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**MODERNIST AND MUSLIM WOMEN EDUCATION:  
AN ANALYSIS OF APPROACHES / VIEWS,  
1900-1947**



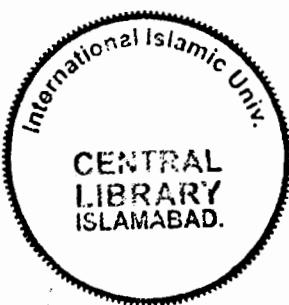
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AN ANALYSIS OF APPROACHES / VIEWS,  
1900-1947**

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the  
Degree of Masters of Philosophy in the discipline of History  
with specialization in Modern South Asia  
at the Faculty of Social Sciences,  
International Islamic University  
Islamabad

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

ۚ إِقْرَأْ بِاسْمِ رَبِّكَ الَّذِي خَلَقَ

ۚ خَلَقَ الْإِنْسَانَ مِنْ عَلَقٍ

ۚ إِقْرَأْ وَرَبُّكَ الْأَكْرَمُ

ۚ الَّذِي عَلِمَ بِالْقَلْمَنْ

ۚ عَلِمَ الْإِنْسَانَ مَا لَمْ يَعْلَمْ

96: 1-5.

*In the name of Allah, the most Merciful and Beneficent*

- *Read: In the name of thy Lord Who createth,*
  - *Createth man from a clot.*
- *Read: And thy Lord is the Most Bounteous,*
  - *Who teacheth by the pen,*
  - *Teacheth man that which he knew not.*

## ***HADITH***

*Narrated Abu Sa'id: A woman came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Men (only) benefit by your teachings, so please devote to us from (some of) your time, a day on which we may come to you so that you may teach us of what Allah has taught you". Allah's Apostle said, "Gather on such-and-such a day at such-and-such a place". They gathered and Allah's Apostle came to them and taught them of what Allah had taught him.*

Muhammad Muhsin Khan, *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al-Bukhari: Arabic-English*. Vol. 9 (Lahore: Kazi Publications, 1979), 308.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

قَالَ رَبِّ اشْرَحْ لِنِي صَدْرِي ٢٩

وَيَسِّرْ لِنِي أَمْرِي ٣٠

وَاحْلُلْ عُقْدَةً مِنْ لِسَانِي ٣١

يَفْقَهُ وَاقْوِلَي ٣٢

20: 25-8.

*In the name of Allah, the most Merciful and Beneficent*

- *My Lord! Relieve my mind*
- *And ease my task for me;*
- *And loose a knot from my tongue,*
- *That they may understand my saying.*

*To*

*Fehmi Aziz*

## APPROVAL SHEET

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## ABSTRACT

The significance of knowledge could not be denied at any level of religious and socio-cultural boundaries of human life. At the beginning of twentieth century, British India was picturing herself as a most versatile part of the world with a number of socio-religious communities as its integral part. During this sensitive period of history, British India was going through transitional phase-from traditional to modern thoughts. The Muslim community of the British India perceived this changing environment as a threat for the survival. They rejected the socio-religious and political influence of West.

At this stressful time, the educated conscious mind of the Muslim community awoke and led the rest of the Muslim community to shed their fear away and develop mutual understanding and harmony with changing time. This conscious mind of the Muslim society was the group of modernists, who emphasized that the root cause of all problems is the lack of knowledge and modern education. They convinced the Muslim community that only the educated, visionary, vigilant and knowledgeable minds drive the Muslim society on the road of progressive growth and survival as a nation.

The modernists presented the cause and cure of all diseases of the Muslim society of the British India in the form of acquiring knowledge through modern education. They convinced the traumatized Muslim nation to gain strength and rise through tutoring every single member of the society. The modernists, most significant and historic contribution seemed to be the opening of the schools, colleges and universities for Muslim female to equip themselves with modern education by keeping religious, social and cultural integrities of the Muslim society.

The modernists proved to be most influence in molding the conservative and self-centered minds of the Muslim society of the British India by their progressive and dynamic approaches. They utilized intellectual capabilities, their potentials to materialize their vision regarding Muslim women education through establishment of educational institutions. They organized their individual and limited efforts in a massive campaign in this purpose; they formulated *anjuman-s* and associations. They penned down and expended their articles by utilizing print media as an effective medium. Though they successfully covered parts and cores of the issues but could not present a joint comprehensive consensus on policy in general and curriculum particular for the Muslim women. They provided all basic requirements regarding an open debate for women education and opened new avenue for the coming people to carry on the vision to equip the daughters and mothers of the Muslim nation with modern education.

The present study revolves around the painstaking struggle of the modernists for the Muslim female education. This research probed the approaches/views, planned and practiced by the modernists. The objective of the current study is to analysis in detail the struggle of modernists regarding Muslim women education. In the present work, descriptive and analytical approach has been selected instead of chronological method. The source material of research is consisted upon primary and secondary published work in the form of books, reports, journals, magazines and newspapers.

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The Prophet *Sallalaha 'aliyyah wa Alahi wa Sallam* (SAS), stands for an ever actuating and galvanizing impulsive force for me. Indeed, he commands the highest order amongst the whole creation. May the peace and blessings of *Allah* be upon the Prophet Muhammad (SAS), his household, companions and the followers of the right guidance till the Day of Judgment.

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**Shaista Aziz**

# CONTENTS

<b>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</b>	ii
<b>ABBREVIATIONS</b>	vi
<b>GLOSSARY</b>	vii
<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	1
<b>CHAPTER 1</b>	18
<b>    THE INITIATIVE AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE     MODERNISTS FOR THE MUSLIM WOMEN     EDUCATION</b>	19
1.1: DEPTI NAZIR AHMAD	22
1.2: MAWLANA ALTAF HUSAIN HALI	26
1.3: SAYYID MUMTAZ ALI	31
1.4: MAWLANA MUHAMMAD ASHRAF ALI THANAWI	34
1.5: JUSTICE MIAN MUHAMMAD SHAH DIN	39
<b>CHAPTER 2</b>	48
<b>    THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE MUSLIM     WOMEN EDUCATION</b>	49
2.1: SULTAN JAHAN BEGUM OF BHOPAL	49
2.2: SHAIKH MUHAMMAD ABDULLAH	54
2.3: SAYYID KARAMAT HUSAIN	61
2.4: RASHIDUL KHAIRI	64
2.5: ROLE OF PROMINENT MUSLIM FAMILIES IN THE PROMOTION OF WOMEN EDUCATION	67
<b>CHAPTER 3</b>	82
<b>    ROLE OF ASSOCIATIONS IN THE PROMOTION     OF MUSLIM WOMEN EDUCATION</b>	83
3.1: <i>ANJUMAN-i-HIMAYAT-i-ISLAM</i>	83
3.2: ALL-INDIA MUSLIM EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE	87
3.3: <i>ANJUMAN-i-KHAWATIN-i-ISLAM</i>	93
3.4: ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LADIES CONFERENCE	94
3.5: ALL-INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE	96
<b>CHAPTER 4</b>	103
<b>    ROLE OF MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS IN THE     PROMOTION OF MUSLIM WOMEN EDUCATION</b>	104
4.1: WEEKLY <i>TEHZIB-i-NISWAN</i> (LAHORE)	105
4.2: MONTHLY <i>KHATUN</i> (ALIGARH)	108

4.3: MONTHLY 'ISMAT (DELHI)	111
4.4: MONTHLY SHARIF BIBI (LAHORE)	114
4.5: MONTHLY NUR JAHAN (GUJRANWALA)	117
<b>CONCLUSION</b>	124
<b>APPENDICES</b>	132
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	163

## ABBREVIATIONS

AHI	<i>Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam</i>
AIMEC	All-India Muslim Educational Conference
AIMLC	All-India Muslim Ladies Conference
AIWC	All-India Women's Conference
AMU	Aligarh Muslim University
KKT	<i>Khudai Khidmatgar Tehrik</i>
MAOC	Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College
MEC	Muhammadan Educational Congress
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
SAS	<i>Sallalaha 'aliyyah wa Alahi wa Sallam</i>
UP	United Provinces

## GLOSSARY

<i>'ulama</i>	Group of Muslim learned in religious sciences, Islamic theologians, jurists
<i>A 'la Bi</i>	Respected lady
<i>Angrezon ki taqlid</i>	Blindly following English people
<i>Atta</i>	Flour
<i>Azadi-i-Niswan</i>	Women's Freedom
<i>Ahadith</i>	The reported words, deeds and occasions of tacit approval by Prophet Muhammad (SAS), pass on by a chain of reliable authorities
<i>Anjuman</i>	Society, committee, association
<i>Ashraf / Sharif / Shurafa'</i>	Those belonging to respectable class, educated and cultured family
<i>Bazuband</i>	Armlets
<i>Begum</i>	Misses
<i>Behrul- 'ulum</i>	The sea of learning
<i>Darul 'ulum</i>	Religious seminary
<i>Din</i>	Religion
<i>Diniyyat</i>	The study of the Islamic principles, Islamic studies
<i>Diwan</i>	Finance Minister
<i>Diwan khana</i>	Men's quarter
<i>'id ul Adha</i>	'Festival of Sacrifice' celebrated by Muslims annually on the 10th day of the 12th and the last Islamic month of <i>Dhu al-Hijjah</i> of the lunar Islamic calendar
<i>Fiqh</i>	Islamic Law
<i>Guluband</i>	Necklace
<i>Hakim</i>	A doctor in the tradition of Greco-Arabic medicine
<i>Haveli</i>	Big house covered with boundary
<i>Jhumar</i>	Ornament for the head
<i>Khatun</i>	Woman
<i>Khudai Khidmatgar</i>	Servants of God
<i>Khuwahish-i-Azadi</i>	Desire of Liberty
<i>Madrasah</i>	School for higher learning
<i>Maharani</i>	Wife of Indian king
<i>Maktab</i>	School for imparting elementary education to children along with the <i>Qur'an</i>
<i>Mardon ki jhuti fazilat</i>	False superiority of men
<i>Mawlana/ Mawlawi / Mullah</i>	A title used for a learned religious leader. A religious scholar. Learned Muslim, men trained in religious sciences
<i>Mina Bazar</i>	A bazaar particularly organized for women

<i>Nisa'y 'alim (Niswani 'alim)</i>	Women's Knowledge
<i>Pir</i>	Spiritual guide
<i>Pardah</i>	Literally meaning 'curtain', applied to women who remained segregated from men out side of their family
<i>Qallam</i>	A reed pen
<i>Qasbah</i>	Large village or a small town
<i>Qu'rān</i>	Koran
<i>Risalah</i>	Magazine, journal, booklet
<i>Rupees</i>	Indian/ Pakistani currency
<i>Shari'at</i>	A path, Islamic law encompassing the ideas of behavior, pity and virtues provided in the <i>Qu'rān</i> and <i>Sunnah</i>
<i>Sunnah</i>	The path, the normative practice of the Prophet (SAS) and the early community, embodied in the <i>Ahadith</i> prescribed for all Muslims
<i>T'alim-i-Niswan</i>	Women's Education
<i>Taraqy-i-Niswan</i>	Women's development
<i>Tarbiyat-i-aulad</i>	Upbringing of children
<i>Tava</i>	A griddle
<i>Ustani</i>	Female teacher
<i>Zananah</i>	Women, the women apartment in a Muslim household
<i>Zananah Madrasah</i>	Female school

## FORWARDING SHEET

The thesis entitled Modernist and Muslim Women Education: An Analysis of Approaches / Views, 1900-1947, submitted by Shaista Aziz in the partial fulfillment of M.Phil Degree in History with specialization in Modern South Asia has been completed under my guidance and supervision. I am satisfied with the quality of student's research work and allow her to submit this thesis for further process of as per IIUI rules and regulations.

Date: 30.1.2010

Signature: 

Name: Mujeeb Ahmad, Ph.D.

# *INTRODUCTION*

The British consolidated the rule in the Indian Subcontinent during the nineteenth century. The challenge of foreign rule was taken up differently by different sections of Indian society. Two distinctive movements emerged in the latter part of the nineteenth century amongst the Muslims of British India. The prime focus of those movements was the restoration of the Muslim culture through creating awareness amongst them. In the first movement, the *'ulama* contributed their due role in socio-religious uplift of the Muslim society. They achieved their objectives through new educational strategy based on religious teachings. In this context, they established educational institution like the *Darul 'ulum* at Deoband in May 1867. The institution devoted its all efforts and promoted the religious education along with the observance of Islamic Law in Muslim society of the British India.

The other important movement was the Aligarh Movement. The man behind the movement, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-98) presented a broad and modern vision for the revitalization of the Muslim society of British India. He advocated his notion through modern education. He believed that Muslims of the British India could only be saved from deterioration and prevailing catastrophic conditions, through modern education. He campaigned for western education for Muslims. He argued that education in English language and modern sciences would help in the development of the Muslim community.

Efforts of the two movements produced results by the end of the nineteenth century and Muslims of the British India succeeded to develop some common strategies to cope with religious as well socio-economic challenges that were the consequence of political change in the British India.

In the existing environment of the society, female section was neglected and faced agony the most. The Muslim women, by enlarge were deprived of education with few exceptions of religious teachings. However, the trend began to change by the end of the nineteenth century. Muslim male section of society started to give a serious thought to the female section. They valued their role and projected it from a different angle. Some of them believed the education for women as the basic need for healthier and progressive Muslim society. The people who took up the tedious task could be categorized into the conservatives and modernists. Though the conservatives restricted the Muslim women education within the boundaries of their homes with limited religious knowledge, however, the modernists proved themselves the most visionary with respect to the education of female section of the Muslim society.

The modernists formulated their approaches in a very logical and thought provoking way. Their approach could be divided into two basic phases. The first phase was represented by Depti Nazir Ahmad (1836-1912), Khawajah Altaf Husain Hali (1837- 1914) and Mawlana Muhammad Ashraf Ali Thanawi (1864-1943), Sayyid Mumtaz Ali (1860-1935) and Justice Mian Muhammad Shah Din (1886-1918). They used their innovative potentials of writings and projected the need for Muslim women education on modern lines. The modernists created the intellectual environment and harvested the modern vision about the female section of Muslim society. The modernists prepared the ground for the debate of unavoidable issues regarding female tutoring and insisted upon the necessity of women knowing the religious education not only for themselves but their families. They outlined the importance of code of conduct on religious and moral basis. The modernists floated the calculated planning to materialize the vision. They proposed a program of home based studies. These intellectuals not only drafted the idea of home based studies but

also effectively outlined the curriculum. They stressed upon moral, religious teachings and to include the basic vernacular education along with grammar, calligraphy, arithmetic and household management, according to the traditional method of *ashraf* Muslims.

The second phase of the modernist's approach reflected their contribution in the establishment of educational institutions for female. They realized the institutions as basic prerequisite for effective and enormous outcome of their efforts. In this regard, Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah (1874-1965) was leading light. He took the initiative for the purpose and established *Zananah Madrasah* (1906) in Aligarh. He recommended that English should be included in curriculum for women along with the modern education promulgated by the intellectuals of first phase of modernist approach. One of the women who were in forefront in the encouragement of women education was Sultan Jahan Begum of Bhopal (1857-1930). She played key role in establishing schools for girls. Sayyid Karamt Husain (1854-1917) and Rashidul Khairi (1870-1936) also established institutions for the Muslim women.

During the developments, which were taking place in the Muslim society of British India, few prominent Muslim families could not remain unaffected by them. Such as Shafi family of Baghbanpura of Lahore, Suhrawardy family of Bengal and Faizi family of Bombay (now Mumbai), those families had carried on the tradition of educating their female. They were convinced by the approaches of modernists and joined them in their movement for education of Muslim women on modern lines. The women of those families not only received the education in different modern institutions but they were sent abroad for higher education. Further the contribution of well-groomed and educated ladies could not be overlooked, when one go through the history of Muslim women education in the British India. In that transitional period of

time the trends began to change and Muslims started looking at the role of women from different perspective. They believed the education of women was essential for a healthy and progressive Muslim society in British India. This enlightened section of the Muslim society followed the same objective with two different practical approaches, are categorized into traditional modernist and liberal modernist group.

As far as traditional modernist, were concerned they provided road map for the expansion of women education. They propagated their idea about the educational needs of women through their writings. They anticipated this notion and gave the idea of home-school system. They were of the view that in these schools only Muslim female teachers belonging to *shurafa*' family should be appointed to teach and guide girls belonging to *sharif* families according to Muslim *ashraf* culture. In this first phase of modernist approach, they established and flourished strong foundation of women education though, limited to the *ashraf*. They raised their voice for the need of educated and cultured Muslim ladies. The idea of women education was first conceived and nurtured by traditional modernist. It was so influencing that the liberal modernist belonging to second phase of modernist approach adopted and further extended this vision.

The liberal modernist extended the idea of Muslim women education beyond the boundaries of the home-schools to the establishment of the large educational institutions for Muslim women. They broadened it up to vast area and opened the door for female belonging to all strata of Muslim community. They established formal educational institutions and expanded their vision with reference to the flow of information and exchange of knowledge with rest of community. They provided better opportunities to Muslim women for comparative understanding and growth of their intellect through vast communication. They adapted new methods of teaching.

The liberal modernists established boarding-houses along with educational institutions to extend the opportunities of education for girls belonging to far flung areas. It was a challenging task by itself in a traditional society. The modernist belonging to second phase included English in the curriculum of their institutions. They were prepared to appoint non-Muslim female teachers to fulfill the requirements of teaching in different subjects. Extra-curriculum activities became important feature of educational institutions. Even the girls used to travel in other cities to participate in those activities.

The liberal modernists were a head of from traditional modernists and encouraged women to take the charge of their struggle for education. They kept their women side by side in the movement for Muslim women education. They provided opportunities to them for their emancipation in the development and progress of their fellow women. Modernist belonging to the first and second phase had developed different strategies for the development of movement for Muslim women education. Their vision was not statistic rather, dynamic and progressive one.

The shift within overall change in behavior and traditions in early twentieth century was the outcome of socio-economic and cultural changes taking place in the Muslim society. With the development of middle class and urbanization, the apprehension for educated women was understood. As the male youth of the class was the product of Aligarh and other English medium institutions, they acquired Western education, set their standard and preferences for their future lives. They were more conscious in selecting their life partners. They started looking for well educated Muslim female as their wives.

In the British India, as a whole the issue of women education became very prominent in all strata of society. Different forces were actively promoting the

awareness about the women education. The Christian Missionaries were playing their leading role in changing socio-religious life of British India especially, the women and other most deprived sections of the society. The Christian Missionaries were striving to convert people into Christianity. It was felt as threat by the conscious section of the Muslim society; they decided to encounter the threat. They organized and developed different forums to save the Muslim society from degeneration of integrity and deleterious effects of the Christian Missionaries. They worked through different forums and associations. One of the prominent organizations, which stood up, to challenge the religious intervention by missionaries was *Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam* (AHI). The association was set up to protect Islamic ideology and integrity of the Muslim society against the activities of un-Islamic forces. Qazi Hamiduddin established this *Anjuman* at Lahore on 22 September 1884. During its ongoing struggle for the perseverance of values and traditions of Islamic society, it realized that the most vulnerable section of the Muslim society was female. *Anjuman* timely judged that the penetrative activities of un-Islamic forces could shatter the beliefs of uneducated, ignorant and backward Muslim female. It took up the steps for the establishment of Muslim women educational institutions to save them from the consequences of un-Islamic teachings.

Another prominent association that played its most significant role in the promotion of overall socio-economic growth of Muslims was Muhammadan Educational Conference, which was established by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan in 1886. After the death of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, the Muhammadan Educational Conference adapted new educational policies and contributed towards women education. It established separate section to discuss the problems of women education and suggested some solutions. Under its banner, the first All-India Muslim Ladies

Conference (AIMLC) was held. With the passage of time, a number of other *anjuman-s* were setup by Muslim women. These *anjuman-s* spread across the country within no time and they became prominent among the masses. They successfully attracted the attention of most of the people towards them. The *anjuman-s* were followed as examples and proved themselves as landmarks by the rest of the community of the British India. Those all developments lead to the formation of another platform for female at all India level, the All-India Women's Conference (AIWC). Thus, the issue of women education became the focal point of discussions at intra-community and inter-community level in the British India.

The massive campaign of modernists that was successfully stepping up with the passage of time was boosted up further by the print media. It happened one of the most suitable choices, to propagate the objectives. Though, the intellectuals belonging to the first phase of the modernist approach contributed their writings and literary work in the form of books. Now, the demand was felt to cope with provision of dynamic literary work for the Muslim female at the substantial level. Thus the women journals, magazines and newspapers were published. They played significant role in importing and transferring knowledge to the large number of the Muslim female in short period of time, in a very cost effective way.

The support of the Muslim press through printed material was a great contribution. The newspapers and magazines fulfill the purpose in a very effective manner. The pronounced Muslim intellectuals started them to convey the message on one hand and provision of reading material to the women of the community on the other hand. In this regard Sayyid Mumtaz Ali started the publication of *Tehzib-i-Niswan* in 1898 from Lahore, with the assistance of his wife Muhammadi Begum (1878-1908). A prolific Muslim lady, Fatima Begum (1890-1958) published *Sharif*

*Bibi* from Lahore. The recognized writer Rashidul Khairi started the publication of the magazine, *'ismat* in 1908 from Delhi. Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah an active supporter of Muslim women education, he contributed through the publication of magazine *Khatun* from Aligarh in 1904.

In India, the struggle for the education of the Muslim women was the product of expressive and literate men. It is evident in their writings and activities for the promotion of education for female. They well thought out the importance of educated women in their own lives, for the survival and advancement of their culture. They were also conscious about the religious education of women because of moral degeneration and influence of other non-Muslim communities along with the impact of English culture. Increasing apprehension among the educated Muslims to educate their daughters was another factor slowly creeping into the Muslim society. It was a fortunate development for the great move for Muslim women education. Men lead the way of the movement for women education but the credit was also shared by women who followed them in the historic mission, inspite of great obstacles and challenges.

The scope of the present study is manifested within the timeframe that is limited, from 1900-47. The study highlights the Muslims whose conscious, rational, visionary planning and strategies were directly responsible for changing conservative and traditional attitude towards the education of female section of the Muslim society of the British India.

The present study is based on an effort to trace back the historical process and analysis of the approaches of modernists, while focusing the Muslim women education in the British India. The significance of the issue of women education is still valid and debatable. Even after the sixty-three years of independence, women in Pakistan are still far behind with respect to the provision of formal education.

Pakistani society is still facing and struggling against socio-economic, cultural and religious issues regarding women. As far as our educational policies are concerned still we need to define our road map regarding precise curriculum and the construction of institutions for higher education for women. It is the need of the hour to feel the importance of utilization of this highly potential part of the nation. The root cause of the most of the religious, socio-economic disparities is the lack of the proper education for female who are equally responsible for the brought up of the future generations of the nation.

Over the past few decades, women's issues have gained a noteworthy momentum. The research and writings on different aspects of their status and problems have been going on for long time. To trace the earliest advancements with respect to Muslim women education, one has to go back to the early twentieth century. At that time, the concept of women education on modern lines was quite new to the Indian society, which was primarily traditional. The consideration of the women education emerged from two distinct parts; one from the foreign British Government and the other from indigenous Muslims. The idea of education of the Muslim women by itself was a multidimensional phenomenon. It had religious, social, economic, political, cultural and intellectual aspects. Thus, the question of the *t'alim-i-niswan* had to face great difficulties.

The Indian Muslim community responded in various ways, from acceptance to uncompromising rejection at different levels in society. Those who accepted the idea justified their view that, there was no harm in showing flexibility and accepting the changing trends. They realized that without women education the socio-economic and cultural advancement of the Muslims was not possible. Those who rejected the idea, they felt it wrong on moral grounds and considered it as conspiracy against Islam. The

group in favor of women education further bifurcated into conservative modernists (preferred the traditional way of educating women with limited knowledge of religion at home rather than in school) and the liberal modernists. But overall the modernists proved themselves dominating and impressive to nurture, nourish and convey their conceptual ideology regarding Muslim women education.

In Pakistan whatever privileges, rights and liberty that women are enjoying today; are mainly fruits of the efforts of modernists of the twentieth century. Today Pakistani women are enjoying participation in almost all spheres of life because of the struggle made in the early twentieth century in the British India. The people in forefront of later struggle for women education are indebted to those who took the first step toward this goal. The modernists were subjected to many of the socio-political pressures but they faced them with patience and resolved them with best possible means through determination and full devotion for the cause.

The present study is an attempt to trace out the origin and developments carried out for education of female section of the Muslim society of the British India. It focuses the evolution of Muslim women education, its consequence and major issue related to it. The study is an attempt to analyze the approaches and views of the modernists. Though, there were other issues such as economic independence of women, share in inheritance and other socio-political rights, but the scope of present study did not permit the discussion on these issues in detail.

Variety of literature is available about the Muslim society in the British India. However, most of them have given a passing reference to the issue of women education. Very few have tried to deal with it in a systematic manner.

Azra Asghar Ali's work, *The Emergence of Feminism Among Indian Muslim Women 1920-1947*<sup>1</sup> is an important one which provides deep insight into the period

under study. The authoress discussed the socio-cultural transition and the role of education for opening the public space for women. She also shed some light on the contribution of government, missionaries and social reformers in the field of women's higher education. A very important work related the subject is *Muslim Women of the British Punjab from Seclusion to Politics*<sup>2</sup> by Dushka Saiyid. This study is about the Muslim women of Punjab that how and why their role in the society transformed during British period. In this respect it traces the role of government, Muslim intellectuals and reformers. The authoress also discussed the women's education however, the focus is only Punjab. *Women and Social Change in India*<sup>3</sup> by Jana Matson Everett though does not directly relate to the present study but it gives noteworthy information about the emergence of the Indian women's movement. Fareeha Zafar's edited work; *Finding our Way: Reading on Women in Pakistan*<sup>4</sup> is another informative work for present study. *Father and Daughter*<sup>5</sup> by Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz. It has valuable information about the contribution and efforts of Mian Muhammad Shafi, his wife and Jahan Ara for the provision of education and other rights to the women in British India. *Muslim Women in India: Political and Private Realities 1890s-1980s*<sup>6</sup> by Shahida Lateef, has a chapter about the education. It discusses the change in attitude towards education and the consequent politicization of the issue. K. K. Aziz's *The All India Muslim Conference 1928-1935: A Documentary Record*<sup>7</sup> points out the concern of Conference about the education of Muslim community. The most important work on the subject is of Abdul Rashid Khan's *The All India Muslim Educational Conference: Its Contribution to the Cultural Development of Indian Muslim 1886-1947*.<sup>8</sup> The book offers a detailed description of the All-India Educational Conference. Though author regarded it as a

pioneer of women education but before its formation in 1886, *Anjuman Hamayat-i-Islam* was already running girl's schools in Lahore since 1885.

Khawar Mumtaz and Farida Shaheed's *Women of Pakistan: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back*<sup>9</sup> is another important work. It gives information about the socio-political and educational struggle made by Muslim women, along with some organizations working for women's rights after independence. Mawlana Ashraf Ali Thanwi's work, *Bahishti Zewar*<sup>10</sup> is important primary source material in judging his view about women. He insisted on the necessity of women knowing the religious law for themselves and for their families. With this author also outlined the importance of manners on religious basis. M. Masroor Khan Saroha has translated, *Bahishti Zewar* with the title of (*Heavenly Ornaments*).<sup>11</sup> An important book, *Perfecting Women*<sup>12</sup> by Barbara Daly Metcalf, is a partial translation with commentary on Mawlana Ashraf Ali Thanawi's *Bihishti Zewar*. Nazir Ahmad's novel *Mir'atul 'arus*<sup>13</sup> and *Banat-al-Na'ash*<sup>14</sup> are primary source for the present study and reflect the views and perception of Nazir Ahmad about the value of education for women and in broader extant for the progress of the Muslim society. The book directly related to the present study is *Voices of Silence*<sup>15</sup> by Gail Minault. It is the English translation of Altaf Husain Hali's *Majalis-un-Nisa* and *Chup ki Dad*. This book expresses Hali's view about the importance of education for the Muslim women in changing environment of the British India. The book *A Women of Substance*<sup>16</sup> edited and compiled by Lubna Kazim, is appropriate to the present study in a sense that it contains very important information about the family background of Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah and his struggle for promotion of Muslim women education in British India.

Shaista Suhrawardy's (Begum Ikramullah) autobiography, *From Purdah to Parliament*<sup>17</sup> gives much information about her family background. The book also

shed light on the socio-cultural patterns of Muslim society at that time. In it authoress elaborate the awakening of Muslim women in early twentieth century for the provision of their rights. Another book by her is, *A Critical Survey of the Development of the Urdu Novel and Short Story*.<sup>18</sup> It was essentially her dissertation which she submitted to the University of the London and was awarded PhD in 1940. The book contains material related to Depti Nazir Ahmad and Rashidul Khairi's novel and their approaches in writing. *Khawatin-i-Deccan ki Urdu Khidmat*<sup>19</sup> by Nasir-ul Din Hashimi deals with the contribution of women from Hyderabad-Deccan region for the promotion of Urdu language. This book is informative one with reference to some of the educational institutions, Muslim women *anjuman-s* and journals working for the progress and educational development among women. Sayyid Mumtaz Ali's book *Huquq-i-Niswan*<sup>20</sup> is a primary source about his views on the education of Muslim women and their other social and religious rights as a member of the Muslim community. Another work which is very relevant for present study is *The Bride's Mirror*<sup>21</sup> by G. E. Ward, it is the translation of Depti Nazir Ahmad's novel *Mir'atul 'arus. Begmat-i-Bhopal*<sup>22</sup> by Wahaj-ul-Din Chishti gives good deal of information about the contribution and efforts of Muslim female ruler of Bhopal state for the development and progress of the Muslim society and education of female section.

Women journals newspapers and magazines of early twentieth century such as 'ismat,<sup>23</sup> *Tehzib-i-Niswan*,<sup>24</sup> *Sharif Bibi*<sup>25</sup> and *Nur Jahan*<sup>26</sup> provided grate deal of insight about the social developments of the past. This source material open new topic of discussion related to women issues, their educational need and struggle. The contribution of all the above mentioned studies is helpful to understand the perception regarding women education, but so far no comprehensive effort has been made to

trace the origin and progressive development of movement for the Muslim women education with refference to the approches and views of modernists.

Various concepts have been used in present study. The concept of 'Education' is used in the context of acquiring formal education. There are different opinions about the women education; either they should get education? Should they acquire modern education or traditional one? The notion 'western education' refers to the knowledge of different sciences along with English language. The 'traditional education' refers to read the *Qur'an* and religious books besides preliminary mathematics and awareness of households. Therefore, there were debates on the formulation of curriculum and syllabus for formal education of girls. The expression 'modernist' has been used for those who were willing for girls school education according to the changing circumstances of society. They had visionary approach and rational thoughts towards this issue. Some of them were also impressed by western culture and society. They advocated higher education for women. The word 'conservative' refers to the group of people who preferred traditional way of educating women at home with limited religious knowledge, rather than in school. One thing should be kept in mind that, 'modernist' or 'liberal' 'conservative' or 'traditionalist' had certain reservation about the appreciation of western ideas as well. It will be better to mark their position and stand on women education, instead of grouping them as 'modernist' 'liberal' 'conservative' or 'traditionalist'. As for as the *pardah* is concerned it is not limited to the observation of veil but women were restrained to the four walls of house and were not allowed to take part in public sphere. The expression of *ashraf /sharif / shurafa'* has been for the people who had respectable, cultured and educated family background. In the present study the

concept of 'movement' has been used in context of a series of actions advancing a principle or tending towards a particular end that is education.

This study has not followed a chronological pattern while developing the theme of the chapters to draw a more comprehensible view. The descriptive and analytical approach has been used for the present study. The study largely relied on published primary and secondary sources for gathering of historical information and data. At most places, the original Urdu terms have been preferred, as the translation of certain words tends to alter their connotation. The worlds like '*ulama*, *fiqh*, *Shari'at*, *shurafa*' have not been translated rather italicized. The chapters have been formulated on the basis of different issues related to women education. Information has also been presented in the form of tables wherever required.

The present thesis carries four chapters including the introduction and the conclusion. After introducing the subject, an attempt has been made in first chapter to discuss briefly the initiatives and contributions of the modernist for the Muslim women education. The second chapter is the institutionalization of the Muslim women education. In third chapter role of associations in the promotion of Muslim women education has been discussed. Fourth chapter is about the role of magazines, journals and newspapers in the progress of Muslim women education. Finally, in conclusion a brief overview of the whole study and some observations has been presented. This is followed by the appendixes and bibliography.

The increased awareness with respect to the education of female on modern lines did not happen unintentionally or by chance. In fact, it was a rational and historical development which had been achieved through painstaking struggle of the modernists. They developed dynamic strategies to approach their concerned goal.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Azra Asghar Ali, *The Emergence of Feminism Among Indian Muslim Women 1920-1947* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000).

<sup>2</sup> Dushka Saiyid, *Muslim Women of the British Punjab from Seclusion to Politics* (London: Macmillan, 1998).

<sup>3</sup> Jana Matson Everett, *Women and Social Change in India* (New Delhi: Heritage, 1981).

<sup>4</sup> Fareeha Zafar, ed., *Finding our Way: Reading on Women in Pakistan* (Lahore: ASR Publications, 1991).

<sup>5</sup> Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz, *Father and Daughter: A Political Biography* (Lahore: Nigarishat, 1971).

<sup>6</sup> Shahida Lateef, *Muslim Women in India: Political and Private Realities 1890s-1980s* (New Delhi: Kali for Women, 1990).

<sup>7</sup> K. K. Aziz, *The All India Muslim Conference 1928-1935: A Documentary Record* (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications, 2006).

<sup>8</sup> Abdul Rashid Khan, *The All India Educational Conference: Its Contribution to the Cultural Development of Indian Muslim 1886-1947* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001).

<sup>9</sup> Khawar Mumtaz and Farida Shaheed, *Women of Pakistan: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1987).

<sup>10</sup> Muhammad Ashraf Ali Thanawi, *Bahishti Zewar* (Karachi: Dar-ul-Isha'at, 1981).

<sup>11</sup> M. Masroor Khan Saroha, trans., *Bahishti Zewar (Heavenly Ornaments)*, (Delhi: Dini Book Depot, 1982).

<sup>12</sup> Barbara Daly Metcalf, *Perfecting Women: Maulana Ashraf 'Ali Thanawi's Bihishti Zewar* (England: University of California Press, 1990).

<sup>13</sup> Depti Nazir Ahmad, *Mir'atul 'arus* (Lahore: Sang-i-Meel Publications, 2007).

<sup>14</sup> \_\_\_\_\_, *Banat-al-Na'ash* (Delhi: Kitabi Duniya, 2003).

<sup>15</sup> Gail Minault, *Voices of Silence*, trans., Khawaja Altaf Husain Hali's *Majalis-un-Nisa* and *Chup ki Dad* (Delhi: Chanakya Publications, 1986).

<sup>16</sup> Lubna Kazim, ed., *A Women of Substance: The Memories of Begum Khurshid Mirza* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

<sup>17</sup> Shaista Suhrawardy Ikramullah, *From Pardah to Parliament* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004).

<sup>18</sup> \_\_\_\_\_, *A Critical Survey of the Development of the Urdu Novel and Short Story* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006).

<sup>19</sup> Nasir-ul Din Hashimi, *Khawatin-i-Deccan ki Urdu Khidmat* (Hyderabad-Deccan: Wazarty Machine Press, 1940).

<sup>20</sup> Sayyid Mumtaz Ali, *Huquq-i-Niswan* (Lahore: Dar-ul-Isha'at Punjab, 1898).

<sup>21</sup> Ward, G. E. trans., *The Bride's Mirror: A Tale of Domestic Life in Delhi Forty Years Ago* (London: Oxford University Press, 1903).

<sup>22</sup> Wahaj-ul-Din Chishti, *Begmat-i-Bhopal* (Karachi: Qudsiah Printers, 1981).

<sup>23</sup> Monthly 'ismat (Delhi), 1930 and 1942.

<sup>24</sup> Weekly *Tehzib-i-Niswan* (Lahore), 1929, 1931-32, 1934-35 and 1937-39.

<sup>25</sup> Monthly *Sharif Bibi* (Lahore), 1910.

<sup>26</sup> Monthly *Nur Jahan* (Gujranwala), 1928-29.

# *CHAPTER 1*

## **THE INITIATIVES AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE MODERNIST FOR THE MUSLIM WOMEN EDUCATION**

The second half of nineteenth century was an era of socio-religious developments. The Christian Missionaries were converting oppressed section of the Indian communities. Women were major concern, as they were main intention of their educational policies. The Christian Missionaries were effectively taking the advantage of observable facts regarding female section of the British Indian society. The dreariness of women was evident in all walks of life. They were facing grim disregard and overlooking at socio-economic and religious levels. In those apprehensive circumstances Depti Nazir Ahmad, Mawlana Altaf Husain Hali, Mawlana Muhammad Ashraf Ali Thanawi, Sayyid Mumtaz Ali and Justice Mian Muhammad Shah Din stood up for cause of women education. They pleaded the case of the Muslim women education. They were of the view that, only through educating the Muslim female, the Muslim society would be saved from deterioration and decline. They presented the, long-term, most effective solution of all socio-economic and religious evils, and that was the educated Muslim women.

The modernists gathered their courage and came forward with the revelation of women education. Writings of the scholars, created an intellectual environment and the subject of the Muslim women education turned out a focal point of discussions. The writings of the male section of the Muslim society served as the main instrument for development and promotion of a movement for the Muslim women education. In consequence, the modernists smoothed the way for future development of women education on modern trends. They were close associates of Sayyid Ahmad Khan other

than Mawlana Ashraf Ali Thanawi. They were influenced by Sayyid Ahmad Khan's modern thoughts for uplift of the Muslim community in the British India, despite the fact that Sayyid Ahmad Khan had poled apart view about the Muslim women education.

The period subsequent to 1857 was thorny for the Muslims in the British India. They were distressed because of their over all horrific condition. In that situation Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan came into sight with a plan and approach for the socio-religious improvement of the Muslims. He comprehended that without getting hold of education on modern shape, it would be difficult for the Muslims to pace with changing circumstances. He endeavored hard to accomplish his dream. Eventually he succeeded in developing a frontward looking, educated and modern class, which was ready to accept any challenge.<sup>1</sup>

Sayyid Ahmad Khan not only successfully diagnosed the cause of corrosion of the Muslims in the British India but efficiently provided the cure in the form of emergence of modernist's ideas. As mentioned earlier, regarding women education Sayyid Ahmad Khan had dissimilar view point than the modernists. He positioned the Muslim women at second place in his educational plan. He neither underestimated nor was against women education, but<sup>2</sup> contented with just traditional education at home along with limited knowledge of the *Qu'ran*, *Ahadith*, and some elementary Persian.

Sayyid Ahmad Khan's view on the subject of women's education was consistent with his own family milieu.<sup>3</sup> His mother was educated at home and proved herself to be literate, pious and responsible member of the family. His mother was a matter-of-fact exemplar for him and he was inspired by the approach adopted for her mother's education. He therefore, was in support of educating women at home. At the same time, he had an eye on British Government policies regarding female section of

the society. He was not in favor of formal and institutionalized education for the Muslim women, as it was happening in the British India under the cover of British Government. In his statements he, coated that one of the contributing factors in creating rebels against the British Government in Indian society, was their own women education policy.

One of the causes of the rebellion against British in 1857 has been their introduction of what he called female education. Men believed it to be the wish of the Government that girl should attend and be taught at these schools, and leaves off the habit of being veiled.<sup>4</sup>

According to his opinion socio-religious and economic ideology of the British Indian society was unique in its nature. They were not in accordance with the Western society. He accepted that Indian Muslim women were rearward, while appreciating the English women who were taking active part in different fields of life like men in their country. Sayyid Ahmad Khan admired erudite and cultured ladies of the West. On his way to England in 1869, he met Miss Mary Carpenter (1807-77) missionary women who had done a lot of work for women education in India. However, contrarily he criticized the West, where women education was being used as a tool for the economic growth and educated female were compelled to join work places and offices for their livelihood. He argued that,

Muslim girl of India could not be taught what the girls in Europe and America were studying, because the economic and social conditions there were different.<sup>5</sup>

He debated and encouraged conventional style of education in the British India for the Muslim female in which religion and household managements would be the most important subjects to be taught to the women.<sup>6</sup> Further, he was of the view that, educated Muslim male section of the society would lead the cause of education of the

Muslim female in the British India. He expressed his reservations for the Muslim women education in a very logical manner. He strongly argued that,

Those who hold that women should be educated and civilized prior to men are greatly mistaken. The fact is that no satisfactory education can be provided for Muhammadan female until a large number of Muhammadan male receive sound education.<sup>7</sup>

Sayyid Ahmad Khan elaborated his notion in a letter to Sayyid Mumtaz Ali. Sayyid Mumtaz Ali included this letter in his book *Huquq-i-Niswan*. Sayyid Ahmad Khan not only enlightened his vision but also provided a road map with rational approach to his followers. He successfully handed over the broader and ultimate vision of his struggle to the modernists, and that was the survival and uplift of the Muslims in accordance with their own cultural and socio-religious ideologies in the British India. The modernists adapted Sayyid's vision and joint their forces to face the future challenges.

### **1.1: DEPTI NAZIR AHMAD**

Nazir Ahmad was born in the district of Bijnore, United Provinces (UP), India, in 1836. He received traditional education from his father Mawlawi Sa'adat Ali. Then his family moved to Delhi by 1843. In 1845, he got opportunity to enroll at Delhi College (1792) and studied there till 1854. He got exposure to modern education from there. Later on, he received his LLD degree from University of the Punjab, Lahore (October 1882) in 1910 and a doctorate from the University of Edinburgh, England (1582) in 1912.<sup>8</sup> He was also associated with Aligarh Movement. Nazir Ahmad began his career as a teacher and soon became deputy inspector of schools at Cawnpore, India. Later on, he became a Deputy Collector of Settlements and a member of the Revenue Board. He was a graduate of Delhi College and belonged to new generation of Muslim scholars who were keen for the well being of the Muslim society on modern lines without leaving their own traditional virtues and culture.

Nazir Ahmad is considered the first Urdu novelist who used this medium as instrument for the reform and uplift of the Muslim community on modern lines in general and their education particular.<sup>9</sup> He was not in agreement with blind following of Western values, and culture. 'People respected Nazir Ahmad's learning and admired his urbanity and the traditional virtues of moderation'.<sup>10</sup> His novels portrayed problems and miseries of day to day public life. As for as women were concerned, he challenged the behavior of uneducated and untrained women who followed customary practices and were unfamiliar with the Islamic teachings.<sup>11</sup> Nazir Ahmad advocated further education and moral teachings of female, keeping in view their rights and duties in society. He assigned much importance to family and considered women center of all activities. Depti Nazir was a leading advocate of the education for Muslim women. He took the subject with great determination and thoroughness against the Muslim mindset of his time as it was generally against the education of women. He was among the few who were aware of the problems and sufferings of Indian Muslims during those critical decades when the Muslim society was in a state of fluctuation. He fully understood the demands of time in framework of the Indian Muslims. Through his novels he tried to eradicate social evils inherent in a degenerated Muslim society, particularly those caused by ignorance, illiteracy and disappointment. He sketched the true picture of the society in his novels and writings.

The first novel which brought Nazir Ahmad to prominence was *Mir'atul 'arus* published in 1869. *Mir'atul 'arus* is a tale of daily life that revolved around virtues of education and the evils of ignorance. As a deputy inspector of schools, he realized the importance of education for female. He therefore started writing for female, taught it to his daughter, and presented in her wedding. *Mir'atul 'arus* tells the story of two sisters, *Akbari* and *Asghari*, who married to two brothers, *Muhammad Aqil* and

*Muhammad Kamil*. Elder sister *Akbari* was very rude and ill-mannered, this led her to a tragic consequences. The younger *Asghari* was the opposite of her sister in all respects. She always looked for happiness and well-being of her family. By her sacrificing nature and good aptitude she uses to win the heart of every one. The difference between both sisters was that, *Asghari* received necessary education and proved herself worthy of leading a successful matrimonial life. Nazir Ahmad portrayed *Asghari* to be a role model for women. As a guide and good adviser, full of common sense with balanced practical personality. The novel was highly admired by both public and government. It was translaed into Bangla, Braj, Gujarati, Kashmiri, Punjabi languages<sup>12</sup> and also in English.

*Banat-al-Na'ash* the other work of Nazir Ahmad published in 1873 deals exclusively with women education. There is not any male character in it. In fact *Banat-al-Na'ash* is not a separate book but a succeeding part of *Mir'atul 'arus*. In *Mir'atul 'arus* there are glimpses of *Asghari*'s *maktab* and girls, but so important that another book, *Banat-al-Na'ash* presented its full picture. It was considered to be a seceding part of *Mir'atul 'arus*. In the begning of the novel Nazir Ahmad expressed his views on value and important of education through the character of *Asghari* and consider it as a source of success in both worldly and eternal life, along with significance of learning, Nazir Ahmad prescribed in detail the curriculum for women education.<sup>13</sup>

Nazir Ahmad divided his plan for women education into two parts. *Mir'atul 'arus* was the first part of his educational plan and it was about the moral and family affairs. The second part of his plan was about teaching useful facts about Geography, Astronomy and also discussed the importance of Physical Education.

Through his writings, Nazir Ahmad emphasized the necessity of educating the Muslim women. He expressed his views that if for not any other reason, the women should get education for the sake of training and education of their children.

Girls until they are married, and boys mostly till the age of ten years, are brought up at home. The influence of their mother's character leaves its mark upon them. So, O' women! The whole future life of children is in your power. You may either install into their hearts from early age such good desires and noble ambitions so that, when they grow up gain fame and spend their life in tranquility, and remain grateful to you, or may you prevent their natural interests that, the older they grow the more they be demoralized.<sup>14</sup>

Nazir Ahmad wanted to see the Muslim society educated, morally improved and economically sound. For this, he considered educated women as a source of ethical guidance, morality and disciplined life. He considered men and women equal, the world as cart which could not move without two wheels, men on one side and women on the other.<sup>15</sup>

Nazir Ahmad belonged to the modernist group and wanted the Muslims to change their attitude and respond to new circumstances. He admitted that girls also had interest in acquisition of knowledge. He was not satisfied with the educational means and was aware of its shortcomings.

[He] became convinced that only religious subjects of study are not suited to the capabilities of children and that the literature to which children's attention was restricted had the effects of depressing their spirit, of checking their natural instincts and of blunting their intelligence.<sup>16</sup>

His aim was to coordinate religious thoughts with changes that were taking place in the Indian society at that time. He believed that education of female was essential for happy, healthy and educated Muslim society. Nazir Ahmad's interest forwarded the case of women education prior that of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, on modern lines. By

realizing that, the traditional home-based system of education was no longer useful, he gave concept of a home-school as acceptable alternative.

Nazir Ahmad prescribed a syllabus in which, he incorporated the basic vernacular education, basic Mathematics, History, Geography and training in vocational education. While expressing his views about women education, he did not challenge the observing of *pardah*. He stressed upon women to seek knowledge so that they can get information about the external world within four-walls of their homes. Nazir Ahmad, in his novels propagated the idea of new self-confident and emancipated women, who could play a crucial role in the functioning of the family, if she was proper educated and well-mannered.<sup>17</sup> In her intellectual approach too, Nazir Ahmad thought that women were not less competent than men. That was imitated in discussion about Queen Victoria (1819-1901) and Begum of Bhopal. He was of the view that knowledge makes a person more virtuous. He objected and condemned those who denied the need and right of women to be educated in these words,

I ask only one question, that is whether knowledge reforms or corrupts? If it corrupts then the spread of education among men should also be stopped.<sup>18</sup>

His novels had ample results and people started taking interest in women education.<sup>19</sup>

## 1.2: MAWLANA ALTAF HUSAIN HALI

Altaf Husain Hali was born in a respectable family in the *qasba* of Panipat in India. He received his early education from hometown and then left for Delhi for higher education.<sup>20</sup> He started his professional journey as a clerk in the Deputy Commissioner Office in Hissar District, which ended with the events of 1857. After few years, he secured another job at the Punjab Book Depot, Lahore, where his duty was to revive the style of text books that had been translated from English into Urdu for the Punjab Education Department.<sup>21</sup> It was also an opportunity for him to learn

about the Western literature. During his work at Lahore he was influence by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, and started contributing regularly in his journal *Tehzibul-Akhlaq* which started its publications from Aligarh in 1870.

Altaf Husain Hali, as young professional tried to articulate new approaches to literature and education for the guidance of his compatriots.<sup>22</sup> Hali returned to Delhi from Lahore and joined the Delhi College as professor of literature. Basically he was a member of a transitional generation. The generation educated in the old way but aware of the new forces at work in their society. The men of this generation were ready to accept certain innovations that would improve their secular existence, for instance English education for their sons, without altering their overall cultural allegiance.<sup>23</sup>

In 1874, Altaf Husain Hali wrote a novel entitled, the *Majalis-un-Nisa* through which, he propagated the issue of women education. In the novel he highlighted the need of educated women for the Muslim society. The writing style of the novel is sketched as conversation among middle class women, who discussed their daily lives. Hali highlighted the issues of everyday life that finally reflect the overall picture of the Muslim society, such as training of women in house management, domestic affairs and education. Hali was of the view that female members of family should be educated because they share equal responsibility for home making and training of future generations in accordance with religious and socio-cultural norms. According to him educated women were vital for the survival and advancement of the Muslim society in prevailing circumstances in British India.

The novel was acknowledged by Col. W. R. M. Holroyd then Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab and the Viceroy Lord Northbrooke (1826-1904). It

was accepted as a text book for girl's schools in the Punjab and UP.<sup>24</sup> According to Gail Minault,

It is a work of social history reflecting the language, home life, beliefs and practices of urban middle-class...and it is a reformist tract, an eloquent and engaging plea for women's education and greater recognition of women's rights within their traditional family roles.<sup>25</sup>

Altaf Husain Hali in his writing also expressed his dissatisfaction on the standards of vernacular education. He observed that the decline of educational level of the whole community in general was the result of undermining the importance of women education. The novel was pursued in two directions to advocate the necessity of the women education. Firstly he observed that educated mothers could bring up their children in better way with changing circumstances. In this way they ensured their daughters as better manager of the future home. Secondly they also ensured their sons as to cope within the homes and outside world with full confidence. He justified the significance of educating female for both sexes. Educated mothers could discipline and train their sons at a very early stage of their lives. Thus, preventing from moral deterioration and making them responsible members of society.

Altaf Husain Hali pictured in the novel that the uneducated women lacked self-discipline and etiquettes. He showed that if educated, they might talk about children and overall wellbeing of the family. The education would enhance their intellectual potentials and overall mental growth. The consequences of such development would lead them to focus on their family problems and to ponder upon them rather to waste their time in useless gossips. In this way their every day conversation would be based on findings of their problems such as health and child-rearing. He also mentioned that educated women would lead pious lives through

better control on their temper with out abusing one another, their children and servants.

According to Hali, the absence of knowledge was the major poverty. If women were educated, they would not waste money on superstitions and rituals. They would be good companions to their husbands. They would be better adapted to cope the hard times. They would not rely only on the man's earning but also have skills of their own to earn money to their family. Thus, Hali related the financial aspects and economic advantages with *t'alim-i-niswan*. *Majalis-un-Nisa* shed light on the value of women education and stressed the need to impart basic vernacular education. The vernacular included both religious and moral education along with Grammar, Arithmetic, History, Geography, Calligraphy and Household management.

In his poem *Chup ki Dad*,<sup>26</sup> Altaf Husain Hali further lead his support for women education, their importance and place in society from birth through childhood, marriage and motherhood. Poet illustrated the virtue of women by stressing that, what had been achieved by men in world was because of them. Hali depicted her significance in domestic life and referred to woman as good companion of husband, guide and comfort for their offspring. Then Altaf Husain Hali shed light on her social status and prejudices in terms of usurpation of women's rights and oppression on them. *Chup ki Dad* was not just a poem which praised nobleness of women who lived in very oppressive conditions, but also touched many issues of women which were very modern. It was one of the reflections of the changing consciousness of the Muslim society. In which the movement for the education of women was taking momentum. In his opinion, the worst subjugation was the denial of women's right to be educated. In the poem he said,

Even should a man of honor,  
    Love you your whole life through,  
Still good or bad, man all agree  
    That this one thing is true:  
As long as you are living,  
    Of knowledge you'll be deprived.  
You'll quit this world as unstructured,  
    As when you arrived.  
In this way, you'll stay passive,  
    And hidden out of sight.  
Neither will the world know you,  
    Nor will you see the light.  
That knowledge which for men,  
    Holds the elixir of life,  
Is considered, in your case,  
    As deadly as a knife.<sup>27</sup>

In this way, Altaf Husain Hali criticized those who were against women education, and encouraged women in their struggle for education by saying,

Oh, strength of the helpless!  
    Of the voiceless speech!  
The adventure of education  
    Is now within your reach.<sup>28</sup>

Hali expressed his feelings that new era was approaching and world must answer the cruelty and wrongs, committed against women. The poem was concluded with positive note about the foundation of female school. The poem referred the example of Sultan Jahan Begum of Bhopal, who patronized the Muslim women education and aided the girl's school. No doubt Altaf Husain Hali through his writings created considerable consciousness about the significance of women education in a traditional Muslim society of the British India, as Gail Minault pointed out that, 'Hali's work have an ethical values which are as relevant and "up to date" today as they were when, Hali wrote them'.<sup>29</sup>

Altaf Husain Hali's scheme was to educate women, to realize their invaluable potentials at individual, family and social levels. Though, he did not talk about the Western style of curriculum or tearing down the practice of observing *pardah*. He propagated the idea for vernacular education including knowledge to write for girls in

*pardah* was very advanced and modern step in the then Indian society. It was foundational step towards mentioning importance of the Muslim women education.

Hali not only advocated Muslims women education through his writings, but also took practical steps by encouraging his granddaughter (Saliha Abid Husain, Urdu writer) to gain knowledge of writing and provided her ink, pen and paper, when to work secretly, using a *qalam* and by ink made from the soot of a *tava*.<sup>30</sup> It was a courageous step at that time, because it was not considered good in *shurafa'*, that a girl should learn how to write.

### 1.3: SAYYID MUMTAZ ALI

Sayyid Mumtaz Ali received his education from *Darul 'ulum* Deoband and learnt English privately. He studied in Lahore Government High School. He joined the Lahore High Court (1919) as translator and continued to write and publish religious pamphlets.<sup>31</sup> He was as influenced by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Christian Missionaries.<sup>32</sup> His concern for women education and rights in Islam was considerably advanced. Sayyid Mumtaz Ali became a great supporter of Muslim women education and wrote the book *Huqu-i-Niswan*. Initially Sayyid Mumtaz Ali showed Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan the manuscript of *Huquq-i-Niswan*. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan tore up the manuscript and threw it into waste paper basket<sup>33</sup>, but after the death of Sir Sayyid in 1898, Sayyid Mumtaz Ali published it.

Sayyid Mumtaz Ali took up an agenda of women rights that revolved around the issues of men's supposed superiority, education of women, *pardah*, marriage and relations between husband and wife. His arguments on the issues were quite clear, based on his understanding of *Qur'anic* verses and *Ahadith*. He took all traditional viewpoints by which men claimed their superiority over women. He called such

superiority as ‘*mardon ki jhuti fazilat*’ and gave quite resourceful reply to the arguments. In the beginning of the book Sayyid Mumtaz Ali stated that people would blame him for *Angrezon ki taqlid*, but those who knew the *Shari'at* and followed Prophet Muhammad (SAS) and his family, must be ready to follow *Shari'at* and reject false customs<sup>34</sup>.

Sayyid Mumtaz Ali was modernist in his approach. He stressed on women’s full moral, intellectual and rational development for the survival of the Muslim society as a whole. At the same time he rejected the concept of women education just restricted to the household management. He also opposed the opinion that education would create sense of disobedience among the women. He believed that educated women could carry themselves in a better way as compared to ‘an inexperienced, uneducated ‘mentally confused bundle of veils’ which had not been allowed to develop self-confidence and could not take care of her’.<sup>35</sup> He argued for an education which would reject useless customs and superstitions while increasing awareness about women’s rights in Islam. He advocated equality between men and women on bases of their mental abilities. His observation was that rationality and intellectual power between them is equivalent. Any difference between their mental powers was something that society has attributed to them. Whenever women got opportunity, they attested their worth. He gave great attribute to the rationality, wisdom, justice and intellectual capabilities of women by giving example of women ruler, such as Razia Sultana (1205-40) Nur Jahan (1577-1645) and Queen Victoria. Thus there was no harm in women education, but the thing which ought to be in mind was that, what and how they should be educated. Women should be trained to utilize the obtained knowledge for constructive objectives. While discussing on the reading material, he asserted that, people are of the opinion that certain books should not be within

women's reach. In his opinion if a book was deleterious; it was likewise for men and women. Therefore he was of the view that if a book was inappropriate in the *zananah*, it should not be allowed in the *diwan khana* either.

Mumtaz Ali's prescribed curriculum for girls was comprehensive as compared to the existing one. He was of the view that, along with reading and writing women should be aware of every type of subject including Mathematics, Literature, History, Science, Physics, Chemistry, Geography and Astronomy.<sup>36</sup> According to him it would help women not only in their domestic affairs but also in understanding natural phenomenon such as changing of seasons, earthquake, eclipses and phases of moon. Such kind of knowledge was important to enable women to understand the interests and occupations of their husbands, and they could educate their children in a better way. Sayyid Mumtaz Ali recommended certain books for female which could convey useful knowledge, such as Nazir Ahmad's *Mir'atul 'arus*, *Taubah-tun-Nasuh*<sup>37</sup> and *Banat-un-Na 'ash*, and *Majalis-un-Nisa* of Altaf Husain Hali.

Though, at that time there was problem of availability of literature for women, Mumtaz Ali proposed certain solutions to solve it. First thing he announced was his plan of starting a newspaper from 1 June 1898 whose editor would be a woman of his family<sup>38</sup> in which review of beneficial books and novels were to be published. Secondly, he proposed that *madrasah* under the supervision of *sharif* family rather than the government schools could serve a better purpose of the Muslim women education.<sup>39</sup> He further stated that the *ustani* should also belong to *sharif* family and must be paid for her services. In that way he favored profession of teaching for women that could be adopted to accomplish financial needs.

From the platform of *Tehzib-i-Niswan*, Sayyid Mumtaz Ali discussed issues of women education in Muslim society. *Tehzib-i-Niswan* imparted useful information

and discussed educational need of female along with certain steps taken in this direction. Probably, he was the first Muslim educationist who invited educated women to take charge of the mission for women education<sup>40</sup> and set an example by appointing his second wife Muhammadi Begum as editor of newspaper *Tehzib-i-Niswan*. Sayyid Mumtaz Ali had realistic outlook and practical approach. He was aware that majority of the Muslims were not in favor of women education and generally believed that education make women morally corrupt and incompetent in house keeping. So he tried to maintain balance between traditional values and the requirements of the modern era. His approach towards women education was extensive and modern not a conservative one. His mission was to see Muslim women well educated cultured, disciplined and respected in the society.

#### **1.4: MAWLANA MUHAMMAD ASHRAF ALI THANAWI**

Mawlana Muhammad Ashraf Ali Thanawi was born in 1864 at Thana Bhawan of Mazaffarnagar District in UP, India in a respectable family. After completing his elementary education at home, he went to *Darul 'ulum* Deoband for his religious education. He was grieved to see the collapse of the Muslim society and sad condition of Muslim women. He took the task with an aim to bring an improvement in women daily life through literacy and education. Ashraf Ali Thanawi wrote an encyclopedic work *Bahishti Zewar* in 1902 to accomplish the task.

Mawlana was keen to raise the educational level of women he took initiative to write for them. The marvelous literary piece he reproduced with the name of *Bahishti Zewar*. Ashraf Ali Thanawi used the title which was appealing for the women. He was aware of the likings of women for ornaments he used their instinct for a great purpose. The book began with poem '*Asli Insani Zewar*'. In the poem he

narrated the real message in a very ordinary way and related it with daily life of women. In the poem he symbolized the moral deeds and outcomes of falsehoods with the jewels of female. Another important thing was that Mawlana wrote the poem in a conversational style where he used characters who talk with one another. As in the poem a character of mother and a daughter argue with each other, in which daughter inquired about the real fact of the jewelry from her mother. The character of the mother explained her innocent daughter about the real beauty of the jewelry. She told her that though ornaments seemed to be very appealing but learn about the heavenly ornaments which were long lasting. Wisdom be the *jhumar*, earrings be religious guidance and *guluband* be pious deeds. Physical strength of arms be *bazuband*, beautiful craftwork be adornment for hands. Finally, she did not need to have any ornament in feet, but must be very careful that her feet never slip from the true path.<sup>41</sup> In the poem Mawlana broadened the vision by correlating the beautification with that of character and personality of women.

*Bahishti Zewar* a historic book with the record of principals, rules for rituals and social life of the Muslims particularly for women of that time which are still popular. The book written in early twentieth century sketched the everyday life of the Muslim community of the British India. It is a source of provision of information about men and women mental caliber, personal as well as family life, house management and social relations. One could visualize the modernists approach by going through the book. Ashraf Ali Thanawi treated both men and women on equality bases but primarily highlighted the women as deprived part of the Muslim society. He specifically stressed on women education to strengthen their status. It depicts modernist's view of Mawlana Ashraf Ali Thanawi towards women education.

Mawlana Thanawi did hold, in principal, to the insistence that because women are in essence like men, they should be educated like men.<sup>42</sup>

Mawlana Ashraf Ali Thanawi composed the book and discussed instructions under two categories. The first category covered teaching for both men and women. While the second category particularly projected for women. He also kept both categories relevant to each other in order to avoid misunderstanding between both sexes while reading the book.<sup>43</sup> This work represented Mawlana Thanawi's concern and emphasis on educating Muslim women. He himself admitted in the beginning of the book that, the book had been written with special purpose of educating women, because ignorance to education had spoiled their beliefs, morality and the way of life.

This state of affairs creates ill-beliefs which in turn give birth to immorality. Immorality leads to bad actions, bad actions to bad dealings which is the root of disturbed life.<sup>44</sup>

The above statement represents the transformational attitude of the Muslim scholars and intellectuals towards women's role in the Muslim society. The aim behind writing the book was to cultivate virtues and eliminate false notions from religious practices. The theme of the book revolved around the purpose to educate the Muslim female. The basis of prosperous and civilized Muslim society is bound with knowledge imparted to women, as he stated,

Our generations are reared in their laps and as such their words and actions are impressed upon the hearts of the children which spoil their (children) *Din* (religion) and at the same time their world also becomes tasteless.<sup>45</sup>

Mawlana Ashraf Ali Thanawi's concern with women education was a response towards the changes which were taking place in the Muslim community in British India. He blamed the double standards of society which allow men but did not permit women to acquire knowledge. So, to improve their knowledge, he had discussed issues related to them in a religious context. It was divided into eleven

parts, as for as subject matter was concerned, it consisted of rules about Muslim personal law, commercial transaction, necessities of ritual, prayers, appropriate manner and development of character, stories of good women of past, lesson about domestic supervision, information about cooking and craft art and medicines.

Discussion on medicine shows Mawlana Ashraf Ali Thanawi's views on importance of that knowledge for female. In the ninth part of the *Bahishti Zewar*, he highlighted the role of female in keeping their family healthy. There is a statement of some methods of cures in this part that should be adopted by women in the maintenance of their own as well as their children's good health. The women, who do not know them, cannot prove themselves excellent mothers since their children may suffer due to their lack of knowledge. Their acts can also create difficulty for their husbands. Some times they have to spend money on such little troubles that can be resolved easily by adopting the methods of healthcare and medication since it was also valued by our Prophet Muhammad SAS<sup>46</sup>. Mawlana Ashraf Ali Thanawi condemned those people who considered that education and skills of reading and writing, corrupt or degenerate moral values of women. He was of the opinion that, ability of women's reading and writing is not the sole cause of moral evil and misdeeds. But it depends upon the way of teaching, curriculum and methods of teaching.<sup>47</sup> He emphasized on home based education along with constant check. In his views, girls should be taught by the Muslim female teachers not by missionary women, otherwise the result would be negative. In case the non availability of the Muslim female teacher, male members of family should carry the responsibility of educating them.

Mawlana Ashraf Ali Thanawi primarily held Muslim men responsible for educating female section of the Muslim society. Therefore he not only recommended

women but also men to realize the importance of literacy and value of education. He was of belief that Muslims would equip themselves with knowledge for sake of themselves, their families and in a broader perspective for the Muslim society as whole.

Basically Ashraf Ali Thanawi was not in favor of secular education given in schools that emphasized on learning of English, Geography and History but at the same time kept aside the teaching of Islamic education. He considered such kind of education as wastage of time. He was very humble in his opinion and not stood completely against the teaching of those subjects which help female in earning of livelihood in case of the absence of male family members. In this way he talked about women's economic independence, and favored the knowledge of subjects, in accordance with the need of the hour. Through that nature of knowledge, women could support her family in a respectable way.<sup>48</sup> Mawlana Ashraf Ali Thanawi also suggested useful books which included *Tehzib-i-Niswan wa Tarbiyat-ul-insan* by the Shah Jahan Begum of Bhopal<sup>49</sup> and Nazir Ahmad's *Taubah-tun-Nasuh*.<sup>50</sup> Mawlana Ashraf Ali, in *Bahishti Zewar*, gave instructions how to teach thoroughly with effective methodology; First of all, students must learn to recognize Urdu alphabets, with their correct pronunciation, numerals and able them to write them from memory, and by basic grammar.<sup>51</sup> Daily lesson must be written out and by the method of questioning facilitate students to make clear lesson to each other.

Through *Bahishti Zewar*, Mawlana Ashraf Ali Thanawi had presented his road map for the Muslim women education, in a comprehensive way which covered almost every aspect of life from birth to death. The book became so popular that parents used to gift their daughters at the time of marriage as a part of the dowry.

## 1.5: JUSTICE MIAN MUHAMMAD SHAH DIN

Justice Mian Muhammad Shah Din was born on 2 April 1868 at then village Baghbanpura near Lahore. In 1883, he passed the matriculation examination from Rang Mahal Mission High School, Lahore and graduated from the Government College, Lahore (1864) in 1887. In the same year, he left for England for higher studies in Law and came back in September 1890. In 1891, Mian Shah Din was enrolled as an advocate of the Punjab Chief Court (January 1891), after which, he started his professional life as a lawyer in Lahore.<sup>52</sup>

By his nature, he was a quiet, thoughtful, remarkably intelligent and very hardworking individual, 'who took lively interest in practical matters such as measures for the social amelioration and moral uplift of his community'.<sup>53</sup> He took keen interest in educational uplift of Muslims and wrote articles. Justice Shah Din was also a strong supporter of women education and laid down practical suggestion for it. He expressed his views in his articles published in *The Punjab Patriot* from 6 April 1891 to 1 June 1891.<sup>54</sup>

According to him, a well-organized system of women education with special reference to the needs of women was one of the best 'practical means of helping forward the cause of intellectual, moral and material, progress among the well-to-do classes of India'.<sup>55</sup> He observed that people never thought about it seriously and it was the duty of enlightened and educated men to train public in this direction, so that they could think about the women education.

The country cannot possibly arrive at a stage of true and lasting civilization until we radically reform our popular ideas about the sphere and destiny of the weaker sex, and labour to place our women on a moral and social elevation from which they can exercise a widespread, refining influence on society.<sup>56</sup>

He himself greatly encouraged his daughters, Asghari Khanum and Fahmida Khanum in their educational and literary pursuits.<sup>57</sup> According to him, two out of different social institutions, like ‘child-marriage’ and ‘the seclusion of women’ had strong hold over the public mind in India. It kept our women in the same position which they occupied in ages of darkness and superstition, as far as their mental development is concerned. In those circumstances, it became all the more necessary to insist that the little girl whose marriage in her early age tends to remove her from the school, and *pardah* observing ladies who were not allowed to go outside the *zananah* to attend educational institutions, should be given an opportunity of cultivating their mental abilities. For this, ‘it became essential to initiate a movement for the organization of home-classes for their education’.<sup>58</sup> Keeping it in view, he gave an agenda and program for the organization of such classes and outlined that what sort of curriculum was to be taught in it. In his opinion, the real objective was to provide at least elementary education to young girls and *pardah* observing women whom social etiquettes and religious rules did not allow to go school. He was of the view that, this objective could hardly be achieved by just requesting young students at school and college level to teach their female at home unless the university authorities make a judicious move by eliciting from each graduate on the convocation day a formal promise to promote the education of his sisters, wife and daughters.<sup>59</sup> In this way the efforts towards Muslim women education could be forwarded.

In Shah Din’s proposed system, the education provided to women must fulfill at least three preliminary conditions to achieve results. Firstly, girl’s education must be different from that of boys, so that it would enable her to fulfill her delicate responsibilities in a complex society. Secondly, it must not depart too much in its general character from the instructions imparted in boy’s schools because the

objective is to bring two sexes into intellectual harmony to create workable identity of aims between them. Thirdly, it must not lay too much stress on the mental development of women that injured their practical instincts for the due management of home affairs.<sup>60</sup> To fulfill this end the subjects should be,

Reading, writing and elementary Arithmetic; Calligraphy and drawing; simple bookkeeping; needlework (plain and ornamental), knitting and making colored patterns; superficial general Geography and History.... very elementary knowledge of the common facts of Physics and Natural History (with useful object lesson on plants and animal life, mineral products in daily use); hygiene; and domestic Economy.<sup>61</sup>

As far as religious and moral education was concerned, Shah Din was of the view that it should receive special attention. He believed that, no system of women education in the country could become popular, or be regarded as complete, which ignores this useful branch of home-instruction.<sup>62</sup> Among the general subject for the education of female he laid special stress on hygiene and domestic economy. He wanted the Muslim women to know the primary importance of healthy life of their family through improving the sanitary conditions of their houses by keeping them clean and ventilated. The subject of domestic economy comprises details of household management with which women must be familiar. The list of different subjects proposed by Shah Din shows his concern to educate the Muslim women on modern principles of instructions which stimulate their power of observation, imagination, using proper methods in domestic work and regulating family affairs through sound judgments. In this way, he tried to make the path to future progress of the Muslim women pretty smooth.

A part from the general difficulties in the way of women education, Mian Muhammad Shah Din had also pointed out very serious problem of limited literature for women which suited to the requirements of modern family life. Under the

circumstances, it was not expected that women would cultivate in their minds the intellectual needs of an educated family. He wished that educated men should seriously think about it and create literature for women that fulfill the requirement of modern family life.

During the president ship of the Muhammadan Educational Conference, he laid great stress on the educational uplift of the Muslim women. Through expressing his viewpoint that,

No scheme of national education will be complete among the Indian Muhammadans which does not make ample provision for the education of women on modern lines, with special reference to the peculiar needs of a progressive Islamic community.<sup>63</sup>

He was one of the pioneers and strong supporter of education and initiated the movement of Muslim women education without challenging the practice of *pardah* and child marriage. Shah Din was closely allied with Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and was appointed by him as president of the Muslim Educational Conference at very young age due to his great abilities and interests in the Muslims of India. He was a step forward from Sayyid Ahmad Khan for the education of the Muslim female on modern grounds according to the need of the Muslim society at that time by giving practical suggestion for it. As modern trends were taking place in society, due to spread of Western education; to cope with new class of educated men, it was important for women to be aware of it.

Shah Din views about the education of the Muslim female explain his desire for better and progressive Muslim society. He considered women education a key factor for survival and progress of the Muslim civilization in changing environment of India. He manipulated very progressive and bold policy for the Muslim women education according to the circumstances of that time.

The work of Muslim scholars and intellectuals those who had modern view about women education created harmony between norms of the Muslims society and the need of new cultural changes which were taking place in Indian society. Some similarities could be identified between them. Most of them belonged to small towns and worked in government departments also joined Aligarh Movement, keeping their separate identity. Depti Nazir Ahmad, Mawlana Altaf Husain Hali, Justice Mian Muhammad Shah Din and Sayyid Mumtaz Ali belonged to this category. This group of modernists not only prepared ground for Muslim women education through their writings but also took practical steps. They saw the progress of Muslim community in the educational uplift and increase of literacy among Muslim women. At the initial stage of the development of movement for Muslim women education, modernists proposed home based education system with proper curriculum.

Initiatives and contributions of modernists are appreciable. Their struggle fruitfully projected their vision. Their scholarly work propagated Muslim women education, kept the core values of Muslim society foremost while focusing socio-cultural changes taking place in the British Indian society at that time. These modernists created an intellectual atmosphere and tinted the critical issue of the Muslim women education. They were the representatives of new emerging class of Muslim society in the British India. Most of them were exposed not only to their own origin (middle class, towns) but they served well at the government level under British rule. At the same time they joined the Aligarh Educational movement except Mawlana Ashraf Ali Thanawi who was the product of *Darul 'ulum* Deoband. They bridged the gap between the different classes of the Muslim society but the government and Muslim society. Their struggle was appreciated within the Muslim community by accepting their proposal of educating female. Their scholarly work

succeeded to gain appreciation by British Government, in the form of prizes and addition as text books in curriculum. At the preliminary stage of the growth of movement for women education, modernists projected home-school education system with appropriate curriculum. They focused on Muslim women education with new perspective without challenging *ashraf* culture. This process was not stopped to this extent but was further advanced by some other enthusiastic and conscious persons. The modernists successfully diagnosed the root cause of the decline of Muslim society and through determination, hard work and intelligent planning provided the solution in the form of move for Muslim women education.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Sarfaraz Husain Mirza, *Muslim Women's Role in Pakistan Movement* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1969), 6.

<sup>2</sup> His reply to the ladies of Punjab who presented him an Address is very revealing and therein he very clearly accepted the importance of women's education but regretted that the means at his disposal were quite scarce and his movement would die if the women's education was also simultaneously taken. Shan Muhammad, *Education and Politics From Sir Syed to the Present Day: The Aligarh School* (New Delhi: A.P.H Publications Corporation, 2002), 34.

<sup>3</sup> For details see, Muhammad Isma'il Panipatti, *Maqalat-i-Sir Sayyid*. Vol. 12 (Lahore: Majlis-i-Taraqqi-i-Adab, 2007).

<sup>4</sup> Syed Ahmad Khan, *The Causes of the Indian Revolt* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 20.

<sup>5</sup> Dushka Saiyid, *Muslim Women of the British Punjab*, 44.

<sup>6</sup> Shan Muhammad, *Education and Politics*, 34-5.

<sup>7</sup> Sarfaraz H. Mirza, *Muslim Women*, 7.

<sup>8</sup> Mushirul Hasan, *A Moral Reckoning: Muslim Intellectual in Nineteenth-Century Delhi* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005), 114. L. P. Mathur, "University of the Punjab, Lahore: Its Origin and Objectives" *Punjab Past and Present* 2, No. 3 (1968): 140.

<sup>9</sup> In W. C. Smith's (1916-2000) view, his stories had a social interest and represent the first novel on the Western style in Urdu. W. C. Smith. *Modern Islam in India: A Social Analysis* (Lahore: SH. Muhammad Ashraf, 1969), 39.

<sup>10</sup> Mushirul Hasan, *A Moral Reckoning*, 143.

<sup>11</sup> Azra A. Ali, *The Emergence of Feminism*, 17.

<sup>12</sup> Mushirul Hasan. *A Moral Reckoning*, 160.

<sup>13</sup> Depti Nazir Ahmad, *Banat-al-Na'ash*, 32. For details about the subjects, see Appendix I.

<sup>14</sup> \_\_\_\_\_, *Mir'atul 'arus*, 11.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 3. G. E. Ward, trans., *The Bride's Mirror*, 2.

<sup>17</sup> Dushka Saiyid, *Muslim Women of the British Punjab*, 76.

<sup>18</sup> Depti Nazir Ahmad, *Mir'atul 'arus*, 9.

<sup>19</sup> By 1885, the novels had been translated into seven languages and had total circulations of 40,000 copies. Within twenty years of its publication, *Mir'atul 'arus* appeared in editions totaling 100,000 copies, Mushirul Hasan, *A Moral Reckoning*, 160.

<sup>20</sup> When Hali was hardly seventeen, his brother married him off and gave least consideration to his education. In silent protest, Hali left for Delhi covering the entire distance on feet. Ali Jawad Zaidi, *A History of Urdu Literature* (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1993), 241.

<sup>21</sup> Gail Minault, *Voices of Silence*, 7.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* Dushka Saiyid's view is that, Hali was essentially a poet, not a reformer or a social thinker. Dushka Saiyid, *Muslim Women of the British Punjab*, 67.

<sup>26</sup> Written at the request of Shaikh Abdullah, strong supporter of women education and secretary of the women's education section of the MEC, it was published in monthly Urdu journal for women, *Khatun* (Aligarh) in December 1905. For poem see, Appendix II.

<sup>27</sup> Gail Minault, *Voices of Silence*, 147-48. Altaf Husain Hali, *Chup ki Dad. Kulyat-i-Nazm-i-Hali* (Lahore: Majlis-i-Taraqqi-i-Adab, 1980), 51.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 149. Altaf Husain Hali, *Chup ki Dad. Kulyat-i-Nazm-i-Hali*, 52.

<sup>29</sup> Gail Minault, *Voices of Silence*, 30. Akbar Alahabadi (1845-1921) Urdu poet and writer also expressed his view point about Muslim women education in a poem. Though, he was against modern education and western culture. He wished that, Muslim women should have necessary education and knowledge of religion, household management, mathematics and healthcare along with reading and writing skills. He was of the view, that the solitary intention and fundamental end of her education should be only her husband and children, not community or nation. That's why in another place he stated: *Us ne shuhar se faqat iskul hi ki baat ki, Yeh na batlaya, kahan rakhi hai roti raat ki* (She just discussed with husband her experience in the school. However, she did not bother to provide him even the left-over of the last day's meal). For details see, Akbar Alahabadi's poem in 'smat' (Karachi, 1958), 285.

<sup>30</sup> Abdul Rashid Khan, *The All India Educational Conference*, 117.

<sup>31</sup> For details of Mumtaz Ali's family and his life see, Gail Minault, "Mumtaz Ali and 'Huquq-un-Niswan': An Advocate of Women's Rights in Islam in the Late Nineteenth Century". *Modern Asian Studies* 24. No. 1 (1990): 147-148.

<sup>32</sup> Aziz Ahmad (1906-82) has mentioned that, 'I am grateful to his son, the famous dramatist, Imtiaz Ali Taj, for the information that between *Darul 'ulum* Deoband and his association with Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Mumtaz Ali had come for a time under the influence of Christian missionaries'. *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan 1857-1986* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 72.

<sup>33</sup> At that moment a servant arrived to announce lunch, and as Sir Sayyid left his office, Mumtaz Ali snatched his mutilated manuscript from the trash. Gail Minault, "Mumtaz Ali and 'Huquq-un-Niswan'", 147. For title and content pages of book see, Appendix III and IV.

<sup>34</sup> Sayyid Mumtaz Ali, *Huquq-i-Niswan* (Lahore: Dar-ul-Isha'at Punjab, 1898), 2-3. Azra Asghar Ali is of the view that; 'Sayyid Mumtaz Ali took the agenda that was largely setup by English'. Azra A. Ali, "The Emergence of Reformist Literature about Indian Muslim Women in Urdu Language (1857-1910)" *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture* 19. No. 2 (1998): 36.

<sup>35</sup> Aziz Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism in India*, 75.

<sup>36</sup> Sayyid Mumtaz Ali, *Huquq-i-Niswan*, 52.

<sup>37</sup> In *Taubah-tun-Nasuh*, Nazir Ahmad shed light on the responsibilities of parents about the upbringing of their children. He expressed his views and purpose of the book that; this book deals with the obligations on human being relating to the *Tarbiyat-i-aulad*. The purpose of writing this book is to dispel miss-understanding of people regarding this duty, and make clear to them that upbringing of children is much more than just performing their usual responsibilities of providing basic needs of life and made them capable to earn livelihood. Actually imparting knowledge of morality, cultivating good habits and manners are also obligatory on parents. Alas, only few people are aware and conscious of their responsibilities. A person cannot perform the task of proper upbringing of children until he himself/herself does not perform and present in front of his / her children his / her due responsibility as a role model. Nazir Ahmad, *Taubah-tun-Nasuh* (Lahore: Majlis-i-Taraqqi-i-Adab, 1994), 83.

<sup>38</sup> Sayyid Mumtaz Ali, *Huquq-i-Niswan*, 56. This newspaper was *Tehzib-i-Niswan*, which started its publication in July 1898 from Lahore and continued more than fifty years.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>40</sup> G. M. Jaswal, "Tahzib un- Niswan: A Century Old Endeavour in Spreading Education Among Muslim Women" *Khuda Bakhsh Library Journal*, No. 145 ( 2006 ): 21-2.

<sup>41</sup> Ashraf Ali Thanawi, *Bahishti Zewar*, 26. For poem see, Appendix V.

<sup>42</sup> Barbara, *Perfecting Women*, 15. For details about the subjects see, Appendix VI.

<sup>43</sup> Ashraf Ali Thanawi, *Bahishti Zewar*, 858-992.

<sup>44</sup> M. Masroor Khan Saroha, *Bahishti Zewar (Heavenly Ornaments)*, 2.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>46</sup> Ashraf Ali Thanawi, *Bahishti Zewar*, 676-7.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 108.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 109-10.

<sup>49</sup> Shah Jahan Begum gave extraordinary attention to the educational, cultural advancement and progress of the Muslim women. She opened a *Madrasah-i-Niswan*. She wrote, *Tehzib-i-Niswan wa Tarbiyat ul-Insan* (1882) a comprehensive book on the problems relating to different aspects of women's life. It served as a guide for Muslim women. 'This book played the role of a catalyst in the social liberation of Muslim women during the second half of the 19th century. It became so popular that its three editions were published. However, what was significant about *Tehzibun Niswan* it advocated social reform'. Talat Aziz "Nawab Shah Jahan Begum of Bhopal: Spokeswoman of Muslim Women's Education and Social Reform" *Islam and the Modern Age* 29, No. 3 (1998): 259-60.

<sup>50</sup> Ashraf Ali Thanawi, *Bahishti Zewar*, 835.

<sup>51</sup> For details see *ibid.*, 27-44, 836-37.

<sup>52</sup> Bashir Ahmad, *Justice Shah Din his Life and Writings* (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1962).

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>54</sup> These articles are published in *Justice Shah Din his Life and Writings* by Bashir Ahmad with the title of 'Home Classes for Purdah Ladies', 135-51.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 141.

<sup>57</sup> He sent Asghari Khanum for education at Queen Mary's College (1908), Lahore in April 1909 and later to England for further studies. *Ibid.*, 70.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 143.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 144.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 145.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 146.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 147.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

# *CHAPTER 2*

## **THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE MUSLIM WOMEN EDUCATION**

The modernists at first stage created an environment for the debate of Muslim women education. They contributed through their scholarly efforts and proposed home based schools for the Muslim female with defined curriculum. With the passage of time, the successful campaign was further preceded by the institutionalization of the Muslim women education. The Indian Muslim society now had realized the usefulness of a literate Muslim female. The Muslims of the British India from every walk of life were awake and convinced to educate their female at all possible means. At this turning point of the history, the need of the institutions was felt with its full strength. The need was accepted as a challenge by the modernists. They gathered the courage to materialize the need of hour. They practically involved in the development and construction of the institutions for Muslim women.

### **2.1: SULTAN JAHAN BEGUM OF BHOPAL**

Sultan Jahan Begum was the ruler of Bhopal, (a state in Central India at that time). She was a strong, courageous, enlightened and devoted lady. She assumed the title of ruler on 4 July 1901, at the age of forty-three.<sup>1</sup> Due to her educational background, within few years of her governance, she proved herself a successful administrator. She had vision to modernize and educate people of her State.

She was convinced that she had adopted the right path and that enlightenment could best be achieved through education in which the women would have to play a leading role.<sup>2</sup>

Sultan Jahan Begum was strong supporter of educating female on modern lines because she herself received traditional as well as modern education with the subjects included the *Qu'ran*, *Ahadith*, Persian, English, and Arithmetic. She was also

fluent in writing. She recognized the need for the uplift of women, through educating them. Among the greatest obstacles that she had to face were the lack of female teachers and suitable curriculum for girls.<sup>3</sup>

Inspite of intricate circumstances, Begum of Bhopal started Sultania School for girls in 1903 at Bhopal, with classes in *Qur'anic* teaching, Urdu, Arithmetic, Geography and household. 'One hundred and forty girls under the ten years of age were enrolled'<sup>4</sup> in the institution. She resolved major social and religious objections through provision of transport facility to the students. Closed carriages were used to carry girls from their homes to school and back. Though the school was a small beginning for the promotion of women education, but with in few years, it happened as a mile stone for the opening of a number of schools for the Muslim girls in other parts of the British India. In order to enhance the quality of knowledge, Sultan Jahan Begum approached AIMEC, for improvement in curriculum and text books for her school. To fulfill the task, the Bhopal government provided a grant of Rs. 5,000/= for this purpose in 1908.<sup>5</sup> As a result, AIMEC appointed Mawlawi Sayyid Ahmad Dehlawi (1846-1918) and Mawlawi Makhdum Alam to prepare suitable literature for the school. However, they could not satisfy the Begum of Bhopal's apprehension about the curriculum. Consequently, another expert committee was set-up that was given the task to revise the textbooks. The committee successfully prepared the desired curriculum under the supervision of Mawlawi Habibur Rahman Khan Sherwani. The proposed curriculum was consisted of *Diniyyat* for one to three classes, a primer and Urdu readers for class one to five.<sup>6</sup> While the formation of comprehensive curriculum, the responsibility was handed over to All India Muslim Ladies Conference.<sup>7</sup> Afterwards in 1926, Sultan Jahan Begum regretted upon AIMEC

negligence towards the formulation of a thought-provoking plan concerning modern education including the religious education of the Muslim women.<sup>8</sup>

Her visit to Europe in 1911 was a voyage of discovery for Sultan Jahan Begum. During her visit, she observed the advancement and progress of Western society. She was particularly interested in visiting schools for girls and women clubs which were working for the cause of progress of women. She also visited Turkey; got the opportunity to meet modern Turkish women and admired Turkish society especially the emancipation and education of women in society.<sup>9</sup> The foreign exposure not only expanded her vision but helped her to visualize the importance of women uplift in Indian Muslim society. Consequently, after her return from Europe, Sultan Jahan Begum's efforts for Muslim women education did not remain limited and confined to her own domain but she became active to provide facilities for women in other areas as well.

Sultan Jahan Begum supported and encouraged Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah for starting girl's school in Aligarh. She granted his school with monthly stipend of hundred *rupees*, subsequently increased the grant up to two thousand *rupees* annually.<sup>10</sup> She substantially helped for construction of hostel buildings of the schools. While speaking at the inauguration ceremony of the building held in 1914, Sultan Jahan stressed on the concerned people for taking practical steps. She emphasized further promotion of education for women, opening of more and more schools, fund raising, writing of articles to create awareness about the significance of education for female without compromising teacher's training, religious, moral instructions and *pardah* arrangements.

Begum of Bhopal presented the case of the Muslim women education at different forums. She and Shaikh Abdullah the Secretary of Women's Section of

AIMEC joined their efforts for the formation of an organization with the name of AIMLC in 1914. Begum of Bhopal presided over its first meeting and in her presidential address she said that,

Without it [education] Muslim women would only not know the rights granted to them under Islamic law but it would also hinder progress of the community.<sup>11</sup>

Sultan Jahan Begum with her versatile personality even impressed the male section of the Muslim society that was leading the cause of education of Muslims in British India. Her efforts were acknowledged by Lord Chelmsford (1868-1933), Viceroy of India by nominating her as first Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University (AMU) in 1920.<sup>12</sup> She held the office till 1930. It was a unique achievement for a Muslim woman to chair an institution serving male section of Muslim society at that time. In her address, on first convocation of the University held in 1921, she accentuated the need of improvement in women education by establishment of institution on the lines of AMU. Her speech shows her concerns and future vision for Muslim women education. She said that,

We must not neglect the question of female education which unhappily has been long neglected in the past. Now, that you have University of your own and the power to prepare syllabuses fully able to meet your demands and to adapt the course and examinations to your needs, a moment's delay is unpardonable. You already pose a good Girl' School here which can easily be converted into a University institution. But its foundation must be laid not on the basis of foreign curricula, but on the broad principles of our ancient culture and national traditions. Every nation, has its education must always be adapted to popular culture and national traditions. Hence the different systems of education, hence their peculiars, ever-changing individuality.<sup>13</sup>

She further said,

The distinction between the education of men and women is fundamental; each should in its sphere, be adequate to meet its peculiar requirements. The scheme of female education should especially be framed to meet the requirements of the sphere in

which women are called upon to play their role of life and in every aspect the teaching of Islam must find a conspicuous place in it.<sup>14</sup>

Her address at the convocation could be analyzed in two ways; firstly, she appreciated the performance of the AMU serving male section of the Muslim society. Secondly, she expressed her desire to adopt a parallel approach for female on same lines of the AMU. She also shed light on certain reservations about the difference in pattern of male and women education.

Sultan Jahan Begum was not contented with prevailing situation of women education. She believed that women themselves should start the work on promoting education. In 1928, during the second AIWC, she pointed out this major aspect of the issue by stating that,

....up till now whatever has been done for the education of women has been done by men, and although we ought to be thankful to them, we cannot blink the fact that man cannot fully realize our needs or look at them from the same viewpoint as we can.<sup>15</sup>

Sultan Jahan Begum of Bhopal's message showed more liberal attitude towards the Muslim women education. She had played very effective part in the movement for women education. She urged young girls from middle-class families to become girl guides and married women to join the Bhopal Ladies Club.<sup>16</sup> During her address in Bhopal Ladies Club in Bhopal, Sultan Jahan Begum drew attention of women towards their unique responsibilities assigned by Islam to them. She said,

Our aim should be not to indulge in further mischief after coming out of previous one. We should be moderate enough so those rights which have become over looked because of one or the other reason. Women must gain knowledge of culture, society and other professional fields by keeping there grace as female, and they must remain capable enough to fulfill their duties that nature has assigned them.<sup>17</sup>

Sultan Jahan Begum of Bhopal was very good writer. She expressed her thoughts on religious, social and moral issues along with subjects such as *pardah*,

household management, child rearing, health care and so on. It reflects her deep interest in religious, cultural, educational uplift of the Muslim community in general and women in particular. She was authoress and compiler of about forty one books only in Urdu.<sup>18</sup> Sultan Jahan Begum also encouraged research by providing support to educational institutions and scholars, Mawlana Shibli Nau'mani's (1857-1914) famous book on the life of the Prophet (SAS), *Sirat-ul-Nabi, Sirat-i-Ayesha* by Sayyid Suleiman Nadwi (1884-1953) and Mawlana Abdul Razzaq's *al-Bramakah* were completed as a result of her support apart from that she established Hamidia Library, published *risalah al-Hijab* in 1911, under the editorship of Sayyid Muhammad Yousaf Qaiser while *risalah Zial-i- Sultan* in 1915, under the supervision of Muhammad Amin Zubairi (1872-1958).<sup>19</sup> 'She had a unique personality, coupled with a vast breadth of vision and ability'.<sup>20</sup> Her efforts for the education for Muslim female were so remarkable that her personality became as a role model for women.

## 2.2: SHAIKH MUHAMMAD ABDULLAH

Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah was one of the devotees and advocates of women education. He belonged to Kashmir Brahmin family, eventually converted to Islam. He received traditional Persian education, later on went to Lahore and got admission in the Government High School (1864) located in the *haveli* of Raja Dhyan Singh and passed his matriculation examination from there.<sup>21</sup> Then in 1891, Shaikh Abdullah went Aligarh for his higher education, got admission in intermediate level in Muhammadan Anglo Oriental College (MAOC)-(1875) and studied law there.<sup>22</sup> After completion of his studies, he started to practice the law in Aligarh in 1900. He was the real product of Aligarh Movement and belonged to the '*Aligarh's First Generation*'.<sup>23</sup> Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah was influenced by his teacher Sayyid Karamt Husain,

Sayyid Mumtaz Ali and his friend Khawaja Ghulam-us Saqlain (1870-1915) as they were very much conscious and sympathizers of women education.

Shaikh Abdullah was very much interested and sincere towards education of Muslim female. He was one of the pioneers of formal education of the Muslim women. Educational uplift of women was the central topic of his program for social and cultural development of the Muslim society in British India. He got the platform of the AIMEC and served it as secretary of Women's Section of Conference from 1902 to 1930.<sup>24</sup> Thus, he was able to launch a comprehensive plan for the uplift of Muslim women.

Shaikh Abdullah considered the education of female section of the Muslim society as the base for religious, socio-economic and cultural advancement of Muslim community. He expressed his vision about the education of Muslim women on modern outline. In different magazines, he stressed upon the Muslim community to come forward to take initiative in it that direction. He was of the view that with out participation of women, it would be difficult to carry on the augmentation of Muslim women education.

Like other modernists, he was also convinced that the major source of backwardness of the Muslim community in British India was ignorance and illiteracy among Muslim women. It was due to the lack of initiatives on the part of the Muslims on large, to improve their educational and literacy status. For this reason Muslim women could not make any progress in the field of education. In 1933, in an address to the Women's Section of the AIMEC, he stated on level of education among Muslims that,

Out of a thousand women there were only twelve literate women among the Muslims, and remaining nine hundred and eighty eight were compelled to remain illiterate.<sup>25</sup>

In changing social, economic and cultural circumstances, the lack of knowledge among Muslim women developed negative impact on overall progress and advancement of the Muslim society. Therefore, the only effective mean to save the Muslim community in British India was to pass on knowledge to women on modern shape. It would also save Muslims from moral, social evils, which had been springing out due to ignorance and illiteracy.

Shaikh Abdullah was convinced that the path, he selected for the women education was correct and invited his fellows to join it and see whether it was right or wrong.<sup>26</sup> Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah used to write about the issues related to women. His observation, which he articulated on different occasions and at diverse platforms, were published in different journals from time to time.<sup>27</sup>

Shaikh Abdullah stressed upon people that by keeping women ignorant and illiterate, no nation could achieve progress. His source of encouragement was reformist's work of other Muslim countries. He gave the example of Turkey in this regard, which was once looked down as 'sick man' of Europe. After realization and provision of education to women, Turkey emerged as strong and prosperous country.<sup>28</sup> In his judgment, modern education was essential for women and high-quality education would promote moral virtues among Muslim women. He was of view that no other source, but only educated and enlightened mothers could train, educate their children from premature age and prepare them for future responsibilities.<sup>29</sup> He viewed women as a center of the family unit and transmitter of moral values to the future generation. Their dignity and honored role were crucial both for the protection of family and for its progress. Women bore more responsibility for the well being of family. He highlighted that mother play fundamental role in the

character building of her child. Whatever she would teach her child, it would manipulate his/her entire life and thus the life of the whole community. Thus Shaikh Abdullah impressed upon Muslim community that Indian Muslims must realize education essential for the transformation of Muslim community's life in the time of changing socio-cultural situation. New knowledge was essential for women to meet the challenges of changing circumstances. Modern educational institutions with formal education for women were crucial for transfer of knowledge and information to Muslim female.

Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah wished women to have the courage to voice their demands in exactly the same way as man would do.<sup>30</sup> He had played an important part in formation of AIMLC. Its aim was to develop social consciousness about women education. In this way he stressed that women should also take part in demand and struggle for their right of education.

Shaikh Abdullah believed on self-help and self-determination as a key not only for an individual but also for the success and progress of community as a whole. He himself proved it by taking practical initiatives in this regard. He started Urdu monthly magazine, *Khatun* in 1904 from Aligarh, with aim to deliver useful information and knowledge at home for female, because as compared to men, women's knowledge depend upon books and literature provided to them. He used the medium of newspaper, journals; to change the attitude of Muslims towards the struggle and problems of Muslim women education.

In the first issue of the journal *Khatun*, he uttered that, at present the Indian society had undergone a complete social transformation. The changes in the thoughts, outlook and beliefs had no parallel in the previous history of India. In those circumstances, there was a need that Muslim community should thoroughly respond

to the changed situations.<sup>31</sup> Consequently Shaikh Abdullah intimidated the Muslims; they must realize the education was absolutely solution for the regeneration of Muslim community. He forcefully argued prime concern of education. He advocated the cause of women education in *Khatun* effectively. His vision about the knowledge imparted to women was comprehensive and up to date.

He condemned those who considered the study of history, geography, mathematics and logic a waste of time for women, believing them worthy of only the most elementary texts.<sup>32</sup>

Shaikh Abdullah became leading advocate of Muslim women education, and started a girl's school in Aligarh inspite of great plight. His wife Wahid Jahan Begum was an educated lady she supported him to open school.

They were both dedicated to the proposition that education was the key to the progress and prosperity of the Muslims in their attempts to come to terms with the changing conditions of life under British rule.<sup>33</sup>

Shaikh Abdullah was very optimistic in his step for formal education of Muslim female. He gave his daughters the freedom to study abroad. Khatun Jahan studied the subject of Education at Leeds University (1904) in England on a scholarship from the UP Government; Rashid Jahan went to Lady Harding Medical College, Delhi, (1916) and Mumtaz Jahan studies for a Masters in English from Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow (1886).<sup>34</sup>

Shaikh Abdullah and Begum Abdullah encountered many obstacles in their efforts to establish girl's school. One of the objections was that the establishment of such kind of school would be against Islamic traditions. The other objection was that, in those institutions the intermingling of girls belonging to upper and lower class would not be welcomed by *ashraf*. The other objection was about *pardah*.<sup>35</sup> Providing hostel accommodation to young Muslim women became a bitter

controversy, although it facilitated education for women who came from different parts of India.<sup>36</sup>

Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah faced strong and rigid confrontation from Muslim community. But his dedication and loyalty paid him and finally he managed to start *Zananah Madrasah* in 1906 at Aligarh. A female teacher was recruited in school after a great difficulty who was assisted by Begum Abdullah. Begum Abdullah was also known as *A'la Bi* among students, her sisters Sikandar Jahan and Saeed Jahan, also helped in the management of girl's school which was established in Balai Qil'ah.<sup>37</sup> At first they concentrated on knowledge of the *Qur'an*, Urdu and some needle work. In 1907, Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah suggested curriculum in his journal *Khatun* with special emphasis on female problems, knowledge of the *Qur'an*, and *Ahadith*, moral teaching, History, Geography, Hygiene, Science, Home Economic, Cooking and Mathematics.<sup>38</sup>

Within few years keeping in view the requirements and popularity of school; need for new building was felt. Shaikh Abdullah wrote articles in newspapers to raise funds for girl's school and to promote the idea about women education. He also corresponded with government and Sultan Jahan Begum of Bhopal demanded grants for his school. On 7 November 1911 the foundation stone for school building was laid down by Lady Porter, wife of Lt. Governor of UP.<sup>39</sup> School and hostel buildings were inaugurated by Sultan Jahan Begum of Bhopal in 1914. In 1916-17 for the first time, girls of the *Zananah Madrasah* appeared in Middle School Examination.<sup>40</sup> In 1919 The school became High School and affiliated with the UP Board.<sup>41</sup> In 1929 school became Intermediate College and in 1930, Dr Ziauddin Ahmad (1877-1947) Vice Chancellor of the AMU made a recommendation, affiliated the College with the AMU and in 1935, the school started BA classes for girls.<sup>42</sup>

Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah himself admitted that,

The number of Muslim female who passed their BA Examinations till 1937 were almost fifty or sixty. Thirty girls were those who got their education from Girls College Aligarh.<sup>43</sup>

He also felt the need of medical education for girls. He was of the view that a female doctor can treat and examine female patients well. In 1937 on the platform of AIMEC, he appealed for funds to start science classes in Aligarh Girls College.

Along with modern education, strict *pardah* was observed, so that the parents of Muslim girls would not have hesitation in sending them to the institution. Begum Abdullah stated that; ‘whether girls observe *pardah* or not in their homes, but in the institution the observation of *pardah* was must and compulsory’.<sup>44</sup> Transport facility was also provided to girls in *pardah*. Though it was modest start for Muslim women education on a proper and set pattern, by the efforts of Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, his wife and their supporter it became one of the best centers of education for Muslim girls in India during early twentieth century.

Despite of many virulent attacks on the morality of the Abdullah’s in the Urdu press, popularity of, schooling for Muslim girls was likely to spread to other region.<sup>45</sup>

The institution proved itself as a centre of women education. In which through out the country Muslim parents sent their daughters to get education. Not only that even girls from Basra, Iran and Aden, Middle East, were also students of the institution. During summer vocations, Begum Abdullah used to reside with them in boarding house. Finally the desire and appeal of Sultan Jahan Begum of Bhopal for an institution of higher education for Muslim women on lines of the AMU came into reality. Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah articulated his ideas to educate women, which would enable them for their responsibility towards their families and community. It

would also create awareness among them about their rights, and provide intellectual companionship with understanding between husbands and wives.

The distinguishing feature of Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah from other modernists was that he absorbed the idea about the education of Muslim female and transferred the intellectual discussions into practice. He was realistic visionary, who had a practical approach to the dilemma. Uniqueness of Shaikh Abdullah's vision was empowerment of women through literacy and their amalgamation into the public life.

### **2.3: SAYYID KARAMAT HUSAIN**

Sayyid Karamat Husain was among the early promoter of Muslim women education. He was born in Jhansi, India and was a member of the working middle class. His father, Mawlawi Sayyid Siraj Husain was a learned person in the languages of Arabic, Persian, in Islamic sciences and was also a scholar of Mathematics. He was the first person in family who learned English. He worked as Subjudge in the British administration.<sup>46</sup> Karamat Husain was very young when his parents died. He was brought up by his paternal uncle, Hamid Husain who took Karamat Husain to Lucknow where he continued his studies under the supervision of his uncle in Islamic sciences, Arabic and Persian languages and *fiqh*.<sup>47</sup>

Karamat Husain started his professional life as a teacher in Rajkumar College (1875) in Central India.<sup>48</sup> From here he availed the opportunity to learn English and achieved fluency in it within few years. He served as teacher for three years in College and afterwards appointed to the post of *diwan* of the state of Narsinghgrah, Madhya Pradesh India, by Stratton (a political agent). In 1886, Karamat Husain went to England and studied Law there. After completing studies, he came back in 1889 and started his practice as barrister in Allahabad seat of the UP High Court.<sup>49</sup>

During his stay in England, Karamat Husain closely observed the English society. It was his first exposure to a society in which women were playing their role conveniently in different capacities. He was inspired by the advancement and progress of the country. He reached at the conclusion that the overall progress of country dependent upon the education of both male and female. He started thinking on those lines. He was convinced that, the Muslim male who received their modern education were completely opposite in their thoughts with the Muslim female of India, as they were ignorant and uneducated. Therefore, there was an upheaval of crisis in the Muslim society.

Karamat Husain joined Aligarh College in 1891 till 1895 as a Professor of Law.<sup>50</sup> During the same year, the meeting of AIMEC was held in Aligarh. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan urged upon Karamat Husain to become its member. From the forum of AIMEC Karamat Husain along with his allies projected a resolution in support of Muslim women education that was approved by Conference. The resolution read as,

This conference is of the opinion that in the present condition of the Muslims, it is necessary to make efforts for the education of women as well as for men. Because for the overall progress of the community it is most necessary that women get religious, intellectual and moral training, so that they may be of benefit to the raising of future generation.<sup>51</sup>

Karamat Husain always had an aspiration to serve humanity. He came forward with a gracious task of educating the female of the Muslim society. He was convinced that if the women of a society were backward, the men of that community could not make progress. He was also one of the chief instigators of Women's Section of AIMEC.

Sayyid Karamat Husain remained judge of Allahabad High Court from 1908 to 1912. After his returned to Lucknow in 1912, he established the Muslim Girl's

School with the support of the Raja of Mahmudabad Sir Muhammad Ali Muhammad (1878-1931). Karamat Husain fixed; amount of Rs.12500/= of his personal land for school and Raja of Mahmudabad granted Rs. 600/= per month to the school.<sup>52</sup> A hostel facility was also made available to the girls. Sayyid Karamat Husain and Raja of Mahmudabad appointed Amina Pope (1882-1950), as principal of the new Muslim Girl's School.<sup>53</sup> Amina Pope also took responsibility of boarding house. She remained principal of the school for two years.

The school was officially inaugurated in March 1913 by Lady Meston wife of Lt. Governor James Scorgie Meston (1867-1943).<sup>54</sup> Ever since the college started flourishing; it witnessed the increasing interests of Muslims to send their daughters to school. Begum of Bhopal also visited school in 1915 and approved Rs.1200/= per year for its financial stability.<sup>55</sup> As time passed, the strength of students increased and in the 1920s the school moved to a new building across the river in the newly developing suburbs of Lucknow<sup>56</sup> and in 1924, High School was opened, it rose to the status of Inter College in 1936, and finally a degree college in 1946.

Karamat Husain's approach towards women education was comprehensive one, he talked about the comprehensive teaching and training of female according to their responsibilities. He felt the need to teach them reading and writing, Mathematics, subject of health and hygiene, household accounting and management, cooking, sewing, childcare, gardening along with religious and moral education.<sup>57</sup> He was of the view that sending girls to school was wise as compared to teach them at home. The reason was that the school offer better environment with good trained teachers and broader curriculum for them to learn.

Karamat Husain remained very active for the progress of school till his death in 1917. After his death, Raja of Mahmudabad continued his support of the school. To

acknowledge his contribution the school was named after him as Karamat Husain Muslim Girl's College. Karamat Husain's personality was the amalgamation of traditional and modern learning. He followed modern approach towards Muslim women education.

#### **2.4: RASHIDUL KHAIRI**

Rashidul Khairi belonged to a respectable family of Shahjahanabad in UP. He was born in 1870 at Delhi. His name and contribution was associated with the propagation of Muslim women's rights, and increasing awareness about their responsibilities. He was author of dozens of books and stories,<sup>58</sup> which revolved around social issues and more specifically about the condition of Muslim women in the society. He had 'dealt with every social evil which might be found in Mohammedan society'.<sup>59</sup> He voiced the troubles of women, orphans, widows and poor middle class families.

Rashidul Khairi devoted his whole life for awakening his contemporaries about the horrible consequences of ignoring the social and educational progress of Muslim women. He used two kinds of mediums for the expression of his view about the education of Muslim women. One was the medium of his writings and journals, which were popularizing the women issues. The other was establishment of primary school for girls in Delhi. It was the year 1920, when Rashidul Khairi took the initiative for opening of school. He propagated his vision of school in his magazine '*ismat*', and gave complete description of the institution that, he was going to start a Muslim girls school with the name of *Tarbiyyatgah-i-Banat*. In December 1920, in an article with the title of *Tarbiyyatgah-i-Banat* he stated,

The solution of prevailing evils among the Muslims is only possible through proper upbringing and education of girls. To accomplish it, there is a need to establish such kind of school where girls can avail both, traditional and modern values. Further more *Madrasah* inshore that its single step would not be against Islamic values.<sup>60</sup>

His idea was appreciated at large. He shared his vision with some other persons who were in favor of women education. After considerations, a board was established. Mir Jalib (1878-1930) the editor of *Hamdam*, Lucknow, Mullah Muhammad Wahidi the editor of *Khatib* and *Nizam-ul-Mashaikh*, Delhi, Mirza Abdul Qadir Baig and Mawlawi Abdul Ghaffar Khairi were members of the board.<sup>61</sup> It was decided that education of girls in the school would be based on Kindergarten method. The girls from six to eleven years of age would be admitted in the school. Boarding facilities would be provided along with school. The school was inaugurated on February 1922, at Quchah Chilan in Delhi. During that month, twenty two girls were admitted and four female teachers were appointed.<sup>62</sup>

Rashidul Khairi was very much serious about the proper education for girls according to his ideas. Keeping it in his view, he prepared the curriculum for girl's school. The subject matter was consisted of,

- i Religious education.
- ii Language /Vernacular including English
- iii Knowledge of Science
- iv History
- v Geography,
- vi Mathematics
- vii Health and hygiene
- viii Physical education and
- ix Vocational training

Distribution of school timings was managed by dividing it in two parts per month. Such as two third, was allocated for teaching subjects, included Islamic Studies, English, Mathematics, Science, History, Geography, Physical Education, Health and Hygiene. Where as the remaining one third school timing was devoted for vocational

training, home management, cooking, stitching, embroidery, knitting and industrial work.<sup>63</sup>

After the successful foundation and establishment of his institution, Rashidul Khairi continued to propagate his message to other areas. He visited various regions along with his wife, to convince Muslim community to educate their daughters. The company of his wife played significant role in convincing prosperous and middle class parents to send their girls in *Tarbiyyatgah-i-Banat*. The convincing campaign of institution grasped far-flung areas of the British India, and became focal point of attention for Muslim women education.<sup>64</sup>

Rashidul Khairi was so affirmed and confident about his vision that even he refused to avail government help for provision of funds. He explained this refusal with logical clarification to whom, who were in favor of availing the opportunity. In this regard he stated, 'It would be the first failure of *Tarbiyyatgah-i-Banat*, if I would be compelled to receive government funds, because this funding is conditioned with amendments in curriculum'.<sup>65</sup> He preferred to take the help of those well-off people who were in favor of the Muslim women education.

Rashidul Khairi was much conscious to start a religious magazine for girls that could effectively depict the traditional values and help in intellectual growth of female. He also felt the need of monthly school magazine. The other aim was the propagation of *Tarbiyyatgah-i-Banat*. When Rashidul Khairi started monthly school magazine, *Banat* in 1927,<sup>66</sup> he incorporated his idea of religious education in it. Therefore he included in it three permanent topics such as, *Ahakam-i-Niswan Qur'an Majid kay Qissae*, *Ghalbah-i-Riwaj* and *Madhabi Tarikh*.<sup>67</sup> He by himself wrote under these three topics to share his views. Though, school was closed after Rashidul

Khairi's death in 1936, but the publication of *Banat* continued even after partition of the British India.<sup>68</sup>

Rashidul Khairi and Begum Khairi successfully operated the boarding section of the school for more than thirteen years. Both of them took keen interest in the management, upbringing and care of boarders. They provided them basic needs of food, shelter along with education. However, in 1935, due to falling health and illness along with financial issues, Rashidul Khairi decided to close the boarding section of school. After the closure of boarding section, he also reduced the number of teachers and adopted selective approach for admission of students. He justified the strategy by saying that, female of prosperous families can avail the opportunity of education from other institutions.<sup>69</sup> He was fully aware of the developments for women education. Therefore he decided to facilitate the most neglected and backward section of Muslim society. In 1935 Academic Session, he appointed two teachers for thirty girls.

Rashidul Khairi was very thoughtful modernist. He kept a progressive approach during his whole life. He was a dynamic person. He not only kept an eye on his vision according to the contemporary developments taking place for women education but also modified his approach to achieve his desired goal.

## **2.5: ROLE OF PROMINENT MUSLIM FAMILIES IN THE PROMOTION OF WOMEN EDUCATION**

With the passage of time, people started acknowledging the significance of education for women. Some well-known Muslim families played considerable role. Among those families, Shafi family from Punjab, Suhrawardy family from Bengal and Faizi family from Bombay were prominent. They were in favor of modern education of Muslim female. They propagated the need of education for women to

play constructive part in the progress of Muslim society. They believed the education as sole promise for the progress without losing their religious and moral identities.

### **2.5.1: SHAFI FAMILY**

In Punjab, Shafi family was among the supporter of Muslim women education on modern lines. Their main contribution was to elevate women status socially and educationally. Mian Muhammad Shafi (1869-1932) was the head of the family. He studied in the village school of Baghbanpura in Lahore.<sup>70</sup>

Muhammad Shafi's stay in England for studies (1889-92) provided him an opportunity to observe Western society particularly the status of women. His practical observations regarding women and their status in the society always inspired him. Upon his return from England after completing his studies he indulged himself in activities and issues related to Muslim women's condition in British India. He took initiatives in accordance with his vision that was developed in his mind long ago. He discouraged the dowry system. Being the student of the law he turned to be a strong vocalist for share of Muslim women in inheritance. 'Muhammad Shafi generally believed that Muslim women should get liberal education, so that they could acquaint themselves with the world around'.<sup>71</sup> He had modernist's view about women education. Sir Shafi and his friend Justice Shah Din felt the need of organizing a good school or college for girls. Their efforts resulted in the opening of Queen Mary School at Hall Road, Lahore on 10 December 1908.<sup>72</sup> He himself set an example by admitting his daughter Jahan Ara in the school. Thus, at first, eleven girls were enrolled in the school and Jahan Ara's 'name was the first placed on the register'.<sup>73</sup> This practical step of Shafi family encouraged the rest of the members of society to enroll their daughters.

The syllabus of the school included the subjects of Arabic, Sanskrit, English Literature, Politics, Home Economics, History, Geography, Music, Painting and Cooking.<sup>74</sup> Major emphasis was on character building of students. The aim was to focus all attentions to equip female to fulfill their duties in their practical life with full confidence and grace. Queen Marry School upgraded as College in 1912.<sup>75</sup>

Muhammad Shafi was in agreement of participation of Muslim women in every walk of life. He himself presented an example and encouraged female members of his family to take part in social and educational boost of women folk. As a result, his wife Amir-un-Nisa (1879-1959) and daughters, Jahan Ara' Shahnawaz (1896-1979) and Gayti Ara' played vital role in the development of Muslim women education and rights. Sarfaraz Husain Mirza is of the view that,

[Muhammad Shafi] was an enlightened Muslim and his programme of reforms though not palatable to orthodox Muslim, was in keeping with the requirement of the time and despite opposition continued to struggle for its acceptance.<sup>76</sup>

Muhammad Shafi was moving force behind the establishment of a women's association, *Anjuman-i-Khawatin-i-Islam* in 1906.<sup>77</sup> This *Anjuman* was formed at his home, and his wife Amir-un-Nisa was the first president.

Amir-un-Nisa was brought up in accordance with her father, Nizam-un-Din's strong views on the importance of women education. She had studied Urdu, Persian and elementary English.<sup>78</sup> When she instigated her interest in the advancement of Muslim women, she was criticized and renowned as rebel in the family circle.<sup>79</sup> Irrespective of all denunciation, she continued her efforts in availing the forum of *anjuman*-s. She expressed her concern for the advancement of Muslim women. Members of *Anjuman-i-Khawatin-i-Islam* met fortnightly after Friday prayer in Lady Sharif's (Amir-un-Nisa) home to discuss and formulate agendas for propagation of

Muslim women education along with social reforms. Women presented paper related to different topics and exchange ideas and thoughts with each other. Her efforts were not confined to the organization but she also presided over All India Muslim Ladies Conference held at Agra, India in 1921.<sup>80</sup> Women of Shafi family started attending gatherings of women and joined other associations, and played their role for promotion of Muslim women education from other forums also.

Another well-known member of this family whose efforts could not be denied was Jahan Ara' Shahnawaz. She enthusiastically participated in activities for women's progress. She was nominated from Lahore to represent the delegation from Punjab, when AIWC was formed in 1927. Jahan Ara' was deeply interested in activities of Conference, and worked for it at different capacities. She was 'President of the Provincial Branch, elected member of the Central Standing Committee and a Vice-President of the Conference'.<sup>81</sup> She expressed her views about women education at the platform of the AIWC that,

In a country where there were ten million more men than women, it was essential that girls should be given the necessary education for their vocation in life, and taught how to become good house wives and efficient mothers.<sup>82</sup>

Jahan Ara' Shahnawaz proposed a curriculum for girls in which she incorporated subjects of 'Home Economics, Dietetics, Child Psychology, and Mothercraft'.<sup>83</sup> She expressed her desire and tried to setup Home Economics Training School for girls. The school was established in Sharqpur, some twenty miles out of Lahore, but it turned into ordinary teacher training institution later on.<sup>84</sup>

#### **2.5.2: SUHRAWARDY FAMILY**

Suhrawardy family of Bengal took up the cause of social and educational uplift of Muslim women. Sir Hassan Suhrawardy's (1884-1946) elder sister Khugista

Akhtar Bano (1874-1919), known as Suhrawardiya Begum, was one of those few women who had achieved high standard of scholarships. She learned Urdu and Persian from his father Obaidullah Al-Obaidi Suhrawardy (1834-85) at home. Obaidullah Al-Obaidi was a prominent scholar of Arabic and Persian. He also knew Sanskrit, English, Latin and Greek. He was man of great learning and therefore referred to not only as *Mawlana* but also as *Behrul-‘Ulum*. He was supporter of English education, and was amongst the founder and first Principal of Dacca *Madrasah*, a boy’s school on the type of the English grammar school.<sup>85</sup> After the death of his father, Khugista Akhtar Bano continued her learning in Persian and English by her brothers. She acquired the proficiency in both languages. ‘She was the only woman who had awarded a Degree of honor in Persian from Calcutta University (1857) and was the examiner in Persian for the MA Examinations in the same University’.<sup>86</sup> Suhrawardiya Begum was among the female pioneers of Muslim women education in India and founder of two school for *pardah* observing girls in Calcutta (now Kolkata).<sup>87</sup>

Suhrawardy family was very much conscious about the values of education for their female. The vision of Obaidullah Al-Obaidi was not only followed by his daughter but also by his son Hassan Suhrawardy. Even in earlier twentieth century though, people were convinced to educate their women at home but, still reluctant to send their daughters to public schools. Hassan Suhrawardy was among one of those who took initiative in their families to send their daughters to an English school, rather to educate then in four walls of their homes. When Hassan Suhrawardy decided to send his daughter Shaista Suhrawardy (1915-2000) to an English school, instead of educating her at home his relatives specially the in-laws criticized his decision. They approached his wife Sarah Banu Begum and commiserated with her for her

misfortune in having got married to a man with such strange ideas.<sup>88</sup> Hassan Suhrawardy's response was that, 'I do not care for ignorant people's talks.... I am only doing what every body else will do in as other twenty year's time'.<sup>89</sup> What he said became true. The girls of *shurafa'* started going to school and taking part in social and educational activities.

Hassan Suhrawardy provided his daughter religious as well as modern education by provision of learning of *Qur'an* and Kindergarten at the same time. In 1927, Shaista Suhrawardy was admitted in the Loreta House; a Convent School in Calcutta.<sup>90</sup> She graduated from Calcutta University in 1933 and obtained Doctorate Degree in Urdu literature from the University of London (1836) in 1940 after writing dissertation on the *Development of the Urdu Novel and Short Story*.<sup>91</sup>

Shaista Suhrawardy actively participated in social and educational activities for women. In her articles published in different women journals, she expressed and conveyed her vision about the women education. She was supporter of education that enabled girls to earn livelihood and improve their family's economic conditions. She was of the view that along with the academic education there was need of technical training for Muslim girls. While keeping with them the tradition of *pardah*, they could adopt different new professions, for example; beautician, physiotherapist, dress designers and typists.<sup>92</sup> She wrote down another article 'auraton kay Liey Ma'ash kay Zara'y' which was published in 'ismat in 1942 for expression of her consciousness about the economic condition of the Muslim society in British India. She considered male and female as equal participants in advancement and progress of the Muslim community.<sup>93</sup>

### 2.5.3: FAIZI FAMILY

Faizi family of Bombay was very keen about the education of women. This family was a part of Tayyabji Clan of Bombay who was very modern in their vision and outlook.<sup>94</sup> They were in favor of modern education not only for male section of the Muslim society but also for female. Faizi family was among the first family to send their daughters abroad, for the purpose of education. Atiya Faizi (1876-1967), Zohra Faizi (1866-1940) and Nazli Faizi (1874-1968) were the first Muslim women to go abroad for higher education.<sup>95</sup> Atiya Faizi was first Muslim lady who got educational scholarship from British Government to study at England in the field of education, in 1906.<sup>96</sup>

Atiya Begum, Nazli Begum and Zohra Begum, very energetically participated in the activities for the socio-educational progress and welfare of Muslim women. Faizi sisters helped Shaikh Abdullah and Begum Abdullah in their struggle for the cause of Muslim women education. They organized a successful crafts exhibition in 1905 on the occasion of AIMEC session held at Aligarh. The purpose was to raise funds and created awareness about the abilities of women. Shaikh Abdullah considered crafts exhibition as an important element of the AIMEC Women's Section. It helped in developing the confidence of people on their programme of women education.<sup>97</sup> In 1907 during the AIMEC session held in Karachi Shaikh Abdullah appreciated the effort of Atiya Faizi and Zohra Faizi, who came all the way from Bombay to participate in crafts exhibition.<sup>98</sup> Zohra Faizi also presided over the meeting of the AIMEC's Women Section, in 1905 and continued her support to Shaikh Abdullah for his girls school.<sup>99</sup>

In 1908 during their visit to Europe, Nazli Begum and Atiya Begum visited Turkey and received medallion of *Nishan-i-Shafqat* from Sultan Abdul Hamid (1842-



1918).<sup>100</sup> Faizi sisters were regular contributors of *Tehzib-i-Niswan*, *Khatun*, and *'ismat*. They also established schools for girls. Nazli Begum established a school for girls in Janjirah, India with the support of her husband, Nawab of Janjirah, Sidi Ahmad Khan (1862-1922) himself was an educated person. The program of study revolved around the religious instructions, study of *Qur'an*, reading and writing skills, Mathematics, Marathi language, vocational training in stitching and embroidery.<sup>111</sup>

Atiya Begum also participated in meetings of the AIMEC. After the establishment of the Women's Section of the AIMEC in 1903, Muslim female started attending the sessions but in 1924, they were not allowed to attend the meeting of AIMEC.<sup>112</sup> To protest against the exclusion during the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the MAOC, Atiya Begum along with some other women came from Bombay to attend the meeting. She continued to articulate from behind the *pardah* until she was escorted on the dise.<sup>113</sup> She condemned the prejudiced policy of Muslims towards their women and demanded a Women's University for Muslim women.<sup>114</sup> Atiya Faizi along with her other activities also established a 'Foundation Education Institution for Muslim girls in Bombay in 1928. It was based on her own curriculum called Atiya Begum Syllabus'.<sup>115</sup> Faizi sisters were memorable stature for their contribution in socio-cultural and educational fields.

Shafi, Suhrawardy and Faizi families actively participated in social transformation of the Muslim society. Members of the *shurafa'* middle class encouraged and provided opportunities to their female to get education on modern lines. They developed in them the confidence, to take the task of their fellow women's educational progress, according to new needs. They believed that would enable them to play their due role as a member of the Muslim society for its prosperity.

Different schools and colleges were started up in various parts under the influence of progressive struggle of the modernists. For example Sakhawat Memorial Girls School, Calcutta was established in 1911, Islamia Girl's Middle School Gujranwala was started in 1913, likewise Imtiaz Jahan Muslim Girls School Roorkee in UP, MAO Girls School Calcutta in 1928 and Mahbubia Girls School in Hyderabad-Deccan were established for the promotion of women education.<sup>116</sup> In Hyderabad-Deccan the most important girl's education institution was Nampalli High School (1892), in 1912 the number of students were ninety-four and they were mostly in primary classes.<sup>117</sup> With the expansion of movement for Muslim women education the need was felt to improve its condition for imparting better knowledge to girls. Sir Akbar Hayder approached Dr. Amina Pop and appointed her as principal of the school in 1912.<sup>118</sup> She put her heart and soul for its progress. In 1924 the school became college and in 1930s it became Women Campus of *Jami'ah 'Uthmaniyyah*, Hyderabad (1917).<sup>119</sup> Initially intermediate classes were started then, BA, BSc and MA, MSc classes were also started up for girl's higher education.<sup>120</sup> For the first time in 1929, five women, Jahan Bano Begum, Tasnim Rabani, Naim-un Nisa Begum, Latif-un Nisa and Najum-un Nisa got their MA degree from *'Uthmaniyyah*, University Hyderabad in the subject of Urdu.<sup>121</sup> The subject of their work showed the level of their research. Jahan Bano Begum's dissertation was, 'Mawlana Muhammad Husain Azad' which was later published by Adara Adbiyat Urdu.<sup>122</sup> She went to England for studies. Tasnim Rabani's thesis was, '*Bahadur Shah Zafar aur unki Sha'ri*' and Naim-un Nisa Begum's topic was, '*Mawlana Shibli aur unki Nathar Nigari*'.<sup>123</sup> Mehbub-un Nisa was first lady who got degree of MSc from the institution.<sup>124</sup> The institution also produced number of pronounced female Urdu writers who used to write in different magazines and journals from time to time.<sup>125</sup>

Important feature of the expansion of women educational institutions was the increasing involvement and participation of women by themselves. One of those outstanding women was Fatima Begum editor of *Sharif Bibi*. She founded two institutions for the Muslim girls in Lahore, one Islamia College for Women Nawankot in 1937 and other a high school for girls in 1944. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948) visited this College in March 1940, that very day the college was named as Jinnah Islamia College for Women.<sup>126</sup> In November 1942 he again visited the institution and was very pleased over its progress. 'This College', he said, 'has made great progress during the past few years. I wish the organizers all success'.<sup>127</sup>

The challenging phase for the development and construction of Muslim female schools and colleges was successfully carried out through various personalities and families. They contributed and added with their own potentials and limitations. They faced with great patience, the budding threats that came in their way during institutionalization of Muslim women education and development of their curriculum. Sultan Jahan Begum of Bhopal conceded the contribution of her ancestors in this regard. She extended their mission beyond the boundaries of her state. She also effectively utilized the financial resources and provided funds for this purpose. She was exceptionally; an extraordinary lady. She was a practical example for Muslim female of British India. She fearlessly criticized the negligence regarding the development of proper curriculum for imparting knowledge to women. She presented the absolute idea of Muslim women university during 1920's. Shaikh Abdullah another pronounced personality went through various fluctuations of his personal life. He personally went through a vast exposure of religious and social circumstances. Finally, he concluded that the practical approach for Muslim women education would be the construction of separate educational institutions along with maximum facilities.

His most exclusive contribution was the establishment of Muslim women educational institution along with boarding. For the most demanding mission, he had to arrange the finances through fund raising, government grants and support of rich people of the Muslim community. He faced painful criticism from the Muslim society for his concept of boarding institution for Muslim female. He managed the challenge with his intellectual capabilities and writings. Shaikh Abdullah had to face unique dilemma in establishment of hostel. Though, he constructed the boarding house in order to maintain *pardah*, still he was threatened and discouraged. He managed the protection of his ideology along with the boundaries of his boarding institution.

Karamat Husain utilized the platform of AIMEC for women education. He was convinced for the provision of education to the female section of British India with a very liberal vision. Karamat Husain contributed in an institution that was secular in its identity but later on, concluded that to preserve and orient a socio-religious ideology of Muslims it was crucial to develop schools and colleges exclusively to serve female section of Muslim society. He developed and defended the Muslim education institutions along with boarding facility with the support of friends. A popular writer with reference to highlighting sufferings of female, Rashidul Khairi also founded an institution for girls. In this context, he refused to accept government grants in order to defend and retain the Islamic ideology to be preserved regarding socio-religious and economic restrictions. The struggle of female was further strengthened through the contribution of pronounced families of British India. They provided energy to ongoing struggle for the education of female. The substantial contribution from individuals as well as families caused the Muslim women education to grasp the attention of the Muslims of British India.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Shaharyar M. Khan, *The Begums of Bhopal: A Dynasty of Women Rulers in Raj India* (London: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 2000), 154.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 173.

<sup>3</sup> *Daily Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), 18 April 1903.

<sup>4</sup> Charis Waddy, *Women in Muslim History* (London: Longman Group Ltd, 1980), 161.

<sup>5</sup> Abdul Rashid Khan, *The All India Muslim Educational Conference*, 132.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 133.

<sup>7</sup> 'The main focus of this pioneer organisation was provisions of formal education for women'. Gulfishan Khan, "Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah (1874-1965) and Muslim Female Education Movement". *Journal of the Institute of Islamic Studies*, (Aligarh: Aligarh Muslim University, 2009).

<sup>8</sup> Abdul Rashid Khan, *The All India Muslim Educational Conference*, 141.

<sup>9</sup> Shaharyar M. Khan, *The Begums of Bhopal*, 177.

<sup>10</sup> M. Nadeem, Muhammad Qasim Siddiqui. ed., *Intikhab-i Mazamin Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah* (Papa Mian), Vol. 2 (Aligarh: Female Education Association, 2007), 182. Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, "Zuban Gul Say Hussan-i-Yar ki Tafsir", *Aligarh Magazine 2001: Khawatin Nambar*, 2001, 116.

<sup>11</sup> Maitrayee Chaudhuri, *Indian Women's Movement: Reform and Revival* (New Delhi: Radian Publishers, 1993), 108.

<sup>12</sup> Shaharyar M. Khan, *The Begums of Bhopal*, 180.

<sup>13</sup> Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *History of Aligarh Muslim University, Vol. I (1920-1945)* (Aligarh: Sir Syed University Press, 1995), 306.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 306.

<sup>15</sup> Maitrayee Chaudhuri, *Indian Women's Movement*, 145-6.

<sup>16</sup> Shaharyar M. Khan, *The Begums of Bhopal*, 172.

<sup>17</sup> Monthly *Nur Jahan* (Gujranwala), December 1928- January 1929, 228.

<sup>18</sup> Some of her books included, 'Hifz-i-Sehat, Tarbiyat-ul-Itfal, Tuzk-i-Sultani, Hayat-i-Shahajahani, Hayat-i-Qudsi, Sabil-ul-Jinnan, Bagh-i-'jib, Riyasat key Irtiqa' ki Tarikh, M'yshat awr M'ashrat, Gohar-i-Iqbal, Akhtar-i-Iqbal, Tazkirah-i-Baqe'. Wahaj-ul-Din Chishti, *Begmat-i-Bhopal* (Karachi: Qudsiah Printers, 1981), 77.

<sup>19</sup> Shibli Nau'mani and Sayyid Suleiman Nadvi, *Sirat-ul-Nabi*. vol. 1 (Lahore: Al-Faisal Nashiran-o-Tajran-i-Kutub, 1990), 17. Sahba Lucknowi, *Iqbal aur Bhopal* (Lahore: Iqbal Akademi Pakistan, 2000), 58 and Shaharyar M. Khan, *The Begums of Bhopal*, 179.

<sup>20</sup> Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, *Father and Daughter*, 94.

<sup>21</sup> Lubna Kazim, *A Women of Substance*, 24.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 20-31.

<sup>23</sup> David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978).

<sup>24</sup> *Khutbat-i-Sadarat, Panjahsala Jubly, All-India Muslim Educational Kanfarans*. 1938, 3.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 4-5.

<sup>27</sup> For details see, weekly *Tehzib-i-Niswan* (Lahore), 11 May 1929, 441-44.

<sup>28</sup> *Khutbat-i-Sadarat*, 36.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>30</sup> Azra A. Ali, *The Emergence of Feminism*, 26.

<sup>31</sup> Shaikh M. Abdullah, "Zuban Gul Say Hussan-i-Yar ki Tafsir", 111-14.

<sup>32</sup> Azra A. Ali, *The Emergence of Feminism*, 26.

<sup>33</sup> Gail Minault, "Women's Education and Social Change Among Indian Muslims in Historical Perspective" *Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs* 6, No. 1. (1985): 91.

<sup>34</sup> Lubna Kazim, *A Women of Substance*, 89. 'In 1920, the Isabella Thoburn College along with other two colleges, the Canning College, the King George's Medical College, were merged and formed the Lucknow University. T. N. Siqueira, *The Education of India: History and Problems* (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1943), 82.

<sup>35</sup> For details see, Shaikh M. Abdullah, "Zuban Gul Say Hussan-i-Yar ki Tafsir", 106-50.

<sup>36</sup> Lubna Kazim, *A Women of Substance*, 103.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>38</sup> Abdul Rashid Khan, *The All India Educational Conference*, 131.

<sup>39</sup> Shaikh M. Abdullah, "Zuban Gul Say Hussan Yar ki Tafsir", 132.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

<sup>41</sup> Thuriya Husain, 'Aligarh University Aur T'alim Niswan', The Federation of Aligarh Alumni Associations. *Sir Sayyid Day Aligarh Magazine*, 2006, 19.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> *Khutbat-i-Sadarat*, 39.

<sup>44</sup> *Tehzib-i-Niswan*, 13 July 1929, 689.

<sup>45</sup> Dushka Saiyid, *Muslim Women of the British Punjab*, 58.

<sup>46</sup> Gail Minault, "Sayyid Karamat Husain and Education for Women", in Violette Graff, ed., *Lucknow: Memories of a City* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999), 156.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 157.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 158.

<sup>50</sup> David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, 192.

<sup>51</sup> Gail Minault, "Sayyid Karamat Husain and Education for Women", 159.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 160-161.

<sup>53</sup> Nasir-ul Din Hashmi, *Khawatin-i-Deccan ki Urdu Khidmat*, 237-42. Amina Pope was an English woman she came to India in 1910, and converted to Islam.

<sup>54</sup> Gail Minault, "Sayyid Karamat Husain and Education for Women", 161.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 163.

<sup>56</sup> Gail Minault, "Biyyiyun ke Madrase", *Aligarh Magazine, Khawatin Nambar*, 47.

<sup>57</sup> \_\_\_\_\_, "Sayyid Karamat Husain and Education for Women", 162-63.

<sup>58</sup> For details about the writings of Rashidul Khairi, see Appendix VII.

<sup>59</sup> Shaista Akhter Suhrawardy, *A Critical Survey of the Development of the Urdu Novel and Short Story*, 84.

<sup>60</sup> Raziqul Khairi, *Sawanah-i-'umiri Rashidul Khairi, 'ismat (Salgirah Nambar)*, (Karachi: Afset Press, 1964), 200.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 215-16; For list of different areas, see Appendix VIII.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.* 202.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 245.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 245-6.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 224.

<sup>70</sup> Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, *Father and Daughter*, 2.

<sup>71</sup> Sarfaraz Husain Mirza, *Muslim Women*, 21.

<sup>72</sup> Miss Edgley, who was the Head Mistress of Alexandra School at Amritsar, India and had spent nearly twenty years in India. She was appointed as principal of the institution. Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, *Father and Daughter*, 33.

<sup>73</sup> Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, *Father and Daughter*, 33.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

<sup>76</sup> Sarfaraz Husain Mirza, *Muslim Women*, 22.

<sup>77</sup> *Anjuman-i-Khawatin-i-Islam*, was one of the early association which started its activities specifically for Muslim women.

<sup>78</sup> Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, *Father and Daughter*, 3.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 170.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 171.

<sup>85</sup> Shaista Suhrawardy Ikramullah, *From Purdah to Parliament*, 12. \_\_\_\_\_, *Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy: A Biography* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1991), 6.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid. Tehzib-i-Niswan*, 22 July 1939, 1024.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 81. Shaista Akhter Suhrawardy, *A Critical Survey of the Development of the Urdu Novel and Short Story*.

<sup>92</sup> \_\_\_\_\_, “*Larkion Ki T’alim Mulazmat kay Lye*”. *Tehzib-i-Niswan*, 22 July 1939, 1023-27.

<sup>93</sup> *ismat*, January 1942, 19-24.

<sup>94</sup> For details about Tayyabji Clan, see, Theodore P.Wright, “Muslim Kinship and Modernization: Tyabji Clan of Bombay”, in Imtiaz Ahmad, ed., *Family, Kinship and Marriages Among Muslims in India* (Delhi: Manohar, 1985), 217-38.

<sup>95</sup> Fareeha Zafar, ed., *Finding our Way: Reading on Women in Pakistan* (Lahore: ASR, 1991), 11.

<sup>96</sup> Muhammad Yamin Uthman, “*Atiya Faizi ki Nadar Khudnawisht ‘Zamanah’ Thesis*”, *Meyar* 1, no. 2. (2009): 104.

<sup>97</sup> Sayyid Mustafa Ali Barelwi, *Riport, All India Muhammadan Anglo Oriental Educational Kanfarans, Karachi, 1907*. Karachi: Akademi of Educational Research, All Pakistan Educational Kanfarans Karachi, 1994, 221-22.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 221-22.

<sup>99</sup> M. Yamin Uthman, “*Atiya Faizi ki Nadar Khudnawisht*”, 177-78.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 176-77.

<sup>112</sup> Restrictions were imposed by Nawab Sardar Yar Jang and Mawlana Habib-ur-Rahman Khan Sherwani. Nawab Abdul Qayyum Khan allowed women to attend the meeting, Sarfaraz Husain Mirza, *Muslim Women*, 11.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>116</sup> *Tehzib-i-Niswan*, 11 May 1929, 453-455. *Daily Inqilab* (Lahore), 26 January 1934. Nasir-ul Din Hashmi, *Khawatin-i-Deccan ki Urdu Khidmat*.

<sup>117</sup> Nasir-ul Din Hashmi, *Khawatin-i-Deccan ki Urdu Khidmat*, 238-39.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 238.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 239. ‘At that time Uthmaniyyah University was the only university in India to use Urdu language as the medium of higher instructions’. T. N. Siqueira, *The Education of India*, 84.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 239.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 185-186.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 179-180.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 186.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 188-189.

<sup>125</sup> For details see, *ibid.*,

<sup>126</sup> S. M. Zaman, ed., *Quaid-I-Azam and Education* (Islamabad: National Institute of History and Cultural Research, 1995), 234-5.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*

# CHAPTER 3

## **ROLE OF ASSOCIATIONS IN THE PROMOTION OF MUSLIM WOMEN EDUCATION**

The efforts of modernists for the promotion of understanding and need of education intended for women along with their social uplift were not confined to generate intellectual debate on the issue. They felt the need to implement their plan by the establishment of institutions and create public argument on the issue. To achieve their objective, they decided to set up different associations and *anjuman*-s to share the idea with other members of society. Due to the efforts of the associations, numbers of schools were established in different areas. Initially the task was taken up by AHI and then by AIMEC.

In early twentieth century, local Muslim women's associations were organized in several cities, with the aim to promote struggle for women education and social well being. The associations or organizations were mostly established by urban middle class. The female belonging to prominent Muslim families of the middle class joined organizations. Gradually Muslim women educational institutions and associations became popular within educated elite. The need of Muslim women participation in public life on traditional perspectives about Muslim women was beautifully justified by the associations and organizations. The struggle of *anjuman*-s is indispensable and quite extensive on the pages of history. It is important to study and analyze the exclusive role of the associations one by one.

### **3.1: *ANJUMAN-i-HIMAYAT-i-ISLAM***

AHI was the pioneer in the development of institutions for the Muslim women education. Qazi Hamiduddin was its first president, while Ghulamullah Qasuri (then Revenue Minister in Faridkot State), was appointed as general secretary and Munshi

Abdur Rahim, as treasurer. It was an association having religious, social, cultural and educational characteristics. The *Anjuman* was founded with the aim to counter the propaganda of Christian Missionaries and Hindu *Arya Samaj*<sup>1</sup> against Islam. Focus of *Anjuman* was promotion of Islamic unity, educational programs for Muslims along with special emphasis on girl's education and orphans as they were the main target of un-Islamic forces. The objectives and policy of AHI are depictable from the statement below.

To take upon itself the maintenance and education, to the best of its ability, of Muhammadan orphans, and to render all possible educational aid to poor Muslim boys and girls, so as to save them from failing into the hands of the followers of other religions.<sup>2</sup>

AHI raised the voice for the protection of vulnerable members of Muslim society through raising issue of Muslim women education. This concept was unfamiliar to the Muslim society at that time. Thus AHI had to face difficulties and opposition not only from conservative section of Muslim community, but also from the un-Islamic forces that were prevailing at that time. It had to absorb the resistance to achieve its objectives. The conservative section of Muslim society raised their fingers against AHI's breach of traditional practice of *pardah*. This part of society was not in agreement of sending their daughters out of four walls of homes for education. Thus it posed internal resistance, faced by AHI. At the same time another major threat was the plan of the Christian Missionaries. Christian Missionaries were struggling to approach any corner of India for the propagation of their own objectives through socio-economic and religious tactics. When AHI came into being and started playing effective role, the Christian Missionaries opposed it. The great effort of AHI and its worth was acknowledged in the published reports of Christian Missionaries. One of those reports explains the success of AHI as,

....a Muslim propaganda has been organized, especially to withstand and hinder the work of missions. Even *zenanah* teachers are supported, whose first duty is to break up, if possible, the Missionary *Zenanah* and Girl's Schools.<sup>3</sup>

*Anjuman* came into existence at the critical time when Muslims of India were facing political, educational, social and moral degeneration. However, AHI succeeded to win the support of urban middle class, who was presenting itself as a conscious mind of the Muslim society of British India. AHI affectively worked along Aligarh Movement, 'but shed away from Sir Syed's educational and religious thoughts'.<sup>4</sup> AHI turned out to be the first in its vision to work for Muslim women education prior than Aligarh Movement.

In Punjab, AHI had done great job for the promotion of Muslim women education. Realizing the importance of knowledge for women, initially it established five institutions in Lahore, in 1885, ten in 1886 and fifteen in 1894.<sup>5</sup> With the spread of Western education, it was difficult to keep Muslim female away from the necessary modern education. To meet the changing demands and situation, AHI made educational agenda for Muslim female more practical, which widened the scope of their activities. Keeping in vision the need of the knowledge of English for women, *Anjuman* established Anglo-Vernacular Islamia Girl's Middle School in 1925, upgraded it to high school in 1934. In 1939 Islamia College for Women, Cooper Road, Lahore was started, thus AHI's long and painstaking program began to succumb fruit. Quaid-i-Azam's remarks while addressing the student of Islamia College for Women, Lahore in 1944 intricate the success of AHI's educational plan.

Mr. Jinnah said that he was really gratified to learn that the right type of education was being given to Muslim girls. He said that many impurities and un-Islamic things had crept into the Muslim society, and it was the task of Muslim educational institutions to educate their children on right lines with a view to enabling them to live the Islamic life.<sup>6</sup>

In 1885 one hundred and sixty nine girls were studying in the various institutions of the *Anjuman*, it raised to twelve hundred in 1939.<sup>7</sup>

The AHI educational institutions practiced an elaborate and extensive style of imparting knowledge among Muslim female. The syllabus or curriculum for girl's institutions was constructed and organized with an extraordinary intellectual effort. In AHI's girls institutions along with religious education, moral teaching, emotional, intellectual awakening, and vocational training with the subjects like tailoring, embroidery, sewing and cooking were part of the syllabus for girls, to make them valuable members of society. Along the academic, nonacademic aspects were also covered in a practical manner. Through training, the talent of Muslim women was not only polished but their work was presented publically. The work of girls was exhibited time to time on different occasions, and was appreciated at large.

While compiling and publishing books, the academic side was not neglected, its scope was widened to accommodate books on modern subjects like science, economics and geography.<sup>8</sup>

No doubt to pursue a widespread and applied approach, there was always a need of financial resources. AHI met the expenses from donations from its members and supporters including Muslim writers, who gave their literary works to *Anjuman* to publish and utilize money raised from it, Muslim merchants and rulers of Muslim states in India also donated enough money for the activities of the *Anjuman*. In 1917 Sir Hamidullah of Bhopal (1894-1960) presided over the annual meeting of the AHI and donated a sum of Rs.10,000/= and an annual grant of Rs.1,800/= for the women education, a part from that financial assistance also came from *atta* fund, endowments and collections of animals hides on 'id ul Adha'.<sup>9</sup>

AHI's program for Muslim women education was not only effective but convincing one, based on modern and changing needs of time. Its focus was to

increase literacy among Muslim women and impart knowledge to make them aware of their responsibilities. AHI encouraged Muslims to take further steps for promotion of education for female. The AHI's usefulness was visible, as the attitude of Muslims of the British India was changing in favor of the Muslim women education.

### **3.2: ALL-INDIA MUSLIM EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE**

AIMEC was established with the name of the Muhammadan Educational Congress (MEC). Purpose behind the establishment of the organization was to resolve socio-economic and later on, political problems of the Muslim community in British India, through development and enhancement in their educational conditions. Keeping it in view, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan decided to involve capable persons of Muslim community and gathered them at the platform of MEC. He used the platform to discuss the problems of Muslim community. The forum facilitated to understand the nature of Western education by eradicating the worries. The forum also respected the reservations of the Muslims about Western education.

In 1890, during annual session of Muhammadan Congress at Allahabad, it was decided to change 'Conference for Congress'.<sup>10</sup> However, amended name did not change its educational aim and manifesto. AIMEC's agenda revolved around, development of elementary and secondary education, women education, progress, development of Urdu language, administration and technical education, social reforms and general education.<sup>11</sup> AIMEC contributed a significant role in development of Muslim community in British India for more than half century. It proved itself to be an all India Muslim organization. It extended through with branches in different areas and held annual sessions. The meetings took place in different cities of British India including, Aligarh, Delhi, Lucknow, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras (now Chennai),

Amritsar, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Karachi, and Khairpur.<sup>12</sup> Educational policy of AIMEC was national in its scope and covered vast area of British India.

With the passage of time, the question of education and social status of Muslim women caught the attention of the Conference. However, 'it was a test case for the Conference.'<sup>13</sup> In 1888 for the first time in AIMEC session held at Lahore a resolution for women education was moved by Shaikh Khair-ud-Din, who was a member of Lahore Railway Traffic Department at that time. The resolution was criticized by conservative section of community. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan pointed out that 'in India the time is not yet ripe to found schools for girls and to imitate the girl's schools of Europe.'<sup>14</sup> However, at the end of the Session, Conference passed a resolution that,

Mohammedan Educational Congress is of opinion that such girl's schools (*zananah maktab*) be established for the Mohammedan girl's as would meet their educational requirements and be strictly in conformity with the traditions and respectability of the respectable and well-bred Mohammedans, and in accordance with their religious injunctions.<sup>15</sup>

In coming years the question of Muslim women education remained part of Conference discussions, but implementation of resolution was not visible. In the year, 1891 again a resolution was moved in Conference Session held at Aligarh, by Khawaja Ghulam-us Saqlain, he later became Inspector of Schools in Hyderabad-Deccan and Secretary of the Social Welfare Section of Conference. 'However, owing to Sayyid Ahmad's opposition, the Conference failed to develop a concrete program for the uplift of women education.'<sup>16</sup>

Towards the end of nineteenth century, Indian society was transforming as a whole and modern ideas were emerging about women. Same was the case with Muslim community. It was difficult to remain in isolation. At last considering the

importance of women's issue, in 1896 Women Section of Conference was established. Sayyid Karamat Husain a law professor in MAOC was appointed as Secretary; later on Sayyid Mumtaz Ali became Secretary of Women Section. In first meeting of AIMEC's Women Section, Muhsin-ul-Mulk made a speech about the need of women education. In his speech he stated that, 'the Community could not make true progress unless the mothers of future generations were properly enlightened'.<sup>17</sup>

In 1899 Sayyid Amir Ali (Judge at Calcutta High Court and a scholar of Islamic History) presided over the AIMEC held at Calcutta. He 'warned Muslims of fatal consequences of educating one section of the community and leaving the other uneducated'.<sup>18</sup> As a result a resolution was forwarded by Mirza Shuja'at Ali Baig (then secretary of the Reception Committee of AIMEC), for the establishment of institutions for Muslim female in capital of every province along other educational centers, in conformity with Islamic law, traditions and customs of the Muslim *shurafa*'.<sup>19</sup>

In the year 1900, during AIMEC Session held at Rampur, India, curriculum for Muslim female institutions came under discussion, and need was felt to include, History, Geography and Elementary Mathematics along Islamic Studies.<sup>20</sup> Through, AIMEC's Women Section was established in 1896 but it accomplished very little, except intentions and views to provide appropriate education to women as provided to men until 1902, when Shaikh Abdullah became Secretary of Section. He was strong supporter of women education and gave new life to the women section of the Conference. He took steps for modern education for Muslim female when it was considered harmful for women and Muslim society.

By 1903, in AIMEC there were two major groups involved in debate on Muslim women education, modernist and conservative. Modernist group mostly

belonged to MAOC, such as Ghulam-us Saqalain, Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Sayyid Karamat Husain, Aftab Ahmad Khan and Shaikh Abdullah. They were supporters of schools based education for Muslim girls by keeping the preservation of *ashraf* culture. The second group was of conservatives, led by Shaikh Khairuddin, Mawlawi Muhammad Bashiruddin and Ishaq Khan.<sup>21</sup> They were in favour of educating female at home rather than in schools. AIMEC provided a forum to both groups for expression of their viewpoints on the debate. However, modernist group was dominative one and it was due to its efforts that, women were allowed to participate in meetings of Women Section of the Conference.

For the first time, Muslim women participated in AIMEC session held at Bombay in the year 1903. That was a turning point in the history of AIMEC, and the struggle for women education. Though the question of Muslim women education was already part of Conference discussions, but only male were taking part in it. It was the first occasion when a women's voice was heard from the forum of AIMEC. A female participant Miss Susi Sohrabji a Parsi lady, delivered a lecture on women education.<sup>22</sup> An article of Chand Begum was read out by another lady, in it she appreciated supporter of women education and criticized those who opposed it. 'She called upon the Muslim women to follow fervently the female reform movement, which was advocating modern education amongst Muslim women'.<sup>23</sup> At the end of Session a resolution was passed to establish Normal School for female teacher's trainings and school for Muslim female. Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah Secretary of Women Section took the responsibility for the implementation of the plan.

Shaikh Abdullah was very active in the implementation of the proposal for women educational institution. In 1905 during annual session of AIMEC, a meeting of Women Section was also held at Aligarh. Zohra Faizi from Bombay presided over

the meeting of women's section. Forty women from different parts of India attended the meeting. At the end of the meeting, resolution in favor of girl's school was unanimously passed. 'Shaikh Abdullah printed the proceedings of meeting and distributed one thousand copies amongst the people of the area'.<sup>24</sup> On this occasion Shaikh Abdullah, and his wife Waheed Jahan Begum with the help of Zohra Faizi and Atiya Faizi organized a successful exhibition of art and craft, which were prepared by women. Though,

There was a great deal of opposition, and permission to use one of the buildings on the campus was refused. However, At last minute an affluent Parsi friend of Shaikh Abdullah offered his house in Aligarh town.<sup>25</sup>

'There was also many dissenters too, who argued that after exhibiting their embroidery and home crafts, women would start exhibiting their faces'.<sup>26</sup> Most of the people appreciated the ability and endeavor of the women who could produce such a beautiful work.<sup>27</sup>

With the passage of time AIMEC became a strong advocate of women education and it was decided to establish a school for Muslim girls. Though earlier the idea was to establish girl's school in Lahore, but it was not materialized. At last Shaikh Abdullah decided to establish it in Aligarh. As a result a *zananah* school was established in 1906.

In coming years, Muslim female actively participated in meetings of the Conference. Sultan Jahan Begum of Bhopal presided over the meeting of women section in 1911. In her speech, she emphasized and supported the need of education for Muslim women and their social uplift. She also provided grants for activities of Conference for promotion of education among Muslim women. An All India Muslim Ladies Conference was established in 1914, to enhance the activities and role of

women in the promotion of notion about their education. Begum of Bhopal chaired first meeting while women from different areas of country attended the meeting. The meetings and discussions contributed sense of solidarity and consciousness about education and social reform.

The AIMEC practiced very liberal and negotiateable approach with the British Government to provide facilities to promote women education among Muslims of India. AIMEC devised a non-official advisory committee and Justice Karamat Husain was chosen the president. The committee in its recommendations, urged the Government to open *pardah* schools for girls and suggested one annual prize of Rs.2000/= for girls who qualified for degree, two for Rs.1000/= for Intermediate Examination and five of Rs.500/= for Matriculation examination.<sup>28</sup> During the years 1927-28, AIMEC approached the government to exempt Muslim women from compulsory attendance of lecturers in university and colleges.<sup>29</sup> In this way they tried to resolve the issue of *pardah* and at the same time opened the doors of higher education for Muslim women. Simultaneously, it was decided to encourage establishing separate schools with *pardah* provision.

Throughout the years in Conference's different sessions, curriculum for the female remained on discussion table. During the Session, held in 1939, Secretary of women section, Haji Muhammad Muqtada Khan urged that,

There is need to prescribe such kind of curriculum which should be adopted both in government and private *zananah* schools. This should include the religious teachings as well as knowledge about female's special responsibilities and duties. It should be comprehensive enough to fulfill its purpose with in short period of time.<sup>30</sup>

Conference stressed greatly on the need to establish training schools for female teachers. The opening of new schools for girls was healthy sign but then real problem

was the un-availability of trained teachers. So, there was need to establish school for their training.<sup>31</sup> Conference also urged that women should be trained in such a way that they could avail the opportunities to earn their livelihoods. In changing political situation women must be trained as responsible citizens. They should take responsibility to teach their fellows and make them aware about changing circumstances of society.<sup>32</sup>

The conference created an environment to persuade *shurafa'*, to make their efforts concerning Muslim women education. It was a forum which provided the opportunity to talk about difficulties and persuaded community to admit the reality of Muslim women education. It paved the way for harmony about the nature of women education and its syllabus.

### **3.3: ANJUMAN-i-KHAWATIN-i-ISLAM**

One of the early *anjuman-s* of Muslim women was *Anjuman-i-Khawtin-i-Islam* established in Lahore in 1908. It was the result of the efforts made by the women of Sir Shafi family. Three ladies from Lahore, Baji Rashida, Saeeda and Fatima Begum, approached Lady Muhammad Shafi and asked for help in organizing the *anjuman* with the purpose of women's social and educational reforms.<sup>33</sup>

Meeting was held at Muhammad Shafi's residence, which was well attended by well known families and an association named *Anjuman-i-Khawatin-i-Islam* was set up.<sup>34</sup> Primary aim of the *Anjuman* was the promotion of Muslim women education. Generally, meetings took place in houses of associates where women gathered to discuss, formulate policies for Muslim women education and their other rights. *Anjuman-i-Khawatin-i-Islam* provided opportunities and encouraged women to set up associations for dissemination of their ideas about their needs and desires. As a

result of growing interest and awareness, successful efforts were made to organize women on all India level. An important factor contributed towards new stage of organization of women's association at all India level was the existence of communicational network among organizations working for women's support in different areas. The significance of *Anjuman-i-Khawatin-i-Islam* was appreciable; it was a unique informal platform. It utilized the cultural norms, the tradition of sitting together, exchanging the view points on domestic problems and other affairs of life. The tradition was used by educated female for the awakening the Muslim female regarding religious, socio-economic rights and responsibilities.

### **3.4: ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LADIES CONFERENCE**

Associations working for the purpose of women education were not confined to local level but they were also setup on all India level, for example AIMLC. Moving force behind its establishment was Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah. He realized the urgent need for an all India organization for awakening of the Muslim women folks. Sultan Jahan Begum of Bhopal and Shaikh Abdullah organized a meeting on inauguration of new hostel building for Aligarh *Zananah Madrasah* on 1914 at Aligarh. Muslim women from different parts of country attended the meeting and an All India Muslim Ladies Conference was shaped. Sultan Jahan Begum of Bhopal became the first president and Nafis Begum as secretary. Speeches were made by prominent Muslim ladies devotee of the movement for Muslim women education.

Begum Muhammad Shafi and Begum Sherwani from Aligarh, Zohra and Atiya Faizi from Bombay, Abro Begum, sister of Mawlana Abdul Kalam Azad (1888-1958), Begum Waheeda Yaqub editor of *Tehzib-i-Niswan* and Fatima Begum, editor of *Sharif Bibi* were active members of the Conference.

Begum of Bhopal urged women to educate themselves, failing which, they would not know the right granted to them under Islamic law.<sup>35</sup>

The aims of the Conference were,

To work for unity and agreement among all India women, to support those working for women's education; and to ensure that both religious education and practical training were included in the curriculum; to promote the improvement of child rearing, health care and homemaking.<sup>36</sup>

The desire to improve the educational status and opportunities for Muslim girls, AIMLC stressed that, no Muslim girl should be married before the age of sixteen, as early marriage was detrimental to girl's education.<sup>37</sup> Forum of the Conference was an important, forceful medium towards the changing circumstances at that time. The foundation of the AIMLC further paved the way for the establishment of the Indian Women's Association in 1917.<sup>38</sup> From the platform of organization, local branches of the *Anjuman* were formed and number of schools for girls were founded by the members. AIMLC successfully conducted annual sessions in Delhi, Lahore, Calcutta, Agra, Deccan and in other cities. In 1929, AIMLC's eleventh Session held in Deccan, resolutions were passed on the need to establish Medical College for girls and *Zananah Jami'ah 'Uthmaniyyah*.<sup>39</sup> Conference also convinced educated women to establish *anjuman*-s for the social welfare and education. Women of respected family would visit hospitals, orphan houses, and work voluntarily in schools to provide financial help for girl's education.<sup>40</sup> Gradually the membership and branches of the Conference increased. During sessions of Conference, the problems like shortage of schools for Muslim girls, availability of female teachers and finance came under discussion along with the debate on the custom of child marriage. These were gigantic obstacles in the way of women education. At the event of annual meetings of the Conference, Muslim Ladies

Industrial Exhibitions were arranged to display crafts to accumulate money for activities of Conference, education and social welfare of Muslim women. The exhibitions were appreciated by the public and they admired the talent and projects of women who could generate that sort of work. AIMLC played essential part in the social transformation of the Muslim community, women were encouraged to remove superstitions and educate themselves to characterize moral, religious and social ideas. Increasing interest about modern education among Muslim women of *shurafa*' family and their social interaction with the women of other communities changed their social attitude.

### **3.5: ALL-INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE**

AIWC was another forum, actively working for women's rights in British India. The meeting of women was organized at all India level. The gatherings were attended by female belonging to various communities. At the occasion of establishment of AIWC, fifty eight delegates were chosen to attend this meeting.<sup>41</sup> AIWC was unique in its significance. The organization provided representation to women of all communities of then India. The well known Muslim women already putting their efforts for the cause were approached to attend the AIWC meetings. Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz was from Lahore to represent the delegation from Punjab. In 1927 an all India women's gathering was held at Poona under the presidency of the *Maharani* of Barodah and AIWC was brought into existence.<sup>42</sup>

The AIWC was primarily concerned with influencing government policy on women in the field of education, social service, personal law, suffrage, employment and health.<sup>43</sup>

In this way, the effort for women education and their rights on the part of Muslim women was joined by women of other communities in India as well. It was

admitted that, the cause of women has full expression in the AIWC and their voice had won a hearing more particularly in the field of public health and education.<sup>44</sup>

Next year in 1928, the annual session of the conference was held in Delhi. It was presided over by Sultan Janan Begum of Bhopal. She acknowledged, up till then whatever had achieved for women education was the result of men's effort. Moreover, she encouraged women with the intention to take the responsibility of their welfare by themselves as they could understand and realize their needs in a better way. Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz and Begum Hamid Ali of the Tayyabji family played an efficient role in AIWC. They invited Sir Jahan Simon to attend the inaugural session of Conference. It was an eye-opening event for him.

That great document, the Simon Report, paid a well merited tribute to the women of India in the words; "The women's movement in India holds the key to progress, and the results it may achieve are incalculably great. It is not too much to say that India cannot reach the position to which it aspires the world until its women play their part as educated citizens."<sup>45</sup>

In January 1929, AIWC was held in Lucknow, and ten to twelve, Muslim women participated in the session.<sup>46</sup> Resolution was passed for the establishment of such kind of training schools that trained female teachers to teach in village schools. Other resolutions were about child marriage, women's inheritance right and customary *pardah*.<sup>47</sup> At the forum of AIWC, Muslim women were well represented by Begum Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, as she remained its active member till 1947. This platform, she expressed the views and concerns of Muslims about the education of their women folks. She proposed curriculum for girls which included important subjects of Home Economics like; Dietetics, Child Psychology, Mothercraft and Book keeping.<sup>48</sup> As a result a Home Economics Institution named Lady Irwin College was opened. In 1932, All India Women's Conference meeting was held which was

presided by Begum Hamid Ali, among the resolutions passed at the Conference were compulsory primary education for girls, urging all, particularly Muslim parents, to facilitate their daughter's higher education.<sup>49</sup>

Growth of women's associations and *anjuman*-s increased the discussion on significance of Muslim women education and rights. The developments however, were confined only to the educated middle class on social level. In cities the discussion on education was getting momentum day by day but, in towns and villages the situation was opposite to it.<sup>50</sup> The objective of the *anjuman*-s and associations was to promote understanding, unity on the demand and argument about the education of women. The other focal points were to ensure the community and consult persons, the implementation of curriculum suggested by modernist and intellectuals for the education of female section of Muslim society in India during early twentieth century.

The *anjuman*-s successfully conducted meetings in different cities that were attended by over hundreds of women from different parts of country. Thus, women learned to exercise their influence on other members of their family to ensure education among their female, keeping in view the need of changing circumstances. The associations became, so popular among women, that when at Madrass, Indian Muslim Women Conference was held on 18 April 1938, for the first time, it was attended by more than twelve hundred women from different cities of the province.<sup>51</sup>

The conferences not merely provided opportunities to women of different areas to come and share their problems with each other, but also created sense of being a functional part of a community. The gatherings of Muslim women broadened their vision, awareness, self confidence and sense of responsibility as member of the Muslim society. Though in the meetings, *pardah* was observed but was simplified in its arrangement. As there was a time when women of *shurafa'* were not allowed even

to meet other women of society. When Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah started school for Muslim girls, he faced that kind of objections too. The *anjuman-s* played their part in strengthening the movement for education of women folk. As a result, they provided platform to convey the message and policy of modernist to take steps on the way to educate Muslim women according to modern temperament, with observation of the religious and moral values in altering state of culture and way of life.

Several Muslim ladies associations and *anjuman-s* were working in different cities in their limited capacity. The need was felt to develop common thought among them on all India level to raise one voice for the promotion of their aims and working. For example, in a meeting of Muslim Ladies Conference held at Agara, on 3 July 1931, recommendations were passed that, all *anjuman-s* working separately should affiliate themselves with AIMLC.<sup>52</sup>

When the major developments were happening through pronounced associations the regional *anjuman-s* were also emerging. In Hyderabad Deccan several women *anjuman-s* were working for the promotion of intellectual activities among women. *Bazm-i-Niswan* was one of the *anjuman-s* that was working under limited resources with specific agenda. The key points were, struggle for dynamic progress of female, provision of educational opportunities, struggle to combat the social evils, development of the art and craft industry.<sup>53</sup> The *anjuman* used to pen down the women activities on monthly bases. Another *anjuman* named *Anjuman-i-Tarki-i-T'alim-o-Tamadn-i-Niswan* which held its annual sessions presided by respected women of Hyderabad.<sup>54</sup> Third important *anjuman* of Hyderabad-Deccan was *Anjuman-i-Khawatin-i-Deccan* which emerged to serve the Muslim female. It was led by one of the prominent intellectual lady, Sughara Begum Humayun Mirza (1884-1959). This *anjuman* was also running some girl schools.<sup>55</sup> Such kind of

*anjuman-s* provided the opportunities to the Muslim women for self-expression with confidence and building up of their confidence.

The efforts intended for the spread of education among Muslim women were not just confined to men, but with the passage of time, several *anjuman-s* and associations emerged, run by women themselves. The organizers of the associations and conferences met in each other homes to discuss and formulate proposals to introduce education among women and social reforms to secure their rights given by Islam. The strength behind the establishment of *anjuman-s* was the policies and vision of modernists to expand their agenda at maximum point, generate an overall debate on the need and importance of education for Muslim female for the survival of the Muslim generations in changing requirements of the society. Women associations along with AHI and AIMEC, the pioneers of Muslim women education, were supported by women journals and magazines. They published their venues and proceedings along with comments on their merits and demerits.

All these associations and *anjuman-s* were working with diverse capacities with same intentions ahead to enhance literacy among Muslim female for the advancement and progress of Muslim community in India. They encouraged Muslims to take further steps for promotion of education for female at maximum level by changing their perception towards women education and considering it as their greatest responsibility. Holding of crafts exhibition was regular part of the annual sessions of *anjuman-s* and conferences. They were source of finance for *anjuman-s* to meet the expenditure and expansion of their agenda. Though, the establishment of associations and organizations by modernists never the less was painstaking task, but proved to be fruitful for the propagation of Muslim women education at all India level.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> For details about *Arya Samaj* and other Hindu reformist movements, see, J. N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1977).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 347.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 349.

<sup>4</sup> Abdul Rashid Khan, *The All India Muslim Educational Conference*, 16. Sir Sayyid's educational thoughts gyrate something like the theory of 'infiltration', 'which believes that it is better to educate a few hundreds thoroughly than millions superficially, for the education given to these hundred will necessarily filter down to the millions'. T. N. Siqueira, *The Education of India*, 29.

<sup>5</sup> 'It was as a result of inspiration from Sir Syed's reform movement that the *Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam* started opening schools for girls in Lahore in the mid-1880s'; Dushka Saiyid, *Muslim Women of the British Punjab*, 43.

<sup>6</sup> S. M. Zaman, ed., *Quaid-I-Azam and Education*, 346-47.

<sup>7</sup> S. Razi Wasti, "Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore: A Brief History", *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* 3, No. 1-2 (1966): 69.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 66. Masood Akhtar Zahid, "Empire and Women: Perspectives on Literacy in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Punjab" *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, 19, No 2 (1998): 66.

<sup>10</sup> Hafeez Malik, *Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Muslim Modernization in India and Pakistan*, (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1988), 218.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 219.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 220.

<sup>13</sup> Abdul Rashid Khan, *The All India Muslim Educational Conference*, 116.

<sup>14</sup> Sarfaraz Husain Mirza, *Muslim Women*, 8.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 8-9.

<sup>16</sup> Abdul Rashid Khan, *The All India Muslim Educational Conference*, 120.

<sup>17</sup> Imtiaz Ahmad, *Modernization and Social Change Among Muslim in India*, 214,

<sup>18</sup> Abdul Rashid Khan, *The All India Muslim Educational Conference*, 121.

<sup>19</sup> Sarfaraz Husain Mirza, *Muslim Women*, 11.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>21</sup> Abdul Rashid Khan, *The All India Muslim Educational Conference*, 121.

<sup>22</sup> Sarfaraz Husain Mirza, *Muslim Women*, 11.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>24</sup> Lubna Kazim, *A Women of Substance*, 51.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> 'As the crowd was walking out of Strachey Hall of MAOC, after a meeting full of praise for Shaikh Abdullah, Shaukat Ali came up from behind, thumped his rival on the shoulder and said he deserved a beating for getting all that praise without having done anything'. David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, 334.

<sup>28</sup> Abdul Rashid Khan, *The All India Muslim Educational Conference*, 139.

<sup>29</sup> Hafeez Malik, *Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Muslim Modernization*, 225.

<sup>30</sup> Report, *All India Muslim Educational Kanfarans*. (Aligarh: Sharwani Printing Press, 1940), 46.

<sup>31</sup> 'The demand for trained Mohammedan teacher is so very limited on account of the reluctance of Mohammedan to educate their daughters in school that there are a few trained Mohammedan teachers not able to obtain suitable employment'. Bureau of Education, *India: Education in India in 1923-24* (Calcutta: Government of India, Central Publication Branch, 1926), 37.

<sup>32</sup> *Report, All India Muslim Educational Kanfarans*, 49.

<sup>33</sup> Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, *Father and Daughter*, 24.

<sup>34</sup> For details see, *ibid.*, 25.

<sup>35</sup> Abdul Rashid Khan, *The All India Muslim Educational Conference*, 135.

<sup>36</sup> Maitrayee Chaudhuri, *Indian Women's Movement: Reform and Revival* (New Delhi: Radiant Publishers, 1993). 109.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> Azra A. Ali, *The Emergence of Feminism*, 36; Also see, Maitrayee Chaudhuri, *Indian Women's Movement*.

<sup>39</sup> *Tehzib-i-Niswan*, 16 March 1929, 252.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 251.

<sup>41</sup> Matson Everett, *Women and Social Change in India*, 71.

<sup>42</sup> Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, *Father and Daughter*, 92.

<sup>43</sup> Matson Everett, *Women and Social Change in India*, 75; Also see, Maitrayee Chaudhuri, *Indian Women's Movement*.

<sup>44</sup> A. H. Howlett, "Our Fighting Dominions" *Teachers World and Schoolmistress*, 23 February 1944, 5.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*; also see *Father and Daughter*, 92-3, Jahan Ara Shahnawaz wrote in her book that, Sir John Simon himself told her the sentence written in the Simon Report that, "the key of India's progress lies in the hands of its women" was exactly what he had felt after attending the women's conference.

<sup>46</sup> *Tehzib-i-Niswan*, 18 May 1929, 465-6.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 467.

<sup>48</sup> Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, *Father and Daughter*, 170.

<sup>49</sup> Shahida Lateef, *Muslim Women in India*, 90.

<sup>50</sup> *Tehzib-i-Niswan*, 13 July 1929, 685-86.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 14 May 1938, 463.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 26 September 1931, 973.

<sup>53</sup> Nasir-ul Din Hashmi, *Khawatin-i-Deccan ki Urdu Khidmat*, 257.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 261.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

# *CHAPTER 4*

## ROLE OF MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS IN THE PROMOTION OF MUSLIM WOMEN EDUCATION

The printing press is one of the influential channels through which knowledge and information reach to masses. Its significance, as an instrument for the propagation of awareness is noticeable. It facilitates the production of cost effective volume of knowledge in large number and carries knowledge to every door. Different forms of printed material including books, magazines, journals and newspapers allow the individuals to gain information not only for them but also to exchange it with others. They encompass, issues relating to daily life, religious topics, social issues, and information related to scientific as well as technical advancement.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Urdu journalism appeared on the intellectual scene of India.<sup>1</sup> Within short period of time, it became powerful medium for socio-political and educational reforms in the society.<sup>2</sup> However, as far as the education for Muslim women was concerned, initially the newspapers were not very vocal in supporting it. They seemed to be not interested in discussion about merits and demerits of Muslim women education. However, some of them provided limited place to the issue. For example in *Paisa Akhbar* whose editor was Mehbub 'alam, there was one regular column with the title of '*'alam-i-Niswan'*' it consisted of certain information about the development of women education.<sup>3</sup>

By the end of nineteenth century, debate on Muslim women education became visible in the circle of Urdu journalism. This paved the way for the establishment of Urdu women's journals and newspaper, with particular aim, to discuss issues related to female section of the Muslim society. The biweekly *Akhbar-i-Niswan* was the first Urdu journal for Muslim women. It was started by Sayyid Ahmad Dehlawi in 1887 in

Delhi, but was closed after a very short period of time. Another monthly *Mu'allim-i-Niswan* was published by Mawlawi Muhibb-i-Husain in 1892 from Hyderabad-Deccan, but was also closed down shortly. Modernists used the medium to express their views on the need for educated Muslim female and generated an intellectual debate on it. Within short period of time, number of women journals sprung up to achieve this end. Thus, the establishment of the women magazines proved to be a blessing in disguise. It gave boost to the efforts of the modernists for circulation of more literature to impart knowledge and information to strengthen the movement for Muslim women education. The journals proved to be the voice of modernity and spokesman of women's rights.

It was the first time that Muslim women in India was being addressed as a group, and were being encouraged to write and speak for themselves<sup>4</sup>.

The most important newspapers and magazines were *Tehzib-i-Niswan*, *Khatun*, *ismat* and *Sharif Bibi*. The newspapers helped effectively in spread and expansion of women's education in number of ways.

#### **4.1: WEEKLY TEHZIB-i-NISWAN (LAHORE)**

*Tehzib-i-Niswan* was a prominent women's Urdu weekly, started by Sayyid Mumtaz Ali and his wife Muhammadi Begum in the year 1898. Sayyid Mumtaz Ali was one of those Muslim intellectuals who had modernist view about Muslim women education. His keen interest and consciousness about the progress of Muslim society encouraged him to start *Tehzib-i-Niswan*. Its focus was to discuss problems related to women education, child-marriage and *pardah*. Articles on social and moral training, education, household management, historical tales and informations about other countries were main contents. Soon *Tehzib-i-Niswan* caught attention of both men and women. They took initiative to write articles about concerned issues.

*Tehzib-i-Niswan*'s modernist outlook was reflected in the writings of its contributors. They wished and strived to bring social changes within Muslim society in the prevailing circumstances of country, within the framework of Islamic values. *Tehzib-i-Niswan* appealed the Muslim society at length, to educate women. It effectively convinced the members of the society that education enables women to offer their services as, enlightened, careful and confident persons, for the development of Muslim society in changing conditions. *Tehzib-i-Niswan* appeared at time when education of women was not considered very important and was limited to reading of the *Qur'an* and *Ahadith* only.

Publication of *Tehzib-i-Niswan* caused resentment amongst conservative Muslim families. They accused Mumtaz Ali of inciting women to revolt but he was not deterred from his reforming work.<sup>5</sup>

Sayyid Mumtaz Ali successfully demonstrated to the society that the preservation of traditional values and progress could be achieved all together in the course of providing education to women on modern lines. He encouraged women to express and share views, experiences, problems and need of education for the Muslim women with others, from the platform of *Tehzib-i-Niswan*. Newspaper tried to stimulate intellectual discussions on women education by quoting the example of other countries. For example, in column '*Waliyy'i Ma'lumat*', an article '*Malaya ki aurtean*' discussed the issues of *pardah*, education, women associations, their occupations and interests.<sup>6</sup> Thus, according to Sayyid Mumtaz Ali, Muslim women in India should also be aware of the struggle going on for women issues in other countries. As the purpose and aim behind the publication of *Tehzib-i-Niswan* was to create favorable environment to extend education among female section of the Muslim society. Keeping it in view *Tehzib-i-Niswan* used to give full coverage to the

activities of different women associations and *anjuman-s*, working for Muslim women education. It appreciated their activities and progress with positive criticism. The paper also proposed recommendations for improvement in their working. It is interesting to note that in early 1900s the idea of women conference was raised from the platform of *Tehzib-i-Niswan*. In 1902 an essay was published in which Sultan Begum expressed her concern for the deplorable condition of *t'alim-i-niswan* and called upon educated women to come forward to take the charge. She stated, in this regard the establishment of the *Zananah* Conference as the need of the hour, which could provide constructive suggestions and collect donations to make the mission successful in accordance with the teachings of Islam as well as with the Indian Muslim social traditions.<sup>7</sup> It was through *Tehzib-i-Niswan* that educated women started taking interest in the education of their fellow sisters. They suggested various measures to spread education among female such as to hire buildings for girl's school and arrangement of transport for *pardah* observing students. With the passage of time number of girl's school were established. It also published annual reports of Muslim girl's schools working in different areas, and requests for funds for their financial support. One of the main objectives achieved by newspaper was to provide relevant reading substance. Earlier in his book, *Huquq-i-Niswan*, Mumtaz Ali suggested the formation of committee to read existing Urdu books and novels to select to review them in newspaper. In this way useful books would be available and harmful literature would be avoided.

Large number of books which were considered more useful and un-harmful for women's learning, reached door to door through their publications in this paper. Those books increased the vision of women who were confined to the four wall of their houses and made them intellectually capable to understand the importance of high values words like, 'Azadi-i-Niswan', 'T'alim-i-Niswan' 'Taraqy-i-Niswan'.<sup>8</sup>

Forum of the *Tehzib-i-Niswan* was used to encourage Muslim women to establish different *anjuman*-s for awareness among Muslim women.<sup>9</sup> One of them was *Tehzib-i-Niswan anjuman*, established in Roorkee, UP and due to the efforts of its members; a Muslim girl's school was opened in the area.<sup>10</sup> *Tehzib-i-Niswan* also provided platform to educate Muslim women to express their views and consciousness about the education of their fellow women. It urged that, Muslims should become conscious about establishment of schools for their daughters, where they could acquire both religious and worldly education.

*Tehzib-i-Niswan* was India's first women's weekly newspaper, started in 1898 and successfully contributed to the movement for Muslim women education in India up till 1947. Its first editor was Muhammadi Begum. She was a vigilant Urdu writer who used her pen for the cause of education for women and for their social reforms. Her first work was *Sharif Baiti*, some of the other books included; *Adab-i-Mulaqat*, *Hayat-i-Ashraf*, *Khanadri* and *Safia Begum*.<sup>11</sup> After Muhammadi Begum, Waheeda Begum, daughter of Sayyid Mumtaz Ali became co-editor of *Tehzib-i-Niswan* from 1908 to 1917. After her death, Sayyid Mumtaz Ali and his daughter in-law Asif Jahan Begum became editor. After the death of Sayyid Mumtaz Ali, his son Imtiaz Ali Taj (1900-70) supervised the newspaper upto 1948.

#### **4.2: MONTHLY *KHATUN* (ALIGARH)**

Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah a strong supporter of Muslim women education launched his monthly Urdu journal *Khatun* from Aligarh in 1904. It remained on the scene of Urdu journalism until 1914. Purpose of the journal was to propagate the idea of education and knowledge among Muslim women, provision of reading material for *pardah* observing women to enlighten their thinking and develop taste of reading,

through fresh ideas. Along this, *Khatun* was used to create awareness about social well being, intellectual growth, and character building of Muslim women and to convince male section of Muslim community for the need to improve their educational status. Shaikh Abdullah had the strength to stand firm on his ideas and beliefs. He did what he considered right regardless of opinions and reactions of others.

In, *risalah Khatun* he wrote many articles and expressed his views to educate Muslim girls on modern lines. He emphasized the need to start a school for girls in which, they would get better education under institutional supervision as compared to home. Thus it would enable women to bring enlightenment in their homes to eradicate social evils, superstitions and ignorance among other women of society. In this way 'the dark corners of *zananah* would be illuminated'.<sup>12</sup> Shaikh Abdullah realized the need to involve female to achieve success in the mission to increase literacy among Muslim female. He provided them the platform of *Khatun* to express and present their views. He requested his associates to encourage their wives to write for the journal. The contributors of the journal, both male and female, urged upon the Muslim community to support and strengthen the cause of Muslim women education for the progress of society. Mawlana Altaf Husain Hali wrote a poem *Chup ki Dad*, on the request of Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah that was published in *Khatun* in December 1905. At the occasion of AIMEC session held in 1907 at Karachi, Shaikh Abdullah asserted the significance of *Khatun* in these wards,

It would be impossible to gain any success without the publication of *risalah Khatun*. It was entirely dedicated for the women education. He further proclaimed that he and his associates convey their message and views to the nation through this source.<sup>13</sup>

Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah, Begum Abdullah and her sisters were regular contributors of the *risalah Khatun*. It came with a new voice, new articles on religion and stories with a specific message.

In December 1911, a story was written where a mother in law seeks a cure for her daughter in law from fake *pir-s* instead of a *hakim* and she dies, similarly, another story had a message about ignorance, where a boy dies through lack of proper medical attention.<sup>14</sup>

The other subjects, like Muslim ceremonies, personal hygiene, *tarbiyat-i-aulad*, modesty in dress, moral teaching, history, current affairs, stories and information related to Turkish, Japanese and Korean women, need for educational material, curricula, the pros and cons of teaching English to women, the need for improved text books, women student's need for fresh air and exercise (maintaining *pardah* behind the high walls of the institutions), reports of women's *anjuman-s*, school committees, speeches by Weheed Jahan Begum Abdullah, Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah and Sultan Jahan Begum of Bhopal were also published in the journal.<sup>15</sup> Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah had to do much for fund raising for *Zananah* School, Aligarh, so, *Khatun* also served the purpose to convey the public as well as authorities to donate for the noble cause. Appeal for funds for school, hostel buildings and other requirements were also expressed through *Tehzib-i-Niswan*, time to time.

Reports of AIMEC were regular part of the journal as the chief patron Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah was Secretary of the AIMEC's Women Section. Programs and venue holding, ladies handicrafts exhibitions were published and advertised in *Khatun* to invite as many as participants as possible. Through *risala Khatun*, Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah along with his wife generated public interest in women education. *Khatun* idealized female as individuals who had duties and rights in

Muslim society. The progress of Muslim community in India depended on their progress and education. It achieved its goal that was set at the time of its publication.

It is as essential to focus our attention on prevailing condition of female as it is for men. We consider this need as our profound duty and in order to materialize this duty, we launched paper named as *Khatun*. It will be a monthly paper that will be based only on female issues.<sup>17</sup>

*Khatun* spread the light of knowledge to enlighten the mind of Muslim women. Shaikh Abdullah believed that, as compare to father, mother play vital role in shaping the mind and future of their children. Thus a mother could teach what she knew, so let her gain the best available knowledge. In this way progress of future generations of the nation depends upon women education.

#### **4.3: MONTHLY 'ISMAT (DELHI)**

In 1908, another important journal that contributed well for the education of Muslim women was '*ismat*' started by Rashidul Khairi from Delhi.<sup>18</sup> He used print media to express his views and remained its editor from 1908 to 1922. He was not alone, his wife, Mubarak Zaman also contributed in Khairi's serialized novels published in '*ismat*' time to time. Mostly, her contribution was on topics like stitching, embroidery, tailoring, folk songs and old social customs.<sup>19</sup> The tradition was carried on by Raziqul Khairi when he became editor in 1923. His wife Khatun Akram also assisted him from 1923 to 1924. She wrote on different issues related to women, which were greatly admired by the readers.<sup>20</sup> After Khatun Akram's death, Raziqul Khairi married with Amina Begum, she also helped her husband in editing '*ismat*' from 1929 to 1947.<sup>21</sup>

In early decade of the twentieth century, as there was lack of education and some social obstacle, women were not able and allowed to express themselves through writing. It caused shortage of female writers in early days of '*ismat*'. So to

cover weakness and shortcoming, Rashidul Khairi used to write on various issues by using women's name.<sup>22</sup> However with the passage of time, educational level and awareness among women increased. They started contributing in '*ismat*' to further advance the knowledge and needs of women education. '*ismat*' pages reveal the history of movement for Muslim women education on modernist lines. It covered variety of subjects to accomplish its mission; to impart knowledge, to change the views of people about women education and status, and to develop culture of reading.

The message of Rashidul Khairi was essentially that a new campaign for the improvement of women position in the context of their traditional household and family role should be launched.<sup>23</sup> He not only expressed his views about women education through '*ismat*' along with his other writings but also established a school for *pardah* observing girls in Delhi, named *Tarbiyyatgah-i-Banat* and developed its special curriculum.<sup>24</sup>

Besides its social message the aim behind '*ismat*' was to educate women and help them in their everyday lives. To accomplish that goal, reading material based on different topics was published in it. That included national, international information, issues related to women's rights, novels, stories, poetry about socio-political and economic problems. With that, '*ismat*' provided coaching to women to improve economic condition of their families through management of finance. Along with that, craft work, cooking recipes, fashion tip, information about diseases and their methods of treatment were regular part of '*ismat*'.

The concept behind '*ismat*' was, to educate women about their rights and wider responsibilities as members of the Muslim society in British India. '*ismat*' published news with information and knowledge to circulate within women circle. That made them aware of the changing environment of British Indian society. Those

circumstances compelled them to take step to play their role for further improvement. Through articles; women were made conscious to get education for better, moral, emotional, behavioral, physical, psychological and social upbringing of their children. On the other hand, it aimed to develop understanding between husband and wife and create peace and harmony among family members. Wisdom and foresightedness of women could save family from devastation.<sup>25</sup> It could only be possible when Muslim women would have opportunity to get education.

In articles published in '*ismat*', women writers emphasized on the need of professional education for women to generate income and participate in economic uplift of their family as well as Muslim society.<sup>26</sup> They stressed upon the women; to be aware of changing demands and moods of educated class, enhance knowledge and skills that, they acquired traditionally, by studying new literature and books available, even in English. For example; they could get new and modern ideas about dress designing, embroidery and other handicraft from books. Those who have some knowledge of understanding English could learn these methods and techniques by themselves and those, who could not, their male members at home could read and convey to them, as these techniques were very easy to follow. In this way, they would be able to get more benefit and profit.<sup>27</sup> Women's writings in '*ismat*' became a source of social interaction among members of the Muslim society, a way to combat domestic isolation and loneliness.<sup>28</sup>

'*ismat*' proved to be an outlet for women folk to express their considerations of women's equal rights. The authoress tried to resolve misunderstanding and misconception about *T'alim-i-Niswan* and *Azadi-i-Niswan* between both male and female section of Muslim society to create harmony and understanding among them. It was stated that,

*Khuwahish-i-Azadi* and equality dose not meant that women want to follow immoral attitude, nor it meant that they want to be equipped with weapons like men. But liberty just meant that their emotional and psychological abilities should not be allowed to destroy. The intellect which nature has bestowed to them can develop well....The ability of thinking and understanding which, they have can utilize them effectively. Equality meant that women duties and responsibilities should not be considered minute and undermined, due to these responsibilities they should not be humiliated.<sup>29</sup>

Initially the readership and circulation of journal was limited. However, with the passage of time it increased<sup>30</sup> in number and it became one of the major source for exchange of various modern ideas.

#### **4.4: MONTHLY *SHARIF BIBI* (LAHORE)**

Another important magazine published from Lahore was *Sharif Bibi*. The name of its editor, Fatima Begum was not mentioned on its title.<sup>31</sup> Fatima Begum received her early education at home (under the supervision of her father Mehbub 'alam, editor of *Paisa Akhbar*, Lahore) and completed her master's degree from the University of the Punjab.

Fatima Begum started her practical life as a teacher in the Lady MacLagan College, Lahore. She was supporter of Muslim women educational, social and cultural advancement. Fatima Begum was first general secretary the *Anjuman-i-Khawatin-i-Islam* and was closely associated with the all India Muslim Ladies Conference. She was also an active member of all India Women's Conference. In 1930, she was appointed inspectress of Urdu schools for girls in the Bombay Municipal Corporation.<sup>32</sup> In 1937, she founded Jinnah Islamia College for Women in Nawan Kot, and a High School for Girls in 1944 at Lahore.<sup>33</sup>

She was regular contributor to a number of women's newspapers and journals. *Sharif Bibi* famous Urdu newspaper was published from Lahore under her guidance

from 1913 to 1919.<sup>34</sup> The motto of *Sharif Bibi* was to uphold the cause of Muslim women education in latest and changed situation. It was monthly magazine that covered variety of issues and subjects related to women. The stuff consisted of articles, stories, novels, news related to women both at national and international levels, poetry and advertisements. Intention behind was to encourage women to participate in literary developments and achievements, *Sharif Bibi* also expressed the need to make available, appropriate reading material for women. Magazine tried to stimulate rational discussion on issues related to Muslim women education and their responsibilities at large extent for well being of Muslim families.

*Sharif Bibi* proved itself as forum from where people had expressed their views and consciousness about the developments for women education. For example, debate on the need of such kind of reading material and novels which were required for Muslim female were done in its articles. In one of its articles, stress had been made that,

These novels should not exclusively focus on English way of life, but we should learn lesson from it to extent which would be useful and according to our needs. Novels should include evils of bad upbringing, useless thoughts and customs, ill-mannered, lavished and luxurious life style. House hold management good etiquettes, religious believes, the wish to respect and care elders of family, and rules and principles of health care should be taught. Female should be made aware of about pros and cons of life, at different stages of their lives as daughter, sister wife and mother. They should be aware of the things which they have to face and responsibilities which they have to fulfill successfully.<sup>35</sup>

She was conscious about the subject matter of the literature for women. She made the Muslims to realize, how to and what to educate the Muslim women. Center of attention should not be the only rich families, but poor and middle class people need more guidance and education about proper house management, as they formed

larger part of society.<sup>36</sup> Article gave an idea about people's interest and expectations about the knowledge and information imported to women.

Through, *Sharif Bibi* more stress was made on the need to give considerable attention towards house hold management while educating girls in schools, because limited education of reading and writing skills could not be proved useful and satisfactory.<sup>37</sup> Girls should be trained as well as educated for their far reaching effective role and responsibilities from home to community level.

It was articulated that,

At present there are two types of cultures present in front of us, Western Culture and Eastern Culture. As the Eastern Culture seems dead one. Same is the case with Western Culture, as it also had some bad things. It is our duty to find out midway, so that firstly proved to be well wisher for both and secondly through reforms make it beneficial for country men.<sup>38</sup>

*Sharif Bibi* also contains useful information about health and treatment<sup>39</sup> to communicate the message that, such kind of knowledge was important and essential for women to play their part in healthy upbringing of new generation. The segment of 'Zananah Khaberain aur ra'i' reported activates of women and their associations, prize distribution ceremonies of girls schools, crafts exhibitions along other developments for women education.<sup>40</sup> Magazine also pointed out the superstitions of ignorant and uneducated women through poetry.<sup>41</sup> The message was communicated in magazine, to educate women, to improve the conditions of home and made them good mothers, so that they could educate and train their children well according to the changing state of affairs. The only possible mean to make women good wives, who understand their husbands well and prove themselves as trust worthy companions, could be the education. That was possible only by education of women, on well defined lines.

#### 4.5: MONTHLY *NUR JAHAN* (GUJRANWALA)

The women journals and newspapers; *Tehzib-i-Niswan*, *'isamt*, *Khatun*, and *Sharif Bibi*, proved to be examples and impressed some other conscious persons to take part in the struggle for Muslim women education through print media. Number of other newspapers and journals were started to spread out the movement of women education.<sup>42</sup> One of them was *risalah Nur Jahan* a monthly journal published from Gujranwala by Mir Azizur Rahman, who was a graduate of MAOC. Both men and women were its contributors, who wrote on issues concerning women. Its area under discussion consisted of reports on women's associations functioning for encouragement of their education.<sup>43</sup> Articles and stories about the struggle of women from other Muslim countries, admiring their abilities to participate in the progress of country. For example, story of a Turkish lady Khalida Adib Khanam. She was the world's first woman, who became Education Minister of her country.<sup>44</sup> Poetry published in the journal also revolved around women's problem and expressed aspiration for education and knowledge.

In the monthly, there was a regular topic on '*Waqi'at-i-'alim aur Dilchasp Ma'lumat*' that contained national and international news and information to make female aware about the events taking place at that time.<sup>45</sup> In an article '*Tehriq Azadi-o-T'alim-i-Niswan*' published in the journal by a female writer, criticized the Muslims for not taking interest in women education. She pointed out that due to ignorance and lack of interest, Muslim girl's school in certain areas in UP were closed down. She urged upon the Muslim community to establish schools for girls and make them operational effectively by taking deep interest.<sup>46</sup> Fatima Begum in her article '*Hakumat aur Hindustani 'urat*' urged that,

Muslim should become mindful about establishment of schools for their daughters; from where they acquire both religious and worldly education. Make possible the availability of good and authentic moral and religious books. Established more than one training school to make available best and intelligent teachers for their daughters. It is not the time to remain ignorant and silent but it is the time to work and struggle hard.<sup>47</sup>

*Nur Jahan* provided a platform for the establishment of Development Program for women initiated by Mir Azizur Rahman, *Tehrik-i-Darul Khuwatin* with the intention of women educational, social, moral and economic uplift, provision of funds for higher studies scholarships to fulfill the need of Muslim teachers, lady doctors and nurses.<sup>48</sup> *Mina Bazar* was organized for collection of funds; its rules and regulations with venue were published in the journal.<sup>49</sup> Azizur Rahman considered and wanted to see

women as savior of the Muslim nation and he considered their intellectual, moral, spiritual progress, education and training more essential than men's education and progress. To accomplish the future needs and to keep Muslim nation in rank of progressive nations, Muslim women's correct Islamic and *Nisa'ey [Niswani] 'lim* should be our priority. It is obligatory not to only for one person, but for every one who have sensitive heart and intelligent mind.<sup>50</sup>

Shaikh Muhammad Abdullah founder of *Khatun* appealed the people to support the mission. He pointed out the abilities of Azizur Rahman and claimed that, he knew him while he was a student. He worked at different position for five years and had the aptitude to supervise every thing professionally within short period of time. According to Shaikh Abdullah, Azizur Rahman was a practical man and could manage the task efficiently.<sup>51</sup>

One of the female editors who played fabulous role in the field of journalism was Sughara Begum Humayun Mirza. She was born in Hyderabad-Deccan in 1884. She received education at home. She was blessed with the innate capabilities of writing. 'She was first lady from Hyderabad-Deccan who took interest for the welfare

of the Muslim female. She worked to draw attention to the socio-cultural status and responsibilities of female section of society'.<sup>52</sup> She contributed a long list of various books and novels mostly gyrating around the female issues.<sup>53</sup> Her literary efforts were appreciated even by Mawlana Altaf Husain Hali, he reviewed her novel *Mushir-i-Niswan*.<sup>54</sup> She was first lady from Hyderabad-Deccan who edited a *risalah, al-Nisa'* in 1920.<sup>55</sup> The *risalah* remained on the seen far three years and provided opportunity to male and female of Hyderabad-Deccan to contribute their literal work. The journal covered literal, moral and social subjects very effectively. Sughara Begum started another women monthly journal from Lahore with the name of *Zaibun Nisa*.<sup>56</sup> She also contributed a part of her inherent property for women education and established an institution named as *Madrasah Sajdriah* in 1921.<sup>57</sup>

North West Frontier Province (NWFP), (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) was educationally very backward. The prejudices of Muslim of the area against women education were so great. Till 1911, 'only one Muslim female out of 1000, in Frontier was able to read and write'.<sup>58</sup> 'There was no high school for girls till 1921, and a girl's college was still a dream of the future'.<sup>59</sup> *Khudai Khidmatgar Tehrik* (KKT) commonly known as Red-Shirts took the agenda of the Muslim women. They propagated that the educated women were a need of the hour. Man behind the KKT was Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (1890-1988) who 'stressed the need of education for female, and urged the *Pashtoons* to give their women the best modern education, as acting against it would definitely result in prolonging their slavery'.<sup>60</sup> He established a modern Azad School in Uthmanzai, Peshawar in 1910 to bring education to his people. 'Abdul Ghaffar Khan reiterated that, his aim is to struggle for the rights of depressed people and especially for the women who were lagging far behind their men in education'.<sup>61</sup> He started publication of magazine *Pakhtun* 1928, and 'the

columns of *Pakhtun* were open for women to write about their problems'.<sup>62</sup> Initially, women contributed in it without disclosing their identities. They stretched their services to community and nation. Through, *Pakhtun*, women writers used to persuade educated women for propagation of education among their fellow women. In magazine, 'Mahar Sultan one of the student of Azad School, suggested that, if there is one educated women in a village it is her responsibility to give basic education to those who are unable to get it'.<sup>63</sup> Another learned women Nagina, accused male section of society and argued, 'our hands, our feet and our brains are kept in a state of coma, if you want us to share the responsibility of national work, give us education'.<sup>64</sup> Alike views were expressed by Sayyida Bushra Begum, she lamented on the backwardness of the women and 'demanded modern education for the womenfolk'.<sup>65</sup> *Pakhtun* became an important mode of expression about women education and their role in community. However, from 1946 onwards, it mostly took the political message. The contribution of *Pakhtun* for the expansion of movement for Muslim women in NWFP could not be neglected. With the passage of time, people started sending their daughters to educational institutions. As there was no female college in the Province till 1930, few students from NWFP went to Lahore and joined the Jinnah Islamia College for Women, it was 1930-31 that one female from the province passed the B.A examination.<sup>66</sup>

In changing minds towards Muslim women education, women's journals and magazines played their due effective role. They proved to be representatives of modernist vision which was adopted by educated and enlightened Muslim middle class. One objective behind the newspapers was to pass on knowledge affordable to those who were not favored with the opportunity to gain knowledge from schools which in a better way enable them to become more useful person in progressive

society. The women's journals and newspapers were used as a mode of widening women's vision and stimulating their intelligence. The women's newspapers and magazines were started by men but, women equally participated in their publications.

As a result of increased attention towards women education, the thirst of knowledge and desire for self-expression increased among women. It also motivated habit of questioning, enquiry and urged for change, so new kind of literature was produced commenting on socio-political and economic change which were taking place at that time. Women newspapers also included short stories, poetry, serialized novels, letters to editors, books, garments, medicines and matrimonial advertisements. The journals, magazines and newspapers are still important and authentic source material for the study and analysis of advancement took place in evolution of Muslim women education in India during first half of the twentieth century. The modernist approach was holistic one. The newspapers and magazines proved to be the successful tools to revolutionalize the mind set of female section of the Muslim society of India. The reflection of modernists contribution is observable and worth reading in the history.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> For details see, Abdus Salam Khurshid, *Journalism in Pakistan: First Phase, 1845 to 1857* (Lahore: United Publisher, 1964).

<sup>2</sup> The first paper which published news about cultural, educational, social and political affairs was Mawlana Muhammad Baqar's *Delhi Urdu Akhbar* started in 1835. Ali Jawad Zaidi, *A History of Urdu Literature* (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1993), 216. 'First journal for women was *Rafiq-i-Niswan* (A Women's Friend) started in 1884 by American Christian Missionaries. It was specifically for native Christian women'. Azra A. Ali, *The Emergence of Feminism*, 24-5.

<sup>3</sup> *Paisa Akhbar* (Lahore), 18 April 1903.

<sup>4</sup> Fareeha Zafar, *Finding our Way*, 11.

<sup>5</sup> Azra A. Ali, *The Emergence of Feminism*, 25. For title and inner page of *Tehzib-i-Niswan* see, Appendixes IX and X.

<sup>6</sup> For details see, *Tehzib-i-Niswan*, 24 August 1929, 845.

<sup>7</sup> G. M. Jaswal, "Tahzib un Niswan", 23

<sup>8</sup> *Tehzib-i-Niswan*, 31 August 1929, 849.

<sup>9</sup> *Tehzib-i-Niswan*, 5 October 1935, 946.

<sup>10</sup> *Tehzib-i-Niswan*, 31 August 1929, 851.

<sup>11</sup> Shaista A. Suhrawardy. *A Critical Survey of the Development of the Urdu Novel and Short Story*, 81. *Tehzib-i-Niswan*, 27 April 1929.

<sup>12</sup> Imtiaz Ahmad, *Modernization and Social Change*, 217.

<sup>13</sup> Sayyid Mustafa Ali Barelwi, *Riport, All India Muhammadan Anglo Oriental Educational Kanfarans*, 221.

<sup>14</sup> Lubna Kazim, *A Women of Substance*, 49.

<sup>15</sup> Shamsur Rahman Muhsini, *Hayat-i-Abdullah* (Aligarh: Female Educational Association, n.d.), 186-7. Lubna Kazim, *A Women of Substance*, 49-50.

<sup>16</sup> Imtiaz Ahmad, *Modernization and Social Change*, 222.

<sup>17</sup> Shaikh M. Abdullah, "Zuban Gul Say Hussan-i-Yar ki Tafsir", 113.

<sup>18</sup> 'ismat was founded on the pursue of Shaikh Abdul Qadir (1874-1951) editor of monthly Urdu journal *Makhzan* (Lahore-1901) to advocate women's rights and duties: Raziqul Khairi, *Sawanah-i-'umiri Rashdul Khairi*, 127. For title and inner page see, Appendixes XI, XII and XIII.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 411.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 162.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 160.

<sup>23</sup> Azra A. Ali, *The Emergence of Feminism*, 27.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 200-201.

<sup>25</sup> 'ismat, January 1942, 18.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, "auraton Kay Zari 'ay-M'ash", 20.

<sup>27</sup> For detail see, *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>28</sup> Azra A. Ali, *The Emergence of Feminism*, 127.

<sup>29</sup> Momena Begum. 'Azadi-i-Niswan', 'ismat, January 1942, 33-4, 39.

<sup>30</sup> More than 25,00 copies of 'ismat were published in 1926, this increased into 5000 in 1929. Raziqul Khairi, *Sawanah-i- 'umiri-Rashdul Khairi*, 332-3.

<sup>31</sup> For title and inner pages of *Sharif Bibi* see, Appendixes XIV and XV.

<sup>32</sup> S. Qaim Husain Jafri, ed., *Quaid-i-Azam's Correspondence with Punjab Muslim Leaders* (Lahore: Aziz Publisher, 1977), 400.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> For details see, *Sharif Bibi*, March 1910, 59.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 18-23.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 54-6.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 62-5.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>42</sup> For details see, list in, *Collection of Urdu Periodicals in Khuda Bakhsh Library*. (New Delhi: Liberty Art Press, 1994).

<sup>43</sup> For details see, *Nur Jahan*, December 1928 - January 1929, 188-92, 198-200.

<sup>44</sup> Malik Abdul Qayum, "Khalidah Adib Khanum" *Nur Jahan*, December 1928 - January 1929, 82-4.

<sup>45</sup> *Nur Jahan*, December 1928 - January 1929, 225-9.

<sup>46</sup> Khadijah Tul-Kubraa, "Tehriq Azadi-o-T'alim-i-Niswan" *Nur Jahan*, December 1928 - January 1929, 513 -54.

<sup>47</sup> *Nur Jahan*, December 1928 - January 1929, 238.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 95.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 102-10.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 104.

<sup>52</sup> Muhammad Isma'il Panipatti, *Kuliyat-i-Nathar-i-Hali*. Vol. 2 (Lahore: Majlis-i-Taraqqi-i-Adab, 1968), 271.

<sup>53</sup> Nasir-ul Din Hashmi, *Khawatin-i-Deccan ki Urdu Khidmat*, 31. For list of Sughara Begum Humayun Mirza's books see Appendix XVI.

<sup>54</sup> M. Isma'il Panipatti, *Kuliyat-i-Nathar-i-Hali*, 269-273.

<sup>55</sup> Nasir-ul Din Hashmi, *Khawatin-i-Deccan ki Urdu Khidmat*, 250-251. M. Isma'il Panipatti, *Kuliyat-i-Nathar-i-Hali*, 269.

<sup>56</sup> Nasir-ul Din Hashmi, *Khawatin-i-Deccan ki Urdu Khidmat*, 251. M. Isma'il Panipatti, *Kuliyat-i-Nathar-i-Hali*, 24.

<sup>57</sup> M. Isma'il Panipatti, *Kuliyat-i-Nathar-i-Hali*, 269-70.

<sup>58</sup> Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah, "Women and Politics in the Frontier 1930-1947", *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture* 19, No.1 (1998): 71.

<sup>59</sup> Lal Baha, *N.W.F.P. Administration Under British Rule 1901-1919* (Islamabad: National Commission on History and Culture Research, 1978), 219. 'Numerically the strength of the Muslim in 1921 was over 92 present of the total population of Province; but they had only 29 male and 2 female literate per 1000 of the Muslim population'. *Ibid.*, 220.

<sup>60</sup> S. Wiqar Ali Shah, "Women and Politics in the Frontier", 73.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 73.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 75.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 75-6.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 75.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 77, 72.

# *CONCLUSION*

The Muslims of the British India were facing decline and decay in religious, socio-cultural, political and economic life. They were far behind and backward in almost all fields of life as compared to the other communities of the British India. In those circumstances, few scholars and intellectuals of Muslim community started pondering upon the deteriorative conditions of the Muslims. Their consciousness compelled them to find out the reason of the ongoing decay. They realized that the basic reason of the Muslim's backwardness was due to lack of adaptability to changing environment. The whole Muslim community was under the dark clouds of ignorance. They were mystified and took Western influence as a huge threat for their traditional socio-religious beliefs.

The present study encompasses the efforts of modernists for Muslim women education in British India from 1900 to 1947. It analyzed their approaches and views in this direction. The group of modernists broke the mental lock of the Muslim minds and enabled them to consider, pay attention and accept new changing environment. They enabled them to equip themselves with modern education without parting their religious and socio-cultural patterns. At that point of changing conditions, the modernists felt the need of education for the Muslim women even more essential than ever. They also emphasized the education of women from religious view point. They highlighted the teachings of Islam regarding acquiring knowledge, as religion and education were complementary to each other, uneducated men could not enjoy the blessings of the religion and benefits of knowledge. Similarly, uneducated women could not understand and discover the true essence of the religion. Without knowledge they would be probing with darkness and indulge in superstitions. The

education, knowledge would promote human virtues and enhance self-consciousness among women.

Soon the realization of a major neglect came forward when educated Muslim male preferred and searched for educated Muslim female as their life partners. At the beginning of the twentieth century, there was considerable discussion among educated Muslims on the advantages and disadvantages of education for female. The modernists were educated Muslims belonged to different professions, including government officials, ‘ulama and lawyers. Those who launched the scheme for the education of female, belong to three different institutions such as Dehli College, *Darul ‘ulum* Deoband and MAOC Aligarh (later became AMU). Though they belonged to three different institutions having different training and experience, but had same objective in the mind to educate female section of the Muslim community to meet the need of the hour.

Taking an overview of growth and expansion of awareness and literature provided by modernists for the Muslim women education the value of their contribution may be visualized. They defined the new role and status of the Muslim women in British India with broader tasks. This group of intellectuals presented themselves as an important bridge between traditional and cultural values and the modern structure. The modernists sought to harmonize the demands of tradition on one side and modernity on the other. Their move towards Muslim women education was the amalgamation of social with religious agenda. To tackle the issue of women education, intellectuals communicated their views about the program of study to a wider circle through their writings.

The writings of modernists like Nazir Ahmad, Mawlana Ashraf Ali Thanawi and Sayyid Mumtaz Ali, showed social acceptance and openly approached issues and

problems relating to Muslim women. Their writings revolved around women's lives and provided the suitable explanation and solutions to their own problems. Their works regarding development of reading material (in a broader perspective curriculum) by itself proved its significance. They put their heart and soul to include almost all subjects which covers almost every field of life. Their projected reading substance (curriculum) seems to be dynamic. It provided full freedom of choice for further thinking and exploration to improve life at individual and collective levels. The aim behind their struggle was to bring out the Muslim community from the darkness of ignorance and perish.

Keeping in view the needs and changing attitude towards women education, schools for the Muslim girls had been started in different areas. Some *shurafa'* were also willing to send their daughters to government and Christian Missionaries schools with the guarantee of their religious education along with observance of *pardah*. To gain the social consent and acceptance for the establishment of educational institutions for female was a big assignment. To accomplish it, the arrangements were made for *pardah* observance even in the construction of buildings for institutions. Boarding facilities were also provided to facilitate the students from different areas. In this regard Shaikh Abdullah, Rashidul Khairi and Karamat Husain successfully implemented their plan for educating Muslim women.

Though, the scheme of the establishment of schools could enable female to get formal modern education. It was difficult to popularize the idea of modern education unless the purpose could be widely propagated through the platform of different organizations and associations. The modernists used this forum and propagated their plans for the women education very effectively. The associations and *anjuman-s* were important forums for promotion and implementation of modernist's plan and polices.

Initially the associations were established and dominated by men but as time passed women also became active in the organization of *anjuman-s* to express their needs and demands. The associations showed liberal approach, advanced with cooperative efforts. For example AIMEC's communication with British Government was convincing. The forum justified and respected the ideology of conservative section of the Muslim society regarding *pardah*. AIMEC members approached government for the establishment of *pardah* observing female schools for the spread of the women education. They requested for the provision of scholarships and prizes for outstanding students for encouragements and building of interest among the female for formal education. AIMEC also requested government to start a correspondence based higher education for the women. On the other hand AHI was very effectively curtailing the activities of un-Islamic forces that were big threat for the survival of the Muslim civilization in British India. It focused on the educational and economic uplift of deprived section of the Muslim society. It stepped back the activities of the Christian Missionaries by provision of educational services for female section of the Muslim community. Likewise AIMLC provided an opportunity to the Muslim women to express their educational needs and to struggle for their socio-religious rights.

Discussions on women education also occurred in a number of different magazines, newspapers and journals. This medium of expression was source of guidance for women and propagated new ideas and knowledge for female. The magazines, newspapers and journals provided platform to women who were trying to explore their identities both within and gradually outside of their homes. Through printed media, modernists justified the education of the female within the framework of religious, social structure and also economic condition.

Gradual emphasis on the value of education for the women was an appropriate approach of modernists. Initially, they suggested religious and moral education along with teaching about household management at home. Then they recommended the establishment of institution for women education with proper curriculum. Those who followed traditional way of educating women and those, who favored modern means, were aware of the changes which were taking place in the British India. Keeping in view the policies and approaches of modernists the development of women education was linked with their role in British Indian society. It was generally accepted that female should be trained to become good wives and mothers. Emphasis was on skills of reading, writing, Arithmetic, craft works, hygiene, vernacular language and English, Geography, History along moral and religious education. Its purpose was to train female to become competent house managers, good mothers and also intelligent companions of their husbands for growth of stable and progressive Muslim society. Formal education brought awareness, self-confidence and also economic independence of women.

The endeavor of modernist group was to encourage a liberal and logical approach through women education to remove superstitions from Muslim society. They considered women education as important as of men, because an educated mother was the only source to bring up better and educated generations. Women must be educated on modern lines. Over all the idea promoted by the group was developing women's self confidence, rational thinking and decision making, preparing them to participate in progress of the society. The goal was obtained by adopting different means, methods to prepare ground for support and awareness about women education. They used medium of newspapers, journals, wrote articles, established associations to expand the circle of movement and established schools for girls.

Single person or institution could not meet the needs and challenges of changing circumstances. There was need for combined efforts from both male and female for broadening the vision and bringing success into the activities of modernists. So, to achieve it, modernists encouraged women to join them in their struggle. This was important step to make women, aware of their responsibilities and role as a member of community on broader scene. Through the support of female members they expanded their activities to reach women circle at maximum level and make them aware of the developments. Women were involved in their plan along male members of community to bring unity and harmony among them on the issues of educating Muslim women, by eliminating misunderstandings.

Modernist group of people practiced the rational, progressive and measured approach for the Muslim women education. They effectively highlighted the potentials of the Muslim society not only by improving the household skills of female but also in the course of the training of their minds, equivalent opportunities and growth of self-consciousness. Modernists voiced their feelings on contemporary state of the women education. They generated the awareness among the community on the worth and need of the women education.

While going through the present study one feel that one of the factors of the success behind the issue of women education was the tolerance level among the personalities involved for the cause of the Muslim women education. The forces and guts behind the success of modernists, that played very significant role during this historical activity were, their enriched knowledge of Islamic teachings, a strong grip on contemporary developments, power of decision and respect for acknowledging opinions of one and others, along with very strong level of intercommunication.

They practically presented themselves as role models to the rest of the society by bringing on front lines the female members of their families for the noble cause. They faced harsh criticism from conservative section of society. They personally sacrificed and donated their properties and homes for the establishment of institutions. Their mentioned distinctiveness, within short period of time conveyed their message to different areas of the British India. They used most efficient tactics and sources such as writing books, arranging conferences, expressing their views through journals, magazines and newspapers to project the mission effectively to the masses. Modernists represented progressive and forward looking group in the British India. They developed momentum through seeding the, interest for literacy and education in fertile brains of Muslim women. There manifesto was explicable. It was based on phases and progressive one. The sole long lasting aim behind all intellectual and physical strategies was Muslim women education. They stood up with firm belief that imparting the knowledge is the only promise for the intellectual growth of Muslim women whose laps are institutions for future generations. The modernists used every possible source to equip Muslim women with knowledge and skills to integrate themselves in accordance with changing time. Modernist group was devotee for the cause of Muslim women education by writings and establishment of educational institutions, though, less successful in forming a joint comprehensive curriculum for educational institutions. However, they succeeded in stipulation of due regard and grace for educated Muslim women by the society. Modernists not only revolutionalised the life of women but contributed in far reaching objective of successful rearing of future generations. The modernists were individually unique in their contribution yet unanimous for the cause.

## *APPENDICES*

## APPENDIX- I

### LIST OF TOPICS DISCUSSED BY DEPTI NAZIR AHMAD

Serial Number	SUBJECTS	TOPICS
1	Islamic and Moral Teachings	Religious and social values, Character building, Misperceptions and superstitions.
2	Household Management	Budget management, Hygiene, Overall management of family unit.
3	Vocational Training	Handicrafts, Sewing, Needlework, Stitching.
4	Physical Education	Daily walk and exercise.
5	History and Culture	Arab and European History, Studies of culture and civilization, comparative studies of urban and rural life.
6	Mathematics	Mathematics
7	Biological Sciences	Study of micro organism through microscope, Study of colors.
8	Mechanics	Movement of objects with force.
9	Earth Sciences/ Geophysics	Force of gravity, Concept of weight, Air pressure, Magnetic force, Shape of earth and its movement around the Sun.
10	Astronomy	Studies of stars and planets, Study of sun and moon eclipse.
11	Environmental Sciences	Seasonal and climatic changes.
12	Geography	Studies of the world and its continents, Making and drawing its maps, Information about sea, Arabian Geography,

Source: Depti Nazir Ahmad, *Mir'atul 'arus*,  
Banat-al-Na'ash.

The list of topics has been gleaned from the novels of Depti Nazir Ahmad. I have placed them within certain subjects according to my own understanding. The curriculum has not been devised by Depti Nazir Ahmad as such. It is my perception and understanding about his views and emphasis on that, what kind of knowledge should be imparted to women.

## APPENDIX-II

### چپ کی داد

#### HOMAGE TO THE SILENT

اے ماں، بہنو، بیٹیو، دنیا کی زینت تم سے ہے

Oh mothers, sisters, and daughters! The honor of the world Comes from you.

ملکوں کی بستی ہو تھی، قوموں کی عزت تم سے ہے

Countries' populations, And the greatness of nations, Comes from you.

تم گھر کی ہو شہزادیاں، شہروں کی ہو آبادیاں

Princesses in homes, And the progenitors of towns:

غم گین دلوں کی شادیاں، دکھ سکھ میں راحت تم سے ہے

You are of sorrowful hearts the inspiration, And in pain the consolation.

تم ہو تو غربت ہے وطن، تم بن ہے دیرانہ چن

With you, the homeless find a home. Without you, no desert can be sown.

ہو دلیں یا پر دلیں جیئے کی حلاوت تم سے ہے

At home or in a foreign land, The delight of life at hand Comes from you.

نیکی کی تم تصویر ہو، عفت کی تم تدیر ہو

You are the Picture of piety, The counselor of chastity,

ہو دین کی تم پاساں، ایمان سلامت تم سے ہے

Of religion the guarantee. Protection of the faith Comes from you.

نظرت تمہاری ہے حیا، طینت میں ہے مھرو وفا

Your temperament is shy, loving, and true.

گھٹی میں ہے صبور رضا، انسان عبارت تم سے ہے

Your nature content and patient too. The expression of humanity Comes from you.

مردوں میں سے والے تھے جو ست بیٹھے اپنا کب کا کھو

There lived virtuous men Who knew not when their virtue was lost.

دنیا میں اے ستونیو ! لے دے کے اب ست تم سے ہے

Oh, virtuous ones of the world! Whatever virtue now costs, It comes from you.

مونس ہو خاوندوں کی تم ، غم خوار فرزندوں کی تم

Companions of your husbands, And comforters of your sons,

تم بن ہے گھر دیان سب ، گھر بھر کی برکت تم سے ہے

Without you, all homes are deserted; The blessings of the entire home Comes from you.

تم آس ہو بیمار کی ، ڈھارس ہو تم بے کار کی

You give care to the sick, And shelter to the resource less.

دولت ہو تم نادار کی ، عمرت میں عشرت تم سے ہے

You are wealth to the poor; Relief for those in distress Comes from you.

آتی ہو اکثر بے طلب دنیا میں جب آتی ہو تم

You often unwanted come,

پر مونی سے اپنی یاں گھر بھر پہ چھا جاتی ہو تم

But then, by your charms, You please everyone at home.

میکے میں سارے گھر کی تھیں گو ماںک و مختار تم

Still, though a power In your parents' home,

پر سارے کتبے کی رہیں بچپن سے خدمت گار تم

You remain a servant From your childhood on.

ماں باپ کے حکموں پر ٹلی کی طرح پھرتی رہیں

To your parent's orders, you dance Like a puppet on a string.

غم خوار باپوں کی رہیں ، ماں کی تابیدار تم

You sympathize with father and heed mother

دن بھر پکانا ریندھنا ، سینا ، پرونا ، ٹانکنا

In every little thing. You're cooking, sewing, mending All day, every day.

شادی کے بعد ایک ایک کو تھی آرزو اولاد کی

After marriage, everyone Wants children for you

تم پھنس گیئں جنگال میں خالق نے جب اولاد دی

But once the Creator obliges, What are you to do?

دردوں کے دکھ تم نے سے ہے، جاپے کی جھیلیں سختیاں

You're the one quarantined, The one who endures pain.

جب موت کا چکھا مرا تب تم کو یہ دولت ملی

You taste death, in order That wealth to gain.

میکے میں اور سرال میں سب کے ہوئے دل باغ پاگ

In your parents' home, And at your in-laws 'too Everyone rejoices,

گھر میں اجلا تو ہوا پرم پہنچنے کھانا پہنچنا اور ہنا اپنا گئیں سب بھول تم

But the burden's on you. Forget about eating, or dressing, Or outings in town.

بچوں کے دھنے میں تھیں اپنی نہ کچھ سدھ بدھ رہی

The children's welfare must now Precede your own.

تب تک بھی سمجھو خیر تھی جب تک بھلے چلے تھے سب

Still, you think nothing of it As long as they're well.

پر سامنا آفت کا تھا گر ہو گیا ماندا کوئی

But if one becomes ill, Then it is hell.

سوی پر دن کٹنے لگے راتوں کی نیدیں اُز گئیں

You spend days at hard labor, And nights without rest.

اک اک برس کی ہو گئی اک ایک پل اک اک گھڑی

Each moment seems an hour, And every hour, a year's test.

بچوں کی سیوا میں تھیں گزرے ہیں جیسے دس برس

Each year in the service of children Equals ten years of your life.

قدر اس کی جانے کا وہی دم پر ہو جس کے یوں نتی

No one knows its value Who has not endured that strife.

کی ہے مہم، جو تم نے سر، مردوں کو اس کی کیا خبر

Men know of the importance Of your task, in no wise;

جانے پرائی پیڑ دہ جس کی بوائی ہو پہنچی

Only another who has given birth Can sympathize.

خاپالنا اولاد کا مردوں کے بوتے سے سوا

In fact, to raise the children Is beyond the power of men.

آخر یہ اے دکھیار یو خدمت تمہارے سر پڑی

And so, oh suffering ones! This duty falls to you again.

پیدا اگر ہوتیں نہ تم پیڑا نہ ہوتا پار یہ

If you had not been created, The fleet could not reach the port.

چیز اشتبہ دو دن میں اگر مردوں پہ پڑتا بار یہ

If this burden fell to men, Mutiny would cut the voyage short.

لیتیں خبر اولاد کی مائیں نہ گرچھپن میں یاں

Had mothers not looked after The children of the race,

خالی کبھی کا نسل سے آدم کی ہو جاتا جہاں

The world, lacking humans, Would be an empty place.

یہ گوشت کا اک لو تھرا پرداں چھٹتا کس طرح

How could these sorry lumps of flesh Find the nourishment they need,

چھانی سے لپٹائے نہ ہر دم رکھتی گر بچے کو مان

Without a devoted mother's breast To satisfy their greed?

وہ دین اور دنیا کے مصلح جن کے وعظ اور پند سے

Whence would come reformers Of society and faith,

ظلمت میں باطل کی ہوا دنیا میں نور حق عیان

Whose words dispelled the darkness, And brought the light of truth?

وہ علم اور حکمت کے بانی جن کی تحقیقات سے

And they who found the laws of science, The fruits of whose research,

ظاہر ہوئے عالم میں اسرار زمین و آسمان

Revealed to men the secrets, Held by sky and earth?

وہ شاہزاد کشہور گیر اسکندر کہ جس کی دھاکے

And world-conquering heroes, Like Alexander the Greek,

تھے بید کی مانند لرزائی تاج داران جہاں

Who made others bend to their will Like rushes in a creek?

وہ فخر شاہانہ عجم کسری کہ جس کے عدل کی

Of the kings of Persia, Khusrau was the pride,

مشرق سے تا مغرب زبانوں پر ہے جاری داستان

Whose justice became legend, Talked of far and wide.

کیا پھول پھل یہ سب انھی کمزور پودوں کے نہ تھے

Are not all these the fruits Of those fragile flowers,

سینچا تھا ماوں نے جنیں خون گھر سے اپنے یاں

Who nourished them with their life's blood, For so many hours?

کیا صوفیان باصفا، کیا عارفان باحدا

Whether purest Sufis, Or those who know the Lord;

کیا اولیا کیا انگیا، کیا غوث کیا قطب زماں

Whether prophets, saints, or devotees, Or those who spread the Word;

سرکار سے مالک کی جتنے پاک بندے ہیں بڑھے

Whoever, by the grace of God, Brought peace into the world;

وہ ماوں کی گودوں کے زینے سے ہیں سب اوپر چڑھے

All have sat on mother's knee, Grown as her watch and ward.

افسوس! دنیا میں بہت تم پر ہوئے جور و جنا

Alas! The world repays Your virtue by oppression.

حق تلفیاں تم نے کیں بے مہیاں جیلیں سدا

Deprived of rights, in truth, You endure untold transgression.

اکثر تمہارے قتل پر قوموں نے باندھی ہے کمر

Often men were ready For your assassination.

دیں تاکہ تم کو یک قلم خود لوہجہتی سے مٹا

You were scratched, by stroke of pen, From the page of Imaginations.

گاڑی کیں تم مدتیں مٹی میں جیتی جاگتی

For years, you were buried Alive in the sod.

حامي تمہارا تھا مگر کوئی نہ جز ذات خدا

You had no defender Other than God.

زندہ سدا جلتی رہیں تم مردہ خاوندوں کے ساتھ

Living , you were obliged to burn, On your dead husband's pyre.

اور چین سے عالم رہا یہ سب تماشے دیکھتا

While the whole world watched The spectacle without ire.

بیاہی کیں اس وقت تم، جب بیاہ سے واقف نہ تھیں

Married before you know The meaning of the word.

جو عمر بھر کا عہد تھا وہ کچے دھاگے سے بندھا

Bound for a lifetime By this straitening cord.

بیاہا تھیں ماں باپ نے اے بے زبانو اس طرح

Married by your parents Without any say,

جیسے کسی تقصیر پر مجرم کو دیتے ہیں سزا

Just as a criminal Is locked away.

گزری امید و ہیم میں جب تک رہا باقی سہاگ

As long as this good fortune lasts, You live twixt hope and dread.

بیوہ ہوئیں تو عمر بھر چین قسمت میں نہ تھا

But widowed, you can know no peace, Until you too are dead.

تم سخت سے سخت امتحان دیتی رہیں پر رانگاں

Opinion weighs you down With ever harder trials.

کیں تم نے جانیں تک فدا کھلائیں پھر بھی بے دفا

And all your faithfulness Meets nothing but denials.

گو صبر کا اپنے نہ کچھ تم کو ملا انعام یاں

You get no recompense For all your patience here,

پر جو فرشتے سے نہ ہو وہ کر گئیں تم کام یاں

Although you did the work That even angels fear.

کی تم نے اس دار الحکم میں جس تحمل سے گزر

In this vale of sorrows, For all you've had to face,

زیبا ہے گر کیے تھیں فخر بنی اوعیہ بشر

You should be remembered as The pride of the human race.

جو سگ دل سفاک پیا سے تھے تمہارے خون کے

Those who are hard-hearted, And who would see you burn,

اُن کی تو ہیں بے رحمیاں مشہور عالم میں مگر

Their cruelty is world-famous, But where are you to turn?

تم نے تو چین اپنے خریداروں سے بھی پایا نہ کچھ

You don't even get reassurance Among your loved ones,

شوہر ہوں اس میں یا پورے، یا ہوں بر اور یا پسر

Whether they be husbands, Or fathers, brothers, sons.

الفت تمہاری کر گئی گھر دل میں جس بے دید کے

Even he who shares your home, Whose affections you have won

وہ بدگماں تم سے رہا اے بنصیبو عمر بھر

He too withholds his trust, Oh, unfortunate one!

گو نیک مرد اکثر تمہارے نام کے عاشق رہے

Even should a man of honor, Love you your whole life through,

پ نیک ہوں یا بد، رہے سب حق اس رائے پ

Still good or bad, men all agree That this one thing is true;

جب تک جیو تم علم و دانش سے رہو محروم یاں

As long as you are living, Of knowledge you'll be deprived.

آئی ہو جیسی بے خبر ویسی ہی جاؤ بے خبر

You'll quit this world as uninstructed, As when you arrived.

تم اس طرح بھوول اور گم نام دنیا میں رہو

In this way, you'll stay passive, And hidden out of sight.

ہو تم کو دنیا کی، نہ دنیا کو تمھاری ہو خبر

Neither will the world know you, Nor will you see the light.

جو علم مردوں کے لیے سمجھا گیا آب حیات

That knowledge which, for men, Holds the elixir of life,

ٹھہرا تمھارے حق میں وہ زبر ہلاک سربر

Is considered, in your case, As deadly as a knife.

آتا ہے وقت انصاف کا نزدیک ہے یوم الحساب

But the hour of justice approaches; The day of reckoning is near.

دنیا کو دینا ہو گا ان حق تلفیوں کا وال جواب

The world must answer to the charges Of stealing your rights so dear.

گزرے تھے جگ تم پر کہ ہمدردی نہ تھی تم سے کہیں

That time is gone forever. When you found no comrades anywhere;

خا مخرف تم سے فلک، برگشتہ تھی تم سے زمیں

When the heavens looked the other way, And even the earth was bare.

دنیا کے دانا اور حکیم اس خوف سے لرزائ تھے سب

When all the learned doctors Trembled in the fear,

تم پر مبادا علم کی پڑ جائے پر چھائیں کہیں

Lest upon you fall the shadow Of knowledge from somewhere.

ایسا نہ ہو مرد اور عورت میں رہے باقی نہ فرق

Lest, they said ,with education, The distinction not remain.

تعلیم پا کر ادی بننا تھیں زیبا نہیں

How improper it would be for you To become just like a man!

یاں تک تمہاری بھو کے گائے گئے دنیا میں راگ

Indeed, refines belittling you Are sung to such extent,

تم کو بھی دنیا کی کہن کا آگیا آخر یقین

That even you are certain of The truth of such contempt.

علم وہن سے رفتہ ہو گئیں مایوس تم

You've been deprived of knowledge For such a long ,long time,

سمجھا لیا دل کو کہ ہم خود علم کے قابل نہ تھیں

That you believe yourself unworthy Of anything so fine.

جو ذلتیں لازم ہیں دنیا میں جہالت کے لیے

For barbarism to increase, The world must know such degradation,

وہ ذلتیں سب نفس پر اپنے گوارا تم نے کیں

As you have had to bear within. You know that humiliation.

سمجھا نہ تم کو ایک دن مردوں نے قابل بات کے

Not a single day have men Thought you worthy of conversations.

تم بے وفا کھلائیں لیکن لوٹیاں بن کر رہیں

Call you ladies though they may, Thy treat you as bond maidens.

آخر تمہاری چپ دلوں میں اہل دل کے چھ گئی

At last, your forbearance Has touched the hearts of those who care.

جس ہے کہ چپ کی داد آخر بے ملے رہتی نہیں

How true it is that silence Will receive its homage fair.

ہمارے زمانہ نیند کے ماروں کو لایا ہوش میں

The time has come to awake, Those overcome by sleep.

آیا تمہارے صبر پر دریاۓ رحمت جوش میں

Upon your patients suffering, The waters of mercy run deep.

نوبت تمہاری حق ری کی بعد مت آئی ہے

After so long, the time is here For obtaining your birthright.

انصاف نے دھنڈلی سی اک اپنی جھلک دکھلائی ہے

Justice ,veiled ,has shown herself Fleetingly, in the light.

گو ہے تمہارے حامیوں کو مشکلوں کا سامنا

But though obstacles remain Facing your assistants,

پر حل ہر اک مشکل یونہی دنیا میں ہوتی آئی ہے

There is no solution but must Overcome resistance.

اکلے ہیں روڑے چلتی گاڑی میں سدا سچائی کی

The vehicle of truth often Lurches down the street.

ہر فتح جب پائی ہے سچائی نے آخر پائی ہے

But when victory is near Truth always is more fleet.

اے بے زبانوں کی زبانوں ، بے بوسوں کے بازو

Oh, strength of the helpless! Of the voiceless, speech!

تعلیم نسوان کی مہم جو تم کو اب پیش آئی ہے

The adventure of education Is now within your reach.

یہ مرحلہ آیا ہے تم سے پہلے جن قوموں کو پیش

Those communities which, before you Is bound to face dejection.

منزل پر گاڑی ان کی استقلال نے پہنچائی ہے

Only partisans of justice Will reach their destination.

ہے رائی بھی پربت اگر دل میں نہیں عزم درست

Amole-hill become a mountain to cross Without firm determination.

پر ٹھان لی جب جی میں پھر پربت بھی ہو تو رائی ہے

But a mountain seems a mustard seed Once you have determination.

یہ جیت بھی کیا کم ہے خود حق ہے تمہاری پشت پر

It is a single victory That justice is your protection.

جو حق پر منہ آیا ہے آخر اس نے منہ کی کھائی ہے

Faced this situation, Whoever denies that truth,

جو حق کے جانب دار ہیں جس ان کے پیڑے پار ہیں

Reached their destination. Have, through perseverance,

بhopal کی جانب سے یہ ہاتھ کی آواز آئی ہے

From Bhopal side there comes the sound Of an angel's proclamation.

ہے جو ہم درپیش دستو غیر ہے اس میں نہاں

The enterprise which lies ahead Mysteriously gains confirmation.

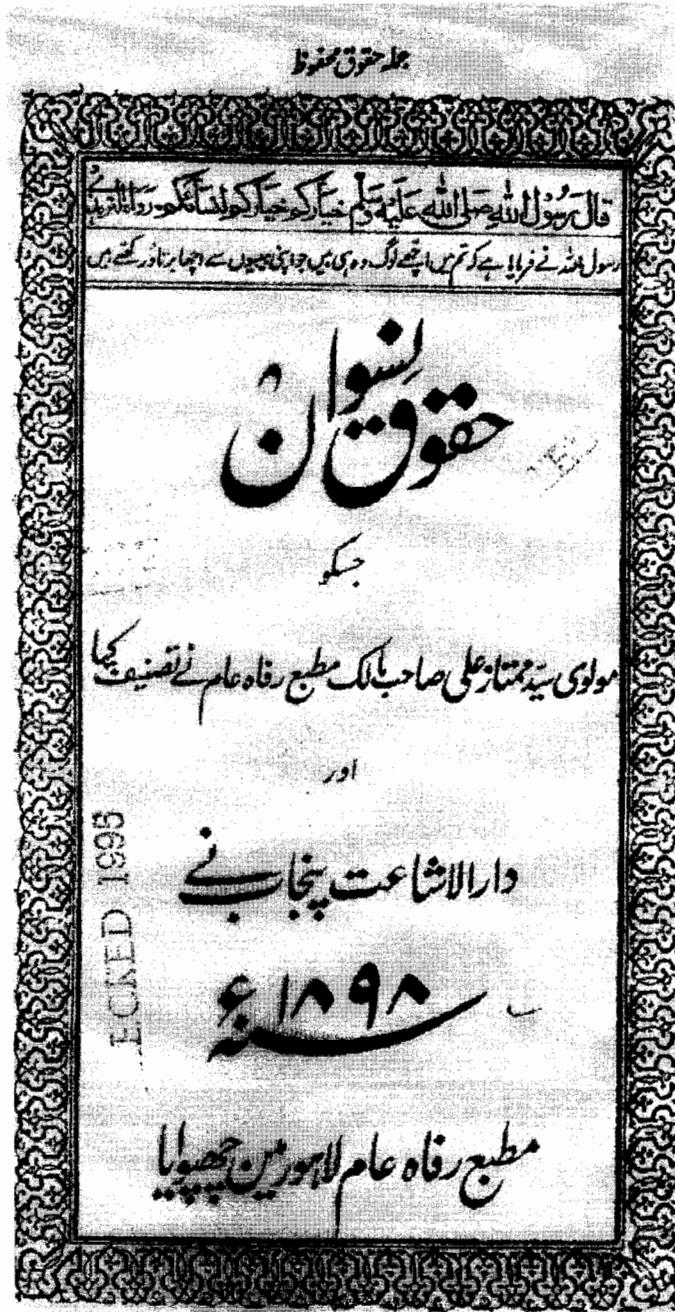
تائید حق کا ہے نشان امداد سلطان جہاں

The patronage of Sultan Jahan Signifies Divine collaboration.

Source: (Urdu), Altaf Husain Hali, *Kulyat-i-Nazm-i- Hali*, 46-53.

(English), Gail Minault, *Voices of Silence*, 141-150.

### APPENDIX-III



Title page of Sayyid Mumtaz Ali's book *Huquq-i-Niswan*.  
Published by Dar-ul-Isha'at Punjab Lahore, in 1898.

## APPENDIX-IV

### فہرست مضمون

<p>دیا ہے ..... ۳-۲</p> <p>تبلیغ عروجات پر خصائص ..... ۳-۳</p> <p>حکیم پاک ہر دن کی اہل فرض تبلیغ عروجات ..... ۳-۴</p> <p>یک تبلیغ ہاتھ اٹھ کر اٹھا پس پس شور کر ..... ۴-۵</p> <p>مردوں کی خصیت کی دو جوایت ..... ۴-۶</p> <p>کھدوں کی تبلیغ کی کامیں ..... ۴-۷</p> <p>حکیم اپنے مصلحیں ..... ۴-۸</p> <p>پردوں بیان افکرت انسان ..... ۴-۹</p> <p>خشیت اس بنا پر کہ سب سبی مرد تھے اسکی تریی ..... ۴-۱۰</p> <p>اکلام قرآنی دریاب پر دہ ..... ۴-۱۱</p> <p>اوقال قرآنی اللہ نے مرتق کی خصیت لکھتی ہے ..... ۴-۱۲</p> <p>احادیث دربارہ پردوہ ..... ۴-۱۳</p> <p>دھرموں کی خصیت یکسری دو کی خصیت کے باوجود ..... ۴-۱۴</p> <p>اکی تریی ..... ۴-۱۵</p> <p>غلاص اکلام شریعی دریاب پر دہ ..... ۴-۱۶</p> <p>پردوں شہر پر دو کامیں ..... ۴-۱۷</p> <p>بیانات میں دو کامیں کی خصیت کے بھے ہے ..... ۴-۱۸</p> <p>اس کی تریی ..... ۴-۱۹</p> <p>پردوں کی بیانیں اور سالی آپسے پردوں کی میں ..... ۴-۲۰</p> <p>اوم پیٹے پیا ہو۔ اور جو اس کے بھی سچ میں تریی ..... ۴-۲۱</p> <p>مرد پرداخ کر سکتے ہے۔ خودت میں اسکی تریی ..... ۴-۲۲</p> <p>مرد کو اپنی طلاق ہے خودت کو نہیں۔ اسکی تریی ..... ۴-۲۳</p> <p>خود کے درس پردوں کی خصیت۔ اسکی تریی ..... ۴-۲۴</p> <p>پندرہ تاریخ اسلامی پر دہ ..... ۴-۲۵</p> <p>قرآن مجید میں مرد و خواتیں کی حقیقی کی سادات ..... ۴-۲۶</p> <p>اہل فرض میں ..... ۴-۲۷</p> <p>خواجہ کے نام اور بیک ..... ۴-۲۸</p> <p>تبلیغ عروجات ..... ۴-۲۹</p> <p>خون و فری کے حام اسباب ..... ۴-۳۰</p> <p>خون و فری کے کام اسباب ..... ۴-۳۱</p>	<p>دیا ہے ..... ۳-۲</p> <p>تبلیغ عروجات پر خصائص ..... ۳-۳</p> <p>حکیم پاک ہر دن کی اہل فرض تبلیغ عروجات ..... ۳-۴</p> <p>یک تبلیغ ہاتھ اٹھ کر اٹھا پس پس شور کر ..... ۴-۵</p> <p>مردوں کی خصیت کی دو جوایت ..... ۴-۶</p> <p>کھدوں کی تبلیغ کی کامیں ..... ۴-۷</p> <p>حکیم اپنے مصلحیں ..... ۴-۸</p> <p>پردوں بیان افکرت انسان ..... ۴-۹</p> <p>خشیت اس بنا پر کہ سب سبی مرد تھے اسکی تریی ..... ۴-۱۰</p> <p>اکلام قرآنی دریاب پر دہ ..... ۴-۱۱</p> <p>اوقال قرآنی اللہ نے مرتق کی خصیت لکھتی ہے ..... ۴-۱۲</p> <p>احادیث دربارہ پردوہ ..... ۴-۱۳</p> <p>دھرموں کی خصیت یکسری دو کی خصیت کے باوجود ..... ۴-۱۴</p> <p>اکی تریی ..... ۴-۱۵</p> <p>غلاص اکلام شریعی دریاب پر دہ ..... ۴-۱۶</p> <p>پردوں شہر پر دو کامیں ..... ۴-۱۷</p> <p>بیانات میں دو کامیں کی خصیت کے بھے ہے ..... ۴-۱۸</p> <p>اس کی تریی ..... ۴-۱۹</p> <p>پردوں کی بیانیں اور سالی آپسے پردوں کی میں ..... ۴-۲۰</p> <p>اوم پیٹے پیا ہو۔ اور جو اس کے بھی سچ میں تریی ..... ۴-۲۱</p> <p>مرد پرداخ کر سکتے ہے۔ خودت میں اسکی تریی ..... ۴-۲۲</p> <p>مرد کو اپنی طلاق ہے خودت کو نہیں۔ اسکی تریی ..... ۴-۲۳</p> <p>خود کے درس پردوں کی خصیت۔ اسکی تریی ..... ۴-۲۴</p> <p>پندرہ تاریخ اسلامی پر دہ ..... ۴-۲۵</p> <p>قرآن مجید میں مرد و خواتیں کی حقیقی کی سادات ..... ۴-۲۶</p> <p>اہل فرض میں ..... ۴-۲۷</p> <p>خواجہ کے نام اور بیک ..... ۴-۲۸</p> <p>تبلیغ عروجات ..... ۴-۲۹</p> <p>خون و فری کے حام اسباب ..... ۴-۳۰</p> <p>خون و فری کے کام اسباب ..... ۴-۳۱</p>
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شہروزد ہمیں پرستاً خواہ مساحت ...	158	وکاح بے مثالی ...	132-133
شہروزد ہمیں کافی اگلگ ...	169	رسم کلع ...	132-133
مردوں کے لئے خاص مساحت ...	170	چند تبارز، مصالح و رسم کلع ...	132-133
مردوں کی بیانی گزی درست ...	171	زیادتی مرکی، ملی، اخراجی ...	133
صلح و رات کے لئے کلیت ...	172	کلع کے وقت شرایط مفید نہیں ...	133
دیک دوست کی کھیت بروپنی یوپی کے		شرایط نکار کا درجہ انتقاد ہوتا ...	132-133
مرکے اب پس ایک مفید مصالح ...	140	مرکے اب پس ایک مفید مصالح ...	132-133
ہاتھ لٹھنے لیک پسے در دھرنے کر ...	146	مکنی ...	132-133
یکسیز نیمیت کاونٹ فیٹ مساحت ...	178	وکاح و مقریب کلع ...	132-133
شہر کے لئے چند ضریب مساحت ...	168-169	سماش نویں ...	132-133
زیمیں پیش کے ہام اسیاب ...	169	زیمیں پیش کے ہام اسیاب ...	132-133
دیک دوست کے چند ضریب مساحت ...	169	دیک دوست کا خط اپنی پیشی کر ...	132-133
		دیک دوست کا خط اپنی پیشی کے لئے دوچاری ...	132-133

Table of contents of Sayyid Mumtaz Ali's book *Huquq-i-Niswan*.  
Published by Dar-ul-Isha'at Punjab Lahore, in 1898.

## APPENDIX -V

### اصلی انسانی زیور

#### THE TRUE JEWELRY OF HUMANITY

ایک لڑکی نے یہ پوچھا اپنی ماں جان سے

A little girl asked this of her mother dear:

آپ زیور کی کریں تعریف مجھے انجان سے

"Tell me about all jewelry; since I am unclear

کون سے زیور ہیں اچھے یہ جتا دیجے مجھے

Which pieces are good, this make known to me;

اور جو بدزیب ہیں وہ بھی بتا دیجے مجھے

And which of them are bad, that too explain to me

اُنکہ اچھے اور بُرے میں مجھ کو بھی ہو امتیاز

So that of good and bad I can the difference tell;

اور مجھ پر آپ کی برکت سے کھل جائے یہ راز

With your blessing, then, to me the secret tell."

خُون کہا ماں نے محبت سے کہ آئے بیٹھی مری

The mother then replied, with love, "O Daughter mine,

کوئی دل سے بات سن لو زیوروں کی تم ذری

To this word on jewelry an attentive heart incline.

سیم و ذر کے زیوروں کو لوگ کہتے ہیں بھلا

Jewelry of silvir, gold-people may call it fine.

پر نہ میری جان ہونا تم کبھی ان پر ندا

In it put not your trust -never, Sweetheart mine.

سونے چاندی کی چک بس دیکھنے کی بات ہے

The glint of silver, gold, is only a thing to see.

چار دن کی چاندنی اور پھر اندری رات ہے

Four days of silvery light, and then dark night will be

تم کو لازم ہے کرو مرغوب ایسے زیورات

It is required of you the kind of jewelry to want

وین دنیا کی بھلائی جس سے اے جان آئے ہاتھ

From which good faith and life, my dear, may never want.

سر پر حضور عقل کا رکھنا تم آئے بیٹی ندام

Good sense, dear, always be head fringe you put on;

چلتے ہیں جس کے ذریعہ سے ہی سب انسان کے کام

Sense is the means by which your work gets done.

بالیاں ہوں کان میں اے جان گوش ہوش کی

If you earrings wear, ears of attentiveness, dear,

اور نصیحت لاکھ تیرنے جھوکوں میں ہو بھری

And your earrings' little bells: good counsel [*nasihat*] for you to hear.

اور آویزے نصائح ہوں کہ دل آویز ہوں

And the pendants that hang down tell the heart to bow down too.

گر کرے ان پر عمل تیرے نصیبے تیز ہوں

If act on them you will, good fortune swift to you.

کان کے پتے دیا کرتے ہیں کانوں کو عذاب

Earrings of the upper ear always cause you pain.

کان میں رکھو نصیحت دیں جو اوراقی کتاب

Put in your ears the Book, good counsel yet again.

اور زیور گر گلے کے کچھ بچھے درکار ہوں

And if some jewelry you need to put upon your neck,

نیکیاں پیاری مری تیرے گلے کا ہار ہوں

Good deeds, my beloved, be the chain upon your neck.

قوت بازو کا حاصل تجھ کو ہازو بند ہو

The yield of the strength of your arm, the bracelet of your arm be,  
کامیابی سے سدا تو خرم و خرسند ہو

With your success in that, you will merry and joyful be.

ہیں جو سب بازو کے زیور سب کے سب بیکار ہیں

All of the jewelry of the arm, none of it serves an end;  
ہستیں بازو کی اے بیٹی تیری درکار ہیں

The ability of the arm, O Daughter, that does serve an end.

ہاتھ کے زیور سے پیاری دستکاری خوب ہے

More than jewelry of the hand, cherished is handwork fine;  
دستکاری وہ ہمز ہے سب کو جو مرغوب ہے

Handiwork is the skill toward which everyone does incline.

کیا کرو گی اے مری جاں زیور خجال کو

What will you do, O my dear, with anklets that ring away?  
چھینک دینا چاہئے بیٹی بس اس ججال کو

O Daughter, a nuisance like that just simply throw away!  
سب سے اچھا پاؤں کا زیور یہ ہے تو ر بصر

The best jewelry for the feet is surely the light of insight

تم رہو ثابت قدم ہر وقت راو نیک پر

That on the path of good you remain, sure-footed, aright.  
سیم و زر کا پاؤں میں زیور نہ ہو تو ڈر نہیں

If gold and silver jewelry be not on the feet\_\_no fear\_\_  
راتی سے پاؤں پھسلے گرنہ میری جاں کہیں

If from the path of right your feet never slip, O my dear."

Source: (Urdu), Muhammad. Ashraf Ali Thanawi, *Bahishti Zewar*, 26.

(English), Barbara D. Metcalf, *Perfecting Women*, 51-52.

## APPENDIX-VI

### LIST OF TOPICS DISCUSSED BY MAWLANA ASHRAF ALI THANAWI

SERIAL NUMBER	SUBJECTS	TOPICS
1	Religious Teachings	Religious conducts, Religious and Social values, Perceptions about Superstitions,
2	Behavioral Sciences	Proper conducts in daily life, Child care,
3	History	Account of Prophet Muhammah (SAS) life, Studies of historical female personalities.
4	Household Management	Household Management
5	Vocational Training	Handicrafts, Methods of earning livelihood, Cooking, Printing clothes.
6	Mathematics	Weights and measures, Addition of small and large number,
7	Finance	Budget handling, Book keeping, Conversion.
8	Linguistics	Alphabets, Correct pronunciation, Useful vocabulary, and Arabic and Urdu names of months, Hindi months and seasons. Days names
9	Grammar and Letter writing	Rules for reading and writing letters, Post office regulations.
10	Medicines and Health care	Study of Herbal Medicines and their uses. Hygiene and principal of health care.
11	Commercial Transactions	Agriculture, Trading

Source: Muhammad Ashraf Ali Thanawi. *Bahishti Zewar*.

The list of topics has been gleaned from Mawlana Ashraf Ali Thanawi's book. I have placed them within certain subjects according to my own understanding. The curriculum has not been devised by Mawlana Ashraf Ali Thanawi as such. It is my perception and understanding about his views and emphasis on that, what kind of knowledge should be imparted to women.

## APPENDIX-VII

## **LIST OF BOOKS WRITTEN BY RASHIDUL KHAIRI**

Source: Raziqul Khairi. *Sawanah-i- 'umiri Rashidul Khairi*. 785.

## APPENDIX-VIII

### LIST OF REGIONS FROM WHERE BOARDERS OF *TARBIYYATGAH-i-BANAT* (A SCHOOL ESTABLISHED BY RASHIDUL KHAIRI ) BELONGED

بے پور	بڑودہ	کسلیا ضلع میرٹھ
لاہور	قائم گنج	شاہجهان پور
آگرہ	بیاول (خاندیں)	سورت
علی گڑھ	سیونی (سی پی)	جل گاوں (خاندیں)
ناگپور	حیدر آباد دکن	دھمری رائے پور
سلطان پورا دھ (آرہ بھار)	فرح آباد	بھرت پور
میرٹھ	فتح گڑھ	مادھو پور (راجپوتانہ)
انوالہ	سیف اللہ گنج (یو پی)	کھنڈوہ (سی پی)
صاحب گنج (بنگال)	سہارنپور	جل پور
بدوہلی (سیالکوٹ)	تھر پارکر (سنہر)	گورا پور
گکا پورشی	ماں گرول	کلکتہ
اورنگ آباد دکن	چنگاب	بھوپال

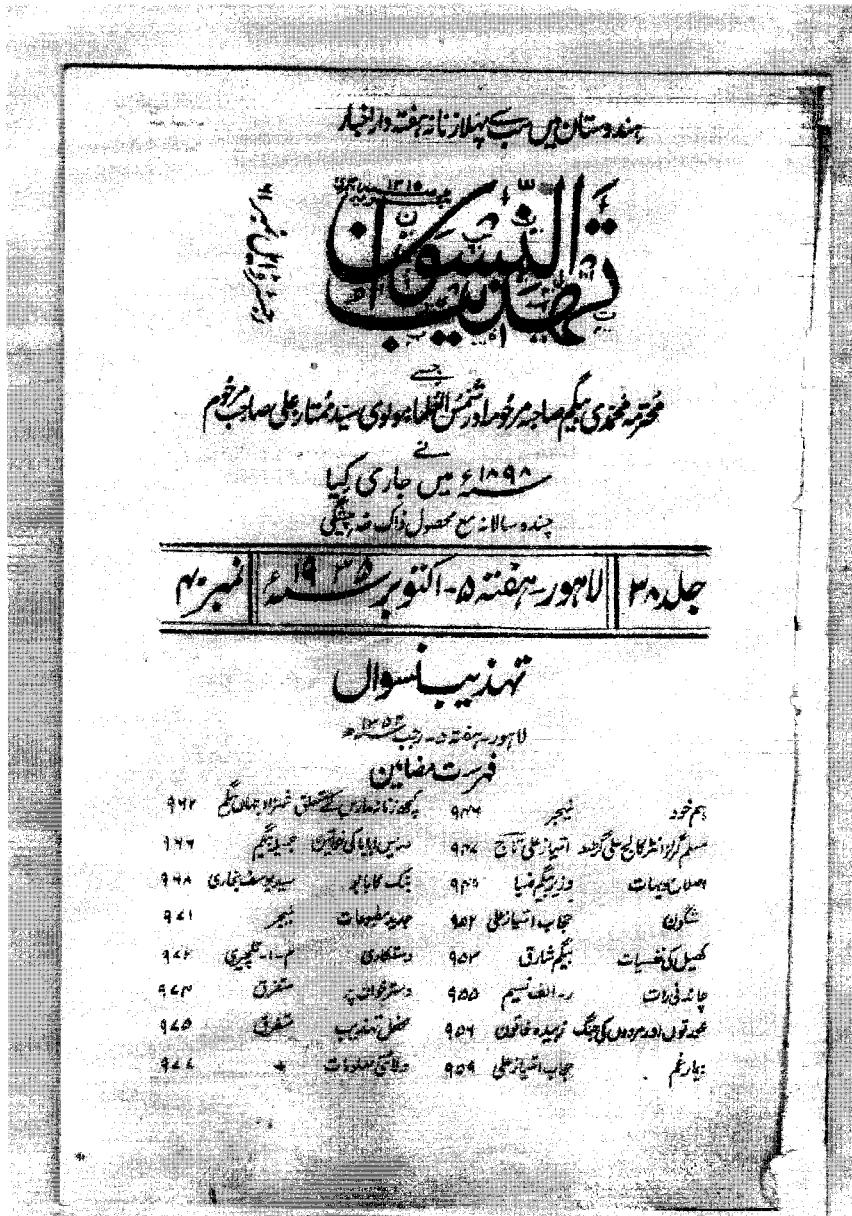
Source: Raziqul Khairi, *Sawanah-i- 'umiri Rashdul Khairi*, 215-16.

## APPENDIX-IX



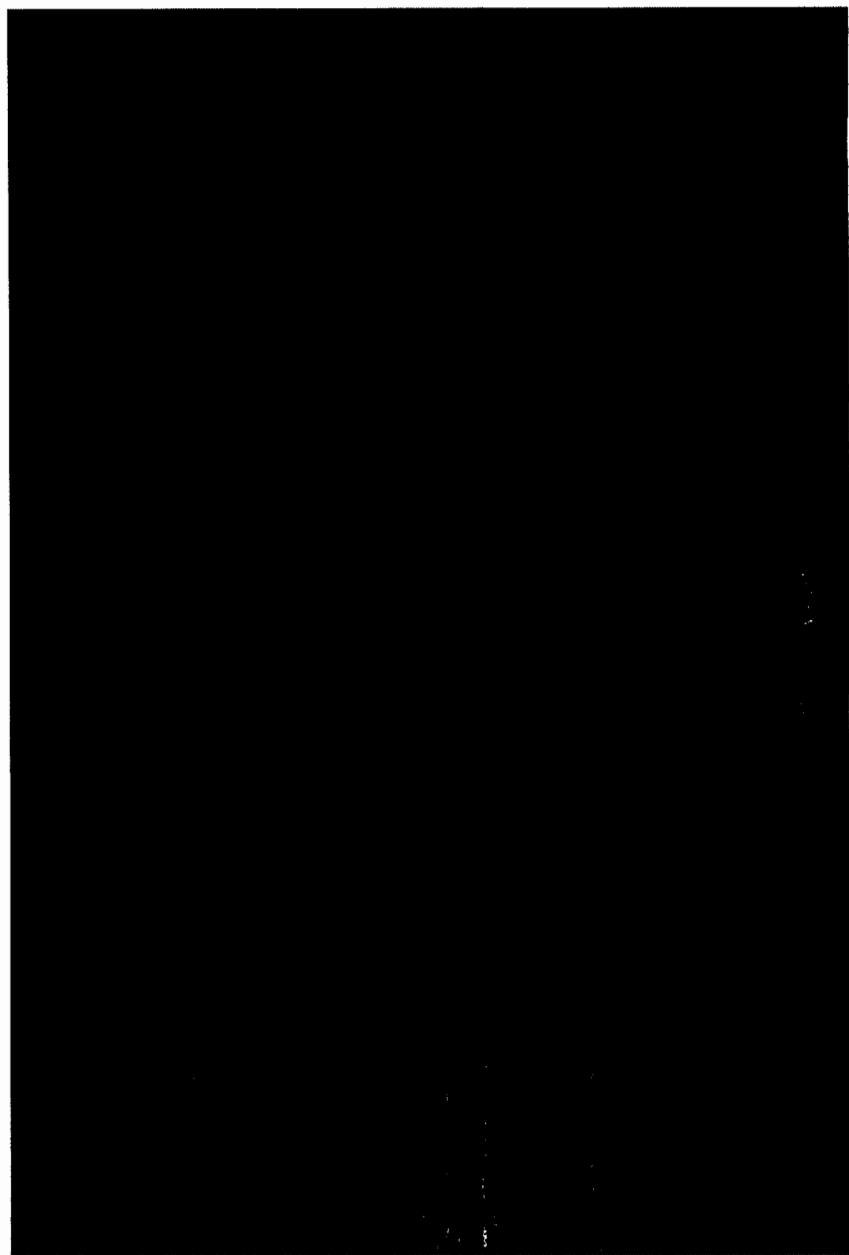
Title page of weekly *Tehzib-i-Niswan* (Lahore)

## APPENDIX-X



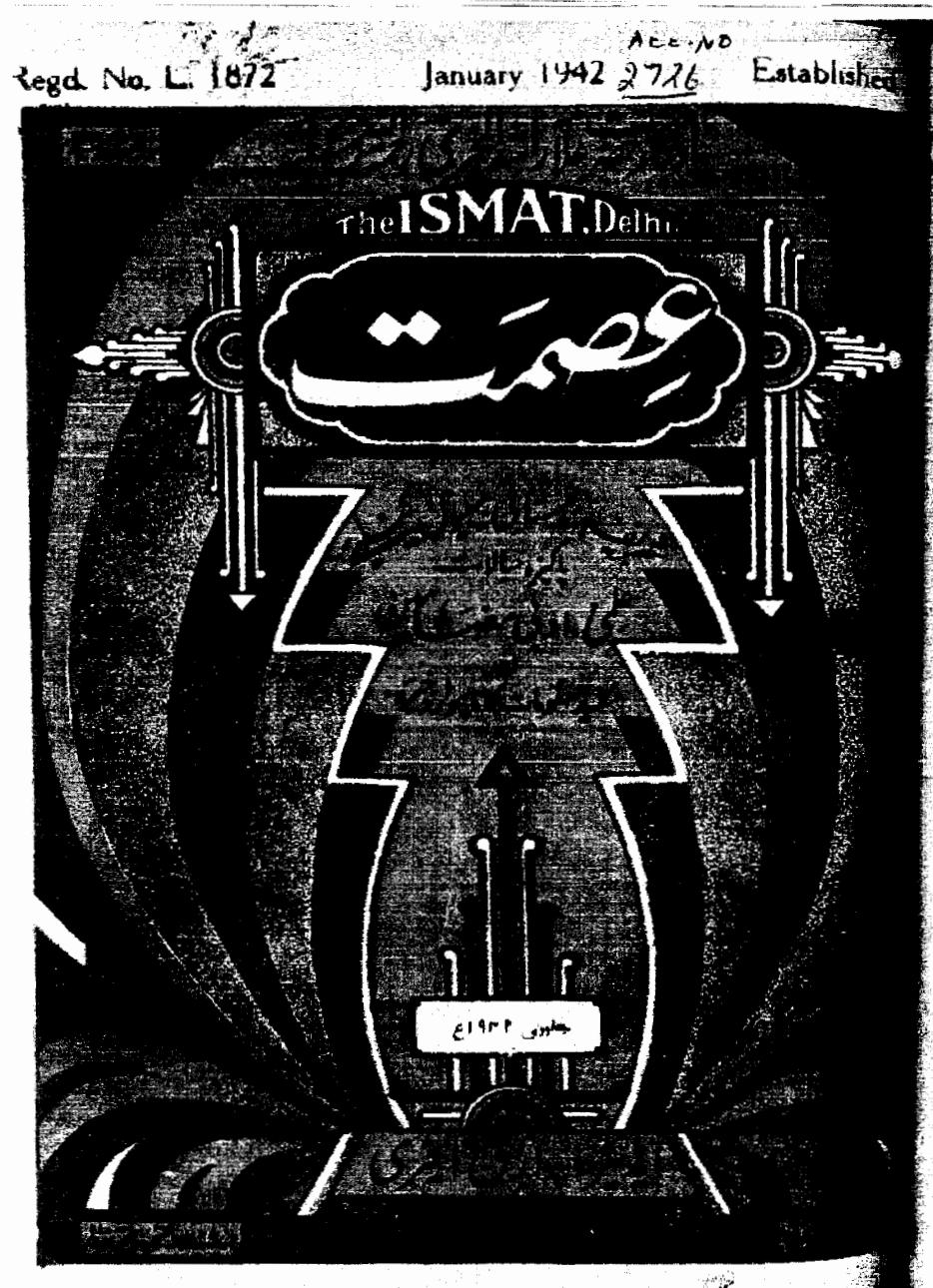
Inner page of weekly *Tehzib-i-Niswan* (Lahore)

## APPENDIX-XI



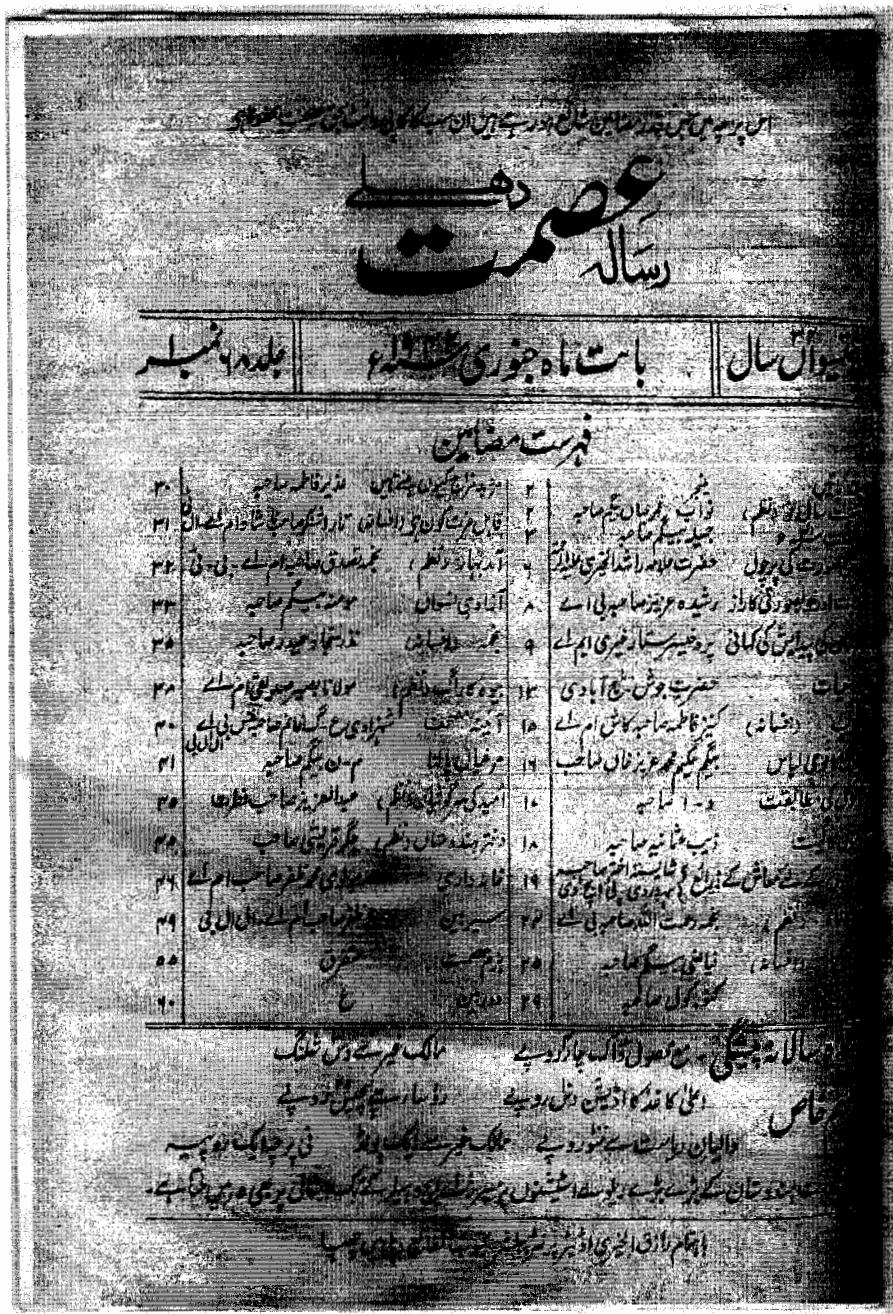
Title page of monthly *'ismat* (Delhi), February 1913.

## APPENDIX- XII



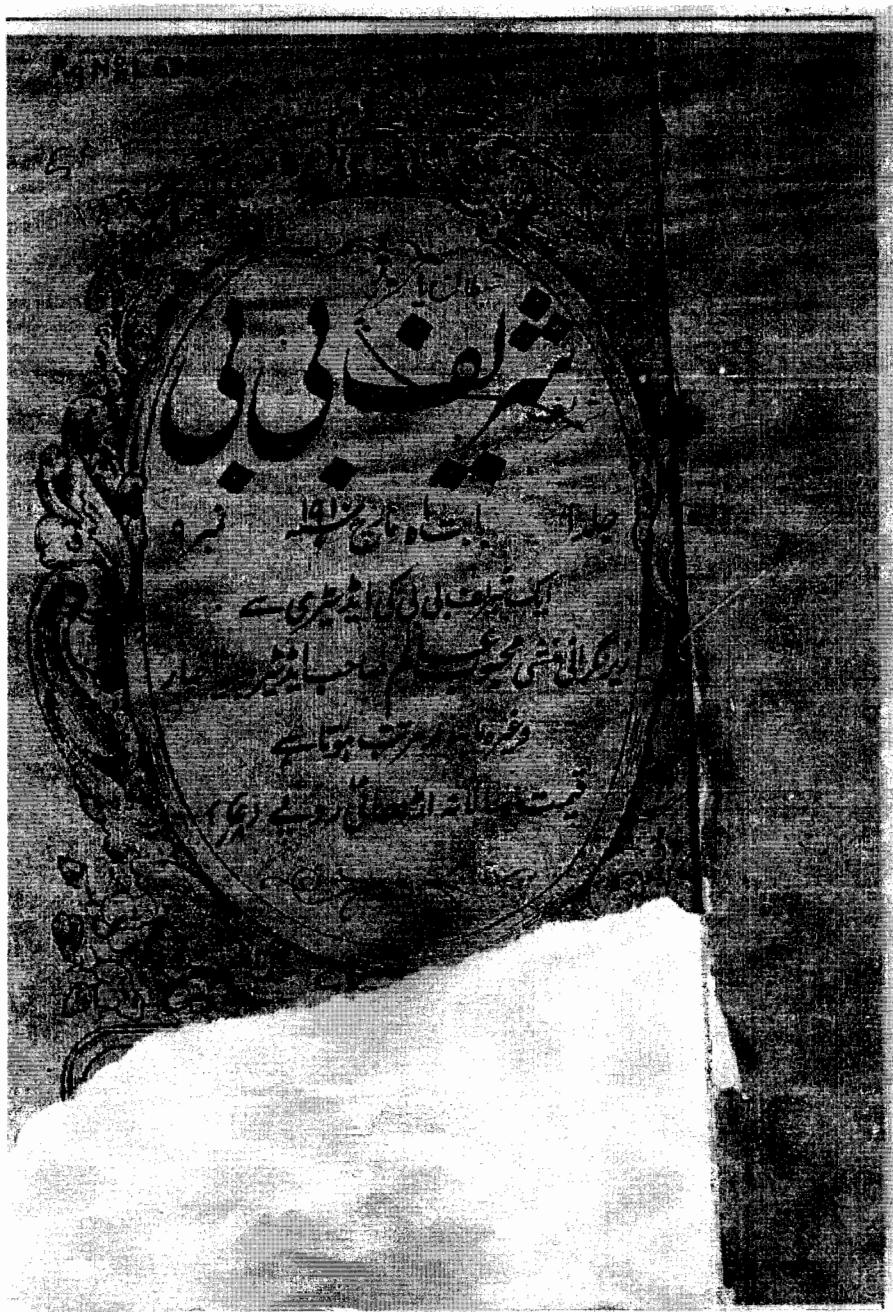
Title page of monthly 'ismat' (Delhi), January 1942.

## APPENDIX- XIII



Inner page of monthly 'ismat (Delhi) January 1942.

## APPENDIX-XIV



Title page of monthly *Sharif Bibi* (Lahore), March 1910.

## APPENDIX-XV

مختصر	ذیمت	مختصر
۱	بیوی بارہٹی احمد	دشمن
۲	بنت سید غدر البار اور صاحب	پساد
۳	از ایڈیٹر	پروانوں کا رشتہ
۴	سید جوہر سی سی پلچور ماجد از لفظ	نیکستان کے لکھنے والوں کو کیا کام کیا تھا؟
۵	چھوڑیں صاحب ان لہا پوچھا دی	یک میقدار تاریخ کی تائید
۶	از مولیٰ جوہبی سیدین صاحب	مسنون مسودان
۷	بنت مولوی احمد حسین صاحب	امتنانہ و درگار
۸	شروع ایتار اور صاحبی، اے زمین	بیوی شاہویان
۹	مکر مولوی شاہ اور صاحب مکن مسلاجی	متاز و عویش
۱۰	از ایڈیٹر	شریفہ بیویوں کی حمل
۱۱	ایضاً	ماں بچوں کے لطیفے
۱۲	ایضاً	روئے زمین کی ووہیں
۱۳	سلطان سیکم صاحب	لکھیں کو مالیت علی کے لئے کی
۱۴	از ایڈیٹر	شیلت اور استمارات بیں نصاریح
۱۵	ایضاً	بوف کا امتحان
۱۶	ایضاً	شیخام خانہ واری
۱۷	از دو افراد مابین	نیکستان کی طرز مانست
۱۸	مع. ف صاحب	بیوی داکٹر
۱۹	از ایڈیٹر	خرفت بیویوں کو کیسے نادلیں کاریں
۲۰	از ایڈیٹر	خرفت بیوی کی توبیخ اشاعت
۲۱		ننانہ خبریں اور رائیں

Inner page of monthly *Sharif Bibi* (Lahore), March 1910.

## APPENDIX-XVI

### LIST OF BOOKS WRITTEN BY SUGHARA BEGUM HUMAYUN MIRZA

سفرنامہ یورپ دو جلد	مشیر نسوان
سفرنامہ پونہ و والیہ	سفینہ نجات
سفرنامہ عراق	تحریر النساء
سیر بھارو بنگالہ	مقالات صفرا
سیاحت جنوبی ہند	مجموعہ نصائح
رہبر کشمیر	سرگزشت حا جره
روزنامہ سفر بھوپال و آگرہ و دہلی	منونی
	زہرہ
	لبی بی طوری کا خواب
	آواز غیب

Source: Nasir-ul Din Hashmi. *Khawatin-i-Deccan ki Urdu Khidmaat*, 31.

M. Isma'il Panipatti, *Kuliyat-i-Nathar-i- Hali*, 270-71.

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