that I stood in the city of London engaged in explaining the truth of Islam in a well reasoned address in the English language. After that I caught many birds perched on small trees. They were white and

their size was that of the partridge. I interpreted this as signifying that although I might not visit the country personally, my writings would find circulation among its people, and many a right minded Englishman would accept the truth of Islam." (*Izala'-e-Aubam* Vol. 2)

It is obvious from this account that the vision was not fulfilled at the hands of Khwaja Sahib, for while the vision indicated that it was the Promised Messiah^{as} who caught those birds, the converts won through the activities of Khwaja Sahib had no connection whatsoever with the Promised Messiah^{as}. The view of Islam presented by Khwaja Sahib to these new converts was the same as was owned by the bitterest opponents of the Promised Messiah^{as} like Maulawi Muhammad Husain of Batala and Maulawi Sanaullah of Amritsar. Though the vision had nothing to do with the work that Khwaja Sahib was doing, a fact made more and more evident by-subsequent events—yet to win the support of Ahmadis Khwaja Sahib persisted in giving wide publicity to the vision and its fulfilment at his hands. This publicity, however, was strictly confined to the Ahmadiyya Community. Among non-Ahmadis it was announced that this propaganda was being carried on behalf of the broad

principles of Islam, and the enterprise therefore deserved the financial support of the entire body of Muslims and all should contribute to this good work. (It may be noted that during the earlier days of his stay in England, Khwaja Sahib took care to keep everybody in the dark regarding the nature of the work he was doing).

At the time Khwaja Sahib reached England the Balkan War was in progress. He published a tract in connection with that war in which after quoting a revelation of the Promised Messiah^{as} regarding Turkey:

عُلِبَتِ الرُّومُ ۗ فِي أَدْنَى الْأَرْضِ وَهُمْ مِّنْ بَعْدِ غَلَبِهِمْ سَيَغْلِبُونَ ۝
(Al-Rūm, 30:3, 4)

i.e.: "Turkey has been defeated in a land hard by, but soon they will be victorious after their defeat", he drew the attention of the Turks to the advent of the Promised Messiah^{as}. The news of the publication of this tract by Khwaja Sahib pleased Ahmadis, who thought that at last Khwaja Sahib had returned to the right path. But in the meantime, the conversion of a few Englishmen to Islam brought to Khwaja Sahib the support of the general body of non-Ahmadi Muslims, but they gave him to understand that the support would be withdrawn in case he made any mention of the Ahmadiyya Movement in the course of his

proselytising activities. Thus it was that Khwaja Sahib, who had shown such courage in publishing in Turkish lands, this prophecy of the Promised Messiah^{as} relating to Turkey assumed such a deep silence when the prophecy was actually fulfilled that he never again even mentioned the subject.

The year 1913 was marked by two important events. On my return from the Hajj I was much impressed by the need for strengthening the press at Qadian. This need was suggested to me by Maulawi Abul Kalam Azad's paper *Al-Hilal*, which was largely subscribed to by Ahmadis, so that there was reason to apprehend that some Ahmadis might be influenced by the poisonous writings of that paper. Accordingly, I bestirred myself for the purpose, and secured the permission of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} for the publication of a new paper from Qadian, which in addition to religious matters, should contain matters also of general interest, and thus enable Ahmadis to satisfy their need for religious as well as general reading from the organs of the Movement. After I had obtained the permission of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}, I heard that our friends Dr. Mirza Ya'qub Baig, Dr. Sayyid Muhammad Husain Shah and Shaikh Rahmatullah also proposed publishing a paper from Lahore. As soon as I received the news, I sent a note

to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} saying that as the friends named above were preparing to publish a paper from Lahore, and that as this paper would serve the purpose I had in view the publication of my paper, if Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} should permit, might be dropped for the present. To this Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} replied that there was a difference between the objects of the two papers, and that I should therefore continue the preparations I had started for my own paper. So, I went on with my preparations. In the early part of June the *Paigham-e-Sulh* was issued from Lahore, and towards the middle of the same month the *Al-Fadl* made its appearance from Qadian. The publication of these two papers meant to outsiders only the addition of two papers to hundreds already existing in the journalistic world of India, but for the Ahmadiyya Movement their appearance proved to be an event of the greatest moment in its history.

The publication of the *Paigham-e-Sulh* brought to the surface the poison that had so long been accumulating in the body of the Community, and attempts to obliterate the distinctive features of the Ahmadiyya Movement began to be made openly. The Jama'at of Qadian was made the object of special attention in the articles published in the paper, and overtures for peace began to be made to the enemies

of the Movement. The main purpose of the paper probably was to promote public support for the mission of Khwaja Kamaluddin to England, but as was natural, space had also to be found for the discussion of matters which were in dispute among Ahmadis. In order to obtain circulation for it among non-Ahmadis the Promised Messiah^{as} began to be addressed simply as Mirza Sahib '*alaihir Rahmah*, this form of address being less objectionable to non-Ahmadis. Praises were lavished up on the enemies of the Movement. The Sultan of Turkey began to be called *Khalifatul Muslimin*. In short, every effort was made to obliterate the distinctiveness of Ahmadiyyat and to make Ahmadis and non-Ahmadis merge into one common mass.

Not long after the appearance of the two papers, the Muslims of India became highly excited over the demolition of a bath attached to a mosque in Cawnpore. The men who lost their lives in the riot in connection with this affair were acclaimed as *Shahids* (religious martyrs), and virulent articles were published in the public organs criticising the action of the Government. On this occasion the *Paigham-e-Sulh* made common cause with the other public organs in their attack upon the Government. The managers of the *Paigham-e-Sulh* sent a special agent

to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} to consult him about the question. Articles by Maulawi Muhammad Ali were also published. These were openly in support of the agitators. The views of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} were, however, so far distorted in the process of publication that they came to have a meaning quite different from the one intended and the conclusion was drawn from them that on this occasion, Government had been guilty of excess, and that they were not justified in demolishing any part of the mosque. Such, however, were not the views of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} who had directed me to write that a bath formed no part of the mosque, and that consequently people were not justified in disturbing the peace over it. When the articles published in the *Paigham-e-Sulh* were brought to the notice of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}, he strongly disapproved of them and made me write two articles under his personal direction, the notes of which are still in my possession. In these articles special emphasis was laid upon the point that baths attached to mosques formed no part of mosque and that those who were engaged in agitating over the affair were wrong and were in fact acting hypocritically. He desired me, however, not to publish the articles over his name but to publish them on my own account. When these articles were

published, a report was circulated that in these articles I had abused Maulawi Muhammad Ali who was the author of the articles published in the *Paigham-e-Sulh*. Accordingly, Dr. Muhammad Sharif of Batala, at present Civil Surgeon Hoshiarpur (who has subsequently moved to other places) who was at that time probably at Sargodha, in the course of a visit to Qadian, mentioned the matter to me. I told him that the articles were not really mine, but had been written almost at the dictation of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. To this, he answered: "How could Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}, who holds Maulawi Muhammad Ali in such regard, use such language in reference to him?" Upon this, I sent for a copy of the paper in which the article to which he objected, had been published, and wrote the following in the margin: "This article was dictated to me by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} and the strong language which it contains was used by him and was not put in by me." I then made over the paper to the Doctor Sahib asking him to go and lay it before Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}, and find out for himself whether the articles were written at his dictation or at my instance. He took the paper to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. As he was then in a hurry to leave Qadian he could not see me before his departure. However, he returned the paper to me through a relative of his

saying that what I had said was quite true. This gentleman holds a respectable office, and is one of those who share the views of Maulawi Muhammad Ali, and is not a follower of mine. Maulawi Muhammad Ali, therefore, can inquire from him on oath whether what I say is true or not.

In short, the Cawnpore mosque controversy served further to divide the Jama‘at into two sections. It led one section to drift more and more towards the extremist wing of Indian politics, and induced the other to adhere more closely to the teachings of the Promised Messiah^{as}. And God be praised that the latter party formed by far the larger section of the Ahmadiyya Community.

While these events were taking place in India, Khwaja Sahib in England came across a certain Lord Headley who had for a long time acknowledged the truth of Islam. He had been a follower of the faith for nearly 40 years, but as he never happened to find a regular congregation of Muslims, he knew not how to make a public announcement of the fact of his conversion. After he met Khwaja Sahib, he made a public declaration of his change of faith stating that he had actually been a Muslim for forty years.¹⁰

¹⁰ Vide Lord Headley: *A Western Awakening to Islam*.

The news was trumpeted to the world by Khwaja Sahib that through his efforts a British peer had accepted the faith of Islam. Immediately Khwaja Sahib became a popular idol, and from all sides a chorus of praise was raised for the service he had rendered to Islam. But to the people who knew that Lord Headley had been a Muslim for forty years, the whole affair caused considerable surprise, and they were astonished to find that Khwaja Sahib had been distorting the truth. But Khwaja Sahib was set on the one object of winning success and popularity for his mission. It did not matter whether the means employed by him were fair or foul. His announcement of the conversion of Lord Headley appears to me to have misled many of those Ahmadiis who are now the followers of the Lahore party. The conversion seemed to them to be a sign of Divine assistance, indicating that therefore Khwaja Sahib must be right. In actual fact, of course, there was no Divine assistance but rather moral suicide on the part of Khwaja Sahib, and as long as the Ahmadiyya Movement lives and by the grace of God it will continue to live till the end of days, the misrepresentations and craft employed by Khwaja Sahib will ever be remembered with surprise and amazement.

The apparent success which attended Khwaja Sahib's activities proved too strong a temptation for a section of the Community, and as I have already said, they began to look upon it as a sign of Divine assistance. They now thought that on the question of the proper method of propagation their own judgment had been at fault. They thought that success was to be attained only by adopting the policy of Khwaja Sahib. These views were supported and encouraged by articles published in the *Paigham-e-Sulh*. The controversies, however, led to one good result. They exposed to view the machinations, which had previously been carried on in secret and thus served to put the Community upon its guard. No doubt, a section of the Community was carried away by the tide but the loss proved a source of safety for the rest.

When the internal dissensions of the Community had once been made public, there remained no longer any reason for further secrecy. In the *Paigham-e-Sulh* attacks began to be made openly on the Ahmadis who lived at Qadian, and refutation of those attacks were published in the columns of the *Al-Fadl* under the direction of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. It is true that members of the *Paigham* party, whenever they became aware of having incurred the open displeasure of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} used to run up to him and

sue for his pardon, but no sooner did they return from his presence than they reverted to their own ways. This period was fraught with the gravest danger for the Movement, because even its enemies had now become aware of the disputes which for some years had been dividing Ahmadis into opposite ranks. Nor were they slow to take advantage of this state of affairs. They began openly to encourage the Lahore party, and to induce them by various means to persist in the dispute till at last Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} was compelled once to call the *Paigham-e-Sulh* (lit. message of peace) *Paigham-e-Jang* (lit. message of war).

The truculence of the new party was, however, confined to the columns of their newspaper. They still continued to entertain a fear of Hadrat Khalifatul-Masih and as they dared not write anything openly against him their fettered activities naturally led some followers of Maulawi Muhammad Ali to take a leaf out of the book of the anarchists of Bengal, so that they began publishing a series of tracts which bore the name neither of its publisher nor of its author. Two tracts in this connection, were published by them under the titles of *Izharul Haq No. 1* and *Izharul Haq No. 2*.

Both of these tracts were published about the middle of November 1913. They followed one another with an interval of one or two days. The first tract had four pages and the second eight pages. Both of them instead of bearing the name of the writer were subscribed *دَاعِي إِلَى الْوَصِيَّةِ* i.e. one who invited Ahmadis to the last Will of the Promised Messiah^{as}.

Izharul Haq No. 1

The purport of *Izharul Haq No. 1* was to the effect that the modern age was one of democracy and that this universal fact afforded an indication that the Divine teacher of the age was also to be an exponent of democracy. According to the anonymous author of this tract, this was what had happened. The Promised Messiah^{as} used to consult his friends in all matters except those in which he acted under the special direction of Divine revelation. He also declared that one of the purposes for which he had been sent by God was to reduce to due proportion the excessive dignity which had been attributed to mere men. And when he was informed by God of his approaching death he wrote out a will, and therein solved the question of his succession by laying down that after him there would be democracy, and the management of affairs of the Community would be vested in an

Anjuman. It was a pity, however, that the Community turned a deaf ear to his words and fell into saint-worship, and forgot altogether his injunctions about democratising the management of the Community. There were in the Community many who had entered into the *Bai'at* under constraint; and as a matter of fact the person to whom *Bai'at* had been sworn (viz. Hadrat Maulana Nuruddin Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}) was not the person most fitted in the Community to receive such *Bai'at*. The people who were ultimately responsible for this state of affairs were the officers of Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya, who had after the death of the Promised Messiah^{as} thrown the Community into the mire of saint-worship. The result had been that various means were being devised to secure possession of the Khilafat, and a special society of Ansarullah had been formed with the object of frustrating the efforts of all the leading members of the Community. The ostensible duty of the Ansarullah was to propagate the faith, but their real purpose was to advertise the leading members of the Community as a set of hypocrites. Men like Maulawi Ghulam Husain Sahib of Peshawar, Mir Hamid Shah Sahib of Sialkot, Maulawi Muhammad Ali Sahib, Khwaja Kamaluddin Sahib, Shaikh Rahmatullah Sahib, Doctor Sayyid Muhammad Husain Shah Sahib and

Doctor Mirza Ya‘qub Baig Sahib were being held up to opprobrium. The Promised Messiah^{as} had declared in clear words that after him the Anjuman would be his successor not an individual person. He had written distinctly that after him the Sadr Anjuman would have the last word in all matters. But now every one could see the present attitude of the Community—how they received with implicit obedience every word of a *Ghair Ma‘mur* (one not Divinely commissioned—a term which this anonymous writer applied to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}). The Khalifa had refused to receive the *Paigham-e-Sulh*, and had thus alienated from it the sympathy of the Community. (Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} tired of the continued duplicity of the *Paigham-e-Sulh*. had directed that it should no longer be sent to him, and when the managers of the paper persisted in sending the paper to his address, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} declined to receive it from the Post Office.) When, therefore, this man regarded by the Community as the most learned in the knowledge of the Quran, (i.e. Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}) treats leading members of the Community with such indignity, and only in order to display his pontifical authority, what can the leading members expect from young men lacking in experience and immature of understanding? How long will the

leading members of the Community see these things and hold their peace? Ahmadis! turn away your eyes from the other *Pirzadas* and attend instead to *Pirzadas* in your own home.

Izharul Haq No. 2

The substance of the tract *Izharul Haq No. 2* was as follows: There were no intrigues in the Ahmadiyya Community. Servility to a *Ghair Ma'mur* (i.e. oath of *Bai'at* at the hand of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}) has reduced us to this condition. In the time of the Holy Prophet^{sa} and in that of the Promised Messiah^{as}, the Muslim Community were free to express their opinion. Now there was much repression. False reports carried to the Khalifa were causing no end of trouble to our brethren. If this state of things continued for some time there would soon be nothing to distinguish between an Ahmadi saint-worshipper and a non-Ahmadi saint-worshipper. A new reformer was not likely to appear until at last one hundred years after the time of the Promised Messiah^{as}. Those who held and spread a contrary opinion did so out of personal interests. The welfare of the Community lay in having all its affairs managed on democratic principles.

The tract then went on to trace thus the history of dissensions in the Community. On the death of the Promised Messiah^{as} and in the excitement which naturally followed, the Community turned their backs on the instructions of the Promised Messiah^{as} and elected Maulawi Nuruddin as their Khalifa. But it was on every body's lips at the time, that after Maulawi Nuruddin, only Maulawi Muhammad Ali could be Khalifa. There were, however, envious people who, when they saw this, at once began their intrigues through the help of Hadrat Ummul Mu'minin. They got her to write to the Khalifa that she had sworn *Bai'at* at his hands, but would not swear it at the hands of any person of mean descent. The Khalifa replied to her in soothing words and satisfied her for the moment. After this, efforts both fair and foul began to be made to interfere in the work of the Anjuman and to make the situation uncomfortable for Maulawi Muhammad Ali. Then trouble was created through Mir Muhammad Ishaq. (This refers to the questions submitted by him to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} of which an account has been given above.) An agitation was started against members of the Anjuman. Mirza Mahmud Ahmad was put up as a candidate for the Khilafat, and it was declared publicly that members of the Anjuman were hostile to

the family of the Promised Messiah^{as}—a statement which had not the least basis in fact. Members of the family of the Promised Messiah^{as} were a burden upon the finances of the Community and were busy making attacks upon the Anjuman and upon its members. Charge after charge had been brought against Maulawi Muhammad Ali. When a proposal was submitted to the Khalifa for the publication of the *Paigham-e-Sulh*, immediately a request was made for permission to publish the *Al-Fadl*, a request which the Khalifa was obliged to grant for fear of trouble.

The tract continues: The authorities of the *Paigham-e-Sulh* have nothing to do with the contents of the present tracts nor are they aware of their existence. When the Cawnpore mosque controversy began the authorities of the *Paigham-e-Sulh* sent Khalifa Rajabuddin to Qadian with a copy of the Tribune, and obtained instructions from the Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. If, however, at the time of their publication any departure had been made from those instructions, the right course for the Khalifa was to publish a contradiction in the columns of the *Paigham-e-Sulh*, and not to become offended with the authorities of the paper. The Khalifa in fact discontinued receiving the paper not because of any difference of opinion as to the mosque controversy but because of some minor

matters which gave him offence. Ye Brethren! Is it not a matter of surprise that a person learned in the Holy Quran (meaning Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}) should thus seek to humiliate the editor of the *Paigham-e-Sulh* and other people connected with the paper—both by oral propaganda and through articles in the *Al-Fadl*? Is this the justice inculcated by Islam? The abuse that has been heaped upon the *Paigham-e-Sulh* by the *Al-Haq* of Delhi has not been replied to by the Qadian party. The latter therefore stands charged with being a party to the same.

The tract then proceeds to indulge in a series of personal attacks which it would be difficult for readers living far away from Qadian to follow without laborious explanations. The substance of these charges is that members of the Promised Messiah's^{as} family have been fomenting discord in the Community and bringing into disgrace its leading members. The tract invites the Community to strive and save the Movement from the impending disaster and to put themselves into communication with the writer.

Who Wrote the Tracts?

This tract, like the first, was published anonymously, but there were certain points about them both which clearly indicated their source:

Firstly, these tracts had been published from Lahore, which was at that time the headquarters of the party of Maulawi Muhammad Ali. By calling it their headquarters I do not mean that at that time Lahore was openly set up as a rival to Qadian. What I mean is that the majority of the members, who shared the views of Maulawi Muhammad Ali lived in that city, and their organ, the *Paigham-e-Sulh*, was published from that place. Practically, therefore, if not openly, Lahore was already the headquarters of the party. Of course, after the death of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, Lahore began openly to be mentioned as such.

Secondly, the tracts reached most places packed in printed covers belonging to the office of the *Paigham-e-Sulh*. The fact was sufficient to prove that they had been dispatched from the office of that paper, or at least that the people connected with that paper had a hand in the distribution of the tracts.

Thirdly, the writer of the tracts asked his readers to communicate with him on the subject-matter of the tracts, but at the same time failed to furnish any-

address. The question naturally arises as to how, in the absence of an address, were the people to communicate with the author? It is therefore probable that the author had at first put down his name and address, but had subsequently considered it prudent to suppress the information. But, since the sentence asking people to correspond with the author had not been deleted from the body of the tract, it is probable that the idea of suppressing his name and address occurred to the author after the tract had been handed to the press. It was perhaps the fear of delay, which was inevitable if parts of the text had to be altered, and also perhaps the risk of spoiling the language, which induced the author to leave the text intact. In some copies of the tracts, a close examination showed that some words had been rubbed off with the finger from the end of the text. In some other copies, again, there had been left unerased the word "through the medium of newspaper", while the rest of the note had been rubbed off. These words clearly indicate that replies were invited through the medium of some newspaper. And, although the paper might not necessarily be the *Paigham-e-Sulh*, the words showed so much for certain that the people who had issued the tract were persons in close touch with the newspaper. And the fact also is well-known that for

considerations which fellow professionals have for one another those belonging to different newspapers are willing to render small services of this kind to one another.

Fourthly, in these tracts the ideas expressed were the same as those which were entertained by Maulawi Muhammad Ali and his party. Only the language employed with reference to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} was less respectful than was generally used by them in their public conversations, and with regard to this, I can name more than twenty persons who are witnesses to the fact that in their private conversations some prominent members of Maulawi Muhammad Ali's party used to employ the very terms with reference to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} which had, been used in these tracts.

It was only after the death of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} that it became customary with them to praise Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. While he lived, these people in their private correspondence used to refer to him in very derogatory terms. In illustration of this, I shall here quote a few passages from letters, which two leading members of the party had written to the late Sayyid Hamid Shah Sahib during the lifetime of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}. The first letter was

written by Sayyid Muhammad Husain, the treasurer of the Central Anjuman of the Lahore party. He wrote to Sayyid Hamid Shah Sahib:

"1-10-09. Respected brother Shah Sahib:... Your favour to hand, and all its news... The news of the distressing occurrences at Qadian has perhaps already been communicated to you by Shaikh Sahib. The garden which our holy Master had watered with the blood of his heart had scarcely begun to grow when it is in danger of being destroyed by autumnal winds, Maulawi Sahib (i.e. Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}) is so obstinately blind in his affections that he can hardly listen to anybody. He has turned his back upon *Al-Wasiyyat* (Promised Messiah's^{as} Will). He disregards the words of the Messenger of God, and keeps in view only his personal prestige and authority. The Movement may come to grief, but the words which fall from his mouth must be fulfilled. The Movement founded by our holy Master and which will and is certain to grow is, through the obstinacy of some men in danger of such a serious set-back that it will take a long time to recover. The wiser members of the Community are all occupied with their private concerns. With the death of Mirza Sahib, they have banished from their memories all recollections of his many benefits, his greatness and his will, and saint-

worship, for the eradication of which the Movement was founded by God is being introduced again. The condition of the Movement is now best described in the couplet:

"Friendless has become the faith of Ahmad, not a friend or dear one by:

With every one taken up with his own affairs, the faith of Ahmad^{sa} has none to care.

There is nobody who will venture to ask: Well, brother, has *Al-Wasiyyat* any importance or not? It was written under Divine inspiration. Was it meant to be thrown away? If one would venture to ask such a question, one is met with the threat of apostasy. God have mercy. The heart is disconsolate. News from Qadian is that the Maulawi says that in about ten days a bomb will explode which will ruin and crush the Movement. God have mercy. Is there no limit to pride and vainglory? While there is so much of preaching about trusting one another there is no end to mistrust. Should the Movement come to ruin for the sake of a shia? God have mercy. O God! we have sinned. Thou alone canst save us by Thy mercy and grace. Take us under Thy special protection and save us from these trials. What more should I write. The worst is happening. It is time that some special Divine favour

should appear and save this Movement founded by Himself from the impending disaster. Amen! Salams to all brothers, and request for prayer.

(Sd.) Sayyid Muhammad Husain."

The other letter was written by Mirza Ya‘qub Baig, the General Secretary of this same Anjuman of the Lahore party. It ran as follows:

"Respected brother... At present we are in great anxiety over difficulties which have arisen in Qadian. The Khalifa's vacillation has exceeded all bounds. He is going shortly to publish a notice from which serious troubles are to be feared... If anybody exhibits the least difference of view with the Khalifa, it sends him into great rage... The circumstances were all fully explained to him but his fury failed to quell, and he is firmly resolved to publish a notice... I ask you what more is there for us to do. His object is to do away with the Anjuman, and to see that there is not the least opposition to his opinions. But this is not the intention of *Al-Wasiyyat*. It lays down that after the Promised Messiah^{as} all should work by mutual consultation. Shaikh Sahib and Shah Sahib send salutations. They agree with what I have said above.

(Sd.) Mirza Ya‘qub Baig . 29-9-09."

Fifthly, the clearest and the most convincing proof of the fact that these people were responsible for the publication of these tracts is afforded by the fact that as soon as the tracts were published, Sayyid Inamullah Shah, the manager of the *Paigham-e-Sulh*, and Babu Manzur Ilahi, the moving spirit of its organisation, published a letter in the *Paigham-e-Sulh* of 16th November. In this letter, while refuting the alleged charge brought against them by the Anjuman Ansarullah, that they were the authors of the tracts, they observed that there was no doubt that the contents of the tracts which had come to their notice, were for the most part, and so far as they knew, quite true although the tracts also contained matters which were outside their knowledge and regarding which they were not, therefore, in a position to give any opinion. The letter proceeded to observe that if in spite of the fact that the writers entertained the most implicit faith in every word of the Promised Messiah^{as}, the Lahore section of the Ansarullah continued to misrepresent them for the only fault that on certain minor points they held views at variance with those of the Ansarullah, or endorsed sentiments expressed in the two tracts, then it would lie at the door of the Lahore Ansarullah themselves if in

refuting their attacks, the writers should fail to observe an exact balance of language.

These five considerations show that the tracts were published by Maulawi Muhammad Ali's friends and partisans. Their publication makes two facts quite clear. First that in a controversy with this party, it is useless to expect them to observe any moral, civil or religious law. For, it will be observed that in the publication of the tracts there was, in the first place, a transgression of the civil law of this country, inasmuch as the name of the press where the tracts were printed, was not printed on the tracts. There was also a violation of the law of propriety, because in these tracts some very foul charges had been brought against Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} and myself and my relatives by a person or persons who chose to remain anonymous. There was, therefore, no possibility of ascertaining the truth about the charges, because, so long as the accuser did not furnish any proofs in support of his statements, there was no means at all of refuting those statements. There was also an infringement of the religious law of Islam as the writer or writers had raised their voice against, and had charged with un-godly conduct and immorality one to whom they had sworn the oath of *Bai'at*, and inasmuch as they had chosen to publish, without a

shadow of proof or cause, matters, which according to the law of Islam, they were prohibited even from speaking about.

The second fact which the publication of the tracts made clear was that the party had arrived at a final decision that, come what might, they would not abandon their effort to attain their end even though it might lead to a split in the Community, and further that even during the lifetime of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, they had begun preparations for a split in the Community.

I do not say that these tracts were written by Maulawi Muhammad Ali himself. But there is little doubt that they were the work of one or another of his friends and coadjutors. Nor were they the work of any single individual. They were the work of a group of men, because to publish a series of tracts and to distribute them widely could not be the work of one man. The preparation, the expense, and the distribution of the tracts required cooperation, and could not be accomplished without assistance. All these facts make it clear that there had been a secret party of Maulawi Muhammad Ali's friends and associates, and it was they who were responsible for the tracts.

Replies to Anonymous Tracts.

The distribution of the tracts among members of the Community, acted as a bombshell. The Community founded by the Promised Messiah^{as} now realised the serious nature of their responsibility, and desired that a suitable reply should be written to the tracts. Fear of the disfavour of the Community and the displeasure of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} now induced the authorities of the *Paigham-e-Sulh* to publish a brief note disavowing the remarks, which had previously been published in that paper in support of the tracts. But the language used in the note was so equivocal that while, from one point of view, the note seemed to denounce the sentiments expressed in the tracts, from another point of view it seemed to lend support to those sentiments. Another group, however, was destined to make a proper rejoinder to the tracts. This was the Anjuman Ansarullah. As the writer of the tracts had made the Anjuman Ansarullah the special object of his attack and the *Paigham-e-Sulh* had also addressed its remarks to them, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{Ira}, was pleased to entrust the Ansarullah the duty of replying to the tracts.

The reply was published under the direction of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} in the form of two tracts. The first was named *Khilafat-e-Ahmadiyya*, and was a

reply to the tract *Izharul Haq No. 1*. The second was named *Izhar-e-Haqiqat*, and furnished a reply to *Izharul Haq No. 2*. Both these tracts were shown to and were corrected by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. At one place, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} added these words: "A thousand shames upon the *Paigham-e-Sulh*, which in publishing its letter delivered to us a declaration of war and cast the apple of discord."

After the publication of these tracts, I tried also to induce members of the party, in whose interest the anonymous tracts seemed to have been written and published to issue a refutation of them. But as they were only dissembling and were at heart in sympathy with the views expressed in the tracts, they avoided such a course on various pretences—all except Mir Hamid Shah Sahib who was good enough to furnish written answers to the questions sent to him among others. Incidentally, Mir Hamid Shah Sahib was the only one out of this group who was granted the grace to enter later into my *Bai'at*.

Whether the purpose, which the authors of the anonymous tracts had in view in publishing them, was fulfilled or not would be known only to the authors of the tracts. According to us, one benefit which accrued from their publication was that it afforded us an

opportunity to refute publicly the doctrines which Maulawi Muhammad Ali and his partisans had so long been promulgating in secret. And God be thanked, the whole of their intrigue was now exposed to the light of day.

After the publication of these tracts everything was quiet for some time. The manager of the *Paigham-e-Sulh* and Babu Manzur Ilahi had to sue for Hadrat Khalifatul Masih's pardon and the whole affair seemed to have closed. But these people did not abandon their plans. Khwaja Kamaluddin now asked for permission to offer prayers behind non-Ahmadi Muslims, pleading as his ground the special circumstances of England. According to him the people there knew nothing about the Ahmadiyya Movement, and it was not desirable to acquaint them with differences among different sects which prevailed in Islam. At length, observing how weak Khwaja Sahib was in his faith, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} granted him the permission on which he was so keen. The first use Khwaja Sahib made of the permission was to pray behind Maulawi Zafar Ali Khan, the well-known editor of the *Zami'ndar*, one of the bitterest enemies of the Ahmadiyya Movement and its most foul-mouthed detractor. Apparently, Khwaja Sahib attributed to the soil of England the

virtue which Hindus impute to the river Ganges, the virtue that is of purifying everyone who visited its shores. In India, it might indeed be unlawful to pray behind Maulawi Zafar Ali Khan, but no sooner did he put his foot on English soil, than all his sins dropped away from him making it legitimate for anybody to offer his prayers behind him.

I have said that after the publication of replies to the tracts there was peace and quiet, but this was only outwardly so. The fire of rancour smouldered within the breasts of the people, and this fact was manifested on the occasion of the Annual Jalsa in December 1913. It happened in this way.

In the course of his address on the occasion of this Jalsa, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} once again made a reference to the anonymous tracts and expressed his strong disapproval of them. Upon this, the *Paigham-e-Sulh* promptly published a distorted version of his address stating that the Khalifa had expressed his strong disapproval of the booklets published in reply to those tracts by the Ansarullah.¹¹ The object was to

¹¹ In summarising Hadrat Khalifatul Masih's^{ra} address, the *Paigham-e-Sulh* wrote: "The people who wrote the *Izharul Haq* and those who published the open letter as well as those who discussed the question of Khilafat and those who published the booklets what right had they to do so?" The *Paigham-e-Sulh* dated 14th January 1914, page 13.

restore the effect of the anonymous tracts and to destroy the effect of the replies, although, as a matter of fact, the replies had been published under the direction of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} and after having been shown to him and after corrections had been made by him. As a matter of fact, the last time the manuscripts of the replies were shown to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} and permission was sought for making them over to the press, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} wrote as follows: "Publish them in all sincerity. I shall pray, and you too must not cease to pray that the wicked may receive understanding of the consequences of their act.—Nuruddin." This note is still with me. It is not surprising that whereas Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} promises to pray that these replies might prove effective, and in case the author of *Izharul Haq* does not desist, he utters an imprecation against him. the *Paigham-e-Sulh* was so blinded by opposition to the truth that it represented Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} as being displeased by the replies issued by the Ansarullah? The fact was that the *Paigham-e-Sulh* wanted to promote opinion in favour of the *Izharul Haq* tracts, and to produce prejudice against the replies. But its effort was defeated. For, on the 15th January 1914, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} published an announcement to the following effect:

"Last year many foolish people tried to create dissensions in the Community, and distributed a pamphlet called *Izharul Haq* among members of the Community, which cast aspersions on me also. The object of the writer in publishing the pamphlet was to create a split in the Community, but God out of His grace has saved both myself and the Community from this danger."

Maulawi Muhammad Ali's Tract: *Kufr-o-Islam*

A few days after the Annual Jalsa Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} was taken ill. His illness gradually increased, but he continued to teach as usual. Maulawi Muhammad Ali used to consult him with regard to the interpretation of difficult passages of the Holy Quran, and Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} used to dictate explanatory notes on those passages. At the same time he used to teach some other persons. One day, while he was discoursing on *Musnadi Ahmad*, he observed that that work was a most reliable repository of Hadith equalling in authenticity the work of Bukhari. It was, however, a pity, he said, that some unauthentic traditions had found a place in the book through one of the disciples and a son of Imam Ahmad. "I had a great mind", he said "to separate the original work

from its spurious portions, but I am sorry this has not been done in my time. It may probably be done in the time of Miyañ Sahib (meaning the present writer)." At this time, Maulawi Sayyid Sarwar Shah Sahib made his appearance. Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} repeated the wish in his presence, saying that the work could not be done in his time and that Maulawi Sayyid Sarwar Shah Sahib might undertake the work in the time of the present writer. These words were uttered by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} only two months before his death. They serve to prove at least so much that he who uttered the words wished that the succession of Khilafat should continue after him, and besides, that he had a premonition that after him God would make the present writer occupy the office of Khalifa.

The question of *Kufr* and Islam was a constant subject of debate in the Community. But hitherto, Maulawi Muhammad Ali had never written anything publicly on the subject. His attitude with reference to this question was apparently one of complete unconcern. Accordingly, it happened that one day while Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} was dictating to Maulawi Muhammad Ali notes on certain passages of the Quran, he made remarks with regard to some verses that they served to throw light on the question of *Kufr* and Islam, although the general belief was that

they were mutually conflicting. In illustration, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} cited the two verses:

إِنَّ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَالَّذِينَ هَادُوا وَالنَّصْرَى وَالصَّبِيْنَ مَنْ آمَنَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ
وَعَمِلَ صَالِحًا فَلَهُمْ أَجْرُهُمْ عِنْدَ رَبِّهِمْ وَلَا خَوْفٌ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا هُمْ يَحْزَنُونَ
(Al-Baqarah, 2:63)

إِنَّ الَّذِينَ يَكْفُرُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَرُسُلِهِ وَيُرِيدُونَ أَنْ يُفَرِّقُوا بَيْنَ اللَّهِ وَرُسُلِهِ
وَيَقُولُونَ نُؤْمِنُ بِبَعْضٍ وَنَكْفُرُ بِبَعْضٍ وَيُرِيدُونَ أَنْ يَتَّخِذُوا بَيْنَ ذَلِكَ سَبِيلًا
أُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْكٰفِرُونَ حَقًّا وَأَعْتَدْنَا لِلْكَافِرِينَ عَذَابًا مُهِينًا
(Al-Nisā', 4:151, 152)

In the same way, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} continued, there were men who said of him that he sometimes called non-Ahmadis Muslims and at other times *kuffar*. He had it in his mind, he said, to write an exposition on the subject explaining the true meaning of the Quranic passages on the one hand, and reconciling the seeming inconsistency between his own statements on the other. Since, however, Maulawi Muhammad Ali was at the time engaged in taking down notes on the Holy Quran, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} wished that he should write an article on the subject which should be shown to him. The article should reconcile the apparent conflict between the Quranic verses on the subject. All this was said in my presence.

Likewise, on another occasion, when I happened again to be present, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} reverted to the subject and said, "Regarding myself, people are wont to remark that I sometimes call non-Ahmadis Muslims and at other times *kuffar*. The fact is that people have not been able to understand me at all. It is a difficult matter and even our Miyañ (meaning the present writer) has not understood it".

Though Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} had considered Maulawi Muhammad Ali to be unconcerned with this question, yet Maulawi Sahib was full of envy and prejudice. The opportunity was to him a godsend, and while Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} had told him to write one thing, he wrote quite another. Instead of writing upon the Quranic verses on the subject and reconciling those which seemed to some to be inconsistent, he wrote an article on the question of *Kufr* and Islam of non-Ahmadis. Meanwhile, a report was published in the *Paigham-e-Sulh* that Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} had said that the Miyañ (the present writer) had not understood the question of *Kufr* and Islam. The report however, as I have already said, was quite wrong.¹² (See this book pp. 160, 162)

¹² *The Paigham-e-Sulh*, dated the 3rd March, 1914 wrote: "Even the Miyañ has not understood it." *Risala Kufr wa Islam*, p. 12 wrote: "Even the Miyañ has not understood the question."

When Maulawi Muhammad Ali had finished writing the article, he took immense pains—what he was afraid of is not known—so as to be able to read it privately to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. Accordingly, one evening having placed some men to guard the door, Maulawi Mohammad Ali prepared to read out the article. But Dr. Khalifa Rashiduddin happened just then to arrive on the scene, and this led Maulawi Muhammad Ali to postpone the reading. On another occasion he absented himself from the Friday congregation and prayers in order to read out his article to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}.

Not Approved by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}

Miyan Abdul Hayi the eldest son of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} was present at the reading. His report is that Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} directed that the article should not be published just then, and even said that he had meant something quite different. But Abdul Hayi was at the time very young. I do not, therefore, propose to make his statement the basis of my contention. There is evidence in the article itself which proves that this article was disapproved by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} or it must have been altered after it was read out to him, or it was read out to him at a time when his attention was otherwise engaged

and he could not attend to the article at all. The article contains many things which cannot be attributed even to a person of ordinary intelligence, much less to a person as well informed and learned as Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}. The following are some examples:

(1) In the article, arguments have been adduced from the Holy Quran and the Hadith to prove that Islam consists simply in belief in God and the Last Day and nothing more. Maulawi Muhammad Ali writes in the course of the article; "The Holy Quran has itself made the question plain in one of its verses wherein it says:

(Yūsuf, 12:107) ○ وَمَا يُؤْمِنُ أَكْثَرُهُمْ بِاللَّهِ إِلَّا وَهُمْ مُشْرِكُونَ

Here the Holy Quran says that most people are such that although they profess belief in God, still lying deep in their hearts there is a secret *Shirk* (unbelief). Nevertheless, in spite of such an admixture of *Shirk* they are called *Mu'mins* (believers)." (*Kufr-o-Islam* by Maulawi Muhammad Ali, page 4.) The verse quoted by Maulawi Muhammad Ali refers to the unbelievers of Mecca and is to be found in the last section of Chapter entitled *Yusuf*. Maulawi Muhammad Ali has cited this verse to prove that Islam is so wide in its connotation that in the category

of Muslims one may properly include even such people as do not believe in the Holy Prophet^{sa}. According to him, a belief in the Holy Prophet is a secondary matter, lack of which will not render a man kafir.

In the same strain and on the same page he writes: "One who denies the truth of *La Ilaha Illallah* (No God but Allah) is altogether excluded from this circle. One, however, who accepts this creed though he rejects some part of the faith, nevertheless remains within the circle, but is a kafir so far as that part is concerned." From this also, it is evident that according to Maulawi Muhammad Ali everybody who believes in the formula *La Ilaha Illallah* is a Muslim. Disbelief in any of the other parts of Islam, including disbelief in the prophethood of Muhammad^{sa} cannot affect the fact of his being a Muslim. The only difference it makes is to prove him a disbeliever in a part of Islam. It does not exclude him from the circle of Islam. Maulawi Muhammad Ali therefore concludes that denial of the Promised Messiah^{as} likewise is denial only of a part of Islam; it does not exclude anybody from the pale of Islam.

Such a doctrine is fraught with the gravest possible danger. It strikes at the very root of Islam.

The Holy Quran makes it imperative for a Muslim to believe in God, His angels, His books, His Prophets and the Last Day. The view expressed by Maulawi Muhammad Ali, therefore, must be his own. It could not possibly have been dictated or approved by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, whose belief was expressed in the *Badr* of 9th March 1911 in the following words:

"Belief in the formula *La Ilaha Illallah* includes belief in all the Messengers of God ... Belief in Adam^{as}, in Abraham^{as}, in Moses^{as}, in Jesus^{as} is included in this very formula of *La Ilaha Illallah*, even though these Prophets have not been expressly mentioned in it. Acceptance of the Holy Quran, belief in Muhammad^{sa} the Seal of the Prophets, belief in the Last Day as all Muslims know, are included in this same formula." In view of this declaration by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, himself, and in view of the fact that a contrary position is palpably wrong, who is there who can say that this article by Maulawi Muhammad Ali was approved by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} or was based on notes dictated by him.

(2) Further internal evidence in this connection is that in this article Maulawi Muhammad Ali has blundered in the interpretation of a verse of the Holy Quran, so egregiously as to contradict not only all

canons of Arabic but also the interpretation given by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} himself. It may be said that Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} had in a way refuted the interpretation given to that verse by Maulawi Muhammad Ali. The verse **قُلِ اللَّهُ لَمْ يَزَلْ يَكْتُبُ لَكُمْ آيَاتِهِ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَهْتَكُونَ** is interpreted by Maulawi Muhammad Ali as meaning "Bring them to acknowledge the existence of God and then leave them alone."—(Ibid Page 1.) Maulawi Muhammad Ali means to say that people should be made to acknowledge the existence of God, and then be left to themselves, the acknowledgment of the existence of God being sufficient for being a Muslim. When, however, we turn to the verse in question we find that it runs as follows:

وَمَا قَدَرُوا اللَّهَ حَقَّ قَدْرِهِ إِذْ قَالُوا مَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ عَلَى بَشَرٍ مِنْ شَيْءٍ قُلْ مَنْ أَنْزَلَ الْكِتَابَ الَّذِي جَاءَ بِهِ مُوسَى نُورًا وَهُدًى لِلنَّاسِ تَجْعَلُونَهُ قَرَاطِيسَ تُبْدُونَهَا وَتُخْفُونَ كَثِيرًا وَعِلَّمْتُمْ مَا لَمْ تَعْلَمُوا أَنْتُمْ وَلَا آبَاؤُكُمْ قُلِ اللَّهُ لَمْ يَزَلْ يَكْتُبُ لَكُمْ آيَاتِهِ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَهْتَكُونَ

(Al-An‘ām, 6:92)○

i.e. "They did not properly understand the attributes of God when they said that God had never revealed anything to any of His creatures. Say, Who was it Who revealed the Book brought by Moses, a light and guidance for men, the Book which you divide into fragments, giving out some of them to the people and hiding a considerable portion. (And now) you have

been taught things which neither you nor your ancestors did know before. (In other words the Holy Quran contains truths which are not to be found in the Old Testament. How is it possible then, that the Old Testament should be a revealed Book and the Holy Quran not?). Tell them that it was God (Who revealed the Book to Moses^{as}), and (having given them this final reply) leave them sporting in their folly." In this verse, there is not any mention anywhere that men should be made to acknowledge the existence of God and then left alone. The verse purports to say that the Jews were apt to deny that God ever revealed anything to His creatures. In reply God asks the Holy Prophet^{sa} to inquire Who it was Who revealed His Book to Moses^{as}, and then to tell them that He was none other than God Himself. Now as this reply is just in accordance with what they themselves believed on the subject, and as they could have no objection to this reply, God asks the Holy Prophet^{sa} not to waste any more words with them but to send them away with the reply, because they are given to make a sport of religion.

Judged by Arabic usage the interpretation given by Maulawi Muhammad Ali is not at all legitimate. Accordingly, we find that even in his own translation of the Quran, the interpretation adopted by him is not

the one here presented by him but the one presented by me above. He translates the passage as follows:

"And they do not assign to Allah the attributes due to Him, when they say, Allah has not revealed anything to a mortal. Say: Who revealed the book which Moses brought, a light and guidance to men, which you make into scattered writings which you show while you conceal much. And you were taught what you did not know, (neither) you nor your fathers. Say, Allah, then leave them sporting in their vain discourses." [*The Holy Quran, Arabic Text English Translation and Commentary*, p. 306]

If the meaning of the verse, as given by Maulawi Muhammad Ali in the tract was a correct one, what reason had he to alter it in his own translation of the Quran. The divergence between the interpretations put on the verse in the two places proves either that Maulawi Muhammad Ali knew from the beginning that the interpretation presented by him in his tract *Kufr-o-Islam* was really incorrect, but he still had recourse to it only to mislead his readers, or that as a result of the objections raised against it he altered it in the text of his translation before it was printed. That

he admits the inaccuracy of the interpretation in question is further corroborated by the fact that in his many subsequent writings on the subject of *Kufr* and Islam, he has not even for once cited the authority of this verse in support of his position. In saying all this, my object is to impress upon the reader that such a palpably wrong interpretation of the verse can never be attributed to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}, nor can it be believed that he approved of any such interpretation.

But in further corroboration of the view that Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} I^{ra}, could never possibly approve of such a wrong interpretation, we may cite the additional fact that in published reports of his lectures on the Holy Quran, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, has adopted the same interpretation which I have given above. He said: "*Qulillah thumma zar hum* does not mean that you should repeat Allah, Allah; because a simple repetition of the word Allah has no precedent in our religion. The words actually furnish a reply to the question (Who revealed the Book?), saying 'It was Allah!'" مَنْ أَنْزَلَ الْكِتَابَ (The *Badr*, Vol. 9, No. 45 dated 2nd and 9th September, 1910). To attribute to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, a view in direct conflict with his published interpretation and contrary to Arabic usage is sheer injustice and a wanton outrage. A tract which

argues a particular view of *Kufr* and Islam from such a wrong interpretation of a verse of the Holy Quran can never have been approved by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}. For, not only does he furnish an interpretation of the verse quite different from that of Maulawi Muhammad Ali, but actually refutes Maulawi Muhammad Ali's interpretation when he says that قُلِ اللَّهُ [Say, Allah] is really a reply to the question put earlier in the verse مَنْ أَنْزَلَ الْكِتَابَ [Who revealed the Book?].

(3) Yet another refutation of the statement that the tract *Kufr-o-Islam* was published with the approval of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}, is to be found in the fact that in this tract Maulawi Muhammad Ali writing about Hadrat Imam Abu Hanifah says: "He entertained the belief that if any person should for once utter from the depth of his heart the formula *La Ilaha Illallah*, it would make him a *Mu'min* (believer) no matter if he should subsequently be guilty of *Shirk*, *Kufr* or *Zulm*." (*Kufr-o-Islam* by Maulawi Muhammad Ali, page 4). Such a statement is, on the face of it, without sense or significance. Nevertheless, Maulawi Muhammad Ali not only ascribes it to Hadrat Imam Abu Hanifah, but asserts that it was his considered creed. When, however, Maulawi Muhammad Ali was challenged to produce any work of Hadrat Imam Abu

Hanifah or work of any of his disciples where this belief was described as a part of the great Imam's creed, Maulawi Muhammad Ali did not give any reply except that Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} had dictated so to him. But as Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} did not live in the time of Hadrat Imam Abu Hanifah, whatever he might have said about the Imam must have been derived from the writings of the Hanafites. But of all the works which record the words of Hadrat Imam Abu Hanifah, not one can be found which contains anything warranting the statement made by Maulawi Muhammad Ali. Under the circumstances, it cannot be held that Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} attributed any such statement to Hadrat Imam Abu Hanifah. It is certain that the statement was either an invention of Maulawi Muhammad Ali's mind or a result of misunderstanding something which Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} might have said. Whichever view is taken, it becomes clear that the tract cannot have been approved by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, or published with his consent.

These three items of internal evidence show then that the tract could not have been approved by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. But, in addition to these we may take note of the circumstance that, in spite of the fact that the tract was read over to Hadrat Khalifatul

Masih I^{ra} about a month before his death, it was not published till after that sad event, although a longer tract written subsequently by Maulawi Muhammad Ali was published earlier. This fact is sufficient to indicate that the postponement of the publication of this paper was intentional, and that the obvious purpose was to await the death of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}.

The Will of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}

The illness of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} continued to advance, till at last in February 1914 doctors advised that he should move outside the town into purer air. Khan Muhammad Ali Khan Sahib, Chief of Malerkotla, and son-in-law of the Promised Messiah^{as}, vacated a portion of his house for the residence of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. He moved to this house, but his weakness continued to grow. Therefore, I also took up my quarters with him. On the 4th March at about 'Asr time (afternoon) he called for writing materials, and wrote out a will as follows:

"The undersigned, in full possession of his senses and consciousness, writes the following testament: *La Ilaha Illallah Muhammadur Rasulullah*. My children are young. I have no money in my house. God is

their Protector. They should not be supported out of funds for the orphans and the poor. Let a sum be advanced to them, to be repaid by those of my sons who are able, or from the proceeds of my books. My property should be constituted *Waqf* for the benefit of my children. My successor should be pious, popular, learned and virtuous, and should overlook the faults and shortcomings of the friends, both old and new' of Hadrat Sahib. I was a well-wisher of them all. He too should remain their well-wisher. Lectures on the Quran and the Hadith should continue. Peace.

(Sd). Nuruddin,

4th March 1914."

After he had finished writing it, he made over the Will to Maulawi Muhammad Ali who was sitting by his side, and asked him to read it out to the people present. He made Maulawi Sahib read out the Will a second time, and a third time, and then asked him whether anything had been left out. Maulawi Muhammad Ali, who at heart was contemplating the destruction of the Khilafat, and was devising means to that end, was taken aback when he read the Will, and

for once everybody could see on his face signs of disappointment and resentment. These signs were not due to the fact that Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} had written out the Will, but due rather to the fact that he saw in the Will the end of his endeavours. Only the awe of the Khalifa restrained him from speaking.

In spite of being opposed to the intention of the Will, he only said in reply to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} that the Will was quite all right. Subsequent events, however, will show that in saying this Maulawi Muhammad Ali only practised a dissimulation, and let it be said that no disciple ever practised upon his master lying on his death-bed a worse dissimulation than this.

While Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} was lying ill, and there was no one to look after the Community, disputations on question of controversy waxed hot, and wherever one might have turned, the topic of conversation was found to be the same. The seriousness of the situation induced me to write out a notice to the following effect:

"So long as Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} was in sound health, there was no great harm in our discussions of controversial topics inasmuch as there was among us one who

could restrain us in case we ever tended to overstep the limits or in case there was apprehension of any disorder. But now that Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} is lying seriously ill, it is not proper that we should engage in discussions which might lead to any disorder. It is, therefore, necessary that until God is pleased to restore Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} to health and strength, and enable him to keep an eye over our discussions we should neither write nor otherwise discuss questions in dispute so as to save the Community from any possible trouble."

After writing it out, I sent the notice to Maulawi Muhammad Ali requesting that he also should sign it and that it might prove effective in restraining people of all shades of opinion, and thus protect the Jama'at from division and disorder. Maulawi Muhammad Ali, however, replied that as differences in the Jama'at were not so widely known, a public notice such as I proposed was not advisable. It would merely serve to carry information to the enemy and afford him an opportunity to laugh at our expense. It was better, he said, that the people of Qadian should assemble at a meeting where both he and I should speak and explain the need of putting an end to all discussion of

controversial subjects. I wondered what Maulawi Muhammad Ali could mean by saying that differences which had arisen in the Community were not yet known to people at large, seeing that the two *Izharul Haq* tracts had already been printed and circulated. Still, I accepted his proposal. I did not know at the time that it was another ruse which Maulawi Muhammad Ali played upon me. Only subsequent events led me gradually to see that Maulawi Sahib was up to every kind of strategy in order to score his end, and that his reason for declining to sign the notice was not a reluctance to let people know about the internal differences of the Community, but that it lay far elsewhere.

The people of Qadian assembled at the Masjid Nur, the mosque attached to the High School and situated near the house of Khan Muhammad Ali Khan Sahib of Malerkotla where at this time Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} was lying on his sick bed.

Maulawi Muhammad Ali and myself both went to the mosque to address the meeting. Maulawi Sahib expressed the wish that I should speak first. At this I stood up to speak without taking further thought of the circumstances. I merely repeated to the public in different words the substance of the notice I have

mentioned above, and tried to impress upon them the need for unity. But Maulawi Sahib, instead of dwelling upon the subject of unity, started raking up the past. He went on to rebuke the Jama‘at for their attacks upon Khwaja Sahib and his friends, and indulged in similar other recriminations. People kept sitting out of their regard for me, otherwise it was all but certain that, instead of putting down existing differences, the meeting might have led to a serious disorder in the Community. Towards the end of his speech, Maulawi Sahib also made a few remarks about unity, but his tone was throughout incisive, and tended to increase public displeasure and to aggravate the existing differences.

Meantime, the condition of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} had become worse, and everybody was afraid that a crisis was coming. Under the circumstances it was natural that their thoughts should have turned to the question, what was going to happen? I was all along engaged in addressing prayers to God and pressed others to do the same. For, at the time, the questions in dispute did not concern me. My only concern was to preserve the unity of the Community. The fear of a possible split was consuming my heart. Accordingly, I had talks on the subject with Ahmadis who had influence in the Community. On the whole,

that section of the Community which recognised the necessity of Khilafat and believed in the *Nubuwwat* of the Promised Messiah^{as}, held the opinion that they must not accept as Khalifa anybody who differed from them on these points. They feared that otherwise the whole Movement would come to a crash. On the contrary, I had come to the conclusion that unity was the supreme need of the hour, and that unity must not be sacrificed in consideration for personalities. I began to press for this view among my friends, and to tell them that if, on the death of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} a split was imminent, then we should pledge our *Bai'at* to one of Maulawi Muhammad Ali's party, in spite of the fact that the party was small in numbers. What I urged was that if we were to pledge our *Bai'at* to one of our own views, then the others were sure to stand aloof, and a split in the Community therefore was bound to arise. On the other hand, if I should pledge my *Bai'at* to one of them, then one could say that nearly all my friends would follow my example and enter into his *Bai'at* and save the Community from the impending split. It thus happened that on a certain day when Maulawi Sayyid Sarwar Shah Sahib, one of the most learned theologians of the Community and myself were out for a walk after the 'Asr prayers, we remained

conversing for nearly two hours about this very subject, and at last I succeeded in convincing him that we should be prepared—in case the issue should turn out to be which party the Khalifa should be elected from—to pledge our *Bai'at* to one member or another of the party of Maulawi Muhammad Ali.

Death of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}

At last came the day of which we had been afraid for so long. On Friday, the 13th March, in the morning, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} felt his strength ebbing away and the doctors forbade everyone to enter his room. Still nobody thought that the end was so near. During his illness, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} had charged me with leading both the five daily prayers and the special Friday prayers. Accordingly, this Friday I went to the big Qadian Mosque to lead the Friday prayers. The prayers over, I went to my house for a brief visit. But immediately there came to me a servant of Khan Muhammad Ali Khan Sahib with the message that the Khan Sahib was outside waiting for me in his coach. Forthwith I got into the coach and together we set out for the house of Khan Sahib. But we were yet on our way when a man came to us running with the news that Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} had expired, and so was fulfilled a dream of

mine, dreamt long ago, that I was in a coach coming from some place when I received the news of the death of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}. Under the circumstances of the time, this was a most disconcerting news. The death of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} was a great shock to us. But greater than the shock was our fear of that dissension and disunity in the Community which the death seemed to occasion.

Telegrams were despatched at once to various places to inform Ahmadiyya centres of the sad event. The greater portion of the Jama'at at Qadian engaged themselves in prayers to the Almighty. At the time of the 'Asr prayers when a majority of the Jama'at was present at the Masjid Nur I made a brief speech. I said: "With the departure of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}, there has devolved upon us a grave responsibility which everyone of us must prepare himself to discharge to the best of his powers. Deeds however worthy in themselves lose their worth by being associated with bad motives. This is the reason why God has enjoined the recitation of the prayer "I seek refuge with Allah etc" at the time of reading any passage from the Holy Quran, and has prefixed the text "In the name of Allah, etc." at the head of every chapter of the Quran. By the first, the reader seeks Divine protection against the intrusion of evil

motives, and by the second, he seeks Divine assistance in the performance of good deeds. When such caution has been recommended to us even in the study of the Holy Quran, the undoubted word of God, the reading of which has been enjoined upon us by God Himself, how much more cautious must we be while performing other duties, however meritorious they may apparently be? Regarding *Namaz* God says in the Holy Quran:

فَوَيْلٌ لِلْمُصَلِّينَ ۗ الَّذِينَ هُمْ عَنْ صَلَاتِهِمْ سَاهُونَ ۗ الَّذِينَ هُمْ يُرَاءُونَ
(Al-Mā'ūn, 107:5-7)

i.e. "Woe to the devotees who are unaware of the purpose of their devotions, and perform them only for show." Thus, according to this verse, even devotions to God, which lead man to God may succeed only in exciting His wrath, if they proceed from wrong motives. It is, therefore, all the more necessary that in discharging the responsibility which has now devolved upon us, we should particularly engage ourselves in addressing supplications to God and seeking His guidance with frequent iteration of the prayer

إِهْدِنَا الصِّرَاطَ الْمُسْتَقِيمَ (Al-Fātiḥah, 1:6)

Lead us to the straight path), so that the special grace of God may descend upon us, and His purpose become manifest to us. If God be not pleased to grant

to us His help at this juncture, then we stand the imminent danger of destruction. Let us, therefore, all betake ourselves to prayer, not only at the prescribed hours of prayer but also during other hours, so that God may protect us and keep us on the right path. You should also be up at night to offer prayers and those who can should also fast for tomorrow."

Conversations with Maulawi Muhammad Ali

After the speech I prayed silently together with those assembled and then all dispersed to their homes. I left the mosque and was on my way to the house of Khan Muhammad Ali Khan when Maulawi Muhammad Ali accosted me, and expressed a wish to have a talk. I, therefore, turned to follow him and together we made our way into the woods. Maulawi Muhammad Ali said: "Things done after proper consultation are done best. After the death of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} nothing should be done in haste. Everything should be done after full consultation." I answered: "Without doubt things done in haste often turn out wrong. It is proper that everything should be done after due consultation. People have been coming already and there is every hope that by to-morrow there would be gathered here a fairly large number of them. When they assemble tomorrow, we should have

a consultation. The men who hold any large influence in the Community all belong to places within easy distance. They will all be here by tomorrow." Maulawi Muhammad Ali however interposed saying: "No, it would not be right to be in such haste. As now there is disagreement, it is necessary that the whole question be fully discussed, and then an agreed decision reached and acted upon. The Community should have at least four or five months to think and exchange views on the matter, and only then should action be taken on any decision that may be reached." I said: "But, first of all, what is the disagreement? And secondly if, in the absence of any leader, there should arise any trouble in the Community, who is going to be responsible? This is what happened at the death of the Promised Messiah^{as}. A consultation was held among those who had assembled on the occasion. This is also what happened in the early days of Islam. To wait for months has no precedent either in the early history of Islam or in the recent history of the Ahmadiyya Movement. To this, Maulawi Muhammad Ali replied, "There are now differences which did not exist then, and moreover, what is the harm in waiting for sometime? If there is no Khalifa, what difference will it make? What is there on the morrow waiting to be done by the Khalifa?" Said I:

"At the death of the Promised Messiah^{as}, the Jama'at had unanimously decided that they would have a succession of Khulafa'. No consultation is needed on this point. We cannot, in fact, open the question over again. The question to be consulted about is the election of the Khalifa. And as regards your question, what is the need for a Khalifa, my answer is that besides spiritual guardianship of the Community, the function of a Khalifa is to maintain unity in the Community, and to protect it against disorder and dissension. A practical definition of these functions is not possible. I cannot, therefore, enumerate the concrete forms which it may assume. Nor is spiritual governance a tangible thing, that I could specify the duties which the Khalifa must perform, nor can we say when troubles may arise, that we could be certain that, for some time at least, there would be no need of a Khalifa. It is possible that, even tomorrow there should arise a situation calling for the interference of a guardian hand. You ought to give up, therefore, the question whether we should or should not have a Khalifa. We should discuss only the question who should be Khalifa?" Maulawi Muhammad Ali answered: "Here lies the difficulty. As there are differences of doctrine, there would be differences over the election of a Khalifa. How can we pledge our

Bai'at to one whose doctrines we disapprove?" I said: "Well, in the first place, the doctrinal differences are not such as would preclude one side from pledging its *Bai'at* to one belonging to other. (At that time the doctrinal differences had not become so very marked as they became later on). And then we, at any rate, are prepared to pledge our *Bai'at* to one of your party." Maulawi Muhammad Ali now said: "It is a difficult matter. You had better think, and take counsel. Tomorrow again we will talk over the subject." So did I request, saying, "You too had better consult your friends about the views I have expressed and let me know what they think, so that we may discuss the subject again." Then we parted. At night, I called a meeting of my friends and reported to them our conversation. They all held that it was impossible on religious grounds to deny the Khilafat. It had been explicitly mentioned in the Holy Quran, that those who denied the authority of Khulafa' were transgressors, and further that the Khilafat was one of the special blessings of God to the believers, and therefore they thought that it would never be proper for them to forego the Divine blessing. I told them that so far as I had understood from my conversation with Maulawi Muhammad Ali he would lay special stress upon that point. But still the meeting held that

the point involved a religious principle, and could not, therefore, be sacrificed to any regard for personalities. The opposite side, it was urged had already pledged their *Bai'at* to one Khalifa, and this proved that such pledging was at least permissible even according to them, and was not a sin. With our side, on the other hand, not to enter into *Bai'at* with a Khalifa and thus to give up Khilafat itself, was a sin. If the party opposite was so insistent upon rejecting that which they regarded as permissible, how could they surrender a point and principle which they regarded as quite indispensable?

14th of March and a Tract by Maulawi Muhammad Ali

As advised by me the day before, many Ahmadis had resolved to fast and even those who seldom offered the *Tahajjud* prayers, made up their minds to offer them this night. I was up at about two and began to get ready for the *Tahajjud* prayers. I was in the middle of my ablutions, when somebody put into my hand a tract which, he said, had been distributed all over the route to Ahmadis coming from outside. I looked at the tract and found that it had been written by Maulawi Muhammad Ali. In it, he had asked Ahmadis not to let the succession of Khulafa'

continue any longer, and had stated that he had pledged his *Bai'at* to the last Khalifa not as Khalifa but merely as a saint and Sufi. He had also stated that he was not aware as to who was going to be elected as the next Khalifa, but what he wished was as a well-wisher to advise Ahmadis not to have any Khalifa. Continuing, he had said that Miyañ Sahib (i.e. the present writer) regarded non-Ahmadis as *kuffar*, a view which was not only wrong, but contrary to piety, and that if after all they were going to elect a Khalifa, he should be one who did not regard non-Ahmadis as *kuffar*, because the Khalifa should be one pre-eminent for his piety, while a person who regarded non-Ahmadis as *kuffar* could not be pious. Regarding himself he had said that he was a well-wisher of the Promised Messiah's^{as} family and friends, and respected them all. The object of the tract was obvious and need not be dwelt upon. It can be seen by anybody who would spend a little thought and try and read between the lines.

When I saw the tract I was struck with surprise, and my amazement knew no bounds. For, only a couple of days before, when I had proposed to issue a notice to the Jama'at, suggesting that no discussion should be held on points of controversy so long as the Jama'at did not have a chief who could direct the

controversies and keep all excesses in proper check, Maulawi Muhammad Ali had observed that as Ahmadis outside were unaware of the internal differences of the Jama‘at such a notice was likely to prove injurious to the Movement. And now the same Maulawi Muhammad Ali had written not a notice but a tract and had sent it to Lahore to be printed, and not only had intended to distribute it himself, but had noted upon its first page a request to all Ahmadis widely to distribute the tract. This action of his seemed to be beyond my comprehension, and I wondered what to think of him, who while dissuading me only two days before from publishing a notice on the ground that it would prove a severe trial for many Ahmadis, had full one week before written a tract on the questions in dispute, and sent it to Lahore for printing and publishing. Could such an action, I wondered be consistent with true piety? Was there any sincerity in the reply he made to my proposal for a joint notice? Was it not mere diplomacy? Did not such action indicate the absence of a proper fear of God? Did it not contradict the clear teaching of the revealed word of God, the teaching promulgated by the Holy Prophet Muhammad^{sa}—the teaching to which, to lead back the world was the mission of the Promised Messiah^{as} and for the due observance of

which Maulawi Muhammad Ali had taken a pledge with Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}?

Maulawi Muhammad Ali's aim was only to bide time. In dissuading me from publishing the notice, his object was not to save the Community from any possible danger, but to throw the Community instead into an even more serious danger. This is evident from the fact that, even before I made my proposal for a notice, he had written a tract on those very subjects of controversy which he pretended to wish to avoid, and had it secretly forwarded to Lahore for printing. Could it be that while there was danger in restraining the Community from discussing controversial subjects,—danger of making them aware of differences in the Community, and thus creating anxiety for individual members, and so on—there was no danger when he himself wrote his tract on those very subjects, called a whole section of the Jama'at impious, and charged some with conspiracy?

It is certain Maulawi Muhammad Ali knew that if he had put his signature to the proposed notice, people would have demanded of him an explanation of the inconsistency between his word and deed, and reproved him in the words of the Holy Quran:

(Al-Baqarah, 2:45) **أَتَأْمُرُونَ النَّاسَ بِالْبِرِّ وَتَنْسَوْنَ أَنْفُسَكُمْ**

i.e. "What! do you admonish others to do good deeds and forget your own selves?" At the same time he saw that there was nothing in the proposed notice to which he could object and from this dilemma he sought to save himself by a plea. If Maulawi Muhammad Ali really meant to be sincere and honest, then the proper course for him, in case he was in agreement with the substance of the notice, was to recall the tract and stop its publication, and in case he was in disagreement with the notice, to tell me frankly that it was very necessary to inform the Community of the existing differences, that he had already written a tract on the subject, and sent it to Lahore for printing and publication, and that accordingly he could not properly be a party to the notice which I had proposed to circulate. But he chose to adopt neither of these two straightforward courses. He approved of the notice, but dissuaded me from its publication on the plea that it would make people aware of the internal differences of the Community. But himself he did not desist from publishing his tract. More than this, in the tract, he had gone so far as to say that differences had assumed such proportions that each party thought the other *kuffar* and deserving of the punishment of death and yet five years have passed since these discussions have been going and though they have increased in

bitterness, nobody has pronounced the other party to be *kuffar* and deserving of the punishment of death. It appears however that Maulawi Muhammad Ali and his party have a strong desire to win the glory of such a pronouncement, that not so long ago they caught hold of a reporter's mistake in the *Tashhidhul Adhhan*, and, in spite of an authoritative repudiation, persisted in the attitude of persecuted virtue to advertise their sufferings to the world.

In short, when I read the tract, I was filled with wonder. I could see the trouble that was coming. I had little doubt now that Maulawi Muhammad Ali would not be satisfied with anything less than a split in the Community. In such a predicament, what course was open to a believer but to fall down in supplication before the Lord and pray for His assistance. This was then the course which I followed. I prayed. There were others in the same room with me. I roused them from their beds and told them of the tract, and asked them to pray to God. We all prayed and fasted, as did most Ahmadis of Qadian who agreed with me in their views.

Maulawi Muhammad Ali Proves False to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}

The tract is an index of Maulawi Muhammad Ali's own inner mind. I have pointed out how in the matter of the notice proposed by me and the tract which he had secretly prepared and printed, he played false with me. I now wish to point out how by publishing this tract, Maulawi Muhammad Ali also proved false to Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}. The most hard-hearted of men would shrink from acting with duplicity towards a dear friend who is seen lying in his death bed. But what did Maulawi Muhammad Ali do? Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} wrote out the Will, and made it over to Maulawi Muhammad Ali, and asked him to read it not once, nor twice, but three times over, and then asked him if there was anything which had been left out, and Maulawi Muhammad Ali said in reply that nothing had been left out, and that the Will was all right.

This Will had not been written by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} while in the enjoyment of health. It was written in the course of illness and at a time when all hope of his recovery had been given up so far as human resources were concerned.

This Will had been written at a time when Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} could see death approaching, and when he was waiting for the hour he would leave the world to meet his Master and Lord.

This Will had been written at a time when Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} was going to bid farewell to the Community, the vessel of whose destiny, for six long years, he had been steering to success through all the worst storms and stresses. It had been written at a time when the thought of the future welfare of the Community more than anything else occupied his mind.

This Will had been written at a time when Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} was expecting to return to his beloved Master, the Promised Messiah^{as}, to report how faithfully he had discharged the Master's trust.

This Will had been written at a time when Hadrat Khalifatul Masih was about to close the last chapter of his life, and did not hope to have any more opportunity to serve the Community.

This Will had been written at a time when from weakness and prostration, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} could not even sit up in his bed, and the Will was therefore written with utmost difficulty in a state of reclining.

In short, this Will had been written at a time when its great author was passing the last hours of his holy life; when, on the one hand, the thought of the imminent meeting with his Creator and his beloved Master filled his soul with pleasurable excitement and, on the other, the fear that his death might bring to end all that he had worked and striven for during the last years of his life, filled his heart with untold anxiety; the Will had been written at a delicate hour when hope and fear between them tossed the soul of this great man.

This Will had been written by one at whose hands the whole of the Ahmadiyya Community with but few exceptions had solemnly pledged the oath of allegiance.

This Will had been written by one who, apart from being a Khalifa of the Promised Messiah^{as}, enjoyed an unquestioned pre-eminence in the whole Community in respect of piety and integrity.

This Will had been written by one whose benefits both material and spiritual a greater part of the Community had enjoyed right from the time of the Promised Messiah^{as}.

This Will had been written by one who was universally acknowledged for his great knowledge of

the Quran and Hadith and for his undoubted devotion to them.

This Will had been written by one to whose every behest Maulawi Muhammad Ali had sworn implicit obedience, and whose spiritual yoke rested unshakeably upon Maulawi Muhammad Ali's shoulders.

This Will had been written by one who even during the course of his last illness and in spite of the utmost physical prostration, underwent the trouble of giving Maulawi Muhammad Ali lessons in the Holy Quran.

In short the Will had been written by one, obedience to whom was for Maulawi Muhammad Ali a divinely appointed duty, and under the burden of whose favours Maulawi Muhammad Ali was bound to bow his head.

This was the Will which Maulawi Muhammad Ali was made to read not once, not twice, but three times over, and about which he was asked to say whether it had left out any thing unsaid.

Yes, this was the Will, regarding which when it had been read over by Maulawi Muhammad Ali when he had been asked whether anything had been left out

of it unsaid, he had declared that nothing had been left out and that it was quite all right. This Will, in brief, was a remarkable Will in all respects and in all details. Its author was perfect in piety. The occasion on which it had been written was one of very special importance. Its contents were made fully known to Maulawi Muhammad Ali and Maulawi Muhammad Ali admitted that they were all right. It was his duty and a sacred duty to see that the Will was carried out. But what do we find he did? He treated the sacred trust in a way in which nobody ever treated such a trust.

While he was reading the Will, his mind was occupied in planning ways of undoing the Will. He was deceiving his spiritual chief while he lay on his deathbed. His body was by the bedside of his chief but his soul was far away devising its own plans. Retiring from the presence of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra}, perhaps the first thing he did was to write out that tract, in which he tried to incite the Community against the Will; and although outwardly its principal objectives were myself and some other unnamed persons, what he really aimed at was to tear up that very testament which a few hours before he had solemnly received and acknowledged beside the deathbed of his spiritual chief and master.

No Plausible Pleas

Maulawi Muhammad Ali cannot possibly put forward the plea that the tract had been written before the Will. Even if it had been so, there was time for its withdrawal, and if he wished he could easily have recalled what he had written. He cannot put forward this plea because he himself wrote in that tract that Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} had declared that he should have a successor. Maulawi Muhammad Ali offers only one explanation of his conduct. He says that what Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} meant by having a successor was that a person should be selected from among the Jama'at whose commands should be received with general respect. Such an interpretation, however, is obviously false, and I challenge Maulawi Muhammad Ali to say on oath, if he dares, that it was not the belief of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{Ira} that he was a Khalifa of the Promised Messiah^{as}, and the *Bai'at* which people pledged to him was pledged to him in his capacity as Khalifa and not merely as an advanced Sufi or saint and further that after his death Khulafa' who would succeed him would be Khulafa' in the same capacity. I am sure, however, that Maulawi Muhammad Ali will never venture to deny this on oath, because he is fully aware that he has misrepresented Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{Ira}. He is also

fully aware that the many published speeches of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} bear ample witness to what the great Khalifa thought and believed in this respect.

The conduct of Maulawi Muhammad Ali in the whole affair is indeed very amazing. But much of the amazement disappears when we remember that once before Maulawi Muhammad Ali had turned his back upon the Will of the Promised Messiah^{as} himself. For, we remember that after the death of the Promised Messiah^{as}, agreeably to his instructions contained in *Al-Wasiyyat*, Maulawi Muhammad Ali not only pledged his *Bai'at* to Hadrat Maulawi Nuruddin as Khalifa of the Promised Messiah^{as}, but also published an announcement calling upon other Ahmadis to do the same. (The *Badr* 2nd June, 1908, p. 6). Yet he ventures now to write that in the Will of the Promised Messiah^{as} there is no mention of Khilafat at all, and that the Promised Messiah^{as} never gave his sanction to Khulafa' accepting *Bai'at* from Ahmadis. Now, when it came to the knowledge of some people of the Jama'at that Maulawi Muhammad Ali had not only played false with them, but had also ignored the Wills of the Promised Messiah^{as} and the Khalifatul Masih, and had attempted to create a split in the Community and invited Ahmadis to signify their opinion on the

subject of his tract, then they also wrote out a statement and circulated it among Ahmadis who had come from outside with a view to ascertaining their opinion on the subject. The statement requested those who agreed with it to put their signatures on it, so that it might become clear to which side the opinion of the majority was inclined. From these signatures it was found that of those assembled more than ninety per cent were of the opinion that there must be a Khalifa, and that he should possess the same functions and powers as the late Khalifa. This statement has been misrepresented by Maulawi Muhammad Ali and his friends as a kind of intrigue. But what I wish to ask is whether it is an intrigue to ascertain openly the views of people, whether it was not Maulawi Muhammad Ali who, in his tract, had first invited Ahmadis to express their opinion on the questions in dispute, and whether it was not he and his party who first opened the door to this method of ascertaining the views of the people. Thus when the door was first thrown open by them, and others were constrained by the situation to enter the same door and make use of the same method, how could there be anything to object? Still there is this to be said to the credit of others that while Maulawi Muhammad Ali proceeded in the business with secrecy and craft, others acted throughout in an

open and straightforward manner. Maulawi Muhammad Ali invited people to express their opinion about his views, and then others made a similar request to the people to give them their signatures in case they found themselves in agreement with views expressed in their statement.

All through Saturday, the stream of visitors continued to flow into Qadian. The idea was that as large a congregation as possible should be allowed to assemble, and the consultation made as wide as possible. By the time of *Zuhr* more than a thousand members from various centres had arrived and there was quite a large gathering. After the *Zuhr* prayers I assembled¹³ all my relatives and solicited their advice on the subject of the differences. Some were of the opinion that it was our duty to promulgate the doctrines which we believed to be true, and it was, therefore, indispensable that the Khalifa should be one who agreed with us in his views.

I explained to them that our most important concern at that moment was to preserve unity in the Jama'at. To have a Khalifa was with us a religious necessity. If the other party should accept this view,

¹³ As far as I remember this consultation was held on Saturday but, according to some, even this consultation was held on Friday.

then the proper course would be, to call for a general plebiscite, but if the party should object to such a course, then a person might be elected as Khalifa who was regarded by both parties as neutral, but if even this would not satisfy the other party, then some person might be selected from their ranks for the office of Khalifa, and to him the whole Community should pledge their *Bai 'at*. At my request the family of the Promised Messiah^{as}, to a person, agreed to these terms. Their agreement pleased me exceedingly and I thought that now the Community would be saved from the danger of a dissension. But providence had intended otherwise.

Last Conversation with Maulawi Muhammad Ali

When I came out I received a note from Maulawi Muhammad Ali to the effect that he wanted to speak to me on the subject of our previous day's conversation. I asked him to come to my place. There were then present with me Maulawi Sayyid Muhammad Ahsan, Khan Muhammad Ali Khan, and Dr. Khalifa Rashiduddin. Maulawi Muhammad Ali had with him some of his own friends. When conversation began, I told him it was no use discussing the question of the need or validity of

Khilafat; the discussion should be confined to the question who was to be the next Khalifa. Maulawi Muhammad Ali and his friends contended that nothing ought to be done for the time being, that enough time should be allowed to enable the Community to think over and decide upon the proper course they ought to follow, and that only when a unanimous decision had been reached, should we take any practical step. In reply I repeated what I had already said on the subject the day before. I also pointed out on this occasion that if after all the waiting the Community were still divided over the question, what were they then going to do? If the question was later to be decided by a majority, it was open to them even at the time to let the majority decide the question. Incidentally, the conversation turned upon the question of beliefs and Maulawi Sayyid Muhammad Ahsan had a passage at arms with Maulawi Muhammad Ali, in which Maulawi Muhammad Ahsan strongly upheld the view that the Promised Messiah^{as} was a *Nabi*. I believe that if Maulawi Muhammad Ali were asked even now to state on oath, he will not venture to deny the truth of the incident. I, however, stopped the discussion saying that the time was not a fit one for such controversy, and that now every one should devote his thought to

the problem, how to save the Community from a possible split. But the conversation showed no sign of coming to an end. Meanwhile, the noise outside increased and people got so excited that there was danger of the door being burst open. The people urged that they could wait no longer, that while we were unable to come to any decision the Community was waiting without a leader. I then said to Maulawi Muhammad Ali that we had better go out and consult the people assembled outside. Upon this, all at once the words escaped him, "You say so, because you know whom the people are going to elect." I said, "Not so, I have already decided to pledge my *Bai'at* to some one of your party." But, nevertheless, he persisted in saying, "No, no, you know what they would do", meaning that I knew that they would elect me as Khalifa. This made me despair of an agreement, and I could see that God had decreed quite otherwise. In spite of the decision, therefore, which I had come to, I saw that the other party showed no disposition for unity. These words which escaped Maulawi Muhammad Ali's lips made it clear to me that the real cause of his opposition to the Khilafat was not his disbelief in Khilafat qua Khilafat but the fact that he had become afraid that the Community was bent upon choosing a particular person as their Khalifa. That this

is the plain truth might be seen from the fact that only six years before, he had made a public announcement to the following effect:

"Agreeably to the commands of the Promised Messiah^{as}, contained in the book *Al-Wasiyyat*, we Ahmadis, whose signatures are appended below, with perfect sincerity of heart agree that all the present members of the Ahmadi Jama'at, as well as all those who in future may seek admission into it, should in the name of Ahmad pledge their *Bai'at* on the hand of Hadrat Haji Maulawi Hakim Nuruddin Sahib, the First of the *Muhajirin*, the most eminent amongst us in learning and piety, and the loyalist and the oldest Companion of our Imam, one whose example was held up before us by our Imam as a model for all of us, as in the couplet: 'How well had it been if every one of this community had been a Nuruddin. So would it have been indeed, had every heart been filled with the *Nur* (light) of certainty.' The commands of Hadrat Maulawi Sahib, in future, should be for us as the commands of the Promised Messiah and Mahdi^{as}".

This announcement was published over the signature of a large number of the leading members of the Community. Maulawi Muhammad Ali was one of the signatories. The draft of the announcement which

was published in the *Badr* of June 2, 1908, was first submitted as a supplication to Hadrat Khalifatul, Masih I^{ra} on May 27, 1908. And then after the *Bai'at* of Khilafat had been held, a further announcement in the same issue of the *Badr* was made by Khwaja Kamaluddin as Secretary, Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya. This announcement was to the following effect:

Before the funeral prayers of the Promised Messiah^{as} were held at Qadian, and in accordance with his instructions contained in the book *Al-Wasiyyat...* Hakim Nuruddin Sahib was proclaimed the Promised Messiah's^{as} Successor and Khalifa, and the oath of *Bai'at* taken on his hand... This announcement is being addressed as information to all members of the Movement, so that on reading it they should all in person or through letter present themselves at once to Hadrat Hakimul Ummat Khalifatul Masih wal-Mahdi and take the oath of *Bai'at*.

No new will or testament had since been found by Maulawi Muhammad Ali that he had now come to regard Khilafat as wrong. So the truth is but this that for their next Khalifa the Jama'at was looking not to him but to somebody else.

Having despaired of agreement, I told Maulawi Muhammad Ali that as according to us to have a Khalifa was indispensable, while according to them, it was not, and as the difference was on a principle of religion, therefore, while it was open to him and his party to do as they pleased, we, who believed in the necessity of Khilafat, would meet separately and after consultation pledge our *Bai'at* to one as our Khalifa. Saying this I got up and this meeting came to a close.

Bai'at of Khilafat

It was now time for the *'Asr* prayers. After these prayers, Khan Muhammad Ali Khan, Jagirdar of Malerkotla, as executor of the Will of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} read out the Will to a congregation of between fifteen hundred and two thousand persons, and asked them as required by the Will to choose his Successor. The people then suggested my name for the office. Upon this Maulawi Muhammad Ahsan stood up and made a short speech. He said that in his opinion also I was the proper person to hold the office of Khalifa. Then, a general cry was raised that *Bai'at* should be taken. In spite of the general wish I hesitated and held back. But the popular demand grew hot, as it did at the time of the election of Hadrat Abu Bakr. Men ran over one

another. Some caught hold of my hand and pulled, insisting I should accept their *Bai'at*. Still I hesitated, whereupon some who sat close to me began to urge that for the safety and security of the Jama'at I should accept *Bai'at*. I noticed that men were bursting with eagerness for *Bai'at* and were pushing closer and closer so that at last I was completely surrounded by them. I might even have been crushed by their weight had not some friends thought of making a cordon behind me. I did not know the words in which *Bai'at* was administered, and I sought to make that a ground for holding back. I said, "I know not the formula of *Bai'at*." But Maulawi Sayyid Sarwar Shah Sahib offered to repeat the formula, and urged that I should only accept *Bai'at*. Then I understood that such was the Will of God and to His will I submitted. I accepted *Bai'at* from the people, and in spite of my reluctance, it all came to pass as it had been decreed from the beginning.

Out of about 2,000 people who were present at the time, only about 50 withheld their *Bai'at*. All the rest took the pledge. The *Bai'at* over, funeral prayers were offered for Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}.

The *Bai'at* then had been taken. The men who entered into the *Bai'at* were more numerous, and the congregation which agreed on the *Bai'at* was larger

than in the case of the last Khalifa. Nevertheless, Maulawi Muhammad Ali and his friends were not satisfied. Still they called the whole thing an intrigue. They circulated to the Jama'at at large that no decision had been reached regarding the question of Khilafat, and that all that had taken place at Qadian was the result of collusion and conspiracy.

Unscrupulous Propaganda

Opposition grew until all ordinary scruples were thrown to the winds. The *Paigham-e-Sulh* for instance reported that the funeral prayers of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} had been attended by some two thousand five hundred men (March 17, 1914). But the same paper a little later wrote "Those who had seen the faces of the Promised Messiah^{as} and of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} refrained from such a *Bai'at*, and of all the people present nearly half refused to take *Bai'at* (March 22, 1914). This report obviously implied that of the men who had been in the company of the Promised Messiah^{as} and of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} not one entered into *Bai'at* with me, and further that of all the people present at Qadian nearly one half declined to pledge their *Bai'at*. The truth, as I have said, was that those who refused *Bai'at* did not number more than fifty, while of the 2,000 or,

according to the *Paigham-e-Sulh*, 2,500 people who were present, more than half were those who had been in the company of the Promised Messiah^{as} and Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}. Of the *Muhajirin* at Qadian whose number was not less than three or four hundred, only four or five held back. Apparently, according to the *Paigham-e-Sulh*, not one of them had been in the company of the Promised Messiah^{as} and Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}. Dr. Mirza Ya‘qub Baig, Secretary Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha‘at-e-Islam, Lahore, went even further. He wrote in the *Akhbar-e-‘Am* that a majority of those present on the occasion did not even know who had been elected Khalifa. When notice was taken of this glaring falsehood Dr. Mirza Ya‘qub Baig, the author of this report wrote in the *Paigham* of April 2, that what he meant was that of the "enlightened" members present, the majority did not enter into my *Bai‘at*. This epithet of "enlightened" is so conveniently vague that what the doctor could mean by it must necessarily remain a mystery to others. For, it is open to everybody to say that only those who agree with him are enlightened and the others not. If, however, any reasonable criteria are to be applied to that expression than I can well say that not only a considerable number but a preponderating majority of those present entered into

my *Bai'at*. The *Paigham-e-Sulh* and its correspondent between them furnished a refutation of the false report made by Mirza Ya'qub Baig. For, the *Paigham* stated that the congregation consisted either of the Ansarullah or of rustics who were thrilling with eagerness to enter into *Bai'at* and so they did. The question what the congregation consisted of—the Ansarullah or rustics or what—is not my present concern. Whoever they were, they—according to the *Paigham-e-Sulh* not only swore the *Bai'at* but were thrilling with eagerness for it. It was, therefore, a misstatement, nay, a case of clear falsehood on the part of Dr. Mirza Ya'qub Baig to say that of the assembled people the majority did not even know who had been elected Khalifa.

The misstatement of the *Paigham* that the majority of those who pledged their *Bai'at* were members of the Anjuman Ansarullah is sufficiently refuted by the fact that the total strength of this Anjuman was less than 175 and of these not all were present at Qadian at the time. And yet, according to its own report, some 2500 men were present at Qadian on the occasion.

Conspiracy Charge against the Ansarullah

Another method they adopted in order to mislead the people was to represent the *Bai'at* of Khilafat as the result of a conspiracy by the Ansarullah. As already said, the total strength of the Ansarullah throughout India was less than 175. So even if one were to assume that the Ansarullah made themselves very active in this affair, what influence could the opinion of a hundred or a hundred and fifty men exert upon that of two thousand and five hundred? Of what consequence was the opinion of such a small body? As for the alleged conspiracy, it will suffice for the purpose of refutation to quote a statement from the right hand man of Maulawi Muhammad Ali, Hakim Muhammad Husain alias Marham-e-'Isa, a preacher of the Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha'at-e-Islam, Lahore.

The statement was made by him at the time when these charges were made against the Ansarullah. It runs as follows:

"I bear witness in truth that I was for a considerable time a member of the Ansarullah, and even now, if Miyañ Sahib has not removed me from membership, I consider myself one of its members. At the meetings of the Ansarullah held at Lahore in which I had the occasion to take part, I

never found any body intriguing with the object of putting up Miyañ Sahib¹⁴ as Khalifa, or indulging in any conversation suggestive of such an intrigue. And God is my witness in what I say. Nor did I ever receive any note from Sahibzadah Sahib which could suggest any intrigue for becoming Khalifa; nor did I ever have any conversation with Sahibzadah Sahib suggestive of any such intrigue.

(Sd.) Muhammad Husain."

A similar statement in writing was also made by M. Faqirullah Sahib, Superintendent of the Office of Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha‘at-e-Islam, Lahore who was also a member of the Ansarullah. "There never was in my presence in the Ansarullah any conversation suggesting any such intrigue". But, in addition to these testimonies, the fact which goes completely to disprove the allegation is that a considerable number of the members of the Anjuman Ansarullah are at present with Maulawi Muhammad Ali. If the purpose of the Anjuman was to raise me to the Khilafat, how could it be that as soon as I was elected Khalifa these men went over to the other side,

¹⁴ i.e. the present writer.

and how could it be that in spite of having joined the other party and in spite of being aware of the intrigue to promote me to the Khilafat, they decided to keep it all to themselves? Of the Anjuman Ansarullah there are at least 10 members at present who are with Maulawi Muhammad Ali. The existence of such men in the Anjuman is proof positive of the fact that the charge of conspiracy brought against the Ansarullah in connection with the Khilafat is a gross falsehood fabricated out of malice to deceive the people.

Another charge brought against the Ansarullah is that towards the end of the life of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} they wrote post cards to members outside informing them that the health of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} was fast failing, and that his life was not likely to be much prolonged, so that those who wanted to see him should come to Qadian. From this, it is concluded that a conspiracy had been organised by the Ansarullah. True, post cards were written by the Secretary, Anjuman Ansarullah. It was one of the duties of the Anjuman to render service to the brethren. But the question is, who were the people to whom those cards were addressed. Had the cards been addressed only to members of the Anjuman Ansarullah even then there would have been no cause for complaint, though their enemies could then say

that the motive in writing the post cards was to collect together men of their own way of thinking. But in point of fact the post cards were not written to the Ansarullah only but were written to the Secretaries of all the Ahmadiyya Anjumans. If, therefore, any conclusion is to be drawn from the writing of the post cards it is that the Ansarullah desired that on the occasion of the election of the Khalifa there should be as large a gathering as possible of the representatives of the Jama'ats and that there should therefore be an adequate consultation. Their action, therefore, was one to be commended and not one to be criticised. The post cards were a vindication of the innocence of the Anjuman Ansarullah, because, had there been any thing sinister in them, the efforts of the Anjuman would have been directed towards dissuading Ahmadis from coming to Qadian. It would have sent its intimations only to its own members so as to be able to carry out everything as it desired. But, instead, the Anjuman Ansarullah sent out timely intimation of the impending event to the whole of the Jama'at and not merely to their own members, with the result that nearly 2,000 people assembled on the occasion. In this connection, the fact may also be noted that, during the illness of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} similar intimations were sent out twice by Maulawi

Sadrudin. Now, if the posting of cards by the Anjuman Ansarullah was a conspiracy, was not the action of Maulawi Sadrudin also conspiracy?

Yet another method designed to defame me was to say that those who had assembled on the occasion had been tutored beforehand to suggest my name when time came for the election of the Khalifa. In support of this, it is said that even during the lifetime of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, Maulawi Muhammad Ismail asked some people to prepare 40 men who when the time came should pledge their *Bai'at* to me. I am sorry to have to say that, forced by circumstances, Maulawi Muhammad Ismail did really commit an indiscretion. He has, however, made a frank confession to me of the facts which are as follows: A friend of Maulawi Muhammad Ismail brought him the report that Maulawi Muhammad Ali had been asked by Dr. Mirza Ya'qub Baig to hold himself in readiness for the office of Khalifa, to which the former had replied that he was not equal to the burden. Upon this, the doctor had reassured him saying that he need not worry about the burden, as the doctor Sahib and his friends would render him all necessary help. [This story was current at Qadian at the time with the further addition that doctor Sahib said at the end that if Maulawi Muhammad Ali was

not prepared to undertake the burden, they might put up the doctor Sahib for the office, God only knows what truth there was in the story. But as I have not up to now come across any evidence in support of the story, I am not prepared to give any credit to it—[Author]. This friend of Maulawi Muhammad Ismail warned him to be on the alert, lest the other party should spring a surprise at the last moment, and in concert with a number of people make a bid for the Khilafat. The friend also pointed out the necessity for being prepared for such a contingency. Maulawi Muhammad Ismail says that after this he mentioned the danger to several of his friends, suggesting that on their side too a party should hold themselves in readiness for such an emergency. Some of the men to whom he made the suggestion approved of it but others opposed it. Among the latter he named Miyañ Mirajuddin. The latter insisted that the affair was one for the decision of God, and that any such interference would be unjustified. Similarly, Maulawi Muhammad Ismail says regarding Mir Muhammad Ishaq that although he (Maulawi Muhammad Ismail) had not spoken to the latter directly on the subject, the latter having heard some of his conversation on the subject with somebody else had remarked that they (Maulawi Muhammad Ismail and his friends) must abandon any

such idea, and that everything would turn out as it would please God, and that any endeavour on their part was sure to end in discomfiture. Maulawi Muhammad Ismail says that such consultations were held with not more than 8 or 10 men, most of whom were not members of the Anjuman Ansarullah. The idea was, however, abandoned because of the view expressed by some that the affair was one which belonged to God, and should best be resigned to Him, and it was abandoned particularly because it had become known that I had already decided that it was our duty to save the Jama'at from a split even if we had to pledge our *Bai'at* to one of the other party. This is the truth about the incident, and although there is no doubt that Maulawi Muhammad Ismail did commit an indiscretion, we must remember that neither the Anjuman Ansarullah, nor I had any concern with the affair. Maulawi Muhammad Ismail was actuated by what he thought was a necessary precaution against a rumoured danger. Not more than 8 or 10 persons were taken in confidence in connection with it, and then it was promptly abandoned. Some members of the Ansarullah and one of my own relatives (Mir Muhammad Ishaq Sahib) strongly dissuaded him from the enterprise and when he came to know my mind, he completely abandoned

any further pursuit of the idea. There was therefore, in this no conspiracy of any kind.

A Proper Rejoinder

But on the other hand, as a proper rejoinder to the charge, we on our part may mention one incident of which the communicant is no less a person than the well known writer, the late Qazi Abdul Haq. He did not in the beginning pledge his *Bai'at* to me. He reported that after the death of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, Maulawi Sadruddin, Working Missionary and Headmaster of the Muslim High School at Lahore, when he saw that Ahmadis were not disposed to go without a Khalifa, made up his mind that a Khalifa should be elected, and as Maulawi Muhammad Ali by the publication of his secret tract had given away his own case, he proposed that Sayyid Abid Ali Sahib should be elected to the office. It was therefore resolved to prepare 40 men who would agree to pledge their *Bai'at* to Sayyid Abid Ali Sahib. For this purpose, says Qazi Abdul Haq, Maulawi Sadruddin, lantern in hand, went round the whole night visiting the 2000 Ahmadis who had assembled on the occasion. He was accompanied in those rounds by Qazi Abdul Haq himself and another person. His object was to find out at least 40 men who would

endorse his views, but out of a gathering of 2000 (the majority of whom according to their report entertained the greatest aversion for me), they could not find even that inconsiderable number to support their views. Qazi Abdul Haq, of course, is now dead, but will Maulawi Sadruddin who is still alive affirm on oath that the above incident has no basis in fact; and in view of this incident was he justified in objecting to the activity of Maulawi Muhammad Ismail which was soon abandoned at the instance of Maulawi Sahib's own friends.

Besides this, there is another testimony in this connection. This is the testimony of Doctor Ilahi Bakhsh Sahib, who says:

"I remember that at the time when the illness of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} had not yet reached so serious a stage—though his condition was daily growing worse—I happened one day to speak to Akbar Shah Khan Sahib saying that the condition of Hadrat Sahib was getting more and more critical. May God help us. The conversation led us to the question of Khilafat, and Khan Sahib said that there was of course the danger of a split because the Lahore party

would not accept the Khilafat of Miyañ Sahib. On the other hand if one were to look to Khwaja Sahib, then there were others who were reluctant to accept him. There was, however, one way open which could prevent the split, and at the same time maintain the Khilafat, I inquired what; to which Khan Sahib replied that if Miyañ Sahib could be-magnanimous a way could be found which lay in the selection of Maulawi Muhammad Ali. If *Bai'at* were to be pledged to him then the Lahore party as well as others would agree to accept him in common. This was a private talk which took place a considerable time before the death of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I.

(Sd.) Ilahi Bakhsh

29th April 1914"

From the above testimony, it is clear that the charge which our opponents wish to prove against us is one of which they themselves stand guilty. As for the charge levelled against us, I have already shown that the incident in question arose out of an indiscretion by one or two of our members. But this

was stopped at the instance of other members of our own party before it could produce any results.

Other reports of a similar kind were spread from time to time with a view to prejudice the people against me. But God granted increased strength to the Movement; and although, to begin with, 99 per cent of the members of the Community, according to our opponents' version, were with them, in a short time God brought them all over to my side so that now by His grace about 99 per cent of the members are with me.

Consultation at Lahore

Maulawi Muhammad Ali's party raised the cry that the men who were assembled at Qadian at the election of the Khalifa could not represent the opinion or the advice of the Community at large. They, therefore, invited the Community at large through letters and through newspaper announcements to assemble on the 22nd of March at Lahore to discuss the whole question. As a result of this general invitation, there assembled at Lahore according to a report of the *Paigham-e-Sulh* itself, a gathering of 110 men inclusive of the local members. Only 42 came from outside Lahore and of these none, except 4 or 5 possessed any representative character. They came to

the meeting in their individual capacities. The supporters of Maulawi Muhammad Ali at Lahore accepted the opinion of these 42 members as the deliberate opinion of the whole of the Ahmadiyya Community and announced that my Khilafat was irregular and invalid. But what actually happened was that even out of these 110 members, a further 10 subsequently came over to me and entered my *Bai'at*. One of these was the same Mir Hamid Shah Sahib, now deceased, whom previously they had selected as a person suitable for the Khilafat. This left to them only 100 men. According to the Lahore party, the decision of these 100 men was the authoritative decision of the entire Ahmadiyya Community, while the decision of the very much more numerous gathering at Qadian was the result of collusion and conspiracy on the part of the Anjuman Ansarullah!

The whole of the Jama'at at Qadian, with the exception of four or five individuals accepted my *Bai'at*, and the other party came ultimately to abandon all hope of success at Qadian. Accordingly they decided to transfer their headquarters at Lahore. An excuse was sought for Maulawi Muhammad Ali to leave Qadian. One day news came to me that while Maulawi Muhammad Ali was leaving the mosque after performing the Friday prayers, 3 or 4 children

(from 5 to 7 years of age) had expressed their intention of throwing pebbles at Maulawi Muhammad Ali. Upon this, at the time of my lecture on the Holy Quran, I spoke to the Jama'at saying that although they were only children who had said these words, yet upon a repetition of the offence, I would hold the parents of the children responsible and visit them with punishment.

Later, I heard that Maulawi Muhammad Ali was afraid of continuing further residence in Qadian, and had therefore decided to leave the place. I, thereupon, sent Dr. Rashiduddin to assure him that he need not have any apprehension whatsoever, and that I was prepared to undertake full responsibility for his safety; and so I requested him to give up the idea of leaving Qadian. Dr. Rashiduddin also bore a letter containing the same message. Maulawi Muhammad Ali replied to the effect: "How can it be that I should abandon Qadian? I am only going to the hills on account of the heat in order to complete the translation of the Holy Quran, and for this purpose, I have already had permission of the Anjuman during the lifetime of the late Khalifa." He also thanked me for the expression of sympathy. I was not, however, satisfied with this. So I went personally to his house in order to talk over the subject with him. I was accompanied by Khan

Muhammad Ali Khan Sahib and Doctor Rashiduddin. When we arrived there, there was to begin with some talk on the subject of the translation of the Holy Quran. I then turned the conversation to the immediate purpose of our visit. But Maulawi Muhammad Ali called out to a certain half-witted man known as Miyañ Bagga, and started talking at random with him. When I found that Maulawi Sahib was not disposed to bring his talk with Miyañ Bagga to a close, I had to get up and withdraw. Soon after this, Maulawi Sahib left Qadian. He took away with him properties of the value of nearly Rs. 3,000/ in books, type-writer, etc on the plea of having had to translate the Holy Quran. Some people advised me at the time to ask him to leave behind the properties. He was not likely, they said, to return, and was taking away the properties only on a false pretence. Some even went so far as to urge that the properties were a sacred trust and I must not be negligent in taking proper care of them. But I replied to them all saying that as Maulawi Muhammad Ali had given the assurance that he was taking those books and accessories in order to help him in the work of translating the Holy Quran, and that he was going out only for a few months, for the period of leave already sanctioned to him, I had no

right to call his motive into question. Accordingly I said nothing.

Maulawi Muhammad Ali Leaves Qadian

Later events show that the suspicions of my friends were well founded. Maulawi Muhammad Ali's departure from Qadian was a departure for good, and what he had said to me was simply an excuse with nothing sincere about it. The books and other things which he had taken away with him, he refused to return in spite of repeated requests. Now so long as his name continues to be remembered the odium of this misappropriation will remain associated with him. A man who could take away books and other articles on trust for a few months and then refuse to return them could not be the leader of any community much less the leader of a Muslim community.

With the departure of Maulawi Muhammad Ali from Qadian, Lahore became the new Madinatul Masih (the City of the Messiah). The question naturally occurred to many, whether Maulawi Muhammad Ali was himself the Messiah. Because so long as he was in Qadian, Qadian remained the Madinatul Masih. But as soon as he withdrew to Lahore, Lahore became the Madinatul Masih. True, a certain distinction now fell to the share of Lahore, and

thus was fulfilled one of the wishes of the promoters of the *Paigham-e-Sulh* which had found inadvertent expression in its issue of March 10 in the following words: "At any rate, the death of the Promised Messiah^{as} in this city ought to bring to Lahore some distinction". Shrewd students of human motives will perceive and enjoy the pathetic humour of these few words in which are packed a mass of ambition, desire, longing and hope.

No sooner was Maulawi Muhammad Ali installed at Lahore than the opposition received an added impetus. The incident of the children's threat to pelt him came soon to assume the form that "some children threw stones at Maulawi Muhammad Ali, but...God be thanked they did not hurt him". A little later that "some children threw stones at him but God be thanked that his eyes were not hurt". Then, the story underwent a further elaboration, and took the form that "the people of Qadian threw stones." Then that "his life was not safe among the people of Qadian, inasmuch as a beginning had been made by them by throwing stones at him". The last version was one given by Maulawi Muhammad Ali himself before a number of people at Amritsar.

Maulawi Muhammad Ali left Qadian, and it was thought that with his departure would go down the sun of Qadian's prosperity, and dissolution would set in the centre established by the Promised Messiah^{as}.

Maulawi Muhammad Ali left Qadian, and it was thought that no trace would now be left of Islam in this place. Mirza Ya'qub Baig remarked referring to the Ta'limul Islam High School at Qadian that now that they were going, not ten years would pass before the place would be captured by the Christian missionaries.

Maulawi Muhammad Ali left Qadian, and it was thought that the moving spirit of the place had departed. It began to be remarked publicly that there remained no capable person at Qadian, that not many days would pass before all activities of the place would come to an end.

Maulawi Muhammad Ali left Qadian, and it was thought that with him all blessings had left the place. It was openly asserted that contributions would cease, the people would begin to starve, and would then come to their senses.

Maulawi Muhammad Ali left Qadian, and it was thought that with his departure had vanished the integrity of the Qadian headquarters. For, it was given

out that all funds would now be appropriated by the Khalifa, and would be lost to the Community.

Maulawi Muhammad Ali departed from Qadian, and it was thought that with his departure, death would come over Islam in Qadian. For, it began to be feared that open disregard would now be shown to the commandments of Islam, the Ahmadiyya Movement would be brought to ruin and there would be no one to prevent the disaster.

Maulawi Muhammad Ali departed from Qadian, and the *Muhajirin* of Qadian at once changed places with the unbelievers of Mecca, for it was prophesied that in ten years time Maulawi Muhammad Ali would come back with his friends, and enter the place victoriously like the Holy Prophet^{sa} in pomp and power.

Prophecies Fulfilled

The truth however was that Maulawi Muhammad Ali departed from Qadian, and with his departure was fulfilled the prophecy contained in the revelations of the Promised Messiah^{as} "There are many humble ones who will be made eminent, and many eminent ones who will be made humble. So danger lies ahead!" (*Brahin-e-Ahmaddiyya*, part V, p. 89.)

Maulawi Muhammad Ali and his friends departed from Qadian, and in their departure was fulfilled for a second time the revelation of the Promised Messiah^{as} **أُخْرِجَ مِنْهُ الْبِزْيَدِيُّونَ** i.e. Men of Yazid-like disposition would be expelled from Qadian. The prophecy was fulfilled first by the fact that the original dwellers of Qadian refused to accept the Promised Messiah^{as}, and it was fulfilled for a second time by the fact that people who were envious and jealous of members of the Promised Messiah's^{as} family, and had thereby proved themselves like Yazid, now came, by a Divine design, to be expelled from Qadian.

Maulawi Muhammad Ali departed from Qadian, and in his departure was fulfilled the divine promise revealed to the Promised Messiah^{as} **إِنِّي مَعَكَ وَمَعَ أَهْلِكَ** i.e. "I am with you and your family". For, notwithstanding his high position in the Jama'at and his hold on all its affairs, God made him bite the dust in his contest with a weak and helpless person like me.

Maulawi Muhammad Ali left Qadian, and by His powerful signs, did God prove that the Movement did not depend for its success upon any individual. God Himself was its Protector and that, if He wished, He could make even him, who was thought to be

unworthy and a mere stripling, the instrument of His Will.

In short, Maulawi Muhammad Ali departed from Qadian, and in his departure God furnished another powerful evidence of His Greatness and Glory. He showed Himself again with all His living signs, and manifested His effulgence in the fullness of its glory. He proclaimed to the world the fact that Ahmadiyyat was a plant of His own sowing, which no one could destroy, that Khilafat was a tree of His own rearing which no one could uproot, that this humble and helpless one had been brought through His own grace and favour to occupy the seat of Khilafat, and now there was no one who could stand against him, and that Qadian was a city beloved by Him which no one had the power to ruin. For Qadian is Mecca—the Mecca of the vicegerent and counter-type of Muhammad^{sa}. It is a town of the poor but under the Protection of God Almighty.

And now we close with the prayer, 'All praise belongs to Allah, the Lord of the Worlds.'

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ عَلَىٰ ذَٰلِكَ

APPENDIX I

**PUBLICATIONS MENTIONED IN
*THE TRUTH.***

Al-Badr—Newspaper founded in 1902 and published from Qadian, Edited mostly by Mufti Muhammad Sadiq Sahib. Now defunct.

Al-Fadl—Founded in the lifetime of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih II^{ra}, who was also its first editor. Now a daily and the leading organ of the Ahmadiyya Community.

Al-Hakam—Newspaper founded in 1898 and published from Qadian by Shaikh Ya‘qub Ali Irfani, Contains important historical material on the Ahmadiyya Movement.

Al-Wasiyyat (Lit. The will)—One of the last works by the Promised Messiah^{as}, containing prophecies about his death, an exhortation to piety, and plans for the future organisation of the Ahmadiyya Community, and for the special graveyard (Maqbarah Bahishti founded by him.)

Al-Nubuwwat fil Islam—(Lit. Prophethood in Islam) a work by Maulawi Muhammad Ali designed to prove that no Prophet of any kind is to appear after

the Holy Prophet^{sa} of Islam, and further that the Promised Messiah^{as} did not claim to be a Prophet.

Brahin-e-Ahmadiyya—The earliest large work by the Promised Messiah^{as} on the philosophy of Islam, published with an offer of a reward of Rs.10,000 for its refutation.

Eik Ghalati Ka Izala—(Lit. An Error Removed), announcement in November 1901 by the Promised Messiah^{as} to remove the erroneous impressions that he had no claims to being a Prophet of any kind.

Haqiqatun Nubuwwat—Lit. The Philosophy of Prophethood) A work by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih II^{ra}, setting forth the Promised Messiah's^{as} claim to prophethood (published March 1915).

Izharul Haq Nos. 1 and 2.—Anonymous tracts published in the lifetime of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra} in support of the views later held by the Lahore section of Ahmadis.

Izhar-e-Haqiqat—Reply to *Izharul Haq No. 2* by the Anjuman Ansarullah, Qadian.

Khilafat-e-Ahmadiyya—Reply to *Izharul Haq No. 1* by the Anjuman Ansarullah, Qadian.

Nabiyyullah Ka Zahur—A booklet on the claims of the Promised Messiah^{as} by one Muhammad Zahiruddin Arupi.

Paigham-e-Sulh—Newspaper founded in 1913, and published from Lahore, by a party of Ahmadis who seceded in 1914 from the main body of the Ahmadiyya Movement and came to be known variously as the Lahore Party, the Lahore Group, or the Lahore Section.

The Review of Religions—Monthly journal founded by the Promised Messiah^{as} in 1902, edited from the time of its inception up to the time of the 1914 split by Maulawi Muhammad Ali. Published in English and Urdu.

Tashhidhul Adhhan—Monthly journal founded in March 1906 and largely edited by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih II^{ra}, Later amalgamated with the Urdu edition of the *Review of Religions*.

Zamiñdar—Daily newspaper published from Lahore by Maulawi Zafar Ali Khan, a well known opponent of the Ahmadiyya Movement.

APPENDIX II

ARABIC AND URDU NAMES AND TERMS USED IN *THE TRUTH*

Ahli Bai'at, or members of a family, a term specially used for the family (wife and children) of a Prophet.

'Aqba, Oath of, or Oath of Allegiance taken at Mecca by the earliest Muslim converts from Medina, so called after the spot where it took place.

Amir, or head—title assumed by Maulawi Muhammad Ali after secession from Qadian.

Anjuman, or Association. See also Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya.

Ansar, or helpers—term used for the early Muslim converts of Medina.

Ansarullah, or helpers of God, an association founded by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} the Second, in the lifetime of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih^{ra} the First.

Athim, or sinner—an epithet used by Maulawi Muhammad Ali for Hadrat Khalifatul Masih II^{ra}.

Azlam, or extreme wrong-doer, epithet used by Maulawi Muhammad Ali for Hadrat Khalifatul Masih II^{ra}.

Bai‘at, oath of allegiance, sworn on the hand of a Prophet or his Khalifa.

Bai‘at-e-Dam, or oath sworn as a guarantee against desertion at the time of Jihad.

Bai‘at-e-Irshad, or oath of allegiance sworn as a sign of spiritual advance.

Bid‘at, or innovation in religious belief or practice.

Chakrhalawi, or belonging to Chakrala—a term used for a follower of Muhammad Abdullah of Chakrala, who taught the self-sufficiency of the Holy Quran, and excluded the Hadith and the Sunna from Muslim authorities.

Durud, or soliciting blessings of God on the Holy Prophet^{sa} of Islam.

Fasiq, or one who rebels—term used for deniers of Khilafat,

Hanafis, or followers of the *Hanafi* school of juristic thought in Islam, so called after the founder Imam Abu Hanifah.

Hijrat, or migration from one's own home to another place in the interests of one's faith, usually to escape persecution—a term employed for the migration from Mecca to Medina of the Holy Prophet of Islam and his earlier followers. See *Muhajirin*.

Istikhara, or prayer addressed to God to solicit His assistance in any matter.

Jalsa, or public gathering esp. of the Ahmadiyya Community at Qadian.

Kalima, or creed of Islam: 'There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad^{sa} is His Prophet.'

Khalifa, or successor to a Prophet^{sa}.

Khalifatul Masih, or successor to the Promised Messiah^{as}, the founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement.

Khilafat, or line or institution of successors to a Prophet elected by the Community of believers.

Kharijis, or Kharijites or seceders, technically an early sect of Islam which rose to prominence by their denial of Hadrat Ali^{ra}, the fourth Khalifa of Islam.

Kufr, or unbelief, a term applied to the denial of a Prophet.

Madinatul Masih, or the Town of the Promised Messiah^{as}, name used for Qadian, but by the Lahore Party for Lahore—after the split.

Majaz, or resemblance, used to denote moral and spiritual affinity between one person and another.

Maqbara Bahishti, or The graveyard founded at Qadian by the holy Founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement, under Divine command and guidance.

Mu'min, or believer.

Mubashsharat, or prophecies bearing glad tidings about the future.

Muhaddath, or a partial Prophet or one less than a Prophet.

Muhajirin, (Sing: *Muhajir*) or those who leave their homes for the sake of the faith.

Mujaddid, or reformer promised to Muslims at the head of every century.

Mukaffir, or one who pronounces another a kafir or unbeliever.

Nabi, or Prophet or spiritual leader raised by God, and one whose acceptance is obligatory on all.

Nubuwwat-e-Ahkam, or prophethood embodying religious laws.

Nubuwwat-e-Ghair Tashri'i, or prophethood to serve a law-bearing Prophet.

Nadwatul 'Ulama', organisation of orthodox Muslim theologians at Lucknow.

Namaz, or Islamic institution of worship.

Pir, a lesser spiritual leader or miracle-worker,—contemptuous term used by the Lahore Party for Hadrat Khalifatul Masih II^{ra}.

Pirzada, or son or descendant of a Pir.

Qibla, or direction of the Kaaba, the holy precincts at Mecca. Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya, or Central Ahmadiyya Association at Qadian, which looks after the activities of the Ahmadiyya Movement in all parts of the world.

Shahid, or person holding spiritual status next to a *Siddiq*. See *Siddiq*.

Shirk, or any belief or practice inconsistent with or offensive to the Oneness of God.

Siddiq, or person holding spiritual status next to a *Nabi* or Prophet.

Tahajjud, or voluntary prayers said before daybreak.

Tahmid-u-Tasbih, or uttering praises of God.

Zill, (Lit. a reflex) or a follower who attains to a spiritual status through obedience to a founder, a term used for the relation which the Promised Messiah^{as}, the Founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement has to the Holy Prophet^{sa} of Islam. In similar sense is used the word *Buruz*. See also *Majaz*.

Zilliyyat, Process of attaining to the status of a *Zill*.

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Truth about the Split

Truth about the Split, the English translation of *A'ina' e-Sadaqat*, written by Hadrat Khalifatul Masih II^{ra}, is a detailed reply to *The Split* by Maulawi Muhammad Ali, who after having denied the institution of Khilafat had seceded from the main body of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Jama'at and established his party headquarters at Lahore.

Truth about the Split has been divided into two main parts. The first part consists of the refutation of the eleven misstatements and unfounded charges leveled against Hadrat Khalifatul Masih II^{ra} in *The Split*, and of the thoroughly fabricated story of the Ahmadiyya dissension. First few misstatements revolve around a person named Zahiruddin who was believed to be, by the Lahore Party, the originator of the belief of the prophethood of the Promised Messiah^{as}.

Another controversy was whether those who denied the Promised Messiah^{as} should be regarded as Muslims or *Kafir-bil-Ma'mur*. In fact, Hadrat Khalifatul Masih II^{ra} had already proved that the Promised Messiah^{as} regarded them as the latter. Another controversy generated by Maulawi Muhammad Ali was that people had pledged *Bai'at* with the second Khalifa in ignorance, and that they had later renounced their *Bai'at* with him.

The second part of the book deals with the true story of the split. It elaborates how Khwaja Kamaluddin, Maulawi Muhammad Ali and few others intrigued to bring down the Institution of Khilafat during the time of Hadrat Khalifatul Masih I^{ra}, how they openly showed their hostility after his demise by proposing delay in the election of the next Khalifa, and what finally impelled them to set up their own separate organization. The book then sets out, in clear terms—in the light of *Al-Wasiyyat* by the Promised Messiah^{as}—as to who (Anjuman or the Khalifa) should actually succeed the Promised Messiah^{as}.