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Muslim Women's Role IN THE Pakistani Movement

by

Sarfara: Hussain Mirza

RESEARCH SOCIETY OF PAKISTAN

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Sarfaraz Hussain Mirza



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University of the Punjab
LAHORE
1969

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Publication No. 14

(14)

P-E
77-731054

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FIRST IMPRESSION : AUGUST 1969.

Price Rs : 8.00

**Printed at :
Panjabi Adabi Academy Press, 12-G, Model Town, Lahore.**

Research Society of Pakistan is grateful to the Evacuee Property Trust Board, Government of Pakistan for the generous financial grant for the implementation of our publication programme.

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PREFACE

An attempt has been made in this book to trace the political activities and the part played by Muslim women of the subcontinent in the struggle for independence in collaboration with the All-India Muslim League. It is, however, not claimed to give a complete picture of the role played by them in the hectic days of the political struggle against British imperialism and the Hindu dominance. Suffice it to say that every effort has been made to consult the contemporary material available in Lahore such as newspapers, journals, pamphlets, and other source-material on Pakistan Movement. Some of the women leaders who were active in the Pakistan Movement were interviewed and others were contacted through correspondence to get first-hand information.

At the initial stages of the task it was hoped to cover Muslim women's political role on the All-India basis but later on due to the non-availability of sufficient source-material it was felt feasible to concentrate on their activities in the Muslim majority areas where their role had been constant and continuous. The book has been divided into four chapters. Chapter I deals briefly with the social, educational and other activities of the Muslim women from the advent of the Mughuls to the middle of the 1930's. This only creates a background view of their social and educational condition in India. In Chapter II, III and IV Part (I) Muslim women's political activities have been discussed during the period 1937-47 Part II of Chapter IV gives a brief account of the political activities

of the Muslim women in the North-West Frontier Province during 1946-47. In Appendix A, brief biographical sketches of Muslim women leaders have been given. This list of women leaders is, however, not claimed to be a comprehensive one.

I am greatly indebted to my worthy teacher Ch. Umar Mahmood Wathra, formerly Lecturer in the Department of History, University of the Punjab, for his valuable guidance and the pains he took in thoroughly revising the manuscript. I must record my earnest gratitude to Professor Sh. Abdur Rashid and Mr. Rafique Afzal whose affectionate and friendly guidance throughout this work was available to me.

I also take this opportunity of acknowledging my gratitude to Dr. S. M. Ikram, Vice-President, and Dr. M. Jahangir Khan, Director, Research Society of Pakistan for their sustained interest in this work. My thanks are due to Professor Mirza Maqbool Beg Badakhshani, Mr. Muhammad Shafique Alvi, Lecturer, Islamia College, Lahore, and Mr. Khawar Nabi who rendered help at the various stages of this project.

Lahore,
15 August 1969.

Sarfaraz Hussain Mirza

CHAPTER I

The history of the Muslims in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent is a socio-cultural phenomenon of far-reaching consequences. The evolution of the Indian civilisation owes a great deal to the Muslim rule in this part of the world. Apart from their military and political institutions, their literary and artistic traditions were transplanted on the culture of the people of the subcontinent. They produced some of the world's greatest rulers. Islamic civilisation infused a new vigour into the hitherto dead arteries of the Indian culture. The establishment of the Muslim rule in the subcontinent, and patterns of culture evolved by them are interwoven in the texture of Indian civilisation and are of great significance in the history of the world civilisation.

For a meaningful study of this development we have selected an activity which has hitherto remained untouched. The role of the Indian women, for example, despite all their social and traditional disabilities is a significant field of study without which the story of the Muslim rule in the subcontinent would be an incomplete and drab picture.

Even before the Timurids came into power in India, their women had attained proficiency in the realm of artistic and literary pursuits. Amat-ul-Habib, later known as Hamida Bano, wife of

Amir Taimur, knew Chinese¹ in addition to her knowledge of Turkish, Persian and Arabic. She compiled two books, one on the conquests of Amir Taimur and the other on Turkish women.² She was also an accomplished musician.

Babur, the founder of the Mughul empire, was a most attractive personality. He wrote his autobiography in such a lively and simple style that it set a standard for autobiographical literature. His daughter, Gulbadan Begum, had a firm command over Turkish and Persian.³ She gives a good account of the dismal career of her brother Humayun, and of the social, cultural and historical events of the reigns of Babur and Humayun in her *Humayun Nama*.⁴ Gulrukh Begum, another daughter of Babur from Salih Sultan Begum, was also a poet⁵ and of her daughter, Salima Sultan Begum, Jahangir wrote with admiration in his *Tuzuk*. According to him no woman could surpass Salima Sultan in ability and literary taste.⁶ He praises her for her natural qualities and accomplishments. She kept a sizeable library and composed Persian verse under the *nom de plume* Makhfi.⁷ On the death of her husband, Bairam Khan, she married Akbar. Janan Begum, wife of Prince Danyal, was another well-read lady. She

1. Sayyid Zahur-ul-Hasan, *Begmat-i-Khandan-i-Taimuriya ki Sawanih Umriyan* (Urdu), Delhi, 1927, p. 10.

2. Ibid, p. 11.

3. Sayyid Sabah-ud-Din Abdur Rahman, *Bazm-i-Taimuriya* (Urdu), Azamgarh, 1948, p. 436; *Taimuri Shahzadiyon ka Ilmi Zauq* (Urdu), in *Ma'arif*, Azamgarh, No. 5, Vol. 49, January to June 1942, p. 338.

4. This book was translated into English by Annete S. Beveridge and published in London in 1902 along with its Persian text. The translator has given a detailed account of Gulbadan Begum and other Timurid princes and princesses.

5. *Bazm-i-Taimuriya*, p. 439;

Taimuri Shahzadiyon ka Ilmi Zauq, p. 341.

6. Mirza Muhammad Hadi, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Aligarh, 1864, p. 114.

The original version is as follows :

به جميع صفات حسنه آراستگى داشتند - در زنان اين مقدار هنر و قابليت كم جمع ميشود -

7. Maulvi Abdur Rahim, *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, vol. I, Calcutta, 1887, p. 376; Sayyid Ali Hasan Khan, *Subh-i-Gulshan*, Bhopal, 1878, p.394.

has the credit of writing commentary on the Holy *Quran*.⁸ Nur Jahan, the charming consort of Jahangir, was the most accomplished, cultured and refined lady of her time. Jahangir was captivated not only by her beauty but also by her highly sophisticated literary taste, refinement and sagacity in matters of the State. She was a good poet of Persian and patronised the Court poets.⁹ A pioneer in taste and elegance, she became the embodiment of the Indo-Persian culture of the period and all that was the best in it.

Arjumand Bano Begum, popularly known as Mumtaz Mahal, wife of Shah Jahan, to whose loving memory the emperor dedicated one of the noblest monuments, the Taj Mahal, was a symbol of Persian literary traditions. Her eldest daughter, Jahan Ara Begum was a highly educated woman. She venerated the Ulama and the Sufis and composed her own epitaph.¹⁰ She was a poet as well as an author for she wrote a book entitled the *Munis-ul-Arwah*¹¹ and the *Risalah Sahibiyya*.

The austere Aurangzeb, who had but little taste for poetry and art, could not prevent his own daughters from such pursuits. His elder daughter Zeb-un-Nisa Begum was a scholar of Persian and Arabic. She memorised the *Quran* at a very young age and it was under her guidance and initiative that the *Tafseer-ul-Kabir* was translated into Persian by Mulla Safi-ud-Din Ardbili.¹² She maintained a magnificent library and her household was a centre of

8. *Bazm-i-Taimuriya*, p. 442.

9. Ibid, p. 445 ; *Taimuri Shahzadiyon ka Ilmi Zauq*, p. 347.

It is said that she also wrote under the pseudonym *Makhfi*. (*Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, vol. I, p. 134). Nawab Qasim Khan Danish, husband of her real sister Maneeja Begum, flourished at the Court.

10. بغیر سبزہ نہ پوشد کسی مزار مرا
کہ قبر پوش غریبان ہمیں گیاه بس است

11. It contains the life sketches of Muslim saints such as Hazrat Khwaja Moin-ud-Din Chishti, Shaikh Hamid-ud-Din Nagori, Hazrat Qutb-ud-Din Bakhtiar Kaki, Hazrat Farid-ud-Din Ganj Shakar, Hazrat Nizam-ud-Din Aulia and Hazrat Nasir-ud-Din Chiragh Delhvi.

12. Muhammad Saqi Mustaid Khan, *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*,
Bib. Indica, Calcutta, 1870-3 p. 539.

learning. According to the author of the *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, her library was the like of which no man has seen.¹³ Her sisters, Zeenat-un-Nisa Begum, Badr-un-Nisa Begum and Zubdat-un-Nisa Begum were also well-read women. Badr-un-Nisa Begum was a *hafizah* as well. According to the author of the *Subh-i-Gulshan*, Zeenat-un-Nisa Begum was a poet and *hafizah* and built the Zeenat-ul-Masajid at Delhi.¹⁴

Mughul women were without exception devout Muslims and as a religious duty built mosques and constructed schools. These schools were provided with residential quarters for the students. There was a spacious mosque in the city of Delhi built by 'Izz-un-Nisa and was known as Akbarabadi Mosque. This mosque was surrounded by a school and hostel buildings. Another example of the Taimuri women's inclination towards education appeared in the shape of a first-rate *madrassa* known as the *Madrassa-i-Khair-ul-Manazil*.¹⁵ It was built by Maham Begum at Delhi along with a beautiful mosque. Likewise when Shah Jahan's eldest daughter, Jahan Ara Begum, constructed a mosque in Agra, she also built a *madrassa* along with it.¹⁶

After Aurangzeb, the Mughul empire gradually fell to pieces and its past glory vanished. Nevertheless, royal ladies continued to pursue their literary and educational interests. Ahmad-un-Nisa, wife of Farrukh Siyar, and Khajasta Sultana, wife of Rafi-ud-Darajat, were both educated and cultured ladies. Zeenat-un-Nisa Begum, daughter of Nawab Ahmad Quli Khan, was also an educated lady and she took upon herself the responsibility of educating other girls of the locality she lived in. She was married to Abu Zafar Bahadur Shah, the last Mughul Emperor, and was given the title of Nawab Zeenat Mahal. Well versed in warfare, she herself commanded a

13. The original version of the author (*Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 509) runs as follows:

در سرکار علیہ کتاب خانہ گرد آمدہ بود کہ بنظر ہیچ یکے درنیامدہ باشد

14. Ali Hasan, op. cit., p. 191.

15. Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar-us-Sanadid* (Urdu).

Lucknow, 1876, p. 47; *Bazm-i-Taimuriya*, p. 441.

16. *Bazm-i-Taimuriya*, p. 455; *Taimuri Shahadayan ka Ilmi Zauq*, p. 356.

company of soldiers in the War of Independence, 1857. She was deported to Rangoon along with the King.¹⁷

Nawab Taj Ara Begum, mother of Wajid Ali Shah the last king of Awadh, was a courageous lady who showed her ability at the time of the annexation of Awadh in 1856. When the British Resident formally announced the annexation, she advanced forceful arguments in support of her son. Failing in her efforts she sailed for England on 18 June 1856 to plead her case before Queen Victoria.¹⁸ The Queen was much impressed by her candid and dignified manner. She also met many important men of affairs, but before her frantic efforts could bear fruit, India was convulsed by the War of 1857.

Besides these ladies of the house of Taimur, there were numerous other educated and learned women who became famous due to their scholastic attainments. Maham Anga, Akbar's foster-mother, was an important woman of affairs. Mehri Harvi, an associate of Nur Jahan, was a poet and Sati-un-Nisa, a favourite of Mumtaz Mahal and tutor of Jahan Ara, was also a renowned poet and physician. Nawab Khusrav Begum, Nawab Mughul Begum, Nawab Mehdi Begum, Qudsia Begum and a few others were amongst the well versed ladies.

The fall of the Mughul empire after the failure of the War of 1857 was a calamity for the Muslims. The collapse of political power exposed the hidden weaknesses of the Muslim community. Though the Muslims were not wholly responsible for the outbreak of the events of 1857, they had to bear the consequences of the failure of the War. The struggle had far-reaching effects. It resulted in a complete administrative overhaul, a re-orientation of the British policy in religious and other matters and new developments in the political field, which were to pave the way for the subsequent political struggle

17. Maulvi Muhammad Amin Zubairi, *Muslim Khawatin ki Ta'lim* (Urdu), Karachi, 1956, p. 47.

18. Muhammad Najm-ul-Ghani, *Tarikh-i-Awadh* (Urdu), vol. 5, Lucknow, 1919, p. 275.

for independence. The governance of the subcontinent was now transferred from the East India Company to the British Crown, which assumed direct responsibility for its administration.

The period following 1858 was the most trying one for the Muslims in the subcontinent. Their bid to throw off the British yoke on one side and to regenerate their moribund society on the other had failed. Future seemed to be extremely bleak for them. In this dismal setting Sayyid Ahmad Khan, a great Muslim reformer and educationist, came forward with a new message and a definite programme for the uplift of the Muslims. With his strong common-sense he realised that unless the Muslims were educated on western lines it would be impossible for them to maintain an honourable position in the changing world. His work was twofold. On the one side he wanted to persuade the Muslims to reconcile themselves to the British so that they might be able to get the maximum benefits from the government and on the other hand he wanted to dissuade the British from trying to crush the Muslims as a community. This was a very difficult task, but for many years he struggled hard and in the end he was able to create a forward looking, modern and educated class, ready to accept any challenge either from the Hindu majority or from the British dominance.

Education and mental training were the means which Sayyid Ahmad Khan adopted. In his scheme of reforms, the education of women occupied only a secondary place, but it should never be assumed that he under-estimated its real importance. His view was that Muslim women should continue to receive the traditional education. Mindful of the fact that Muslim women in India occupied an important position in society, he was against taking any hasty and revolutionary steps for their education. Traditional education in secluded houses and training in moral and spiritual values was sufficient for him.¹⁹

19. It is interesting to note that despite being a great supporter of western education for the Indian Muslims, he never encouraged Muslim women to come out of *purdah*. He wrote articles in defence of the cause and addressed those who were against *purdah* in this way :

تو کار زمیں را نکو ساختی کہ با آسمان نیز پرداختی
For details see *Tazkirah-i-Sir Sayyid* by Muhammad Amin Zubairi (Urdu), Rawalpindi, 1961, pp. 131-37.

In 1882, he submitted the following statement before the Education Commission appointed by the Government of India: "I admit.... that the general state of female education among Muhammadans is at present far from satisfactory; but at the same time, I am of opinion that Government cannot adopt any practical measure by which the respectable Muhammadans may be induced to send their daughters to Government schools for education."²⁰ He further stated that "the question of female education much resembles the question of the oriental philosopher who asked whether the egg or the hen was first created."²¹ Emphasising the issue, he said, "those who hold that women should be educated and civilised prior to men are greatly mistaken. The fact is that no satisfactory education can be provided for Muhammadan females until a large number of Muhammadan males receive a sound education."²² He was of the opinion that "when the present generation of Muhammadan men is well educated and enlightened, the circumstances will necessarily have a powerful, though indirect, effect on the enlightenment of Muhammadan women, for enlightened fathers, brothers, and husbands will naturally be most anxious to educate their female relations."²³

During Sayyid Ahmad Khan's tour of the Punjab in 1884, the women of Gurdaspur District presented him an address in which they pointed out their educational backwardness. He advised them to continue their traditional way of education and emphasised that women all over the world never received education before men. On the other hand, the process was always the opposite, i.e., women always followed men in every walk of life.²⁴ In fact, the education

20. *Appendix to Education Commission Report*, Calcutta, 1884, pp. 299-300.

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*

23. *Ibid.*

24. Maulvi Siraj-ud-Din, *Majmua-i-Lectures wa Speeches* (Urdu), 1890, pp. 154-56; *Tazkirah-i-Sir Sayyid*, p. 132. He expressed the same views in his speech in the session of the Mohammadan Educational Conference held in 1891 at Aligarh. See *Majmua-i-Lectures wa Speeches*, pp. 315-16.

of Muslim women posed no serious problem to the great reformer. He was satisfied with the oriental system of education at home so far as the needs of women were concerned.

His primary concern was to educate young men of Muslim India on western lines. He admitted that the rights of women had been suppressed to a great extent due to the backwardness and unscientific outlook of their men. He liked to see the restoration of female rights which were bestowed upon them by Islam. But this could be done only when young men were educated first.²⁵

The question of women's education attracted the attention of the Muslim community first through the Mohammadan Educational Congress (later named the Mohammadan Educational Conference). This organisation was sponsored by Sayyid Ahmad Khan in 1886 at Aligarh to discuss the educational problems of the Muslims and to find ways and means of spreading education amongst them. During its session held at Lahore in 1888, Shaikh Khair-ud-Din, a member of the Railway Traffic Department, Lahore, moved a resolution on female education which was supported by Khalifa Imad-ud-Din, father of Khalifa Shuja-ud-Din, who was then in the Education Department of the Government of the Punjab. There was much opposition by the more orthodox section of the Muslim community. Sayyid Ahmad Khan delivered a thought-provoking speech in support of the resolution. He said that "People may be astonished that, though I have in many affairs progressive ideas, I hold about the education of girls views resembling those of our elders....In India the time is not yet ripe to found schools for the education of girls and to imitate the girls' schools of Europe".²⁶ After a lengthy discussion, the Congress adopted the following resolution:—

"That Mohammedan Educational Congress is of opinion that such girls' schools (*zenana maktab*) be established for the Mohammedan girls as would meet their educational

25. *Tazkirah-i-Sir Sayyid*, p. 133.

26. J.M.S. Baljon, Jr., *The Reforms and Religious Ideas of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, Lahore, 1964, p. 68.

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.”²⁷

Three years later, in 1891, the question of female education was again discussed in the session of the Conference held at Aligarh. This time the resolution was moved by a student of the Aligarh College, Khwaja Ghulam-us-Saqlain, who later became Inspector of Schools in Hyderabad (Deccan) and also worked as Secretary of the Social Welfare Section of the Conference for some time. The resolution was seconded by Maulvi Sayyid Karamat Husain, a Professor of the Aligarh College who later became a Judge of the High Court of Allahabad. A section of the speakers referred to the views of Sayyid Ahmad Khan on female education and denounced his negative attitude about it. Sayyid Ahmad Khan again clarified his position by giving sound arguments and laid emphasis on male education first and female education later on.²⁸ The issue had become of considerable importance for the Indian Muslims and therefore, began to receive serious attention of the Muslim leaders of the country.

The year 1899 stands out as a distinct landmark in the history of female education. At Calcutta, the Conference took up the question with increased vigour and determination under the presidentship of Justice Syed Amir Ali, a legal luminary from Bengal. Perhaps, it was for the first time that the President of the Conference laid emphasis on female education.²⁹ Mirza Shuja'at Ali Beg from Bengal, who was then the Secretary of the Reception Committee of the Conference, moved a strongly worded resolution in the Conference for the establishment of female institutions in the capital of every

27. *Quinquennial Report, Progress of Education in India*, 1887-1892, Calcutta, 1893, p. 332.

28. Siraj-ud-Din, op. cit., pp. 315-16.

29. *Report of the thirteenth session of the Mohammadan Educational Conference*, held at Calcutta on 27-30 December, 1899 (Urdu), Agra, 1900, pp. 33-36. and 112-13.

province and all other educational centres, in conformity with the Islamic law, tradition and customs of the respectable Muslim families.³⁰ In the same year during the proceedings of the eighth session held on 31 December, under the presidentship of Nawab Muhammad Hayat Khan, a leading member of the well-known Wah family of the Attock District, it was proposed by Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, a well-known figure of Aligarh who later worked as Joint Secretary of the Conference, to open a school at a suitable place which should produce lady teachers.³¹ In 1900, a resolution was moved by Chaudhri Khushi Muhammad Khan, an energetic worker of the Conference from the Punjab, in the Conference held at Rampur pointing out the need for including other subjects in the curriculum besides Islamic Studies.³² It was also proposed to compile suitable books keeping in view the requirements of the Muslim girls. Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk Maulvi Sayyid Husain Bilgrami, Director, Public Instruction and Private Secretary to the Nizam of Hyderabad (Deccan) and Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan spoke in support of the resolution which was adopted unanimously.

While talking of the gradual progress of the female education it may be pointed out that a female section was created in November 1896 by the Central Standing Committee of the Mohammadan Educational Conference with its headquarters at Aligarh. Maulvi Sayyid Karamat Husain was appointed its officiating Secretary. Later Maulvi Sayyid Mumtaz Ali, founder of the weekly *Tahzib-i-Niswan*, Lahore, took over charge of the duties of Honorary Secretary at the first session of the Female Education session held on 29 December 1896. Finally in 1902, Shaikh Abdullah of Aligarh, a relentless fighter for the cause of female education, was appointed

30. Ibid, pp. 105-6. It was also decided to complete this work within a period of three years and a standard curriculum was to be prepared for these institutions in consultation with learned Ulama.

31. Ibid, p. 163.

32. *Report of the fourteenth session of the Mohammadan Educational Conference*, held at Rampur on 27-30 December 1900 (Urdu), Agra, 1901, p. 127. The subjects proposed were elementary mathematics, history, geography, etc.

Honorary Secretary. He was one of the stalwarts left behind by Sayyid Ahmad Khan who under most adverse circumstances took up the cause of Muslim women. It was generally believed by the Muslims at that time that modern education was harmful for women and degraded their mental and moral horizon. The advocates of female education were branded as apostates in orthodox circles. It was, indeed, difficult to support and work for such an unpopular cause. However, Shaikh Abdullah with the help of his wife popularly known as A'la Bi, a staunch supporter of female education, started this venture in right earnest.

In December 1903, the Mohammadan Educational Conference session was held at Bombay and proved a momentous gathering because it was the first³³ occasion on which Muslim women also participated in the Conference. For the first time from the Conference platform, a Parsi lady, Miss Susi Sohrabji, delivered a lecture on female education. In the same Conference an article by Chand Begum, a lady from Madras who could not attend the session, was read out to the Conference by another Parsi lady. In this article, she hailed the 'Reform Party', a group of Muslim supporters of female education, and hurled bitter invectives on reactionary *Maulvis*. She called upon the Muslim women to follow fervently the female reform movement which was advocating modern education amongst Muslim women,

33. *Muslim Khawatin ki Ta'lim*, p. 111. From now onwards Muslim women began to attend the sessions of the Conference regularly but in 1924 their entry to the Conference was withheld. In 1925 during the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Muslim University, Aligarh, Atiya Begum Faizi from Bombay along with some other women came to attend the Conference despite the restriction imposed on their participation by Nawab Sadar Yar Jang Maulana Habib-ur-Rahman Khan Sherwani. Atiya Faizi began her powerful oration from *zenana* apartment behind the *purdah* and upset the *pandal* until she was escorted on the dais by Nawab Sir Abdul Qayyum Khan, who was presiding over the session. (*Zamindar*, Daily, Lahore, 6 January 1926). She condemned the narrowminded policy of Muslims towards their women and demanded a Women's University for Muslim women. Hereafter, they freely participated in the Conference sessions and even presided over some of its allied meetings. For details of Atiya Faizi's speech, see *Muslim Khawatin ki Ta'lim*, pp. 133-37.

and to say good-bye to the immovable *Maulvis*.³⁴ In the end the Conference passed a resolution for the establishment of female schools keeping in view the traditions and customs of the Muslims of India. It was also proposed that a Normal School for lady teachers should be established at a suitable place and the responsibility of implementing this proposal was accepted by Shaikh Abdullah.³⁵

The following December the female section of the Conference held a separate session at Lucknow and agreed to set up a Normal School at Aligarh. In the annual Educational Conference of 1905 held at Aligarh, Shaikh Abdullah organised an exhibition in which various handmade articles by women were displayed. The women of the Faizi family of Bombay took special interest in this exhibition and Zuhra Begum Faizi presided over the women section of the Conference. On this occasion, the proposal of opening a Normal School was greatly hailed.

Despite Shaikh Abdullah's preoccupations, he launched a female Urdu Journal, the *Khatoon*, in 1904 to popularise female education. Gradually the cause of Muslim women's education was gathering momentum and started drawing the attention of many notables of the time. Maulana Altaf Husain Hali, the famous poet of Muslim renaissance, in his poem, *Chup Ki Dad*, voiced a stirring appeal in favour of Muslim women. He pinpointed the hardships to which Muslim women were being subjected. His poems were widely read and their imprint was never lost on Muslim mind.

Newspapers also began to project the cause of Muslim women. In this respect Maulvi Sayyid Ahmad's *Akhbar-i-Niswan* (Lahore), Maulvi Mahbub Alam's *Sharif Bibi* (Lahore) and Maulvi Sayyid Mumtaz Ali's *Tahzib-i-Niswan* (Lahore) are worth mentioning. From Hyderabad (Deccan), Maulvi Mohibb-i-Husain started *Mo'allim-i-Niswan* and *Akhbar-i-Niswan*. The educational cause of

34. Ibid, p. 113.

35. Ibid, pp. 112, 118. According to Maulana Muhammad Ali, it appears that a scheme of Female Normal School was first proposed by Maulana Shaukat Ali in 1902 but his proposal was turned down. See *Zamindar*, 27 January 1924.

Muslim women thus penetrated into the press and from there it spread over the country. The newspapers accepted both in principle and in practice the importance of this movement.

Maulvi Sayyid Mumtaz Ali and his wife Muhammadi Begum made the cause of female education their lifelong mission. Their contribution set an example to be followed by others. It was during Sayyid Ahmad Khan's lifetime that the Maulana wrote a memorable book in support of women's rights, namely *Huqooq-i-Niswan*. Throughout his life, his major concern was to see Muslim women well-educated, cultured and respected in society. The Maulana also urged Muslim women to organise *Tahzibi Anjumans* all over the subcontinent in order to collect them on one platform. He came to be known as the *Rahbar-i-Niswan*—women's guide—in women circles.³⁶

Allama Rashid-ul-Khairi, another champion of female rights, especially rights of inheritance, wrote extensively in favour of the uplift of Muslim women. He dedicated himself to the moral and mental development of women. His magazine *Ismat*, founded in 1908, gained wide popularity and appreciation amongst women as well as men. The Allama started another women's journal *Tamaddun* in 1911 in support of female rights. He published numerous books dealing especially with the aspects of the life of the Muslim women of the subcontinent.

While the cause of female education was still being opposed by men of strong orthodox views, Shaikh Abdullah and his wife continued to centre their attention on its further development. In 1906, he started a female school which later became the nucleus of the Female Normal School in a rented house at Aligarh.³⁷ A woman

36. *Tahzib-Niswan*, (Weekly), Lahore, 3 August 1935, pp. 736-37. It may be pointed out that the word *Tahzib-i-Niswan* was proposed by Sayyid Ahmad Khan. It was out of regard for his loving memory that the Maulana wished the Muslim women to establish organisations bearing this name.

37. *The Star* (Weekly), Allahabad, 8 July 1935, p. 5 ;
Muslim Khawatin ki Ta'lim, p. 121 ;
Akhbar-i-Khawatin (Weekly), Karachi, 6 to 12 July 1968, p. 11.

(A statement of Begum Sajida Zubair, Principal, Karachi College for Women). This School continued to flourish and with the passage of time and financial support from different quarters, it was raised to the standard of a high school. In 1922, intermediate classes were introduced and later in 1944, it was raised to the level of a degree college.

teacher was called from Delhi to take over the responsibilities of this school. Begum Shaikh Abdullah and her sister agreed to work as teachers in the school. This was a modest start for Muslim women's education on a set pattern. In the beginning very few students could be attracted towards the school, but gradually, by continued efforts of Shaikh Abdullah and his Begum, the school made progress in the face of stubborn opposition.

Among other problems, that of finances for this new school was most acute. In the beginning grants from the State of Bhopal were the only source of help. Soon it was realised that the school could not be maintained without financial help from the Government. The Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces was approached. After official formalities, the Inspectress of Schools of the area visited the institution and on her report the Government sanctioned a sum of two hundred and fifty rupees per month as grant-in-aid and seventeen thousand rupees for the construction of the building.³⁸

For the construction of the new building for the school and hostel land was acquired outside the city of Aligarh. This venture was much criticised by various leaders but Shaikh Abdullah, who was bent upon making his scheme a success, remained unshaken.³⁹ The foundation-stone of the boarding-house was laid on 7 May 1911. For further expansion of the building, the Government sanctioned another sum of twenty thousand rupees.⁴⁰

During the same year, the Mohammadan Educational Conference held its session at Delhi. A separate meeting of the Female Education Section was held on this occasion. It was presided over by the Begum of Bhopal. She appeared on the dais of the Conference clad in *burqa* and was escorted by two socio-political workers of the Hindu community, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Surla Devi Chaudharani. The Begum of Bhopal in her speech supported Muslim women's

38. *Muslim Khawatin ki Ta'lim*, p. 122.

39. For details, see *The Report of Honorary Secretary Muslim Girls' High School and Intermediate College, Aligarh* (Urdu), Aligarh, 1927.

40. *Sharif Bibi* (Daily), Lahore, 13 June 1913 ;

Muslim Khawatin ki Ta'lim, p. 122.

educational cause and emphasised the uplift of their social position. At the end of the session Maulana Shibli Naumani, the great poet, critic and a historian, delivered an historic speech on the status of women in Islam in his lucid and forceful style.

Meanwhile the construction of the building of the Female Normal School had been taken in hand, and in July 1913, when a portion of the building had been completed, the Begum of Bhopal was invited to inaugurate it.⁴¹ This was an important occasion in the history of education of Muslim women. Prominent women leaders came to participate from Lucknow, Delhi, Lahore, Meerut and Muradabad including Begum Nazli Rafia of Janjira and Atiya Begum Faizi from Bombay. The Begum of Bhopal delivered a thoughtful address in reply to the welcome address presented by Begum Shaikh Abdullah. The Begum of Bhopal held high hopes for the success of the female educational programme started by Shaikh Abdullah and his wife.

When the Normal School for the training of lady teachers had been set up, a serious problem was posed by the curriculum to be prescribed for women. In this respect Muslim scholars had already come forward with their suggestions.

Maulana Hali compiled a memorable book *Majalas-un-Nisa*, which was prescribed as a standard book for study in many *madrassas* of the Punjab. Maulana Sayyid Ahmad Dehlvi, a reputed scholar of the period, also took this work in hand and produced some valuable books for Muslim women namely *Hadi-un-Nisa*, *Lughat-un-Nisa*, etc. The Begum of Bhopal compiled a voluminous book *Tahzib-un-Niswanwa Tarbiyyat-un-Niswan*, which dealt with such subjects as women's household activities, religious duties, principles of sanitation, customs, etc. Maulvi Nazir Ahmad, a famous scholar and author of Delhi, produced many popular books on the subject. His *Mirat-ul-Uroos*, *Ibn-ul-Waqt*, *Taubat-un-Nasuh*, *Binat-un-Na'sh*, *Muhsinat*, *Roya-i-Sadiqa*

41. *Sharif Bibi*, 4 July 1913; *Muslim Khawatin ki Ta'lim*, p. 124.

and *Ayama* are widely read even these days. The Begum of Bhopal also took upon herself the preparation of a set of books to be prescribed for study.

The Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore

The effects of the Aligarh Movement began gradually to be felt in other areas of the subcontinent. In the Punjab the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, founded in September 1884 at Lahore, has always occupied the central position in the educational, cultural and social activities. As in other parts of India, Muslims of the Punjab had lagged behind the Hindus in these spheres of activity. Their religious sentiments and susceptibilities were always in disagreement with the changing needs of the times. The progress that the Hindus of the Punjab made in all walks of life awakened the Muslims to the danger of being subjugated by them.

Under the Hindu nationalist revivalist movement such organisations as the *Arya Samaj*, the *Vesh Sabha*, the *Khatris Sabha* and others had actively worked for female education and a number of schools had been opened under their auspices, the well-known being the Maharani Burdwan High School, the Vedic Putri Pathshala and the Khatri Girls' School at Lahore; Inderprasth Kanahiyya Pathshala and Kanahiyya Mahaverdiyyala in Ferozepur.⁴²

The Christian missionaries had, from the very beginning, avowedly centred their attention on the education of the Indians with the sole object of converting them to Christianity. Many missionary women had zealously set upon themselves the task of educating women. They visited Indian households of lower middle class women outwardly to provide medical facilities for women but inwardly to work to induce them to become converts to Christianity. Under Christian missions, a number of schools began to emerge with medical facilities and these schools were made the centres of conversion to Christianity.

Sayyid Ahmad Khan's educational programme continued to

42. *Sharif Bibi*, 5 December, 1913; Minna G. Cowan, *The Education of the Women of India*, London, 1912, p. 143.

flourish in Central India and in the Punjab it also had considerable impact and with the passage of time greater interest in female education was evident. In Lahore, some Muslim pioneers accepted the challenge of the time and decided to save the Muslim community from the propaganda of the Christian missionaries and exploitation by the Hindus. They founded an organisation known as the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam at Lahore with the following main objects :—

Propagation of Islam and “to impart suitable and necessary education to Muslim boys and girls 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 falling into the hands of the followers of other religions.”⁴³

It may be mentioned here that when in 1888, the Mohammadan Educational Conference held its session at Lahore, Sayyid Ahmad Khan and many other leaders like Sardar Muhammad Hayat Khan attended the gathering. Sayyid Ahmad Khan’s educational programme thus took the Punjab into its fold and a new wave of awakening and enthusiasm began to be felt in the Muslim community of the Punjab.

The Anjuman, realising the gravity of the situation and the importance of female education, founded five institutions for primary classes for Muslim girls in 1885.⁴⁴ The number of these institutions was doubled by the next year.⁴⁵ The active support of the Anjuman continued and by 1894, the number of female institutions increased to fifteen⁴⁶. Besides the traditional education, the teaching of the Holy

43. J.N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, New York, 1915, p. 347.

44. Khwaja Muhammad Hayat, *Mukhtasir Tawarikh-i-Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam* (Urdu), Lahore, n.d.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid.

Quran and imparting religious education comprised the special portion of the syllabus.

In the beginning, the founders of the Anjuman had to face many difficulties on account of the apathetic attitude of the Muslim masses on one side and the activities of the missionaries on the other. The Christian missionaries could not remain complacent over the objectives of the Anjuman because these could be a major hindrance in their activities. In one of the annual reports of the missionaries they made a mention of this fact that :

“The methods of defence adopted by this great organisation have been, in brief, *the establishment of Muhammeden vernacular and Anglo-Vernacular schools for the education of Muslim youth*, the publication of a literature, books, tracts and newspapers for refutation of anti-Muslim publications as well as for the commendation and propagation of the religion of Islam. In addition to this a Muslim propaganda has been organised, especially to withstand and hinder the work of missions. Even Zenana teachers are supported, whose first duty is to break up, if possible, the missionary Zenana and Girls’ Schools. Pressure is brought to bear upon the Muslim parents to exclude the Christian ladies and workers. Moreover, preachers are supported and sent here and there to preach against the Christian religion and to use every effort to bring back to the Muslim fold any who has been converted to Christianity. Christian perverts are sent out as the chosen agents of this propaganda....The results of the labours of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-ul-Islam are apparent in a revival of interest among Muslims in their own religion. The mosques have been repaired and efforts have not been fruitless in securing a better attendance. The boycott inaugurated against missionary work has reduced the attendance of Muslims at the chapels and schools, and has no doubt closed many doors once open to Christian teachings.”⁴⁷

47. Farquhar, op. cit., pp. 348-49.

The preservation of Islamic values of life remained the main objective of the Anjuman's educational programme. But with the spread of English education Muslim women could not be kept away from the wider and manifold requirements of modern education. To make the Anjuman's educational programme dynamic and viable, the organisers of the Anjuman widened their scope of activities and keeping in view the need of the knowledge of English for girls, they raised one of their schools to the middle standard⁴⁸ in 1925, and the same was converted into a high school⁴⁹ in 1936. When in 1939, a female degree college on the Cooper Road, Lahore, was started, the Anjuman's long and laborious programme began to yield fruit. It is interesting to note that in 1885, only one hundred and sixty-nine⁵⁰ girls were studying in the various institutions of the Anjuman whereas in 1939 the number had increased to 1,200.⁵¹

The Anjuman, from the very beginning, kept in view the special nature of female education. Apart from the moral and mental awakening, the vocational training of girls was also necessary. In 1885, therefore, when the Anjuman established institutions for female education, it laid special emphasis on prescribing compulsory subjects for girls such as embroidery, tailoring, sewing, cooking, etc.⁵² The performance of the girls in these institutions attracted the attention of Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Sardar Muhammad Hayat

48. Muhammad Hayat, op. cit. It appears that a female school was opened on 19 April 1913 by the Anjuman under the supervision of the Women's Sub-Committee of the Anjuman. The school was named as Anglo-Vernacular Islamia Girls' Middle School. See *Sharif Bibi*, 2,9 and 16 May 1913.

49. Muhammad Hayat, op. cit. The building for this school was constructed in *Koocha* Shaikh Azimullah, Brandreth Road, Lahore with the expenditure of Rs. 48,115/-. According to another information from the daily *Inqilab*, the middle school was raised to the standard of a high school in 1934-35. See *Inqilab* (Daily), Lahore, 16 August 1935.

50. Muhammad Hayat, op. cit.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid.

Khan who had attended the Mohammadan Educational Conference at Lahore as mentioned above in 1888 and were pleased to buy some clothes prepared by the girls in these institutions.⁵³

The problem of orphans amongst the Muslims in the subcontinent has always been the most pathetic. At the death of an earning father, his widow and children invariably fell victim to uncertain and appalling circumstances. From this unenviable position of the women, Christian missionaries always tried to reap benefits by exploiting their misery. The Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam took this problem in hand and in 1887 started a female orphanage⁵⁴ for the boarding and lodging of widows and their children. For this purpose the Anjuman purchased a small building which was later on reconstructed in 1927. The importance of this orphanage was fully recognised at a later stage, first in 1934 when the victims of the Bihar earthquake tragedy and again in 1946 when the victims of the communal riots came to take refuge in it. This orphanage also gave shelter to the refugees during the partition period in 1947.

The educational programme of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam was so practical and its appeal so convincing that it drew many supporters to its cause. Despite the opposition of the Christian missionaries and the reactionary activities of the Hindus, the Government also sanctioned annual grant-in-aid to the Anjuman. But it must be borne in mind that it was chiefly because of the efforts of Muslim masses in the Punjab that the Anjuman continued to flourish and passing through a chequered history, it ultimately came to rest on firm footings. With the passage of time, the educational and cultural activities of the Anjuman became an important factor in the life of the Muslims of the Punjab and at a later stage, the Pakistan Movement drew its life-blood from the Punjab, mainly from the students in the educational institutions of the Anjuman. Its annual sessions became the platform of political activities from

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

where leaders of thought and action, like Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, popularised their programme.

Side by side with the activities of the Anjuman, Sir Muhammad Shafi also occupies an important position in the history of the Punjab. Returning from England in 1892, he allied himself with the Aligarh educational movement. On different occasions, he presided over the female education section of the Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental Educational Conference. His main contribution, however, lies in the efforts he made to raise the position of Muslim women in the Punjab, both educationally and socially. During his stay in England, he was greatly impressed by the rôle which English women were playing in the different walks of life. On his return to India, he set for himself the objective of eradicating the evils the Muslim women were caught in. Because of his social status and family background, he was able to express his thought boldly and forcefully on such touchy subjects as *purdah* and dowry. He generally believed that Muslim women should get liberal education so that they could acquaint themselves with the world around them.

Sir Muhammad Shafi, in his zeal for reforms, became rather radical and went against the established standards prevailing in the country and allowed the women of his family to renounce *purdah*. Though his social programme did not find favour with Muslims generally, his sincerity could hardly be doubted. Recommending full scope for female participation in almost every walk of life, he also stressed the need of adherence to Islamic way of life. This, he believed, could be better achieved by liberal education combining traditional Islamic values with modern education.

It was at his initiative that the Anjuman-i-Khawatin-i-Islam was founded in 1908 at his residence.⁵⁵ Lady Shafi was elected its first president with Fatima Begum, daughter of Maulvi Mahbub Alam,

55. Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz to the author ; *ar-Rai* (Urdu), monthly, Lahore (Sir Shafi Number), December, 1967, p. 46.

Editor of the *Paisa Akhbar*, Lahore, as Secretary. He made liberal donations for the establishment of girls' schools. Sir Muhammad Shafi and his cousin, Justice Shah Din, contributed Rs. 5,000 each for the foundation of a girls' school. As a result the Victoria Girls' School was founded in the vicinity of Bhati Gate at Lahore in 1906-7 where eleven girls were admitted—eight Muslim and three Hindu.⁵⁶ He tried to persuade the Muslim zamindars of the Punjab to grant their daughters their share in property in accordance with the Islamic law of inheritance.⁵⁷ In this regard he himself set an example by accepting in principle and practice the girls' inheritance rights in conformity with Islamic laws. He was an enlightened Muslim and his programme of reforms, though not palatable to orthodox Muslims, was in keeping with the requirements of the time and despite opposition he continued to struggle for its acceptance.⁵⁸ Numerous unmannerly attacks were made against him by a section of the people but he went ahead unfettered with his programme. "He braved the criticism", wrote the daily *Herald* on his death, "with which his political opponents in his own community had imagined they could weaken his hands. He was a pioneer in the wilderness of social superstitions....Those who tried to scoff remained to admire and follow."⁵⁸

The most noteworthy contribution of Sir Muhammad Shafi, however, was the efforts he made for the establishment of the residential type Universities of Lucknow, Dacca, Rangoon, Nagpur, Aligarh and Delhi.⁵⁹ It was due to his untiring zeal that the Aligarh Muslim University Bill was ultimately passed in the Imperial Legislative

56. Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz to the author. In this struggle, Sir Shafi received commendable assistance from his cousin Justice Shah Din. For details of the latter's contribution, see his writings in *Justice Shah Din, His Life and Writings* by Mian Bashir Ahmad, Lahore, 1962, pp. 85-96 and 135-51.

57. *Inqilab*, 10 January, 1932.

58. *Daily Herald*, London, 9 January, 1932.

59. *The Statesman* (Daily), Calcutta, 9 January 1932; *The Tribune* (Daily), Lahore, 10 January 1932; *The Civil & Military Gazette* (Daily) Lahore, 10 January 1932.

Council. At his death, Khan Bahadur Muhammad Abdur Rahman, Dean of the Faculty of Law and the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Delhi, said, "Sir Shafi during his tenure of office as a member for Education gave remarkable impetus to University education in India by establishing a number of Universities of the newer type. He was in a sense the founder of the Delhi University, for he was the first to conceive of the idea of a unitary teaching and residential University for the Imperial city. He piloted the Delhi University Bill in the Indian Legislature in 1922, and as its first pro-Chancellor took the keenest interest in the affairs of this infant institution."⁶⁰ Acknowledging the contribution of Sir Shafi for the Indian Muslims, the Quaid-i-Azam remarked, "India had lost a tremendous force for peace. Sir Muhammad Shafi could have been of the greatest help both to the Government and the people in the present emotional picture.... He had found Sir Muhammad Shafi throughout the Round Table Conference a most liberal-minded patriot, although keenly desirous of securing legitimate safeguards for Moslems."⁶¹

Spread of Education to other Areas of the Subcontinent

The spread of education among Muslim women in the United Provinces owes much to the efforts and generosity of Maulvi Sayyid Karamat Husain. He donated his lifelong earnings to this cause and with the generous contributions made by the Raja of Mahmoodabad, Sir Muhammad Ali Muhammad Khan, a sizeable fund was procured for the establishment of a women's school. Sayyid Karamat Husain had returned from England in 1890 and realising the importance of female education in the United Provinces, he published a pamphlet in support of the cause. In 1892, he supported a resolution at the annual session of the Mohammadan

60. Khalil Ahmad, *Role of Sir Muhammad Shafi in Muslim Politics*, unpublished M.A. Thesis, Department of History, University of the Punjab, Lahore, 1965, p. 172.

61 *The Times of India* (Daily), Bombay, 9 January 1932; *Advance* (Daily), Calcutta, 9 January 1932.

Educational Conference to this effect. He discussed the issue with his associates for the opening of a girls' school. At length, due to his strenuous efforts and active help of others, the Crosthwaite Girls' School⁶² was started privately in the city of Lucknow in honour of Sir Charles Crosthwaite, the then Lt.-Governor of the United Provinces. Later, the school was shifted to Allahabad where a better site was available. Sayyid Karamat Husain was elected its Secretary. During his tenure of secretaryship he realised the need for opening a separate school for Muslim girls. Fortunately, Sir Muhammad Ali Muhammad Khan who had succeeded Sir Amir Hasan Khan of Mahmoodabad agreed to help Karamat Husain. As a result of their co-operation a Muslim Girls' School was opened on 21 November 1912 at Lucknow.⁶³ A hostel building was attached to this school and it was soon raised to the intermediate level. Miss Amna Pope, a new convert to Islam and an able lady, who had been called from England earlier on the recommendation of Atiya Begum Faizi was given over the charge of this school.

Muslim female educational activities in the Central Provinces followed the pattern set by the Aligarh educational movement. In 1876, the Anjuman-i-Islamia was founded at Jabalpur for the protection and education of orphans and widows. Under this Anjuman two primary girls' schools were opened. Later a high school was also opened. At Nagpur, an organisation known as Anjuman-i-Muslim Khawatin was established to popularise female educational and other literary activities and an Anglo-Vernacular school was opened under the auspices of the said Anjuman. A venerable lady Anwar Siraj Ara dedicated her meagre income to the cause of Muslim female education in the Central Provinces.

Nawab Shams Jahan Begum of Bengal worked enthusiastically in this respect for the Muslim women in Bengal and under her pat-

62. *Muslim Khawatin ki Ta'tim*, pp. 148-49.

63. *Sharif Bibi*, 11 April 1913. Sayyid Karamat Husain donated his lifelong property worth about Rs. two lakhs and the Raja of Mahmoodabad sanctioned a monthly grant of Rs. 600/-

renage, a school was opened at Murshadabad. Mirza Shuja'at Ali Beg also established a female school at Calcutta.

Nawab Sayyid Badshah Nawab Rizvi, who hailed from Patna, made a liberal contribution of Rs. 16,000 per annum for the spread of female education in Patna and founded a girls' school.⁶⁴

In Bombay, the pioneer in the field of female education was a generous trader, Haji Muhammad Ismail. Later the Anjuman-i-Islam became the standard-bearer of female education in this area. Bombay Poona, Maligoun, Hugli and Sholapur felt the benign influences of the Anjuman-i-Islam's educational activities. A very useful institution for poor girls was opened at Poona by the daughter of Sir Rafi-ud-Din Ahmad who remained a Minister in the Bombay Government for sometime. At Karachi, Seth Abdullah Haroon, an industrialist who later became a prominent supporter of the Pakistan Movement, opened a girls' school and dedicated it to his late mother. Amjina Khatoon, daughter of Justice Badr-ud-Din Tayyabji, pioneered female education in 1895 at Baroda.

Allama Rashid-ul-Khairi, whose name shall always be associated with the awakening of the Muslim women in the subcontinent, established a school for Muslim girls at Delhi by the end of 1921, known as Tarbiyyat Gah-i-Binat. The Allama sponsored this school on the basis of his personal efforts and the contributions made by the people and he refused to solicit government subsidies for the school.⁶⁵

Maulana Abdul Haque Abbas of Jallundhar also felt the importance of Muslim female education. He started elementary girls' classes in a rented house. In November 1926, he was able to found

64. *Reception Address* (by Lady Anis Imam) at the *All-India Muslim Educational Conference* (Urdu), Patna, 1-3, October 1938.

65. *Ismat* (Monthly), Delhi, July to August, 1921, p. 63 ;
Zamindar, 10 February 1926 ;
Inqilab, 28 April 1928.

a school known as *Madrassat-ul-Binat*. Maulana Abdul Haque Abbas struggled hard for the uplift of this institution and within a few years this school came to be recognised as a centre of learning. Students came to it from different parts of the country as well as from Africa, Java, Eden, etc.⁶⁶ Education in this institution was based on a special curriculum devised for the requirements of Muslim women. After independence this institution shifted to Lahore and established itself afresh. The popularity of this type of education can be gauged from the fact that numerous *madrassas* of this type have been opened in many cities of West Pakistan. Another interesting institution for Muslim girls was started in April 1913 at Lahore. The school was named as the Sharif Bibi School.⁶⁷ The same year Sayyid Nazar Mohayy-ud-Din, *Sajjadanashin* of Batala, founded a female school at Batala.⁶⁸ During the same period a woman social worker, Salih Bibi, opened a girls' school at Gujranwala.⁶⁹ This school was raised to the middle standard in 1930.

These voluntary efforts for female education created an awakening amongst Muslim women all over the subcontinent. Women of distinguished families began to come out of *purdah* and take interest in the welfare of young Muslim women. According to a statement, in 1911 the number of educated Muslim women was only two per thousand, while in 1921 the number had doubled.⁷⁰ The famous Faizi sisters, Atiya Begum Faizi, Zuhra Begum Faizi and Nazli Begam Faizi (Begum of Janjira), were among the first to take up the cause of educational and social uplift of Muslim women in the subcontinent. Freeing themselves from the web of oriental social intricacies they travelled to Europe to take part in social and political gatherings. The ladies of the Tayyabji family of Bombay followed suit and became pioneers for women's socio-educational awakening.

66. *Muslim Khawatin ki Ta'lim*, p. 159.

67. *Sharif Bibi*, 27 June 1913.

68. *Ibid*, 12 September 1913.

69. *Inqilab*, 26 January 1934.

70. *Ibid*, 2 May 1928.

In Bengal, the Suhrawardy family took up the cause of female education and social uplift. Khajista Akhtar Bano, known as Suhrawardiya Begum, a scion of the well-known Suhrawardy family, was the first woman to take the Senior Cambridge examination. She was a writer and an educationist and founded two schools for Muslim *pardah* girls, one in Midnapur and the other in Calcutta.⁷¹ Mrs. R. Sakhawat Husain, another well-known female educationist, who was well versed in English, Urdu, Persian and Bengali, established one of the best schools in Calcutta, called the Sakhawat Memorial Girls' High English School, in 1911.⁷² She was the founder of the Anjuman-i-Khawatin-i-Islam, one of the first women organisations through which women got an opportunity of appearing and meeting in public. Begum Hasan Ara Hakam, a well-known socio-political worker, was the pioneer in starting such female social gatherings as *Meena Bazars* in Calcutta. It gave *pardah* observing ladies their first opportunity of shopping and of joining social gatherings.

In the early decades of the twentieth century, Muslim girls began to enter higher stages of education. In 1924, according to a statement, in all about 1,37,800 Muslim women were literate in the subcontinent of which 3,940 had received modern education.⁷³

Sultan Begum, daughter of Agha Muayyid-ul-Islam, the editor of the *Habl-ul-Matin*, published from Calcutta, was the first Muslim lady from Bengal who graduated with honours from the University of Calcutta, with the distinction of being the youngest lady graduate of the year 1920 and topped the list of woman candidates.⁷⁴ In 1922, she topped the list of successful candidates in the First Examination of Law from the same University

71. Begum Shaista S. Ikramullah, *Women's Role in the Freedom Movement*. (Cyclostyled article). Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain very kindly lent it to the author.

72. Syed M.H. Zaidi, *Position of Woman under Islam*, Calcutta, 1935, p. 135; *Inqilab*, 16 December 1932.

73. *Zamindar*, 2 February 1924.

74. *Ibid*, 12 May 1922; Zaidi, *op. cit*, p. 104.

being the first Muslim woman to do so⁷⁵. Her younger sister Farrukh Sultan topped in the M.A. Persian examination. She also attained proficiency in Arabic, French and English and passed the Law examination with distinction in 1928.⁷⁶

In 1923, another girl, Nur-un-Nisa by name, was awarded a prize for winning distinction in the Bachelor of Arts examination and as the best essay writer in the English language. In 1924, Miss Nur Jahan and Miss Yusuf Jahan secured M. A. degrees. In the Punjab, Miss Mahbub Alam and Miss Khadija Feroz-ud-Din passed B. A. while observing the necessary injunctions of Islamic *purdah*. Miss Khadija Feroz-ud-Din remained for many years the only lady in India with highly creditable educational career. She was the first Muslim graduate with Honours from the University of the Punjab.⁷⁷ As there was no college for post-graduate studies, she appeared in the M. A. examination in History as a private candidate. She was the first⁷⁸ Indian woman to get M. A. degree from the Punjab University, and the first⁷⁹ Muslim woman M. A. in India. Her brilliant academic career and her scholarship in Oriental Languages⁸⁰ remained a guiding light to her Muslim sisters. She proved by her example that the highest education was possible while observing strict *purdah*. Despite her professional pre-occupations as a teacher and administrator, Miss Khadija Feroz-ud-Din continued her studies in Pushto poetry and for her extensive research on the Pushto poet, Khushhal Khan Khattak, she was awarded a Doctorate degree by the University of the Punjab in 1940.

Shaikh Abdullah, the founder of the Aligarh Girls' School, educated his daughters on liberal lines. All his daughters were highly

75. Ibid.

76. *Inqilab*, 18 April 1928.

77. Zaidi, op. cit., p. 111.

78. Ibid.

79. Ibid.

80. Ibid. Two years after passing her M.A. in 1924, she secured the degree of Master of Oriental Languages, standing first in the Punjab University and obtained a Gold Medal.

educated and cultured women. The eldest, Rashid Jahan Begum became M.B.B.S., a qualification very rarely attained by ladies in those days in India. His second daughter, Khatoon Jahan Abdullah, graduated from the University of Lucknow and secured M. A. in Education from the University of Leeds. His third daughter, Mumtaz Jahan Abdullah, was M. A. in English from the University of Lucknow, and later served as lecturer in the Girls' Intermediate College at Aligarh. She is at present Principal of the same College.

In the history of Muslim women in the subcontinent, Atiya Begum Faizi⁸¹ will ever remain a memorable figure for her cultural, social and educational pre-eminence. She was the first lady to go to European centres of education for the highest attainments in the field of education. Such was her dominance in the realm of literature and philosophy, that even Maulana Shibli and Allama Iqbal acknowledged her learning and paid compliments to her.

As previously stated, the inauguration of the new building of the Normal School for lady teachers by the Begum of Bhopal in 1913 at Aligarh was an important occasion in the history of Muslim women's movement of the subcontinent. After the inauguration, a female conference was arranged which was presided over by the Begum of Bhopal. In this gathering many eminent and illustrious women took part. Besides women from Aligarh itself, women leaders from Lucknow, Delhi, Lahore, Meerut and Muradabad came to attend this meeting. In her inaugural address, the Begum of Bhopal termed this meeting of the Muslim women an historic event to be

81. Atiya Faizi, besides her other preoccupations, "founded the Educational Reform circle in Bombay in 1928 and opened a Foundation Education Institution for Muslim girls in Bombay based on her own Syllabus called Atiya Begum Syllabus". She also founded "3 Arts Circle" in 1926 in Bombay which stood for World Intellectual Regeneration through Art, Music and Literature. See Zaidi, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

remembered for all times to come. She was very happy at the general spirit of awakening for female uplift and enlightenment among Muslim women. This conference was, indeed, a departure from the previous activities of Muslim women because never before had they thought of an exclusively separate gathering of themselves. Thus, a new note was struck in Muslim women's movement in the subcontinent. Later, an organisation, called All-India Muslim Women's Conference, was formally set up and its office-bearers elected.⁸² Sherani Nafees Dulhan, the wife of Nawab Sadar Yar Jang Maulvi Habib-ur-Rahman Khan Sherwani, was elected as its Secretary. Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal was generous enough to donate Rs. 1,100 per annum for its activities and programme.⁸³

In 1906, when new political reforms were under consideration, a deputation of Muslims headed by the Aga Khan waited upon the the Viceroy, Lord Minto. The deputation demanded separate electorates for the Muslims so that they could elect their own representatives on legislative councils and local bodies. Lord Minto declared that he was in agreement with the demands of the deputation. In the same year the All-India Muslim League was founded at Dacca on 30 December.

The Government of India Act of 1909 provided separate electorates for the Muslims. Soon after this, some drastic political developments occurred in the subcontinent. The annulment of the Partition of Bengal in December 1911 was a rude shock to the Muslims. It was a bitter fruit of Muslim loyalty to the British Government. In thorough bewilderment and disappointment at the narrow and selfish attitude of the Hindus, the Muslim leaders were forced to re-evaluate their course of action vis-a-vis the Congress

82. *Report of the Honorary Secretary of the Muslim Girls' High School and Intermediate College, Aligarh*, op. cit.; *Muslim Khawatin ki Ta'lim*, p. 128. (It was perhaps in 1910 that the Muslim press raised voice for the opening of a Muslim Women's Conference. The scheme was hailed by the newspapers. Shaikh Abdullah's contribution in this respect cannot be under-estimated).

83. *Muslim Khawatin ki Ta'lim*, p. 127.

which had appeared more communal than national and the British who had accepted them as mute partners in the affairs of the subcontinent.

At the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, Turkey took arms against the Allies. The end of the War turned out to be disastrous for Turkey particularly and for the Muslim world generally. The British Government was bent upon the complete annihilation of the Ottoman Khilafat—a symbol of Muslim unity. Religious sentiments of the Indian Muslims were shocked at the attitude of the British Government. They could not tolerate the dismemberment of the Ottoman empire and the abolition of the Khilafat. In order to force the British Government to change its attitude towards Turkey, an organised agitation was launched in the subcontinent. This came to be known as the Khilafat Movement and took such huge proportions that it submerged the whole of Indian political activities for sometime. Political leaders like Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Sir Muhammad Shafi were relegated to the background and leaders like Maulana Muhammad Ali, Maulana Shaukat Ali and M. K. Gandhi came to the forefront. The British Government had to resort to force and the Ali Brothers were arrested.

In these critical days when Muslim leaders were jailed and the Khilafat was at the verge of extinction at the hands of the British, Muslim women entered the political field under Bi Amma, the mother of the Ali Brothers. Abadi Begum, popularly known as Bi Amma, proved to be a brave soldier of the struggle against the British Government, who at the age of 73 made a powerful appeal to the drooping spirits of the Indian masses. Born in 1852 and a scion of a renowned Nawab family of the United Provinces, she came to occupy a remarkable place in the history of the Freedom Movement for she was the first Muslim woman to take active part in politics. During the session of the All-India Muslim League in 1917, she delivered a most touching and forceful speech which left a lasting effect on the Muslim masses. While her sons were in jail, this bold and venerable mother kept alive the fervour for the Khilafat Move-

ment.⁸⁴ She toured the country addressed large gatherings of people which flocked to hear her and exhorted them to follow the footsteps of her great sons in the new struggle. In this respect she could be regarded as the only woman leader in the subcontinent who played a major role in awakening the Muslims and especially women in the country. She replaced her illustrious sons in popularity and leadership and the famous Urdu couplets

Boli Amma Mohammad Ali Ki

*Jan Baita Khilafat Pay Day Do*⁸⁵

became household words and were sung in every nook and corner of the subcontinent by all sections of people irrespective of caste or creed. The Muslims of India had so far tried to keep themselves away from the Hindu-dominated Congress but Bi Amma's eloquent speeches led a distinct departure from this attitude and helped in bringing about Hindu-Muslim unity to fight the common foe—the British. It was on account of her active participation in the movement that the masses resorted to follow her footsteps. Soon after meeting her sons in jail she made a stirring and historic speech in which she conveyed a touching message to the people and said that she had sacrificed the most precious possession of her old age, namely her sons, for the cause of the country and the nation and urged the masses to keep up the flag of freedom flying which had been snatched from her sons by the British rulers. She concluded by saying that if the people did not join the liberation movement, she would be compelled to bring her daughter-in-law in the field to carry out the campaign.⁸⁶ Besides conveying this message to the people, she ordained her sons to act in accordance with the tenets and the ideology of Islam and to remain steadfast against every hardship in the jail.

The excitement that Bi Amma's participation in active politics aroused in the country proved to be of far-reaching consequences, for

84. *Hamdard* (Weekly), Delhi, 11 November 1924 (An article by Maulana Muhammad Ali during the illness of Bi Amma in 1924).

85. See Appendix B.

86. *Zamindar*, 12 November and 24 December 1921.

the Muslim women of India had never before been alive to the political problems of the day.⁸⁷ She emerged as the first Muslim political woman and greatly influenced her contemporaries. They emulated her example and toured the cities, organised gatherings, delivered speeches and collected funds for the Khilafat Movement and within a very short period several women Khilafat committees were constituted throughout the subcontinent. It is worth recording that a sum of three lakhs of rupees had been collected for the Khilafat Fund before the imprisonment of the Ali Brothers. But after their arrest the task was so efficiently taken in hand by Bi Amma and Amjadi Bano, the wife of Maulana Muhammad Ali, with the help of their co-workers that rupees twenty-five lakhs were collected in a very short time for the Khilafat Fund.⁸⁸ According to a statement of Maulana Muhammad Ali, the amount was nearly forty-five lakhs.⁸⁹

Bi Amma, however, did not survive for long and died in 1924. Her death was a great loss to the nation. But Muslim women who had come out to work with Bi Amma were political pioneers and their activities were a necessary prelude to their active participation in the coming political struggle of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent.

In 1917, when Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, was touring the country to ascertain for himself the trend of political aspirations of the people, Mrs. Margaret Cousins, Secretary of the Women's Indian Association, organised an all-India women deputation to wait on him. Mr. Montagu received the deputation, which

87. Bi Amma's indefatigable work not only brought a large number of Indian women into the movement but it also gave encouragement to the women of other Muslim countries who were passing through the same situation. For example, the Egyptian women were greatly impressed by Bi Amma's practical role in politics. See *Zamindar*, 7 May 1922.

88. Rais Ahmad Jafari, *Seerat-i-Muhammad Ali* (Urdu), Delhi, 1932, p. 344.

89. *Ibid*, p. 429.

was led by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in Madras in December 1917.⁹⁰ The deputationists for the first time demanded official recognition for the principle of female suffrage. Although the reply given to the deputation was sympathetic but no mention of women's claim was made in the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals except that it suggested widening of the electorates.

In 1918, the All-India Muslim League and the Indian National Congress announced their support for this demand.⁹¹ Another women deputation advocated this demand before the Southborough Franchise Committee in 1919. They carried on an intensive propaganda in support of the demand but all their efforts proved fruitless for the Southborough Committee did not advocate the cause of women enfranchisement and stated that it was not practical to extend the franchise to women in the prevailing conditions in India.⁹² After this set-back the women carried their demands before the Joint Committee of both the Houses of Parliament.

In 1919, after the introduction of the Government of India Bill in the Parliament, a deputation consisting of some women leaders, led by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, in its evidence before the Committee, supported the demand for the extension of the franchise for women. The Parliament, however, decided to leave the question of female franchise to the provincial legislatures.⁹³ This matter was given considerable attention by the legislatures and as a result, Madras gave a lead in this respect by giving women the right of vote. Among the Indian States, Cochin and Travancore were also among the first to do so. Mysore, Jhalawar and Bombay Councils followed suit. By 1925, except Bihar and Orrissa, all the legislatures had given to women the

90. *Tahzib-i-Niswan*, 19 October 1938, p. 1077; Shyam Kumari Nehru, *Our Cause* (A Symposium by Indian Women), Allahabad, n.d., p. 351.

91. Evelyn C. Gedge and Mithan Choksi, *Women in Modern India* (fifteen papers by Indian women writers), Bombay, 1929, p. 8.

92. S. K. Nehru, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

93. *Ibid.*

right to vote and in these two legislatures this right was granted in 1928. But women continued their struggle for complete emancipation because the property qualification operated heavily against them.

They had won half the battle so far but they had yet to go a long way to attain their goal. In 1928, the Statutory Commission set up for the purpose of reviewing the working of the Reforms of 1919, laid special stress on the need of enfranchising a much larger proportion of women for future legislatures. In its report, it recommended that "no system of Franchise can be considered satisfactory or as likely to lead to good Government where such a great disparity exists between the voting strength of the two sexes. We feel, therefore, that special qualification should be prescribed for women."⁹⁴

However, the first Round Table Conference, held in 1930-31, was stirred by the memorandum submitted on behalf of the Indian women by Mrs. Subbarayan of Madras and Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz, daughter of Sir Muhammad Shafi. In this memorandum, the women expressed the hope that the question of women's political status would receive consideration by the Conference and that no disability would be attached to any citizen by reason of his or her religion, caste, creed or sex in regard to the holding of any public office or in the exercise of any trade or calling. They wanted the assurance of equal rights and obligations for all citizens without any bar on account of sex.⁹⁵

In the winter of 1931-32, the Franchise Committee headed by Lord Lothian came to India. The representatives of the All-India Women's Conference, a Hindu women's organisation set up in 1927, met the president of the Committee and presented another memorandum in which they reiterated the principles enunciated in the previous memorandum.

94. Ibid, p. 357.

95. *Indian Round Table Conference*, 12th November, 1930-19th January, 1931. *Proceedings of Sub-Committees (Part II)*, London, 1931. [Appendix VII. Sub-Committee No. VI (Franchise) Memorandum on the Political Status of women under a new Indian constitution], p. 290.

In June 1932, the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League passed a resolution in support of women's rights which stated that all political and social obstacles and disqualifications in the way of female suffrage in the struggle for social and political emancipation should be removed and they should be considered equal to men and be given adequate representation.⁹⁶

In the following year women again advocated their demand and the All-India Women's Conference sent its representatives to appear before the Joint Parliamentary Committee in London. They pressed before this Committee that their demands should be considered which had been already incorporated in their second memorandum.

The Government of India Act of 1935 did not come up to the expectations of women. Under the new constitution, 60,00,000 women were enfranchised, and six seats out of a total of 150 were reserved for women in the Council of State and nine out of 250 in the Federal Assembly.

96. *Inqilab*, 16 June 1932.

CHAPTER II

In April 1934 at the demand of the Muslim leaders and the Muslim League the Quaid-i-Azam returned from England, after a self-imposed exile of about four years. He had already been elected President of the Muslim League at a meeting held on 4 March 1934 at New Delhi. At that time, the Muslim League had virtually lost its hold on the Muslim masses who were groping in the dark in the absence of a leader of eminence and high calibre. The Quaid-i-Azam was not discouraged by this state of Muslim politics. He took up the task of reorganising Muslims under the banner of the Muslim League to forge a united front of the Muslim community to enable it to fight the coming general elections. For this purpose it was decided in a meeting of the Muslim League Council at Bombay in April 1936 to authorise the Quaid-i-Azam to nominate a Central Parliamentary Board. A meeting of the Central Board was held at Lahore in June 1936. Subsequently Provincial Parliamentary Boards were constituted in the various provinces.

Realising the gradual re-emergence of the Muslim League, the Congress adopted an attitude of hostility towards it. Hindu leadership refused to recognise its claim of being the only representative

organisation of the Muslims. The Quaid asserted that Muslims were a separate entity and the Muslim League was their only representative organisation. The Muslim League's gains in the 1937 elections were, however, not encouraging. The Congress refused to form coalition ministry with the League in the United Provinces. In spite of these reverses the Quaid-i-Azam did not feel discouraged and continued his endeavours to settle the Hindu-Muslim differences. He approached the Congress leaders but no solution could be arrived at. His continued efforts to unite the Muslims under one banner gradually bore fruit and the most important success in this direction came in October 1937 when Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, Maulvi A. K. Fazl-ul-Haq and Sir Muhammad Sa'dullah, the Premiers of the Punjab, Bengal and Assam respectively joined the League along with their followers.

In this task of organisation, Muslim women could not be ignored. They were not sitting idle but were showing keen interest in Muslim politics. Begum Muhammad Ali, Miss Fatima Jinnah, Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz, Begum Nawab Ismail Khan and others had already been taking part in the League activities. Muslim women had earlier organised the All-India Muslim Women's Conference, as stated in the previous chapter. There were also other organisations working on provincial level for the social, religious and educational uplift of the Muslim women. In 1937, the need for channelising the activities of the women in support of the Muslim League became apparent.

The question of associating Muslim women with the League was considered during the Lucknow session of the Muslim League in October 1937. The matter was not discussed in the open session but in a separate meeting held under Begum Muhammad Ali's presidentship a women section of the Muslim League was formed.¹ But no concrete steps were taken in this direction after the session and the matter virtually remained dormant till the Patna session of the League.

1. *Inqilab*, 20 October 1937.

Meanwhile the League was gradually gaining popularity amongst the Muslim masses. The attitude of the Congress ministries in the provinces towards the minorities further strengthened the League.

An important feature of early thirties was the development of the idea of Pakistan. Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal was the first Muslim to propound this idea in 1930 in the annual session of the All-India Muslim League held at Allahabad. During the course of his presidential address while discussing various political problems confronting India, he suggested a solution to the problems the Muslims were facing in the subcontinent. He advocated the creation of a separate Muslim block in India within or without the British Commonwealth.

Allama Iqbal envisaged a confederation comprising Muslim and non-Muslim provinces or areas. Choudhary Rahmat Ali, then a post-graduate student at the Emmanuel College, Cambridge, England, went a step further and demanded a separate and independent homeland for the Muslims in the Muslim majority areas. A new move was voiced for this proposed federation—'Pakistan', a word which was derived from the letters of the provinces comprising the Muslim majority areas i.e., P from Punjab, A from Afghan Province (N.W.F.P.), K from Kashmir, S from Sindh and TAN from Baluchistan, meaning land of the pure. The word proved a talisman and the idea of having an independent homeland for the Muslims caught the imagination of the people.

In 1932 Choudhary Rahmat Ali started the 'Pakistan National Movement' with its headquarters at 16-Montague Road, Cambridge and published the first pamphlet entitled 'Now or Never' in which he propounded the new idea. It had the blessings of Allama Iqbal who was then in London in connection with the Round Table Conference called by the British Government to solve the constitutional issues of the British India. 'Now or Never' created a tremendous stir in the political circles in England as well as in India. The British and the

Hindus abhorred this idea whereas the Muslims took it with mixed feelings. Choudhary Rahmat Ali, however, carried on a relentless propaganda in favour of Pakistan.

The first woman to write on this subject was the famous Turkish journalist Halide Edib Khanum, who met Rahmat Ali in England and in her book *Inside India*² devoted a chapter to this subject. This was taken notice of by the Indian Muslims who started writing in support of it. Farida Jahan Begum a lady from Lahore was probably the first Muslim woman to write an article in the daily *Inqilab* entitled 'Pakistan'³ in September 1938.

Begum Hafiz-ud-Din, wife of the Nawab of Surat, at this stage took up the matter of organising Muslim women under the Muslim League. She talked to her husband in this regard but received no encouragement. She then approached the Quaid-i-Azam who welcomed the proposal and assured her that a section of Muslim women under the Muslim League would soon be set up.⁴ The Quaid was himself convinced of the importance of women's inclusion in the League and the part they were to play in the national politics in future. He was aware that the campaign started by him could not be truly representative if women remained aloof and believed in the dictum that no nation could rise to the height of glory unless its women worked side by side with their men.

The question finally came up before the Muslim League in its annual session held at Patna in December 1938. The main resolution on the subject was moved by Begum Habibullah, member of the Council of the All-India Muslim League from the United Provinces. Moving the resolution, she emphasised that "Muslim women should not only confine their activities to the hearth and house but should come out of their seclusion, acquaint themselves with problems and events of the modern world and marshall their energies to protect Muslim

2. Halide Edib, *Inside India*, London, 1937, pp. 349-62.

3. *Inqilab*, 8 September 1938.

4. *Mashriq* (Daily), Lahore, 5 April 1967.

rights and interests.”⁵ Maulvi Muhammad Farooq from the U.P., supporting the resolution, referred to the *purdah* system and suggested that this should not prevent Muslim women from making progress.⁶ A section of the audience protested that *purdah* was a sacred institution of Islam. Seeing the discussion taking an awkward turn the Quaid-i-Azam urged the audience “not to give way to excitement and to concentrate on the resolution which only meant to organise Muslim women under the League.”⁷ After some further discussion the resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority. The text of the resolution ran as follows:-

“Whereas it is necessary to afford adequate opportunities to women for their development and growth in order to participate in the struggle for social, economic and political emancipation of the Muslim nation in India, this Session of the All India Muslim League resolves that an All India Muslim Women’s Sub-Committee be formed of the following members with powers to co-opt with the following objects in view :—

- (a) to organise provincial and district women’s Sub-Committees under the Provincial and District Muslim Leagues ;
- (b) to enlist large number of women to the membership of the Muslim League ;
- (c) to carry on intensive propaganda amongst the Muslim women throughout India in order to create in them a sense of greater political consciousness ;
- (d) to advise and guide them in all such matters as mainly rest on them for the uplift of the Muslim society.”⁸

5. *The Indian Annual Register*, Calcutta, vol. 2, 1938, p. 349.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. *Resolutions of the All India Muslim League from October 1937 to December 1938*, published by (Nawabzada) Liaquat Ali Khan, Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League, Delhi, pp. 58-60.

The members appointed on the Central Sub-Committee were as follows :—

Punjab	1. Begum Shah Nawaz.	2. Mrs. Rashida Latif.
	3. Lady Jamal Khan.	4. Lady Abdul Qadir.
Bengal	1. Begum Shahab-ud-Din.	2. Mrs. M. M. Ispahani.
Bombay	1. Miss Fatima Jinnah.	2. Mrs. Faiz Tayyabji.
	3. Begum Hafiz-ud-Din.	
U. P.	1. Begum Habibullah.	2. Begum Aizaz Rasool.
	3. Begum Wasim.	4. Begum Muhammad Ali.
	5. Begum Nawab Ismail Khan.	6. Miss Rahilah Khatoon.
C. P.	1. Miss Nadir Jahan of Seoni.	
	2. Begum Nawab Siddique Ali Khan.	
Bihar	1. Lady Imam.	2. Begum Akhtar.
Assam	1. Mrs. Ata-ur-Rahman.	2. Miss J. Khan.
Sindh	1. Lady Abdullah Haroon.	2. Lady Hidayatullah.
	3. Begum Shaban.	4. Mrs. Hatim Tayyabji.
Delhi	1. Mrs. Husain Malik.	2. Mrs. Najm-ul-Hasan.
	3. Begum Rahman.	
N.-W.F.P.	1. Begum Haji Sa'dullah Khan.	
	2. Mrs. Khwaja Allah Bux.	
Madras	1. Mrs. Ayesha Kulhamoro Haji.	
	2. Mrs. Qureshi. ⁹	

It was for the first time that an appeal was made to Muslim women to organise themselves within the League. The formation of the Central Sub-Committee and later of provincial and district sub-committees gradually infused political consciousness amongst Muslim women, particularly of the middle-class who had up till now lived a secluded life.

9. Ibid.

After the Patna session, Muslim women started the work of organising committees in the provinces. In the Punjab, they had already an organisation known as the Punjab Provincial Muslim Women's League.¹⁰ Its sphere of activities was confined to educational and social reforms and it rarely took part in politics. Individual women leaders and social workers like Fatima Begum, Lady Abdul Qadir, Lady Shafi, Baji Rashida Latif, Dr. Miss Khadija Feroz-ud-Din, Begum Hijab Imtiaz Ali, Begum Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew and others were also doing considerable social work at Lahore. In Jallundhar, Begum Khan Asadullah Khan, in Ferozepur, Begum Qalandar Ali Khan and in Amritsar, Begum Mirza Baiza Khan were doing this job. In view of the existence of the Punjab Muslim Women's League, the women of the Punjab decided to reorganise themselves and widen their activities under this body.

After reorganisation, the new League started its work. Its first achievement was the opening of an industrial home and a primary school for girls at Lahore.¹¹ The membership fee was fixed at two annas and a drive to enlist more members was launched. The work of organising primary committees was started in the Province. This provincial body was affiliated to the Central Sub-Committee of the League in 1939.¹²

10. *Inqilab*, 27 March 1935, 24 and 29 May 1936, 19 December 1940. The first meeting of this organisation was held on 25 March 1935 in the Barkat Ali Islamia Hall, Lahore. Lady Fazl-i-Husain was elected its President with Begum Qalandar Ali Khan as General Secretary and later on Begum Shah Nawaz became its General Secretary. Three sections viz ; education, politics and social welfare were formed. The office-bearers of these sections were also elected. A General Council consisting of two hundred members was formed. Eight Vice-Presidents were also nominated. Some of them were Lady Sikandar Hayat Khan, Lady Shah Din, Begum Shah Nawaz of Mamdot, Begum Muzaffar Khan and Begum Asghar Ali.
11. *Women's Role in the Freedom Movement*, *op. cit.* This information has been confirmed by Begum Geeti Ara Bashir Ahmad and Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain.
12. *Inqilab*, 19 December 1940. Afterwards reorganised in December 1940. For details see *Inqilab*, 19 December 1940 and 26 February 1941.

The historic Lahore session of the Muslim League was to be held in March 1940. Muslim women had by then fully grasped the Muslims' demand and their fundamental differences with the Hindus. The Punjab Provincial Women's Sub-Committee started a regular campaign to popularise this demand two months before the session and held various meetings at different places. It instructed all the district and primary Leagues to finance the Sub-Committee according to their capacity and send as many volunteers as possible. A Women's Reception Committee was appointed with Lady Abdul Qadir as President and Nawabzadi Qaisra Begum as Chairman to organise women volunteers to look after the guests coming to attend the session.¹³ A separate wing was reserved in the Islamia College for Women, Cooper Road, Lahore, and women leaders of Lahore also offered accommodation to guests at their residences.

In order to make the forthcoming League session a success, a largely attended meeting of women was held on 12 February 1940, in the Barkat Ali Islamia Hall, under the auspices of the Provincial Women's Sub-Committee which was presided over by Lady Abdul Qadir.¹⁴ Explaining the aims and objects of the Muslim League, Begum Shah Nawaz appealed to women to prepare themselves for the reception of the women guests coming from other provinces. Fatima Begum, Principal of the Islamia College for Girls, Nawan Kot, Lahore, made a number of suggestions in connection with the reception of the guests and promised to send twelve volunteer girl students for assistance. Sayyida Sardar Akhtar, President of the Central Sub-Committee of the All-India Muslim Women's League, urged Muslim women to come out of their secluded life and organise themselves under the League banner.¹⁵

13. The fee of membership of the Reception Committee was fixed at Rs. 51. The Committee spent more than Rs. 2,000 for the arrangements of the session. A detailed account appeared in the *Inqilab* on 19 December 1940.

14. *Inqilab*, 15 February 1940.

15. *Ibid.*

In response to the appeal of the Provincial Sub-Committee, the district and primary committees, particularly those of Lahore, responded promptly and arranged meetings in their respective areas. The Provincial Sub-Committee also sent women leaders to the remote areas where primary Leagues had not been formed by that time. There was hardly a place of any importance left which remained unvisited by women and where the message of the League was not proclaimed.

On 22 March 1940, the first day of the annual session of the All-India Muslim League, a huge gathering of Muslim women from all over the subcontinent was present to lend support to the League cause. It was reported that the "special feature of the Session was the appearance of such a large number of Muslim women in a public function of this sort"¹⁶. Young female volunteers lined up the path from the entrance to the *pandal* and to the dais and sang League songs and poems. The famous *tarana*, *Millat Ka Pasban Hai Muhammad Ali Jinnah*¹⁷ composed by Mian Bashir Ahmad, was also recited which later became the "signature-tune of all League meetings thereafter."¹⁸

The Lahore session of the Muslim League was of unique importance in retrospect and a landmark in the history of Muslim India for it decreed in favour of separation and added new dimensions to the demands of the Muslims. For the first time the Muslim League adopted the achievement of an independent Muslim state as its goal in the subcontinent. On this occasion the Quaid-i-Azam, in his presidential address, referring to the earlier activities of the Muslim League pointed out the importance of women's role in the League. He said, "I believe that it is absolutely essential for us to give every opportunity to our women to participate in our struggle of life and death. Women can do a great deal within their homes even under purdah This Central Committee, I am glad to say, started

16. Syed Sharif-ud-Din Pirzada, *The Pakistan Resolution and the Historic Lahore Session*, Karachi, 1968, p. 35.

17. See Appendix C.

18. *Women's Role in the Freedom Movement*, op. cit.

its work seriously and earnestly. It has done a great deal of useful work. I have no doubt that when we come to deal with their report of work done we shall really feel grateful to them for all the services that they have rendered to the Muslim League.”¹⁹

In the course of his address, while advocating the two-nation theory, the Quaid declared that “Mussalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation and they must have their homelands, their territory and their state.”²⁰ He further said that:—

“The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, literature. They neither intermarry, nor interdine together and, indeed they belong to two different civilisations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their concepts on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Mussalmans derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, their heroes are different, and different episodes To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority, and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state.”²¹

The main resolution of the session was moved by Maulvi A.K. Fazl-ul-Haq, Prime Minister of Bengal, on 23 March 1940.

The resolution stated :

“that it is the considered view of this Session of the All India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would

19. *All India Muslim League Lahore Session, March 1940, Presidential Address by Mr. M. A. Jinnah and Text of Resolution on the future of India and the position of Mussalmans under it together with brief summary of speeches delivered on the resolution*, published by (Nawabzada) Liaquat Ali Khan, Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League, Darayganj, Delhi, p. 2.

20. Ibid, p. 25.

21. Ibid, pp. 22-23.

be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North Western and Eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute 'Independent states' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign."²²

The session authorised the Working Committee "to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary."²³

This resolution was a simple and clear cut answer to the Congress ambitions. It was adopted on 24 March 1940 by an overwhelming majority.²⁴ From the women section, Begum Muhammad Ali, who had also participated in the deliberations on the draft resolution in the Working Committee's meeting on 22 March, spoke in support of the resolution. During the course of her address she "appealed to the Muslims to have patience and remain unperturbed specially under the present difficult circumstances when unity in their ranks was their greatest necessity."²⁵ On the issue of inclusion of Muslim women into the League, she said, "she was glad to be able to say that Muslim women had been given an opportunity to work in the political field. She felt inclined to say that men could not do anything without the help of women."²⁶ Concluding her speech, she remarked, "we may be

22. Ibid, p. 28.

23. Ibid, p. 29.

24. *Inqilab*, 26 March 1940.

25. *All India Muslim League Lahore Session, March 1940*, op. cit., p. 40 ; G. Allana, *Pakistan Movement : Historic Documents*, Karachi (2nd ed), 1968, p. 252.

26. Ibid.

lesser in number but we are greater in strength and our spirits remain undeterred and Muslim women of India will fight shoulder to shoulder with their men for the achievement of the goal which has been laid down by this resolution."²⁷

It is interesting to note that Begum Muhammad Ali in her speech made a reference to the resolution as the 'Pakistan Resolution.'²⁸

It had been decided earlier by the Women's Central Sub-Committee to hold its separate annual session normally the day after the opening of the annual session of the Muslim League.²⁹ The separate session of the Women's Central Sub-Committee was held on 23 March in the Habibia Hall of Islamia College, Lahore, under the presidentship of Begum Muhammad Ali. This was the first annual session of the Sub-Committee after its formation in 1938. A large number of women leaders from all over the subcontinent were present.³⁰

In her speech Begum Nawab Hafiz-ud-Din thanked the Punjab Muslim Women's Sub-Committee for the reception and arrangements made for the guests. She stressed the need for

27. Ibid.

28. Sayyid Hasan Riaz, *Pakistan Na-Guzir Tha* (Urdu), Karachi, 1968, p. 256.

29. *All-India Muslim League ki Majlis-i-Khawatin kay Qawanin-o-Zawabat* (Urdu), Bombay, 1939, published by Begum Hafiz-ud-Din, Secretary, All-India Muslim Women's Central Sub-Committee.

30. *Inqilab*, 24 March 1940. Prominent among them were Miss Fatima Jinnah, Bombay, Begum Liaquat Ali Khan, Delhi, Lady Abdullah Haroon, Sindh, Begum Nawab Hafiz-ud-Din of Surat, Begum Nawab Ismail Khan from Meerut, Begum Habibullah, Lucknow, Begum Razaullah Beg, Delhi, Begum Abdul Hafiz, Lucknow, Begum Rahman and daughter of Haji Musa Khan Sherwani of Aligarh, Begum Nawab Yar Jang Bahadur, Begum Hamidullah, Khurshid Ara Begum and Begum Nadir Jahan, C.P., Begum Humayun Mirza, Mysore State, Miss J. Khan, Delhi, Hajya Begum, Begum Aizaz Rasool, U.P., Begum Momin, Calcutta, Begum Bashir Ahmad, Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain, Begum Shah Nawaz, Lady Shafi, Lady Abdul Qadir, Baji Rashida Latif, Fatima Begum and a host of others from Lahore.

Muslim women's participation with men in the national struggle to prove that they were politically alive. In the end, she appealed that Muslims should unite for the achievement of League's ideal and offer strong resistance to the claims advanced by the Congress. Begum Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang laid emphasis on the proper training of children in order to make them better citizens. Miss Fatima Jinnah, speaking in Urdu, expressed satisfaction on the role Muslim women were playing in politics and pointed out that only a few years ago no Muslim woman could be found in the political field and that it was surprising that they were now prepared to face any crisis.

Begum Razaullah Beg and Miss J. Knan, members of the Central Sub-Committee from Delhi and Assam respectively appealed the educated Muslim women to carry on an intensive campaign of village uplift and to teach uneducated Muslim women to enable them to understand the cause of the Muslim League. After a few more speeches on the subjects like adoption of Urdu as the *lingua franca*, the right of inheritance by girls and offering *fatiha* for Khaksar martyrs who had lost their lives during the shooting incident in Lahore, the session passed a resolution urging Muslim women of the subcontinent in general and of the Punjab in particular to propagate the League cause in their respective areas and to increase the membership of the League.

On 25 March the Quaid-i-Azam addressed the students of the Islamia College for Girls, Nawan Kot, Lahore, at the invitation of the Working Committee of the College.³¹ The College was on this occasion renamed as the Jinnah Islamia College for Girls. In reply to the welcome address the Quaid-i-Azam, while laying stress on the participation of women in the national struggle, remarked that besides the two well-known powers namely of the pen and the sword, there was another power more forceful than these two. This was the power of woman which guided man to make use of either of these. Commenting on women's activities, he observed that the Muslim League was

31. *Inqilab*, 28 March and 3 April 1940.

not ignorant of the political ambitions of Muslim women and desired that they should play a positive role in the national struggle. Acknowledging their past contributions, he remarked that the Women's Central Sub-Committee, formed in 1938, had made sufficient progress during the past fifteen months despite the various obstacles and difficulties placed in its way.

It would be appropriate to give a brief account of women's activities during the Khaksar demonstrations and work of relief done by them during these tragic days of Punjab history. When preparations for the Lahore session of the League were being made, a clash between the Khaksars and the Punjab Government occurred on 19 March 1940 owing to the ban imposed on all organisations using uniforms.³² The Khaksars defied the ban. This resulted in a severe clash with the police causing about thirty-two casualties. Sir Sikandar Hayat's Government promptly declared the Khaksar organisation an unlawful association. The Government arrested a large number of Khaksars and their leaders. Such an atmosphere was likely to disturb the programme of the League and greatly agitated the Muslims. The Muslim League was not unmindful of these happenings and it raised voice in support of the Khaksars. The Quaid-i-Azam was so much perturbed that he cancelled the programme of procession which was to be taken out on his arrival at Lahore. On his arrival on 21 March, he immediately visited the wounded Khaksars in hospital and promised to take up their cause with the Government.

The Muslim League took up the Khaksars' issue in its meeting on 23 March and adopted a resolution moved by the Quaid-i-Azam himself who was in chair. The resolution called upon the Government "to forthwith appoint an independent and impartial committee of inquiry personnel of which would command perfect confidence of

32. Ibid, 20 March 1940. The Khaksar organisation was formed in early thirties by Allama Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi and had confined its activities to social and religious matters but later on started participating in politics.

the people with instructions to them to make full and complete investigation and inquiry in the whole affairs and make their report as soon as possible.”³³ The meeting also urged the various provincial governments to remove the ban imposed upon the organisation as soon as possible. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan appointed an Enquiry Committee, consisting of the Chief Justice of the High Court of Lahore and Chaudhary Nimatullah, a Judge of the Allahabad High Court.³⁴

The Muslim women all over the country expressed their resentment against this measure of the Punjab Government. The Women's Sub-Committee of the Punjab Provincial League and the various primary committees held meetings and passed resolutions endorsing the League's decision. They urged the Punjab Government to lift the ban imposed on the organisation and to release the leaders immediately. For the first time, a small group of Muslim women wearing *burqas* took out a procession at Lahore on 23 April 1940. Three women carried placards in their hands and marched along the different streets of Lahore. The police followed the procession all along the route but nothing untoward happened and it dispersed peacefully.³⁵

This was an unprecedented step for a large majority of Muslim women at that time considered walking in a procession and making demonstrations a great risk to their reputation. These Muslim women were severely criticised for this bold step by the Hindu Press but they continued their activities³⁶. A *Jaish*³⁷ of ten Khaksar women

33. *Resolutions of the All India Muslim League from March 1940 to April 1941*, published by (Nawabzada) Liaquat Ali Khan, Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League, Delhi.

34. *Mashrique*, 20 April 1968.

35. *Inqilab*, 25 April 1940.

36. *Ibid*, 28 April 1940

37. A term used by the Khaksar organisation for a group of persons.

with the words *Akhuwwat*³⁸ embroidered on the top of their *burqas* again took out a procession on 16 June 1940 under the leadership of Miss Saeeda Bano.³⁹ The procession dispersed quietly.⁴⁰

Two days later another procession, consisting of eleven men and women marched to the residence of the Punjab Premier. The women were in *burqas* and the *salar* wore the Khaksar uniform. The men carried placards in their hands. The police tried to stop them but they refused to submit and on their refusal to hand over their placards they were arrested. The women volunteers were asked to repair to their homes and when they refused to do so they were also arrested and sent to the Women's Jail.⁴¹

The Women's Sub-Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League continued to help the Khaksar party. In the annual session of the Sub-Committee held on 13 January 1942 in the Barkat Ali Islamia Hall, under the presidentship of Lady Maratab Ali, it urged the Government to lift the ban and end the grave situation arising out of the prolonged and indefinite detention without trial of the Khaksar leader Allama Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi.⁴²

So far the Muslim League had made all possible effort to help the Khaksars. But after the unsuccessful attempt by a Khaksar to assassinate the Quaid-i-Azam on 26 July 1943 the Muslim League dissociated itself from the Khaksar movement. On 14 November 1943, the All-India Muslim League Council in its session held at New Delhi passed a resolution to this effect. With this decision, the support of the League for the Khaksar movement came to an end.

38. A sign of the Khaksar organisation.

39. This young girl who was then about 11 years old belonged to Delhi. During these days she stayed in *Unchi Masjid*. She, within a short time, gained popularity by her eloquent speeches and boldness.

40. *Inqilab*, 18 June 1940.

41. *Ibid*, 20 June 1940.

42. *Ibid*, 16 January 1942.

After the Lahore session the Muslim women earnestly started the work of popularising the Lahore Resolution with religious fervour. Under a directive from the Quaid-i-Azam, a huge gathering of the Muslim women was organised towards the end of April 1940 at the Jinnah Islamia College for Girls, Lahore. Inspiring speeches were made by women leaders urging women to join hands with men in the national struggle. In the end, a resolution for the partition of the subcontinent was unanimously passed.⁴³ The work of establishing branches of the Muslim League in different cities and towns was now actively taken in hand. A number of meetings were held in support of the Muslim League, and its objective was propagated.

Up to this time the members of the Provincial body of the Women's Sub-Committee were the same which had been elected in 1935 and affiliated with the Central Sub-Committee in 1939.⁴⁴ After the Lahore session of the League it was considered desirable to re-organise this body. A meeting of the Muslim women met on 11 December 1940 to frame rules and regulations for the Sub-Committee. In this meeting the existing body was reorganised and re-named as the Punjab Women's Committee of the All-India Muslim League. The work of this body was to be controlled by a Working Committee consisting of 21 members. A President, a Secretary and a Treasurer were to be the office-bearers of the organisation and they were to serve on the Working Committee of the Provincial Women's Sub-Committee as its ex-officio members.⁴⁵ Another meeting was held on 19 February 1941 for the election of the office-bearers of the Sub-Committee and the members of the Working Committee. Three sub-committees on education, publicity and information, and social welfare were also constituted through election. The fee for ordinary membership was fixed at annas two per month and annas ten for that of the Working Committee.⁴⁶

43. Ibid, 26 April 1940.

44. Ibid, 19 December 1940.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid, 26 February 1941.

A meeting of the reorganised Sub-Committee was held on 31 March 1941 under the presidentship of Lady Zulfiqar Ali, the newly elected President of the Sub-Committee. A report of the activities of the organisation was approved and sent for presentation at the next annual session of the Muslim League to be held at Madras. It was also resolved that a 'Muslim League Week' should be observed and meetings held at different places from 15 April⁴⁷ in response to a resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League passed in February 1941.⁴⁸ In pursuance of this resolution, Muslim women organised several meetings in various parts of the city and explained the significance of the Pakistan Scheme.⁴⁹ Hundreds of new members were enrolled. The enthusiasm displayed by women, can well be assessed from an interview which Fatima Begum, Secretary of the Provincial Women's Sub-Committee, gave to a correspondent of the Orient Press. She stated that the Punjab was the nerve-centre of 'Pakistan' and that the Muslim women of the Punjab were putting in their best efforts to organise themselves in a manner which should serve as a guiding light to similar activities of Muslim women in other provinces. She deplored the inactivity of the male section of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League. She further remarked that their energies were directed towards enlisting every single Muslim woman of the Province as a Muslim Leaguer.⁵⁰

The Women's Central Sub-Committee of the All-India Muslim League was reconstituted during the Madras session of the All-India Muslim League held in April 1941. According to resolution No. 8, it was resolved that "the following names of ladies be substituted for those approved under Res. No. 6 passed at the Patna Session of the All-India Muslim League in December 1938."⁵¹ The resolution

47. Ibid, 4 April 1941.

48. *The Indian Annual Register*, vol. I, 1941, p. 293 ;
Resolutions of the All India Muslim League from March 1940 to April 1941,
 op. cit., pp. 40-41.

49. *Inqilab*, 1 May 1941.

50. Ibid.

51. *Resolutions of the All India Muslim League*, op. cit.

was proposed by Begum Aizaz Rasool, daughter of Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali and seconded by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. The names of the members of the Central Sub-Committee were as follows :—

Punjab	1. Begum Shah Nawaz.	2. Begum Bashir Ahmad.
	3. Lady Abdul Qadir.	4. Fatima Begum.
Bengal	1. Begum Shahab-ud-Din.	2. Begum M.M. Ispahani.
	3. Begum H. A. Hakam.	
Bombay	1. Miss Fatima Jinnah.	2. Begum Hafiz-ud-Din,
	3. Mrs. Jairazbhoy.	4. Mrs. Somjee.
	5. Mrs. Simji.	
U. P.	1. Begum Habibullah.	2. Begum Aizaz Rasool.
	3. Begum Muhammad Ali.	4. Begum Wasim.
	5. Miss Rahilah Khatoon.	6. Begum Akhtar.
		Muhammad Khan.
C. P.	1. Miss Nadir Jahan.	2. Begum Nawab Siddique
		Ali Khan.
Bihar	1. Begum Akhtar.	
Assam	1. Mrs. Ata-ur-Rahman.	
Sindh	1. Lady Abdullah Haroon.	
Delhi.	1. Mrs. Husain Malik.	2. Begum Rahman.
	3. Mrs. Razaullah Beg.	4. Begum Muhammad Husain.
N.-W.F.P.	1. Mrs. Aslam.	2. Begum Haji Sa'dullah
	3. Mrs. Kamal-ud-Din.	Khan.
Baluchistan	1. Mrs. Qazi Muhammad Isa.	
Madras	1. Mrs. Sayyid Abdul Wahab Bokhari.	
	2. Mrs. Abdul Hamid Hasan.	
	3. Mrs. Malang Ahmad Badshah.	
	4. Mrs. Hamid Khan.	

in May 1941 when the Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League was elected after this branch's affiliation to the All-India Muslim League in 1940, two prominent members of the women section of the League namely Begum Shah Nawaz and Fatima Begum, were elected as members.⁵²

In the second half of 1941 and early 1942 numerous meetings were held in Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwala, Ferozepur and other cities of the Punjab in order to popularise the demand for 'Pakistan' amongst the masses and to establish primary Leagues. Fatima Begum and others prominently took part in these tours.⁵³ In a meeting held at Gujranwala on 5 March 1942 under the presidentship of Begum Sayyid Afzal Ali, strongly worded speeches demanding 'Pakistan' were delivered and a telegram to this effect was sent to the Vicerory.⁵⁴ Likewise a similar gathering was held on 6 March at Wazirabad. Fatima Begum was in chair. A resolution was passed in support of 'Pakistan' and a copy was sent to the Viceroy.

Meanwhile, the War had entered in a new phase. In July 1941, the Viceroy nominated Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, Maulvi A.K. Fazl-ul-Haq and Sir Muhammad Sa'dullah, Premiers of the Punjab Bengal and Assam respectively--and Begum Shah Nawaz on the newly set up National Defence Council as representatives of the Muslims. This was done over the head of the President of the Muslim League. The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League in a resolution passed in its meeting on 25 August 1941 called upon them to resign from the Defence Council within ten days. The three Premiers resigned but Begum Shah Nawaz who was separately asked to resign on 26 August refused to do so on the plea that she had been nominated as representative of the Indian women. Thereupon, she was expelled from the Muslim League.⁵⁵

52. *Inqilab*, 31 May 1941.

53. *Ibid*, 1 June, 14 September 1941 and 18 April 1942.

54. *Ibid*, 12 March 1942.

55. *Ibid*, 14 September 1941 ;

The Indian Annual Register, vol. 2, 1941, pp. 212, 215-16. (There were eight Muslims who had accepted the Viceroy's invitation. The three Premiers resigned on 11 September 1941. Sir Sultan Ahmad was expelled on his refusal to resign from the Defence Council and Nawab of Chatari had already resigned on his appointment as the President of the Hyderabad Executive Council).

This matter was discussed in a meeting of the Women's Central Sub-Committee of the All-India Muslim League. The Committee expressed its satisfaction over the decision of the League's High Command, which was supported in another meeting of Muslim women held at Lucknow on 3 December 1941. Begum Muhammad Ali was in chair. Besides other speeches delivered in the meeting demanding 'Pakistan', a resolution was passed in support of the resolution of the Central Sub-Committee against the unjust action of Begum Shah Nawaz.⁵⁶

A similar meeting of the Punjab Provincial Women's Sub-Committee was also held on 13 January 1942 in Lahore. It was presided over by Lady Maratab Ali. It passed a vote of censure against all those who had 'betrayed' the cause of the Muslim League and proved 'traitors' to it.⁵⁷ Lady Maratab Ali in her presidential address said that "the task that our men folk have set themselves cannot be achieved alone; it is our duty to help them in gaining their goal."⁵⁸ She further said "that the days have gone when Punjab's Muslim women were considered fit only for cooking food and minding children. It is now essential for them to take an equal share of responsibility with their men folk in the field of politics."⁵⁹ Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain, the Propaganda Secretary of the Sub-Committee, exhorted Muslim women to speak unanimously through the Muslim League and demand 'Pakistan' where lay their political, social and economic salvation. She said that "one has to pay a price for everything obtained. Pakistan has its price and if we wish to achieve that goal, we shall have to pay its price to the utmost."⁶⁰ In the course of the meeting, a full-sized wall map of 'Pakistan' was displayed and it was resolved that every Muslim family should obtain and hang one similar map inside its

56. *Inqilab*, 5 December 1941.

57. *The Eastern Times (Weekly)*, Lahore, 16 January 1942, p. 14.

58. *Ibid.*

59. *Ibid.*

60. *Ibid.*

home to act as reminder of the goal which Muslims were to achieve.⁶¹ The session passed a vote of full confidence in the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam. A large number of women were also enrolled as members of the Muslim League. In the end the annual elections of the office-bearers were held. Lady Maratab Ali was unanimously elected President and Fatima Begum Secretary. Begum Salma Tasadjuque Husain was elected Joint Secretary and Begum Abdul Aziz as Treasurer. Miss Ghulam Mohayy-ud-Din was to hold the office of Organising Secretary and Miss Suraiya Rashid was elected Joint Financial Secretary.

While taking into account the activities of the Women's Sub-Committee it is necessary to recognise the enthusiastic role of the Muslim girl students in uniting the community and in the attainment of 'Pakistan'. In the Punjab, the Muslim Girl Students Federation was formed under the auspices of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation which had been established during the year 1937-38 by Hamid Nizami, who later earned fame as editor of the daily *Nawa-i-Waqt*, Lahore, Khurshid Alam, who later became a famous Journalist, and some other student workers. By the year 1941, its High Command realised the need of Muslim girl students' inclusion in the Federation. Before the inauguration of 'Pakistan Conference', convened to advocate and popularise the demand of the League for a separate homeland under the auspices of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation, a women section of the organisation was founded in the Jinnah Islamia College for Girls, Lahore in February 1941. The Organising Committee of the Federation appointed a General Committee for girls to enlist girl students in the organisation. It was decided to open branches of the Federation in all the local girl schools and colleges.⁶² On 20 July 1941 during the 'Pakistan Conference' held under the presidentship of Malik Barkat Ali, one of the leading political leaders of the Punjab, it was keenly felt to form a separate

61. Ibid, also see 23 January 1942, p. 6.

62. *Inqilab*, 9 February 1941.

section of Muslim Girl Students Federation in the Province under a proper constitution. The task of organising girl students was shouldered by Lady Abdul Qadir, Fatima Begum and Miss M. Qureshi, a socio-political worker from Lahore.⁶³ They also rendered assistance in making arrangements for the ladies who were attending the Conference.⁶⁴ It was under their guidance that the Punjab Muslim Girl Students Federation was set up and under the instructions of the Federation girl students began to establish primary branches in various girls' schools and other educational institutions. Thus a general feeling of political consciousness among Muslim girl students was created and it was urged upon them to shoulder the responsibility of carrying the message of the Federation to every individual of the community. Miss M. Qureshi deserves special mention for her work in going from college to college for the establishment of the branches.

The students of the Jinnah Islamia College for Girls, Lahore also fully recognised the part they were to play in organising their community. Their first achievement was "in the form of 500 girls who were enrolled as members of the Federation in one day."⁶⁵ According to another information students of this College "consolidated the organisation and enrolled about 1,000 members" within a short spell of a few months.⁶⁶

63. In February 1941, an All-India Muslim Women Students Federation was inaugurated at Delhi by Begum Shaista S. Ikramullah. The first session of this Conference was held in the Anglo-Arabic Girls College, Delhi. In this Conference the contribution of Fatima Begum was greatly praised. "It was the delegates from Lahore, led by that pioneer of women's movement Fatima Begum", says Begum Shaista Ikramullah, "that gave our amateur little effort the appearance of real conference." *Women's Role in the Freedom Movement*, op. cit.

64. *The Indian Annual Register*, vol. I, 1942, p. 327 ;

The Eastern Times (Weekly), 6 March 1942, p. 10.

65. *The Eastern Times* (Weekly), 23 January 1942, p. 6.

(In February 1942, different small groups of girl students enrolled over 500 Muslim women in the League. These groups worked under the supervision of Fatima Begum. See *Inqilab*, 22 February 1942.)

66. *The Indian Annual Register*, vol. I, 1942, p. 327.

The activities of the Federation proved a vanguard of the Women's Sub-Committee. It conducted public meetings under the auspices of the Women's Sub-Committee and girl students also toured the countryside during the summer vacations under the instructions of the Pakistan Rural Propaganda Sub-Committee, set up by the Punjab Muslim Students Federation in order to take the message of the League to the masses in rural areas.

The second annual session of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation was held on 7-8 March 1942 at Rawalpindi. A large number of Muslim girl students attended the Conference which is said to have been a special feature of the session.⁶⁷ Some of the prominent girl students like Miss Farkhanda Akhtar and Miss Suraiya Rashid of the different colleges of Lahore spoke in favour of the resolutions passed in the session. Hamid Nizami moved a resolution regarding the new constitutional proposals for India and strongly protested "against the mischievous attempts and machinations of certain Hindus to frame a constitution without the consultation and to the detriment of the Muslims."⁶⁸ Warning the British Government it said "that any attempt on their part to go back on the declaration of 8 August 1940 shall be stoutly resisted by the Muslim nation all over India."⁶⁹ Assuring the Quaid-i-Azam it said "that the Muslim nation under his able leadership shall, in a thoroughly organized and disciplined manner, strongly resist any such attempt of the British Government and shall readily make all sacrifices required of them in this connection."⁷⁰ From the women's section, Miss Suraiya Rashid strongly supported the resolution and assured the Quaid-i-Azam that "Muslim women shall fight shoulder to shoulder with their men both in the Congress and in the Government if Mr. Churchill betrays Muslim India."⁷¹

67. Ibid, p. 328.

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid.

71. Ibid, p. 329.

CHAPTER III

To end the political dead lock in India the British Government sent a Mission under Sir Stafford Cripps in March 1942. The Congress reply to the Cripps offer was the 'Quit India Revolt.' The Muslim League also rejected the offer but under the Quaid-i-Azam's leadership the League called upon the Muslims "to abstain from any participation in the movement" started by the Hindus. The Hindu-Muslim relations thus became further strained and the already wide gulf existing between them continued to widen. The Quaid-i-Azam, however, was determined to avail this opportunity for consolidating the position of the League. While the Hindu leaders were in jail and the Congress was losing its grip, the League succeeded in 'reaping the harvest of the folly of its rivals.'

The Muslim League took up the role of propagating and popularising the demand for 'Pakistan'. In obedience to the instructions of the Quaid-i-Azam both men and women started organising fresh branches of the League in the districts, tehsils and towns.

During this period the Quaid-i-Azam was invited by the Girl Students Federation to address a gathering of Muslim women in

Lahore. A resolution to this effect had already been passed by the Provincial Women's Sub-Committee during its annual meeting held on 13 February 1943.¹ The Sub-Committee sent an invitation to the Quaid on behalf of the Girl Students Federation which was accepted. On 21 November 1942 a large number of Muslim women and girl students assembled in the Municipal Gardens, Lahore. Before the Quaid's address some of the prominent girl students and women leaders delivered speeches. Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain assured the Quaid-i-Azam that Muslim women would not fail to sacrifice their life whenever demanded by the Muslim League for the attainment of its goal. She said that the Muslims would not remain any longer in the bondage of slavery and expressed the desire to see the Muslim society, culture and language flourish in a free land of 'Pakistan.'² Miss Azra Khanum from the Lahore College for Women appealed to Muslim women to further the cause of 'Pakistan' till 'every Muslim women in India becomes Pakistan-minded.' Continuing she said, "I say most emphatically that Pakistan is our only demand, history justifies it, numbers confirm it, justice claims it, destiny demands it, posterity awaits it, and by God we will have it."³

Salma Abdul Majid, a member of the Provincial Women's Sub-Committee, declared that Muslim women had solemnly determined to give a stubborn resistance to their enemies. She said that Muslim women would travel from place to place to popularise the League cause and declared that women would be proud to face every possible hardship for the cause of 'Pakistan' and would not retreat but would continue to march ahead undeterred. Miss Farkhanda Akhtar of the Islamia College for Women, Lahore said that their only demand was 'Pakistan' in which lay their salvation and that they would not rest until their aim was achieved. Salma Abdur Rab, Munshi Fazil, perhaps a teacher of a local college stated that they were fully prepared to sacrifice their life and property for their sole aim—'Pakistan.'⁴

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1. *The Eastern Times* (Weekly), 16 January 1942, p. 14.
 2. *Inqilab*, 23 November 1942.
 3. *The Eastern Times* (Daily), 26 November 1942.
 4. *Inqilab*, 23 November 1942.

In reply to these addresses, the Quaid-i-Azam appreciated the activities of Muslim women and urged them to play a significant role in the struggle side by side with men. At first, he spoke in Urdu and then in English. "I am glad to see", he said, "that not only Muslim men but Muslim women and children also have understood the Pakistan scheme." He continued, "No Nation can make any progress without the co-operation of its women. If Muslim women support their men as they did in the days of the Prophet of Islam, we should soon realise our goal." The Quaid declared, "It has now become crystal clear to the world that Indian Mussalmans are not a minority but are a nation and as a nation they want to set up their independent states in those territories where they are in an overwhelming majority."⁵ Under the Quaid's direction Muslim women's activities entered a new phase. The members of the Provincial Women's Sub-Committee made several tours in the major districts of the Province and formed primary Leagues.⁶ They, in their speeches, explained the significance of the 'Pakistan Resolution', distributed League literature and arranged women's symposiums. They also observed 'Pakistan Days' and 'Muslim League Weeks.'⁷ The number of the women members of the League increased at a tremendous speed and eventually the bulk of women community which had hitherto lived in oblivion was awakened from slumber and lethargy. To familiarise the Pakistan Movement amongst Muslim women of the villages, songs were composed which were sung in the women gatherings of the rural areas.⁸ As a result of continuous propaganda, the message of the Muslim League reached the remotest villages of the Punjab.

In the annual session of the All-India Muslim League, held in April 1943 at Delhi, the Central Sub-Committee of the All-India Muslim Women's League was reconstituted. According to resolution No. 11, it was resolved "that the following names for the All India

5. *The Eastern Times*, 22 November 1942,

6. *Ibid*, 11 May 1943, 23 August 1944, 6 and 10 February 1945, 3, 13 and 16 March 1945.

7. *Ibid*, 1 April 1943.

8. *Ibid*, 13 June 1943.

Women Sub-Committee be substituted for those approved under Resolution No. 8 passed at the Madras Session of the All India Muslim League in April 1941 with power to the Committee to fill in any vacancy that may occur owing to death, resignation or otherwise.”⁹ The resolution was moved by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and passed unanimously.

The names of the members approved in the resolution were as follows :—

U. P.	1. Begum Wasim.	2. Begum Habibullah.
	3. Begum Aizaz Rasool.	4. Begum Muhammad Ali.
	5. Begum Akhtar Muham-	6. Mrs. Razaullah Beg.
	mad Khan.	7. Mrs. Said-ud-Din.
	8. Miss. Rahilah Khatoon.	
Punjab	1. Begum Abdul Aziz.	2. Begum Bashir Ahmad.
	3. Begum Salma Tasad-	4. Fatima Begum.
	duque Husain.	5. Begum Rahman.
Bengal	1. Begum Shahab-ud-Din.	2. Begum H. A. Hakim.
	3. Mrs. M. M. Ispahani.	
Bombay	1. Miss Fatima Jinnah.	2. Begum Hafiz-ud-Din.
	3. Mrs. Jairazbhoy.	4. Mrs. Muhammad Husain.
	5. Mrs. Somjee.	
C. P.	1. Begum Nawab Siddique	2. Salim-uz-Zohra Begum.
	Ali Khan.	
	3. Mrs. Iftikhar Ali.	
Bihar	1. Begum Akhtar.	
Assam	1. Begum Abdul Matin Chaudhary.	
Sindh	1. Lady Abdullah Haroon.	2. Lady Hidayatullah.
	3. Mrs. Allana.	
Baluchistan	1. Mrs. Qazi Muhammad Isa.	
Delhi	1. Mrs. Husain Malik.	2. Anjuman Ara Begum.
	3. Mrs. Ikramullah.	4. Mrs. Bokhari.
	5. Begum Muhammad Husain.	
N.-W.F.P.	1. Begum Abdul Wahab.	2. Mrs. Kamal-ud-Din.
Madras	1. Mrs. Karim Ispahani.	

9. *Resolutions of the All India Muslim League from April 1942 to May 1943*, published by (Nawabzada) Liaquat Ali Khan, Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League, Delhi, pp. 39-40.

Apart from the prominent women leaders from other Provinces, women representatives from the Punjab Provincial Women's Sub-Committee also attended the session. Fatima Begum, Begum Bashir Ahmad and Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain were the prominent women leaders from the Punjab. After the open session of the All-India Muslim League, a separate session of the Women's Central Sub-Committee was held on 24 April. Lady Abdullah Haroon, President of the Central Committee, in her address, exhorted Muslim women to prepare themselves for every sacrifice that might be required of them and asked them to reform their social condition. A sub-committee was appointed at the recommendation of Begum Aizaz Rasool to draft a programme of social, economic and cultural uplift of Muslim women. This committee included Lady Abdullah Haroon, Begum Aizaz Rasool, Mrs. Qazi Isa, Begum Habibullah and Fatima Begum. Another resolution in connection with housewife's problems and the shortage of food-stuffs was also passed urging the Government "to nominate women on Food Committees, in order that the utility of these bodies be enhanced by useful suggestions which women representatives were capable of making in this matter."¹⁰ This resolution was moved by Begum Aizaz Rasool and was supported by Begum Bashir Ahmad. Four other resolutions were also passed. The first was in regard to the language policy of the All-India Radio. One of the speakers protested against what she called an organised attempt to thrust high-flown Sanskrit and Hindi words into the Urdu language. She demanded religious broadcasts for Muslims on Fridays. In another resolution the Provincial Governments were urged to allocate specified sums in the grants-in-aid to various girls' schools and institutions to be spent exclusively on Muslim females. She also demanded that proper representation to Muslims should be given while appointing Inspectresses in the Education Department. Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain moved a resolution to effect suitable amendments in the 'Shariat Bill' which had been passed by the

10. *Thirtieth Session of the All-India Muslim League 23-26 April 1943, Delhi*, published by The Eastern Times Book Depot, Lahore, p. 85.

Central Assembly in respect of inheritance rights. The last resolution calling upon Muslim women to join under the banner of the Muslim League in greater number was also moved by Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain. All the resolutions were carried unanimously.

On 26 April, during the third sitting of the open session of the All-India Muslim League besides other resolutions one main resolution relating to the declaration by the British Government of the right of self-determination for the Muslims was moved by Choudhry Khaliquzzaman. Begum Aizaz Rasool from the women section strongly supported the resolution. She asserted "that Muslim women were alive to their share of responsibility and were ready to make all sacrifices."¹¹ She continued that "they would resist any imposition of a constitution which went against the interests of Muslims and would assist the men as Muslim women used to help men in times of crises in the early days of Islamic History."¹²

While the League was taking roots amongst the Muslim masses, there occurred an unhappy incident in Bengal in the middle of 1943. A terrible famine swept the Province, causing considerable loss of life by starvation and pestilence. The Quaid-i-Azam, on 31 August 1943, issued an appeal¹³ to Muslims to help in relieving the sufferings of the people and the Muslim nation rose to the occasion. Men and women started the relief campaign.

In the Punjab, a special session of the Provincial Women's Subcommittee was called on 15 October 1943. It was decided to arrange a female *musha'ira* and to stage a drama to collect funds. A Women Relief Committee was also appointed which took up this work with devotion. Meetings were organised by the Relief Committee to explain the conditions prevailing in Bengal and appeals were made for the collection of funds.¹⁴

11. Ibid, p. 79.

12. Ibid.

13. *The Indian Annual Register*, vol. II, 1943, p. 12.

14. Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain to the author.

In another meeting, held on 25 November, besides issuing appeals for contributions, necessary arrangements for staging dramas were also finalised. Two dramas were staged in the Y.M.C.A. Hall, Lahore on 4 and 5 December with the co-operation of the Punjab Muslim Girl Students Federation. An amount of Rs. 3,735/- was thus collected which was sent to the President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League for the Bengal Relief Fund.¹⁵

In December 1943 the Working Committee of the Provincial Women's Sub-Committee resolved in a meeting to take effective part in the forthcoming annual session of the All-India Muslim League to be held at Karachi. A comprehensive report of the activities of the Sub-Committee was prepared to be placed in the meeting of the Women's Central Sub-Committee. The session, which opened on 24 December, was attended by about 5,000 Muslim women. From the Punjab, beside others Begum Bashir Ahmad, Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain, Fatima Begum, Begum Abdul Aziz, Lady Zulfikar Ali Khan and Lady Shafi attended the session. A smartly dressed band of Women National Guard was inspected by the Quaid-i-Azam. On this occasion, he remarked that Muslim women had an important part to play in the attainment of Pakistan and emphasised the need of organising the National Guard in all parts of India.¹⁶ Concluding, the Quaid-i-Azam said that a great task lay before the Muslim community and hoped that Muslim women would work as soldiers of Pakistan, for without their support, it would be difficult to attain the Muslim League's goal.¹⁷

In a separate meeting of the Central Sub-Committee held on 25 December, new office-bearers were elected. Lady Abdullah Haroon was elected as President, Begum Aizaz Rasool, Secretary and Begum

15. Ibid.

16. *Thirty-first Session of the All-India Muslim League, December 1943, Karachi*, ed. Abdul Hamid, Lahore, 1944, p. 174.

17. Ibid.

Abdul Aziz Treasurer.¹⁸ The following day during the next sitting of the Committee, Begum Aizaz Rasool read out a detailed report of the activities of the various Provincial Sub-Committees and reviewing the progress of the women members of the Muslim League with regard to the socio-political awakening amongst them, she expressed satisfaction. Discussing the issue of the Bengal Famine, she said that Muslim women from all over the subcontinent had promptly responded to the appeal of the Quaid-i-Azam.¹⁹

In a resolution, Begum Qazi Isa called upon all Muslim women to join the League and to cease all connections with all other women organisations. She emphasised that in view of the fact that the Muslims of India considered themselves a separate nation, the members of the Women's Central Sub-Committee of the All-India Muslim League should have nothing to do with the All-India Women's Conference and the Communist organisations of women in India.²⁰ Another resolution urged the Muslim Women's National Guard to work under the banner of the Muslim League in all the provinces. It was decided to instruct the Provincial Sub-Committees to start Women's National Guard as early as possible.²¹ The next resolution asked the provincial governments to allot at least one seat to Muslim women on Food Committees. The problem of Muslim girls' education was also discussed and a committee consisting of Lady Abdullah Haroon, Begum Aizaz Rasool and Begum Qazi Isa was appointed to undertake extensive tours of the provinces in order to help the Provincial Sub-Committees in forming primary branches and to see that the programme chalked out and approved in the session was successfully implemented.²²

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid, p. 175.

20. Ibid, p. 176.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid, p. 177.

Even after the Karachi session the Bengal Relief work continued in the Punjab. In response to the appeals of the Committee the *Bazm-i-Adab* of Islamia College for Women, Cooper Road, Lahore arranged a debate under the presidentship of Lady Zulfiqar Ali. The topic was 'The Bengal Famine.' Speakers from all the women colleges of Lahore, Amritsar and Ludhiana participated. The entry was by tickets. An amount of rupees 800/- was thus collected which was sent to the Quaid-i-Azam.²³ Side by side the women also carried on the work of collecting clothes, food and medicines. They brought out processions carrying placards in their hands urging the people to make liberal contributions. They also observed 'Bengal Day' from 14 to 16 February 1944 under the supervision of the Relief Committee.²⁴

The Girl Students Federation rendered invaluable co-operation to the Women's Sub-Committee in arranging dramas, symposiums and fairs, and played a remarkable role in collecting contributions and donations.²⁵ On 23 March, the girl students and Muslim women observed 'Pakistan Day' by holding meetings in their respective zones and propagating the League ideals. Muslim women were urged to join the League. The members of the Girl Students Federation and Women's Sub-Committee sent 'Pakistan Cards' to one another on this occasion. They went out in bazars and streets to sell the Muslim League badges and collected a considerable fund for the League. They even entered the premises of the Punjab Provincial Assembly Chambers, Lahore. Fatima Begum, Miss Mumtaz Shah Nawaz, daughter of Begum Shah Nawaz, Begum Bashir Ahmad and Miss Riffat Bashir, daughter of Mian Bashir Ahmad, a member of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League and editor of the monthly *Humayun*, Lahore, sold a number of badges amongst the members of the Assembly. The Premier of the Punjab, Malik Khizr Hayat Khan Tiwana was also approached and Miss

23. *Inqilab*, 12 February 1944.

24. Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain to the author.

25. *Ibid.*

Mumtaz Shah Nawaz stitched a badge on his *achkan*. All Assembly members present including the Premier continued wearing the badges during the session. The highest amount received for one badge was rupees 200/-.²⁶

On 26 March 1944 the Quaid-i-Azam addressed a huge gathering of Muslim Girl Students Federation at the Islamia College for Women, Lahore.²⁷ Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain read the welcome address. Thanking the Quaid-i-Azam and the management of the College, she said that "our Federation is but a baby and you will be glad to learn that it has progressed beyond our expectations within a few months."²⁸ Referring to girls' education, she said that Muslims of this Province realising the need of educating their daughters had only recently started a first class college for Muslim women under the aegis of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam. Pointing out the activities of the Girl Students Federation, she remarked that "our Federation has provided centre to all the Muslim girl students who are scattered over different schools and colleges. They meet here to consider and discuss their common problems." Explaining the aims of the Federation, she continued, "We believe that as students it is our first duty to educate ourselves and to acquaint ourselves with the current political and other problems so that by the time we finish our studies, we should be ready for the coming struggle for the liberation of our homeland." She disclosed that "we are, however, training a band of selfless and enthusiastic young girls who, we believe, shall work zealously for our cause, after they have completed their education." Referring to the question of adult education for women she hoped to organise *Mohalla*-wise adult education classes for women. In the end the Begum assured the Quaid-i-Azam that "on our part, we assure you of one solid fact, namely, our unbounded zeal for our cause and our sincerity to attain the goal of our ambitions—Pakistan."²⁹

26. *Inqilab*, 25 March 1944.

27. *Ibid*, 29 March 1944.

28. Taken from a typed copy of the original speech lent to the author by Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain.

29. *Ibid*.

In reply to the welcome address the Quaid-i-Azam expressed his gratification to learn that the right type of education was being given to Muslim girls.³⁰ He remarked 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."³¹

It has been discussed previously that Women's Central Sub-Committee during its Karachi session had instructed all the Provincial Sub-Committees to establish Women's National Guard in their respective provinces. In response to this directive, a body of Women National Guard was set up at Lahore in February-March 1944 under the supervision of the Provincial Sub-Committee.³² Miss Riffat Bashir was authorised to organise this body. A training centre was established at 'Almanzar' Lahore. The uniform prescribed was the same as demonstrated during the Karachi session, i.e., white payjama, shirt and green *dopatta*. Girl students from schools and colleges were enrolled as members. Miss Riffat Bashir and Miss Mihr Nigar Aziz, daughter of Mian Abdul Aziz *Falak Paima*, deserve credit for organising the Women's National Guard. They, alongwith other workers, visited every girls' school and college at Lahore, and urged the students to become members. To provide elementary training a week's course was started including drill and other physical exercises.

The Girl Students Federation was also reorganised by Zia-ul-Islam, President of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation, who nominated a Working Committee consisting of the leading women of the Provincial Women's Sub-Committee and a few girl students of different colleges. It was decided that the girl students should extend their activities for the national cause along with their brethren to

30. Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, vol. II, Lahore, 1964, p. 31.

31. Ibid.

32. Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain and Begum Bashir Ahmad to the author.

preach the ideal of the League more forcefully amongst women and to impart them necessary training. The Committee further aimed at protecting Muslim girl students from un-Islamic influences and hoping thereby to convert them into a strong arm for the struggle of Pakistan. The notable women leaders from the Women's Sub-Committee included Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain, Begum Bashir Ahmad, Begum Abdul Aziz and Fatima Begum.

From the students and teachers of various colleges the following were taken on the Working Committee:³³

Medical College for Women, Lahore.	Miss Amina Usmani. Miss Azra Rashid. Miss Khurshid-i-Hayat.
Islamia Collage for Women, Lahore.	Miss Basir Sa'adat. Miss Jamila Zahid. Miss Farkhanda Akhtar. Miss Omar Ishrat. Miss Nazeera Mushtaque Ahmad. Miss Rashid-i-Aziz.
Lahore College for Women.	Miss Jamila Abdullah. Miss Zuhra Haq Nawaz. Miss Zahur Sa'adat Ali.
Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore.	Miss Mihr Nigar Aziz.
Queen Mary College, Lahore,	Miss Shaukat Abdullah. Miss Sarwat Bashir.
Fateh Chand College for Women, Lahore.	Miss Fahmida S.M. Rashid. Miss Mahmooda Rashid.
Jinnah College for Girls, Lahore.	Miss Hamida Malik.

33. *The Eastern Times*, 21 March 1945 ; *Inqilab*, 21 March 1945.

Private Girl Students.**Miss Amina Khatoon.****Miss Rahat Afza.****Miss M. Yousuf Ali.****Miss Saeeda Anwar.****Lady Teachers.****Miss Masooda Ghias and****Miss Jameela Abdullah,****Lecturers in Islamia College for Women, Lahore.**

After its reorganisation the female section of the Federation renewed its activities and the major responsibility was shared by Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain and Fatima Begum. On 27 August 1945 a meeting of Muslim girl students was held under the presidentship of Begum Tasadduque. It was decided to train Muslim women with a view to enabling them to grasp the political situation and the demands of Muslim India better, to spread education and to eliminate unhealthy customs and traditions from the Islamic society. For the establishment of a Muslim Cultural Centre, Begum Tasadduque also proposed that a library be started and herself donated several books for this purpose. A librarian was appointed and a Library Committee was constituted to collect books. Miss Sayyida Kalsoom Kazmi of the Islamia College for Women was nominated Convener of the Committee.³⁴

In June 1945, the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, called a Conference of the League and Congress leaders at Simla to solve the constitutional problem. While the Conference was in progress, Muslim women under the instructions of the Secretary of the Provincial Women's Sub-Committee, Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain, organised several meetings in connection with the Conference throughout the Province. These meetings passed resolutions expressing full confidence in the Quaid-i-Azam and the Muslim League. Copies of these resolutions were

34. *Inqilab*, 31 August 1945.

sent to the Quaid-i-Azam and the Viceroy.³⁵ The Conference, however, failed to achieve its object because the Congress leaders refused to accept the Muslim League's claim as the sole representative body of the Muslims. Therefore on 21 August, the Viceroy announced that the general elections to the Central and Provincial legislatures would be held in the coming winter.

By this time Muslim women had united themselves under the League and decided to prepare themselves to make any sacrifice for the achievement of Pakistan. The unity under the Muslim League had reached such a pitch that women leaders outside the organisation were obliged to seek admission in the League and work for Pakistan. Prominent Muslim women leaders of the Punjab like Baji Rashida Latif,³⁶ Begum Iftikhar-ud-Din,³⁷ Begum Shah Nawaz³⁸ and others joined the League.

However, the claim of the Muslim League for being the sole representative of the Muslims of India depended on the results of the elections. The success in the elections depended on three factors—proper enrolment of voters, collection of funds, and to fight elections at the polls.

35. Ibid, 23 July 1945.

36. Baji Rashida Latif resigned from the Unionist Party and joined the League in October 1945.
Inqilab, 11 October 1945.

37. Begum Iftikhar-ud-Din was in the Congress and held the office of President of the provincial branch of the All-India Women's Conference. She resigned from this body and joined the League in October 1945.
Inqilab, 13 October 1945.

38. Begum Shah Nawaz, who had been expelled from the League previously, also sought admission. She, in a letter to the Quaid-i-Azam, requested that the ban imposed on her entry in the League might be lifted and promised to work loyally for the League. She was permitted to join the League in October 1945. *The Indian Annual Register*, vol. II, 1945, p. 20 ; *The Eastern Times*, 25 October 1945 ; *Inqilab*, 21 October 1945.

The first step was the proper enrolment of eligible Muslim women voters in the Province. The position of the League in urban areas was quite secure and therefore greater importance was attached to rural constituencies, for a large majority of the voters belonged to these areas. The Provincial Women's Sub-Committee issued circulars to the primary committees and other branches directing them to see that the voters were properly enlisted. Besides this women leaders were sent by the Committee to different parts of the Province for this purpose. The Sub-Committee was thus able to submit a comprehensive list of Muslim women voters to the Provincial Muslim League election office.³⁹

The next step was the collection of funds to contest the elections. The Quaid-i-Azam, referring to the importance of funds for elections in a speech, had remarked, "elections cannot be fought without money. Therefore, everywhere from now onwards collect funds in each province and systematically organise our people."⁴⁰ He instructed that the provincial organisations should function in each province separately and collect funds and manage them.⁴¹

In response to this advice of the Quaid a special meeting of the Central Sub-Committee was held on 11 October 1945 at Lahore in collaboration with the Provincial Women's Sub-Committee. In this meeting the following resolution was passed :

"This meeting of the Central Women's Committee of the All-India Muslim League calls upon Muslim women all over India to take up the challenge given by Pandit Nehru and other Congress leaders by whole-heartedly supporting the League in the forthcoming elections to prove to the world that Muslim India stands solidly behind its national organisation."⁴²

39. Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain to the author.

40. Jamil-ud-Din, op. cit., p. 191.

41. Ibid.

42. *The Eastern Times*, 14 October 1945.

It further demanded that the Muslim women should organise themselves for the elections and support only the Muslim League candidates, and urged them to boycott those who were opposed to the Muslim League programme and ideal. It instructed women to hold meetings in the different cities and towns for the collection of funds.⁴³ The Committee also decided to send a delegation under the leadership of Lady Abdullah Haroon to the North-West Frontier Province, a stronghold of the Congress, to prepare Muslim women for the coming elections and to collect funds. Other members of this delegation were Begum H.A. Hakim, Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain, Fatima Begum, Begum Zubaida Shah and Begum Karim Dad Khan. It reached Peshawar on 17 October and was welcomed by the Pathan women under the leadership of Sardar Aurangzeb Khan and Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, leaders of the N.-W.F. Provincial Muslim League. Two largely attended meetings were held on 18 and 19 October at Peshawar in which inspiring speeches were delivered exhorting the audience to stand solidly behind the League and contribute generously to the election fund. At the end Rs. 1,500 were collected.⁴⁴

The delegation then moved to Naushehra on 20 October. In Mardan Begum Zari Sarfraz Khan, daughter of Nawab Sarfraz of Mardan, offered every possible help. A large number of Pathan women came from far-flung areas to attend a meeting arranged there and expressed confidence in the Quaid's leadership and promised to sacrifice their life and property for the League cause.⁴⁵

On the way back the delegation stopped at Rawalpindi and collected sufficient funds. It returned to Lahore on 22 October to attend another important meeting. The following day, the delegation went to Amritsar where meetings were arranged by the primary committees and funds were collected.⁴⁶ By these continuous tours and

43. Ibid.

44. *Inqilab*, 28 November 1945.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid.

propaganda, a considerable amount in the form of cash, jewellery and other articles was collected for the elections.

The Punjab was the most important and crucial Province. Here the Muslims were in majority, but the Unionist Party with a powerful non-Muslim element held sway. The League had to concentrate its forces to demolish this citadel. Muslim women did not lag behind and held meetings all over the Punjab in support of the League candidates.⁴⁷ A comprehensive programme for elections was chalked out in an extraordinary meeting of the Provincial Women's Sub-Committee held on 4 January 1946 at Lahore.⁴⁸ The meeting was presided over by Begum Bashir Ahmad and after a lengthy discussion a plan to conduct elections successfully at the polling stations was worked out. Miss Riffat Bashir, the 'Chief Salar' of the Women's National Guard, was directed to make suitable arrangements in this regard. In one of the resolutions about 9,000 Muslim women voters of Lahore were appealed to cast their votes in favour of Begum Shah Nawaz and Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain. In another resolution the meeting expressed its resentment against the policy of the Unionist Government for threatening the voters.

Muslim women took up the task more fervently. They visited constituencies of the Muslim League candidates. In areas which the League candidates could not visit, the canvassing was done by the primary committees of the Muslim League, the Punjab Muslim Girl Students Federation and the Women's National Guard.⁴⁹

47. *The Eastern Times*, 9 November 1945 ; *Inqilab*, 17, 23 and 26 November 1945, 25 January and 2 February 1946.

48. *Inqilab*, 7 January 1946.

49. Interview with Begum Viqar-un-Nisa Noon. Begum Noon, along with a group of college girls toured the constituency from which her husband was fighting the election, as the latter was pre-occupied with the cause of the League in the East Punjab. His opponent was Dr. Shaikh Muhammad Alam, Bar-at-Law, the Khaksar-cum-Unionist candidate. It was mainly because of women volunteer's canvassing that he was returned victorious, "inspite of the most indecent demonstration of photo pictures of Lady Noon" by the opposite group. For details see *The Eastern Times*, 2 and 10 February 1946.

The work done by the Muslim women of the Punjab during the initial stages of the elections did not remain unnoticed. On 17 January, the Provincial Women's Sub-Committee met at the Habibia Hall, Islamia College, Lahore and the Quaid-i-Azam while addressing Muslim women expressed satisfaction at their work and enthusiastically remarked that "there was fusion of new life and vigour since his first address to Punjabi Muslim women in 1935."⁵⁰ He spoke in simple Urdu and emphasising the dire need of Pakistan told the audience that "there will be no Islam without the establishment of Pakistan. We have honestly won the first battle of Pakistan by defeating the Congress everywhere. Neither gold nor the money of Birlas and the Dalmias has distracted the Muslims from their demand of Pakistan. ...The League has proved to be the single representative organisation of Indian Muslims."⁵¹ Appealing to the Muslim women for making the League successful in elections in the Punjab, he said, "The Punjab is the soul of Pakistan, and it is a pity that it is slumbering. There is a dire need of monetary contributions and sacrifice of time and labour in any form. I appeal to you to make liberal donations."⁵² On this appeal the women present in the meeting shouted, "They will be forthcoming." Exhorting the audience for their positive role in the struggle lying ahead, the Quaid-i-Azam said :

"The Central Assembly elections have shut the mouths of your enemies. Nothing is lost, everything is in your hands, only a little more pain will yield gain. Work hard, fight, and sacrifice for the final victory, otherwise posterity will curse you."⁵³

As a result of this meeting a new fervour ran into the ranks of the Muslim women and they began to work with increased vigour

50. *The Eastern Times*, 18 January 1946.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid.

and determination. During the final phase of the elections, they organised themselves into several groups and supervised the work at the polling stations. They brought the voters to the polling stations and took them back home after the voting. The Girl Students Federation and Women's National Guard worked incessantly in the elections and helped the Muslim League candidates. The result of all this endeavour was that about 98 per cent of the Muslim female votes in Lahore were cast in favour of the League.⁵⁴

The Punjab Muslim League Parliamentary Board had issued League tickets to Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain and Begum Shah Nawaz. Both were elected. Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain secured 2,073 votes against her opponent Baji Rashida Latif,⁵⁵ an independent candidate who despite creating disturbances and causing harassment amongst the Muslim League women, got only 536 votes. Begum Shah Nawaz won by a thumping majority of 2,282 votes against her two opponents, Khurshid Begum of Ahrar Party who got 72 votes and Zainab Bibi an independent candidate who secured only one vote.⁵⁶

At the end of the elections the Muslim League came out as the only representative body of the Muslims. The League captured all the thirty Muslim seats in the Central Legislature and 428 out of a total of 492 Muslim seats in the Provincial Legislatures. In the Punjab it secured 79 out of 86 Muslim seats. The League victory owed a great deal to the efforts made by Muslim women. Leaving aside their internal differences and realising the

54. Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain to the author.

55. Baji Rashida Latif who had joined the League before the elections left again for not having been given the League ticket. Before the names of the candidates were declared, she issued a threat at the head of the Parliamentary Board that if she was not selected as a League candidate she would defy them and defeat their candidate. When she was not given the League ticket, she contested as an independent candidate. For details see *The Eastern Times*, 21 November 1945, 1 March 1946; *Ehsan* (Daily), Lahore, 9 February 1946.

56. *The Eastern Times*, 17 and 24 February 1946; *Inqilab*, 18 February 1946.

importance of the elections the women pooled their resources in favour of the League candidates for the success of the League depended not only on the political issue of the subcontinent but the economic, religious and cultural future of the Muslims as well.

On the success of the Muslim League and the work done by the Muslim women in all the provinces, Begum Aizaz Rasool, Secretary of the Women Central Sub-Committee issued the following statement to the Press :

“It is a matter of great gratification that Muslim women, who were generally supposed to be backward and apathetic, suddenly woke up to their duties and responsibilities and have played a very significant part in these elections. They can justly claim a very large share in the League’s success. ... The outstanding success of the Muslim League in all the provincial elections has proved beyond doubt, if proof was needed, that the Muslims of India are solidly behind their national and political organisation, the All-India Muslim League and for its declared national goal of Pakistan. . . . From the reports I am receiving from every province and from my own personal experience gained during my tours in connection with the election campaign, I am glad to say that this stupendous awakening amongst Muslim women is universal The wonderful work done by these Committees and their branches in all the provinces is acknowledged by every one.”⁵⁷

After the elections Hindu-Muslim riots broke out in Bihar in which a large number of Muslims fell victim. According to Mahboob Waris, Joint Secretary of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League, “not a single Muslim was left alive in an area of 300 square miles from Ponpoo to Teregna in Bihar. Dead bodies were lying everywhere, railway platforms were littered with them.”⁵⁸ This situation created a widespread resentment amongst the Muslims all over India. The Development Minister of Bihar reflected the attitude of the Congress

57. *The Eastern Times*, 4 April 1946.

58. *Ibid*, 7 November 1946.

Party when he refused to furnish any help to Muslims by saying, "I cannot do anything to protect the lives of Muslims. I can give you no help."⁵⁹

The Quaid-i-Azam appealed to Muslims to help their brethren, and started the Bihar Relief Fund. Muslim women came out to help in relief work. The Punjab Provincial Women's Sub-Committee undertook to arrange meetings, to collect funds and immediately sent a cheque of Rs. 1,000 to the President of the Bihar Provincial League.⁶⁰ They also observed the 'Bihar Relief Day'⁶¹ on 13 November 1946 and started a campaign of collecting funds, clothes and other necessities of life. The same afternoon they held a meeting in the Barkat Ali Islamia Hall, in which appeals were made for generous contributions to this cause. An amount of Rs. 750/- was collected immediately and sent to the President, Bihar Provincial League along with a bundle of woollen clothes.⁶² The meeting also passed the following resolution and sent it to the Viceroy :

"This mass meeting of thousands of Muslim women of the Punjab unanimously protest against Bihar Ministry's failure to protect life, honour and property of Muslims and call upon you to tell Governor to apply Section 93 and take administration in his own hands otherwise repercussion in Punjab is possible and responsibility will be entirely yours."⁶³

In order to expedite the work of relief, the Sub-Committee constituted the Bihar Relief Women Committee.⁶⁴ From Lahore,

59. Ibid. Some impressions of Government's non-co-operation also appeared in the statement of Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain after her return from Bihar. See *Inqilab*, 26 December 1946.

60. *The Eastern Times*, 9 November 1946.

61. *Inqilab*, 15 November 1946.

62. Ibid; *The Eastern Times*, 15 November 1946.

63. Ibid.

64. *The Eastern Times*, 16 November 1946.

the members included in the Committee were Fatima Begum, Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain, Begum Abdul Aziz, Begum Viqar-un-Nisa Noon, Begum Muhammad Aslam, Begum Iftikhar-ud-Din, Begum Muhammad Ishaque and Begum Qalandar Ali Khan from Ferozepur, Jahan Ara Begum from Simla, Baji Rabia Sultan from Jallundhar and Begum Zubaida Shah from Multan. This Committee organised meetings, passed resolutions and collected funds and clothes.⁶⁵ When the refugees from Bihar arrived in Lahore, women volunteers worked round the clock in refugee camps which were directly supervised by the Women's Sub-Committee.⁶⁶ The Sub-Committee bore all the expenditure of these relief camps itself and received no financial assistance from the Punjab Provincial Muslim League.⁶⁷ Four Committees, namely, Rehabilitation, Medical, Food, and Housing, were also formed⁶⁸ which were able to rehabilitate 110 Bihar refugees on permanent basis in the Province within a short time.⁶⁹

The refugees reaching Lahore were given every possible assistance and some of them were provided accommodation by the women leaders in their own homes.⁷⁰ The rest were accommodated in the Orphanage of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam. Different prominent leaders, who happened to visit this Orphanage expressed their high estimation of the work done by women.⁷¹

65. By the middle of January 1947, the Committee had collected Rs. 9,000 and the amount went on increasing till 15 May 1947, the closing date of the Relief Fund. *The Eastern Times*, 3 January 1947; *Inqilab*, 5 January 1947.

66. There were three centres for refugees, Jinnah Camp, Orphanage (Male) and Orphanage (Female) of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam. Another relief camp was set up in the vicinity of Nawan Kot, directly under the supervision of the Provincial Women's Sub-Committee. *The Eastern Times*, 22 December 1946, 10 January 1947; *Inqilab*, 26 December 1946.

67. *The Eastern Times*, 3 January 1947.

68. Ibid. Fatima Begum donated 2 *kanals* of land for building houses for refugees.

69. Ibid, 10 January 1947.

70. *Inqilab*, 13 December 1946.

71. Ibid, 26 December 1946.

The Provincial Women's Sub-Committee also sent a medical relief party to Bihar which included Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain, Fatima Begum and Begum Karim Dad Khan, a member of the Working Committee of the Provincial body. This party, in the company of Muslim women leaders⁷² of the Women's Sub-Committee of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League paid frequent visits to the relief camps set up in the affected areas. These ladies worked ceaselessly with untiring spirit under the most appalling circumstances. While the party was busy making arrangements in the camps and riot affected areas, Fatima Begum escorted over two hundred refugees and brought them to Lahore. The remaining women leaders continued their work. They contacted Muslim League leaders, Government officials and Congress leaders, including Gandhi, to bring some order in the Province. They spent about two months in Bihar and returned to Lahore with another lot of 250 refugees.⁷³

Meanwhile in March 1946, the British Government sent a Cabinet Mission, consisting of Lord Pethick-Lawrence, the Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, the President of the Board of Trade and Mr. A.V. Alexander, the First Lord of the Admiralty to India, to examine the constitutional problems and suggest remedies. The Congress and the League accepted the Mission's Plan. Meanwhile when Jawaharlal Nehru in a speech stated that the Plan could be altered after the constitution-making body was set up, the League was alarmed and compelled to revise its previous decision.

In a meeting of its Council held on 27 July 1946 at Bombay the Muslim League withdrew its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan and

72. They were Begum Kalimullah, Begum Yunus and others. In the meantime, Begum H.A. Hakim from Calcutta also joined them.

73. Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain to the author.
Some forty persons of eight families were temporarily accommodated at her residence.

passed the historic 'Direct Action' resolution which read that "now the time has come for the Muslim Nation to resort to direct action to achieve Pakistan, to assert their just rights, to vindicate their honour and to get rid of the present British slavery and the contemplated future Caste-Hindu domination." Later the titles and honours conferred by the British were renounced to express bitter resentment against the attitude of the British Government. The Working Committee was authorised to chalk out 'Direct Action' programme and August 16 was fixed as Direct Action Day. Throughout the subcontinent the Muslims held meetings in support of the League and exhibited undiminished confidence and faith in the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam. The Muslim women, too, responded to the call and expressed their resentment. On 14 August, the Punjab Provincial Women's Sub-Committee in a meeting resolved to observe a peaceful and well organised strike in obedience to the League's decision. This decision was communicated through circulars to all primary, district and town committees throughout the Province.⁷⁴

Muslim women observed the day with tremendous sense of responsibility. A full-fledged strike was observed not only by Muslim women of the Punjab, but throughout the subcontinent Muslim women were seen observing the day with remarkable discipline. In Lahore, the strike was particularly well-disciplined. Meetings were convened by both men and women in the Habibia Hall, Barkat Ali Islamia Hall, the Islamia College Ground and all the mosques of Lahore.⁷⁵ The 'historic day' was observed all over the country by the Muslims, and passed peacefully except in Calcutta where Hindu-Muslim riots occurred.

74. *Inqilab*, 15 August 1946.

75. *Ibid*, 19 August 1946.

CHAPTER IV

Part I

In the provincial elections of 1946, the Muslim League was returned as the largest single group in the Punjab, having secured 79 out of a total of 175 seats. It should have been automatically asked by the Governor to form the ministry. But this was not done. The Congress entered into an alliance with the Akali Sikhs and the Unionist Party, and the Governor invited Malik Khizr Hayat Khan to form a ministry. Thus a coalition ministry was formed. This created great unrest among the Muslims of the Province and people were shocked at the attitude adopted by the Premier. Meetings were held and processions taken out as a mark of protest and in token of deep resentment against the "Glancy-Khizr Axis."¹ The Muslims condemned the unjust action of the Governor in imposing a non-Muslim ministry in the Province.

The Provincial Women's Sub-Committee held a meeting on 8 March 1946 at Lahore and passed a resolution condemning "the unconstitutional and unjust action of the Governor in attempting

1. *The Eastern Times*, 9 March 1946.

to impose a non-Muslim ministry in the Muslim majority Province of the Punjab.”² Later they brought out a peaceful procession of over 500 Muslim women and girl students which assembled outside the residence of Malik Khizr Hayat Khan and shouted anti-imperialist and anti-Khizr-Glancy alliance slogans.³

To this already tense situation was added the Unionist Ministry’s declaration of 24 January 1947 which declared the Muslim League National Guard an unlawful organisation under Section 16 of the Punjab Criminal Law Amendment Act.⁴ The Governor issued another declaration under Section 27 of the Public Safety Ordinance declaring the flag and uniform of the organisation illegal.⁵ Immediately after this announcement a police party under the charge of P.B. Ray, Superintendent Police, C.I.D. Branch, armed with search warrants, reached the office of the Muslim League National Guard. The League workers, however, under the leadership of Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din and Begum Shah Nawaz offered passive resistance and refused to allow the police to carry out the search.⁶ When the League

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid, 25 January 1947 ; *The Civil and Military Gazette*, 25 January 1947 ; *Inqilab*, 26 January 1947.

5. *Inqilab*, 26 January 1947. The tension between the League and the ruling party according to Malik Firoz Khan Noon was due to certain ‘steel helmets’ which the National Guard organisation had purchased for maintaining peace and order at public meetings, etc. The author calls it as “the battle of helmets” between the League and the Unionist Party. For further details, see his book *From Memory*, Lahore 1966, pp. 196-200. According to Makhdumzada Hasan Mahmud, it was because of the restrictions imposed “on the Muslim League National Guard, together with non-Muslim’s militant organisation, which had been made the nominal cause of offering Civil Disobedience in the name of civil liberties”. See his book, *A Nation is Born*, Lahore, 1958, p. 504.

6. *The Eastern Times*, 25 January 1947 ; *Inqilab*, 26 January 1947.

leaders, including Khan Iftikhar Husain Khan of Mamdot, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan and Malik Firoz Khan Noon, heard of this raid they hastily went to the League Office and joined in the resistance. They denounced this action of the Government as repressive and anti-League.⁷ The police, however, lost no time in arresting Khan Iftikhar Husain Khan, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, Malik Firoz Khan Noon, Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Begum Shah Nawaz and Sayyid Amir Hasan Shah, the Chief Salar of the Muslim League National Guard.⁸ The Nawab of Mamdot before arrest declared, "We are courting arrest to vindicate civic liberties in the Punjab, where an unrepresentative Ministry, in order to keep itself in power, is resorting to most objectionable methods to gag popular liberties."⁹ The news of the arrest of the leaders spread like a wildfire in the city and processions were taken out by the Muslims in protest the same day.¹⁰ The processionists were checked by the police and on the very first day the total number of arrests rose to 51.¹¹

Muslim women were equally perturbed and expressed their resentment against the policy of the Government. When the police raided the house of Sayyid Amir Hasan Shah on 24 January, the women present in the house offered resistance. Prominent women leaders like Fatima Begum, Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain and Begum Kamal-ud-Din Ahmad, a woman leader from the Frontier, also reached there and offered strong resistance to the police search party. They insisted that they should be arrested. It was an exciting scene; the women were in a bellicose mood and the police felt itself on the horns of a dilemma. On the suggestion of Shaikh Sadiq Hasan, Vice-President of the Provincial Muslim League, it was decided to

7. *The Eastern Times*, 25 January 1947.

8. *Ibid* ; *Inqilab*, 26 January 1947.

9. *Struggle for Independence* (1857-1947)
(A Pictorial Record), Karachi, 1958, p. 94.

10. *The Eastern Times*, 25 January 1947 ; *Inqilab*, 26 January 1947.

11. *The Eastern Times*, 25 January 1947.

cast lots and the successful candidate should offer herself for arrest.¹² Begum Kamal-ud-Din Ahmad was arrested and was taken to the Women's Jail, Lahore.¹³

The following day, Lahore witnessed large gatherings of Muslim women, including college girls, coming out in the streets and bazars in peaceful processions¹⁴ shouting slogans, '*Pakistan Zindabad, Haq Pay Hamara Pakistan, Lay Kay Rahain Gay Pakistan, Khizr Wazarat Toar Do, Hamaray Leader Chhoar Do*', etc. They were tear-gased and lathi-charged by the Police. Three girl students fell victim to the tear-gas¹⁵ and four leading women in the procession namely Begum Karim Dad Khan, Miss Mumtaz Shah Nawaz, Miss Nasira Siddiqui and Miss Qamar Perveen were arrested.¹⁶

This ruthless manner of attacking women was condemned by the Muslim press as "reminiscent of the early days of Hitler's rise in Deutschland."¹⁷ Arrests, however, did not stop the agitation. It gathered momentum when on 25 January, sixteen Muslim League members of the Provincial Assembly including Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain were arrested and section 144 was promulgated in the city.¹⁸ The Working Committee of the Provincial Women's

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid, 26 and 29 January 1947 ; *Inqilab*, 27 January 1947.

15. Ibid. These girls were students of the Islamia College for Women, Cooper Road, Lahore. The same statement appeared in the Diary of Begum Zainab Kakakhel who took a prominent part in the civil disobedience movement and is now Principal of the same College. According to *Inqilab*, the girls' clothes had caught fire and some parts of their bodies were burnt.

16. *The Eastern Times*, 26 and 29 January 1947 ; *The Civil and Military Gazette*, 25 January 1947.

17. *The Eastern Times*, 29 January 1947.

18. Ibid, 26 and 29 January 1947 ; *Inqilab*, 27 January 1947.

Sub-Committee in a special meeting, held the same afternoon under the chairmanship of Begum Bashir Ahmad, resolved to continue the agitation by holding meetings and taking out peaceful processions to express bitter resentment against the arrest of the Muslim League leaders, the promulgation of Section 144 and the ban imposed upon the Muslim League National Guard.¹⁹

Thus Muslim women threw themselves whole-heartedly into the movement. What years of education could not achieve was accomplished through their participation in this mass movement. When their brothers were being crushed by the policy of repression by the Khizr Ministry, the women—old and young, educated and illiterate, aristocratic and poor,—unflinchingly joined in and spear-headed the agitation after the arrest of Provincial Muslim League leaders, with complete harmony and unanimity.²⁰ In the absence of some prominent women leaders who had been arrested earlier, the task was carried on by Begum Bashir Ahmad, Begum Viqar-un-Nisa Noon, Begum Shaukat Hayat and some women leaders of other provinces who had come to participate in the movement. They took out processions, exercised picketings, made demonstrations, keeping complete self-control and determination, unprecedented courage and marvellous discipline.²¹ They violated Section 144 but remained peaceful.²²

The movement, however, gradually took a drastic turn and thousands of demonstrators defied the ban on public meetings and processions throughout the Province. Processions were brought out by the Muslim League women not only at Lahore but also at Ferozepur, Amritsar, Jallundar, Ambala, Rawalpindi, Jhelum,

19. Begum Bashir Ahmad and Begum Viqar-un-Nisa Noon to the author.

20. *From Memory*, p. 199; *The Eastern Times*, 1 March 1947; *Inqilab*, 1 March 1947.

21. Begum Bashir Ahmad and Begum Viqar-un-Nisa Noon to the author.

22. Ibid.

Gujranwala, Lyallpur, Multan, and several other cities of the Province.²³ Hundreds of women who joined the processions offered themselves for arrest. The Government, however, could not keep them in lock-up and they were released after one night or so,²⁴ except a few who were kept for a longer period. Women thus released were ready to offer themselves again for arrest and were carried in vehicles to places at a considerable distance from the city and left there unprotected to return home on foot.²⁵ For instance, Begum Firoz Khan Noon along with other women was taken in a police van seven or eight miles out of town and they were asked to get out. When they refused to do so the van was tear-gased and on becoming semi-unconscious they were pushed out.²⁶ This treatment, however, did not dishearten them and on returning to the city, they would again organise a procession.²⁷

The women prisoners were generally kept in the 'Gora Barraks' (European Ward) of the Women's Jail. They had to suffer much atrocities at the hands of the Jail officials.²⁸ For instance, on 14 February 1947 three young girls wearing *burqas* ascended the Jail building and hoisted the League flag on it amid shouts of 'Allah-o-

23. *Inqilab*, 10, 16 February and 1 March 1947.

24. Begum Bashir Ahmad, Begum Viqar-un-Nisa Noon and Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain to the author. According to them this happened because of the limited capacity of the Jail.

25. Generally they would make their way home by getting 'lift' from men and women volunteers who would accompany the processionists with cars, etc.

26. *From Memory*, pp. 198-99.

27. Begum Bashir Ahmad, Begum Viqar-un-Nisa Noon and Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain to the author.

28. Begum Zainab Kakakhel's Diary. It has been verified from other women leaders as well.

Akbar' and **'Islam Zindabad.'**²⁹ After hoisting the flag they shouted, **'Up Up the League flag, Down Down the Union Jack'** and sang some famous poems in support of the Muslim League. Such an incident was a challenge to the Jail authorities. The Lady Superintendent, Mrs. Kartar Singh, arrived at the scene and in excitement persuaded about 20 women convicts to beat these young girls. In the hand to hand scuffle that followed, Miss Mumtaz Shah Nawaz fell unconscious while others received serious injuries. The League flag was torn to pieces and pulled down. But, before the flag was pulled down the girls saluted it. They were then carried by the *zanana* police to the filthy dungeons instead of the 'Gora Barracks'. Their cots were tied with chains and the door was locked.³⁰ The news of this inhuman treatment reached the League leaders through a mason working in the Jail compound.³¹ Begum Bashir Ahmad immediately went to apprise the Home Secretary of what had happened but he flatly refused to interfere in the matter.³²

The news, however, spread all over the city in no time, causing great excitement amongst the Muslim masses. The Muslim women immediately assembled in a large number opposite the Assembly

29. *Inqilab*, 17 February 1947. Also from the Diary of Begum Zainab Kakakhel. The flag was prepared of the green *dopatta* of Miss Mumtaz Shah Nawaz who conceived the idea of hoisting the flag. The scheme was finalised on 13 February by 13 women, namely, Begum Shah Nawaz, Fatima Begum, Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain, Begum Karim Dad Khan, Begum Zainab Kakakhel, Miss Mumtaz Shah Nawaz, Miss Nasira Siddiqui, Miss Iqbal Khalida Rathor, Miss Mukhtar Majid, Miss Mahmooda Niaz, Miss Nusrat Muhammad Tufail, Miss Salma Jan and Miss Hasan Ara. The last two belonged to the Lahore College for Women.

30. The details of this incident have been taken from Begum Kakakhel's Diary.

31. Begum Bashir Ahmad and Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain to the author.

32. Begum Bashir Ahmad to the author.

Chambers and from there proceeded towards the Women's Jail. The police barred their way and lathi-charged but the women continued to march forward. They demonstrated peacefully in front of the Jail, expressing their deep resentment against the savage act of the Jail authorities.³³ Henceforth it seemed as if the entire administration had been paralysed. The new trials and vicissitudes emboldened women enormously and it was from then onward that processions of men and women continued to be brought out on a larger scale and practically every other day. A huge procession was taken out by women from the residence of Begum Bashir Ahmad towards the end of February 1947.³⁴ It reached the Civil Secretariat Lahore *via* the Assembly Chambers, the Regal Crossing and the Town Hall, amid shouts of 'Allah-o-Akbar', 'Pakistan Zindabad', with League flags carried by most of the processionists. The Secretariat gate was closed and a large police force was guarding it. A young girl processionist showed extraordinary courage by quietly climbing the building unnoticed by means of a water-pipe on the back of the building and hoisted the League flag in place of the Union Jack.³⁵ Hundreds of

33. Begum Bashir Ahmad and Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain to the author.

34. Begum Bashir Ahmad to the author.

35. There is much controversy on this issue. It is unfortunate that the contribution of a girl is being tried to be belittled. But the decision of history is in favour of Fatima Sughra (now Begum Fatima Aftab). To arrive at this conclusion the statements of women leaders and other contemporaries have been taken into account. The most authentic witness in this regard is Mr. M. Bhatti, the well-known photographer of Lahore. His statements in the *Pakistan Times*, 26 November 1966; *Weekly Harf-o-Haikayat* (Urdu), Lahore, 21 January 1968, and above all Exhibition of 'The Pakistan Movement in Pictures' arranged by him in Lahore speak in favour of Fatima Sughra. Moreover, the monthly *Istehkam*, (Urdu), August 1966 and August 1968 issues; *The Perspective*, Karachi, March 1967; *Nawa-i-Waqt*, 11 September 1960; and *Weekly Jahan Numa* (Urdu), September-December 1966 are evidences of the verdict on this controversy. Besides, the photo analysis shall also fall within this purview and strengthen the fact that this honour is the legitimate right of Fatima Sughra.

people witnessed the scene amidst heart-rending shrieks of 'Muslim League Zindabad'. She was immediately brought down by the police. The police also succeeded in dispersing the procession.

It was indeed a great victory for the Muslim women and the League. The Union Jack, the mighty emblem of a world-wide empire had been lowered by a youthful girl, though only for a short time and the Muslim League flag was hoisted in its place. It was indeed a landmark in the history of the civil disobedience movement in the Punjab and pointed out ruin of the ruling party. It opened a new chapter in the history of the Muslim women in the field of politics and sounded a death-knell for the reactionary and unrepresentative Khizr Ministry.

Eventually the hard and strenuous efforts of the masses were crowned with success. On 26 February 1947, the Government was forced to release the imprisoned Muslim League leaders, including women, unconditionally. Thousands of men and women assembled outside the Central, Borstal and Women's Jails to welcome them with garlands of flowers and took out a grand procession the like of which perhaps Lahore had never witnessed before.³⁶

On this brilliant success the Muslims of the Punjab were paid rich tributes from all quarters. Liaquat Ali Khan, in a telegraphic message to the President of the Provincial Muslim League, said, "Muslim India is proud of the heroic and noble part which Muslim women have played in the struggle."³⁷ The Committee of Action of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League in its meeting held on 27 February passed a resolution in which the services rendered by the Muslim women during the movement were appreciated in glowing terms. It stated, "we are proud of Muslim women of the Punjab who have led the vanguard of our movement and whose heroism and

36. *Inqilab*, 26 February 1947.

37. *The Eastern Times*, 1 March 1947.

courage will remain an abiding inspiration to all the Muslims of India. Cowardice cannot breed in, and defeat cannot darken the hearths over which such heroines preside.”³⁸

While the demonstrations were still going on, the British Government on 20 February 1947 declared its willingness to transfer power in India not later than June 1947. The Muslims had succeeded in wresting power from the Khizr-Congress coalition which resigned on 2 March. The new Governor Sir Evan Jenkins took charge of the administration. This move resulted in riots between the Sikhs and the Muslims. On 3 March, the Sikh leader Master Tara Singh declared : “Let the Khalsa Panth now realise the gravity of the situation. I expect every Sikh to do his duty. We shall live or die, but shall not submit to Muslim domination. Oh Khalsa ! rise and gird up your loins. The momentous hour has approached. May God be our guide and guard us.”³⁹ On the following day coming out of the Assembly Chambers, he brandished his sword and declared, “The time has come when the might of the sword alone shall rule. The Sikhs are ready. We have to bring the Muslims to their senses.”⁴⁰ These statements foretold the direction towards which the new winds were going to blow. The Sikhs and Hindus had already organised themselves for the final struggle and Master Tara Singh’s words were the signal to go ahead. They launched a united encounter against the Muslims, and disturbances broke out in Lahore on 5 March, spreading quickly to all the major districts of the Punjab including the Sikh citadal—Amritsar. Thus a gruesome chapter of riots opened resulting in the destruction of property, large scale murders and arson. The riots were the worst in the districts now in East Punjab. Muslim women were absolutely unprepared for such an eventuality. They, however, rendered meritorious services, sometimes individually but mostly through their

38. Ibid ; *Inqilab*, 1 March 1947.

39. Muhammad Baqir, *Lahore Past and Present*, Lahore, 1952, p. 242.

40. Ibid.

volunteer organisations during these hectic days. The Provincial Women's Sub-Committee worked day and night in co-ordination with the Central Relief Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League formed in April, consisting of Khan Iftikhar Husain Khan of Mamdot, Malik Firoz Khan Noon, Maulvi Ghulam Mohayy-ud-Din Qasuri, Maulvi Abdul Bari, Dr. Omar Hayat Malik, Dr. Abdul Hamid, Begum Shah Nawaz, Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain with Shaikh Muhammad Yamin as Convener of the Committee.⁴¹

Before discussing the collective participation of the Muslim women in relief work it is necessary to point out that the representatives of the women community had already taken steps for the relief work on 5 March. Under most difficult circumstances created by the communal frenzy, Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain went round all the affected areas in the company of Dr. Najib-ud-Din Ahmad, a selfless worker of the League from Lahore.⁴² She consoled the women harassed by the mischief-mongers. Again on 11 March⁴³, she along with Fatima Begum, visited the affected areas, which were keenly supervised by the women leaders. They would look after the arrangements in the camps.

Communal tension gradually increased. Hindus and Sikhs began to attack Muslims in villages and turned out a large number of them from their homes. The unfortunate persons began to migrate to places of safety. In order to help them, relief centres were opened by the Punjab Provincial Muslim League at Lahore. Muslim women did not lag behind and joined hands with men in supervising the arrangements and looking after the refugees in the

41. *Inqilab*, 4 April 1947; *Ehsan*, 6 April 1947. Its office was attached to the Provincial Muslim League's Office in Royal Park, Mcleod Road, Lahore. Later it was shifted to 9-Fane Road, Lahore.

42. *Ehsan*, 13 March 1947.

43. *Ibid.*

camps.⁴⁴ Helpless refugee women and children were admitted to relief camps on 7 March near the Railway Station. Some were taken away by the women leaders and looked after individually.⁴⁵

Muslim women, besides actively participating in the Central Relief Committee⁴⁶, conducted several meetings in their respective areas under the supervision of the Provincial Women's Sub-Committee. They inaugurated a Zenana Muslim League Relief Fund, and collected blankets, clothes, utensils, food, etc. for the refugees.⁴⁷ The Sub-Committee made arrangements for cooking food out of the above funds which was sent every day to the camps.⁴⁸

Muslim women also took up the task of providing medical relief to the sick, wounded and maimed refugees in the camps.⁴⁹ They issued appeals for the donation of blood and it was mainly due to their continuous efforts that large quantity of blood was stored in the Blood Bank.⁵⁰ A free hospital was founded by the Provincial Women's Sub-Committee in the vicinity of Bhati Gate and put under the charge of Dr. Najib-ud-Din Ahmad.⁵¹ The duties of nursing were performed by women volunteers and girl students.

44. They included Begum Shah Nawaz, Fatima Begum, Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain, Begum Bashir Ahmad, Begum Karim Dad Khan, Begum Abdul Hamid (of the *Eastern Times*), and others. *Inqilab*, 16 March 1947; *Ehsan*, 16 March 1947. It may be added that other women volunteers also made contributions according to their means.

45. *Inqilab*, 16 March 1947, (Report by M.K. Mir, Organiser of the Punjab Muslim League Relief Camp).

46. *Ibid*, 27 May 1947, (Report submitted by Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain, Secretary of the Relief Committee). See also *Eastern Times*, 12 June 1947; *Ehsan*, 24 July 1947; *Inqilab*, 17 September 1947.

47. Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain to the author.

48. *Ibid*. The women doing relief work not only at Lahore but in various cities of the Province such as Sialkot, Gujranwala, Jhelum, Rawalpindi, Multan, Jhang, Mianwali, Qasur, Sheikhupura, Lyallpur, etc.

49. *Ehsan*, 24 July 1947.

50. Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain to the author.

51. *Zamindar*, 21 September 1947.

Muslim women also helped the victims of Amritsar riots. On 17 March, a party of volunteers, both men and women, was sent by the Punjab Muslim League Relief Camp to provide medical assistance. This party, besides 13 men, included Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain, Fatima Begum, Begum Aziz Ahmad, Begum Waheed and Miss Nasira Siddiqui.⁵² Fatima Begum, then President of the Provincial Women's Sub-Committee, played a major role in helping the Muslims of Amritsar and paid weekly visits to Amritsar to distribute food amongst the needy.⁵³

Meanwhile the partition of the subcontinent was looming large on the Indian horizon. In February 1947, the Prime Minister Lord Attlee had made a historic statement in the House of Commons in regard to the intention of the British Government to transfer power in India by June 1948. Lord Mountbatten, the new Viceroy of India, arrived in Delhi on 22 March 1947 and soon after his arrival started to consult leaders of different political parties. After long negotiations and discussions a plan was prepared which was approved towards the end of May by the British Cabinet. The Plan was published on 3 June and this came to be known as the 3 June Plan. It laid down the procedure of transfer of power in detail and the Viceroy, in a Press Conference on the following day, announced that the transfer of power would take place by 15 August 1947.

On 10 June, the Muslim League Council passed a resolution in favour of the Plan and authorised the Quaid to accept the fundamental principles of the Plan as a compromise and take necessary steps in implementing it.

After the announcement of the 3 June Plan, communal tension increased enormously. Violence, plunder, abduction and stabbing were on rampage in the eastern districts of the Punjab. Muslims

52. *Inqilab*, 21 March 1947.

53. Fatima Begum, *Sham-i-Ghariban* (Urdu), Lahore, 1947, p. 3.

lacked security of life and property.⁵⁴ Emigrations to Pakistan started at a large scale and on their way Muslims were trapped and murdered in cold blood. Children were cut to pieces and maimed. Young Muslim girls were subjected to the worst possible treatment; they were kidnapped, raped and often cut to pieces. Heaps of their dead bodies were seen in streets, roads and highways. Numberless corpses were thrown into rivers, canals and sewers. Several trains, full of the dead bodies of Muslim refugees, reached Lahore. According to a contemporary British account, "The scale of killings and movement of refugees became even more extensive than those caused by the more formal conflicts of opposing armies."⁵⁵ Another eyewitness, Captain Glue of Royal Sappers and Miners recorded: "I have served in France during the World War II and I did not see the destruction to the extent, which I have seen in Amritsar."⁵⁶ Muslim women faced this challenge with a commendable sense of national spirit. Irrespective of caste and creed, age and status, they resolved to face these heavy odds. To fight out the situation, a Punjab Women's Volunteer Service was organised under the supervision of the Provincial Women's Sub-Committee at Lahore, to co-ordinate the work and activities of women.⁵⁷ Heavy rains and unhygienic conditions

54. This situation prevailed all over the subcontinent.

According to an authoritative statement of the partition days, the situation in the East Punjab became so bad that no Muslim could go to sleep with confidence that he would be alive the next morning. During the days of arson, murder and rioting, Maulana Azad toured different parts of Delhi with army officers and "found Muslims completely demoralised and suffering a sense of utter helplessness. Rich and well-known families of the city came to" him "completely destitute with no earthly possession left, except the clothes they were wearing". See *Story of Indian Aggressions against Pakistan*, by Dr. Khalid Ghaznawi, Lahore, 1966, p. 78.

55. Alan Campbell-Johnson, *Mission with Mountbatten*, London, 1951, p. 178.

56. Dr. Khalid Ghaznawi, p. 77.

57. Begum Bashir Ahmad and Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain to the author.

of refugees and Refugee Camps led to cholera epidemic. Girl students visited various camps to render help to the sick and wounded refugees. But for this help, hundreds of patients would have perished for lack of nursing facilities.⁵⁸

Hearing of the atrocities of the non-Muslims in the East Punjab, Fatima Begum went to Amritsar, on behalf of the Provincial Women's Sub-Committee, to work amidst scenes of sufferings and rioting. Unmindful of what was happening in and around Amritsar and of her own safety, she resolved to expedite her programme of helping and saving the enormous number of Muslim refugees who had taken refuge in camps in that city. She managed to get hold of a private bus and rushed to Amritsar on 9 August 1947 to bring refugees to Lahore. She was so shocked to witness the conditions of the refugees in Amritsar Camp that she decided to continue unabated the work of bringing the Muslim refugees from the affected areas. By the end of 1949, it was estimated that nearly 5,000 Muslim women owed their safe arrival in Pakistan to her efforts.⁵⁹

On 13 August, she even managed to obtain a letter from Master Tara Singh through the Deputy Commissioner for the Nawab of Mamdot suggesting the adoption of measures to restore

58. For instance, in September 1947, during cholera epidemic at Qasur, when the Muslims were extremely short of nurses a party of girl students from Bhati Gate, Lahore, rendered valuable services under the supervision of Dr. Najib-ud-Din Ahmad. These girls numbering between 15 to 20 were taken daily to Qasur. They worked for 5 to 6 hours and returned to Lahore in the evening. The following words appear on the merit certificate issued by Lt.—Col. Dr. Ilahi Bakhsh on 13 October 1947 to Dr. Najib-ud-Din Ahmad in recognition of the voluntary services rendered by the young girls :

“Pakistan should be proud of girl volunteers who volunteered to work during most difficult times, but for this help, hundreds of patients would have perished for lack of nursing facilities.”

59. This information has been given by Begum Bashir Ahmad and Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain. An account of her activities between January to September 1948 are given in *Sham-i-Ghariban*.

peace and order in the Province.⁶⁰ She reached Lahore the same night escorted by four army personnel who had been detailed by the Area Commander of the Boundary Force. She met the Nawab who was then discussing similar problem with the League Leaders like Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan and Colonel Muhammad Ayub Khan, who was then attached as an Adviser on behalf of Pakistan to Major-General Rees, Commander of a Special Military Command set up by the Partition Council to protect the population in the riot affected areas of the Punjab. Fatima Begum was sent back with a suitable reply and she returned the same night to Amritsar. The message from the Nawab of Mamdot was handed over to Sardar Lal Singh, A.D.M., Amritsar. She proposed that copies of these peace proposals should be thrown in the affected areas by aeroplanes and broadcast these with an appeal to the masses to remain peaceful.⁶¹

On 14 August 1947, the tentative date of partitioning India, the mass transfer of population started at a tremendous rate. Arson, loot and massacre in eastern districts of the Punjab forced Muslims to leave their homes for Pakistan. The task of relief and rehabilitation of the refugees was taken up at various relief centres organised by the Women's Sub-Committee. This time their chief preoccupation was not only to sympathise with the homeless, terror-stricken and mutilated men, women and children but also to feed and clothe them and to make necessary arrangements for their rehabilitation. The people of the West Punjab bore the brunt of accommodating this huge uprooted population. Begum Liaquat Ali Khan, wife of the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, in a statement issued at this juncture depicted clearly the state of affairs in Lahore, when she said that thousands of dead and dying were lined up in the streets, cholera

60. *Sham-i-Ghariban*, pp. 19-23. On this occasion Shaikh Sadiq Hasan accompanied her from Amritsar to Lahore.

61. *Ibid*, p. 19.

had broken out and India had refused to supply vaccine which was being flown from Paris ; the hospitals were badly disorganised, hopelessly understaffed and overcrowded ; transport constituted a major problem in rendering help and housing, and supplies were difficult to acquire.⁶²

In these circumstances women strove day and night and accepted the challenge. They made arrangements in the transit camps which were organised, managed and supervised by them.⁶³ In order to provide relief activities on a wider scale, an Employment Exchange Bureau, a Lost and Found Bureau and various other organisations were formed.⁶⁴ Clothes, blankets, food, utensils and other necessities of life were collected and distributed in the various camps and relief centres.

Earlier in September 1947, three meetings of the Punjab Provincial Women's Sub-Committee were held consecutively on 5, 6 and 7 September in its office at Lahore.⁶⁵ A comprehensive programme for relief work was chalked out and various relief committees were constituted to take up the work under their supervision. An Industrial Centre was established at the Lady McLagan School, Lahore, to prepare clothes for the refugees and the task was earnestly taken in hand by Muslim women under the supervision of Begum Durrani, Deputy Directress of Education, Punjab. A large number of clothes were prepared every day. A Medical Relief Committee under the chairmanship of Lady Abdul Qadir was set up. Miss A. Qureshi, as in charge of the medical relief party, looked

62. Begum Liaquat Ali Khan, *A Tribute to the Women of Pakistan*. (This typed article was lent to the author by Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain for consultation).

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

65. *Inqilab*, 17 September 1947.

after the sick and wounded children and women in the Mayo Hospital. Girls worked with extreme diligence and patience in the Hospital.

Another Committee was set up at the Walton Training Camp to look after women and their children. This Committee worked under the supervision of Begum Shah Nawaz and Begum Azimullah, an enthusiastic worker of the Women's Sub-Committee. A fourth Committee to distribute clothes, utensils and other necessary articles of daily use to the refugees was also appointed under the guidance of Begum Farrukh and Miss Khan, members of the Provincial body.

The fifth Committee, headed by Begum Abdul Majid, was appointed to look after the incoming refugees from other parts of the subcontinent and to escort them from the Lahore Railway Station and make reasonable arrangements for their boarding and lodging.

Lady Shafi took charge of a Committee which was entrusted with the task of collecting funds for the refugees. Begum Abdul Aziz worked as convenor of the Committee.

In conclusion it can be said that Muslim women did not lag behind in any hour of trial during the Freedom Movement. Whenever and whatever the situation might have been, they never failed to respond to the call of the nation. The darkest picture of the miseries which Muslim women faced were during the monstrosities of the partition riots. The nation had been put on a trial; tension was mounting and hardships were accumulating, yet women made sacrifices by losing their honour, property, brothers, husbands and sons. This was all they had and that too, they presented to the nation.

Amidst these agonising circumstances, Pakistan was born on 14 August 1947. On 15 August, the Quaid-i-Azam assumed the office as the first Governor-General of Pakistan and the first Cabinet was sworn in. The Quaid on this historic occasion eulogised the

services and sacrifices made by the Muslims to achieve their goal and announced, "My thoughts are with the valiant fighters in our cause who readily sacrificed all they had, including their lives, to make Pakistan possible."⁶⁶

The women of Pakistan who had marched onwards with undiminished spirit and determination in the struggle for Pakistan now decided to face unflinchingly the fresh problems that confronted the new State. As previously stated they continued to work to ameliorate the sufferings of the refugees under the supervision of their respective Committees. In February 1949, an organisation known as All-Pakistan Women's Association, commonly called A.P.W.A., was set up by some enthusiastic women workers, under the presidency of Begum Liaquat Ali Khan. Begum Khwaja Nazim-ud-Din and Miss Fatima Jinnah became its Patrons. This body provided a rallying point and a new platform for the women of Pakistan to reshape the destinies of their new country and to settle the problems that its creation had ushered in.

66. *Dawn*, (Daily), Karachi, 16 August 1947.

Part II

The account of women's activities since 1938, given in the previous chapters, relates mainly to the Muslim women of the Punjab. During the elections of 1946 and the subsequent campaigns launched to oust the British and Congress sponsored ministries of the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province, the work done by Muslim women of these two provinces was of a similar nature. This work was peculiar to the situation that had arisen in these two Muslim majority provinces and had no parallel in the other Muslim provinces. In these areas the Muslim women organisations were on trial and it must be said in their favour that they came out successful from this ordeal.

Unlike other provinces, the Muslim women of the North-West Frontier Province entered active politics at a fairly later stage¹ and appeared on the political scene just near the elections of 1946. It was anachronistic that a province, having a large majority of Muslims, should have a Congress Government. The League launched a forceful election campaign and preached its gospel in every city and village and even in the tribal areas. The masses gradually became convinced of the righteousness of the cause of the Muslim League and began to unite themselves under its banner. The Provincial Women's Sub-Committee took up the task with remarkable courage and determination and women leaders arranged meetings at various places in the major districts of the Province such as

1. The Women's Sub-Committee in this Province had been formed in 1940 at Peshawar (*Khaiber Mail*, 28 April 1940), but no details are available of its activities after its formation.

Peshawar, Mardan, Bannu, Kohat, Abbottabad, Naushehra, Dera Ismail Khan and other far-flung areas. The claim of the League to be the sole representative body of the Muslims was explained to the Pathan women. The Provincial Women's Sub-Committee thus prepared the ground and in order to make the election campaign successful the Women's Central Sub-Committee of the All-India Muslim League in October 1946 despatched a deputation from Lahore under the leadership of Lady Abdullah Haroon.² The deputation during this tour conducted meetings at Peshawar, Naushehra and Mardan in which Pathan women made liberal contributions for the League Election Fund.³ The gathering at Mardan at the residence of Begum Nawab Zari Sarfraz Khan is of special importance, for it was for the first time in the history of the North-West Frontier Province that such a large meeting of women was held.⁴ Pathan women gathered under the banner of the Muslim League in an overwhelming number and worked incessantly for the League election campaign. It was during this period that the Quaid-i-Azam, while addressing Muslim women in Peshawar, said "I am very glad that our women are coming forward Women can always play a great part. It is said that the hand that rocks the cradle rules the nation Our Islamic history shows that women have always worked shoulder to shoulder with men. . . . No nation can ever achieve any big thing unless we take our women with us."⁵

As the elections approached nearer, the women chalked out fresh programme to intensify the election campaign. Largely attended gatherings were held and women were urged to cast their

2. *The Eastern Times*, 24 October 1945. See an account of this deputation's work in Chapter III.

3. *Ibid*, 24 October and 15 November 1945. The amount totalled Rs. 3,500.

4. *Ibid*, 15 November 1945.

5. *Ibid*, 28 November 1945.

votes in favour of the Muslim League candidates.⁶ Although they made strenuous efforts to frustrate Congress designs during the elections, the Congress Ministry still remained in office. The League could capture only 17 out of a total of 36 Muslim seats and the Congress formed a ministry under Dr. Khan Sahib.

Meanwhile in January 1947, the Punjab Provincial Muslim League had launched a civil disobedience campaign against the Khizr Ministry. This had its repercussions on the North-West Frontier Province which now turned a new chapter of its history. When the Congress Ministry, headed by Dr. Khan Sahib, adopted repressive measures especially in the Hazara District, the situation deteriorated. The Muslims bitterly resented the restrictions imposed by the Government on the meetings and demonstrations of the League.⁷

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6. It is said that the total number of votes cast by the Pathan women for the League were over 90 per cent. This information has been collected from Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain.
 7. According to a press information the demonstrations in the North-West Frontier Province against the Congress Ministry started on 21 February 1947 during a large gathering of the Muslims under the auspices of the Peshawar City Muslim League. A Sikh girl who had embraced Islam and adopted the name 'Islam Bibi' was returned to the Sikhs by Dr. Khan Sahib, Premier of the Province. This undesirable intervention of the latter injured Muslim sentiments. Under the leadership of Fida Muhammad Khan, President of the Peshawar City Muslim League, the Muslims approached the Premier for a better solution of the problem but in vain. As a protest against the attitude of Dr. Khan Sahib a meeting of the League was organised on 21 February 1947 at Chowk Yadgar under the presidentship of Fida Muhammad Khan. At the end of the meeting a procession marched towards Dr. Khan's residence to place their grievances, shouting slogans, like '*Congress Ministry Murdabad La Kay Rahain Gay Pakistan*'. The procession was stopped and tear-gased on the way by the police but it managed to reach Dr. Khan's residence. Thus the agitation, which began with the cry for civic rights and the return of 'Islam Bibi', took a new turn and resulted in the civil-disobedience movement. See *Kohistan* (Daily), Lahore, 25 December 1961; *Nawa-i-Waqt* (Daily), Lahore, 25 December 1962.

On 20 February, when a procession was taken out at Mardan in violation of Section 144, a new chapter of the women's movement in the Frontier Province was opened. Various Muslim League leaders including Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan were arrested.⁸ The masses thereafter started taking out organised processions under protest against Dr. Khan Sahib's Ministry.

It was during this civil disobedience movement that the Pathan women who had never been out of *purdah* before for the first time walked un-veiled in public processions. "Ladies of upper-middle-class families more than once scaled ladders propped against the walls of jails which housed political prisoners, and brandished League flags aloft."⁹ The first women procession, consisting of about thirty women, was taken out from the residence of Begum Abdul Wahid, President of the Peshawar City Women's Sub-Committee, and roamed in the different bazars and streets of Peshawar.¹⁰ Likewise, similar women processions were taken out on the 12, 13 and 15 March from the office of the Peshawar City Muslim League.¹¹ Excitement ran high and masses swelled the processions each time. Old men on seeing this could not help shedding tears. Pathan women continued to demonstrate and faced the police lathi-charge, tear-gas, severe beating and even firing.¹² Despite these provocations they remained calm and cool. They picketed the police station, and frequently demonstrated before the Civil Secretariat and the Railway Station. To express resentment it became their routine to defy Section 144 in front of the District Courts and

8. *Nawa-i-Waqt*, 25 December 1962.

9. Ian Stephens, *Pakistan : Old Country New Nation*, London, 1964, p. 186.

10. Sayyid Muhammad Tufail Ahmad Badar, *Aftab-i-Haram* (Urdu), Karachi, 1949, p. 521.

11. *Aljami'at*, 20 March 1947.

12. In Dera Ismail Khan, women and children were fired at during a peaceful demonstration. In Kohat, the non-Muslim Army and Police officers maltreated the women processionists. See *Inqilab*, 18 and 19 April 1947.

other Government offices in well organised processions. They emulated the Punjab and hoisted the League flag on some of these Government buildings.¹³

To strengthen the Frontier women's activities against the Government, the Punjab Provincial Women's Sub-Committee decided to send a delegation. The first batch consisting of four women, namely Fatima Begum, Begum Karim Dad Khan, Begum Zubaida Shah and Nasira Siddiqui, reached Peshawar in the end of March 1947.¹⁴ They met the local workers and leaders¹⁵ and helped them in this campaign. On 1 April a meeting of the Provincial Muslim Women's Sub-Committee was held under the presidentship of Begum Khwaja Allah Bux at Peshawar. A large number of women attended this meeting and inspiring speeches were delivered against the Congress Ministry. This was the sixth meeting of the women after the promulgation of Section 144 in the Frontier Province. Dr. Khan Sahib's attempt to rouse Shia-Sunni feelings was condemned and an appeal was made to the Muslims to remain united and to combat the repressive policy of the Government with perseverance. Resolutions were also passed. In one of these they informed the Frontier Government that it had lost the confidence of the masses and, therefore, should resign immediately.¹⁶

13. *Inqilab*, 12 April 1947.

14. *The Eastern Times*, 3 April 1947 ; *Inqilab*, 5 April 1947. Later on in the following month, Miss Mumtaz Shah Nawaz made a whirl wind tour of the Province during which she addressed combined gatherings of men and women and inspired them by her speeches. See *Inqilab*, 12 May 1947.

15. They included Begum Nawab Zari Sarfraz Khan, Begum Mumtaz Jamal, Begum Qazi Mir Ahmad, Begum Shirin Wahab, Begum Abdul Wahid, Begum Sardar Ali, Begum Faqir Muhammad, Mrs. Aqila, Begum Sharif Husain, Begum Muhammad Saleem, Begum Muhammad Afzal, Begum Fida Ali, Begum Jan Muhammad, Begum Fazal Karim, Begum Sanaullah, Begum Mufti, Begum Ghulam Husain, Miss Fahmida Sharif, Miss Fahmida Rauf, Miss Almas Akhtar, Miss Sardar Jamal, Miss Munawwar Jamal, Miss Mubarak Maqbul, Miss Sardar Haider and Miss Sultan Begum.

16. *Zamindar*, 2 April 1947.

On 3 April 1947, a huge procession of about 1,500 women picketed Dr. Khan Sahib's residence and hoisted the League flag on his house.¹⁷ The procession then marched towards the Government House but it was stopped on the way by the police.¹⁸ The processionists demanded immediate dismissal of the Congress Ministry and urged the holding of fresh elections in the Province and the release of the imprisoned Muslim League leaders.¹⁹ Again on 9 April, another large procession under the leadership of Fatima Begum expressed its indignation against the "unwarranted and uncalled for black laws" of the Congress Government.²⁰ The processionists unanimously adopted a resolution calling upon Dr. Khan Sahib's Ministry to resign. They also urged upon the Governor to dissolve the Assembly and hold new elections. Khan Sultan Muhammad Khan, President of the N.-W.F.P. Muslim League Defence Committee, paying tribute to the women, said, "for the first time in the history of N.-W.F.P. they are playing a large part in politics, defying Section 144, organising processions, meetings and voicing the demand that the Congress ministry should hold fresh elections".²¹

These peaceful campaigns were marred by an ugly incident on 14 April, when a huge procession of veiled women while marching towards the Governor's House was deliberately, so it was said, run over by Bombay Express on a railway level crossing near Bala Hisar Fort, and four women were seriously injured.²²

17. *Nawa-i-Waqt*, 14 August 1962.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*

20. *The Eastern Times*, 12 April 1947; *Inqilab*, 12 April 1947.

21. *The Eastern Times*, 4 April 1947. A full account of their activities and enthusiasm for the League appeared in the statement of Fatima Begum issued on 1 May 1947 at New Delhi. For details, see *The Eastern Times*, 3 May 1947.

22. *Ibid.*, 16 April 1947; *Inqilab*, 20 April 1947. It was believed that over 1,000 Muslim women walked in procession. The Bombay Express was being driven by a Sikh. The Deputy Commissioner accompanying the processionists asked the driver to wait but the latter did not care for this instruction.

The procession immediately reorganised itself and marched towards the residence of Dr. Khan Sahib where they expressed their bitter resentment and later dispersed peacefully.²³ This incident created considerable excitement amongst the Muslims all over the subcontinent. They held meetings and passed resolutions against the Government and urged it to take necessary action.²⁴

The Frontier women thereafter intensified their struggle with fresh vigour and determination. On 22 April, a women's procession, in which all were wearing *burqas*, first picketed in front of the All-India Radio Station, Peshawar, then entered the Station's premises and hoisted the League flag on its building.²⁵

The following day over one thousand Muslim women demonstrated in front of the District Court shouting League slogans and hoisted the League flag on the Court building.²⁶ After flag hoisting, they held a special meeting in which prominent women leaders delivered forceful speeches. Deep resentment was expressed against the repressive measures adopted by the Congress Ministry to suppress the peaceful movement of the League. The meeting also decided to continue the struggle till complete civil liberties were restored. They also urged upon Dr. Khan Sahib to resign forthwith as he had

23. *Aftab-i-Haram*, p. 524.

24. Fatima Begum, as head of the Provincial Muslim Women's Sub-Committee sent the following telegram to the Governor of the N.-W.F.P., and copies of the same to the Viceroy and Quaid-i-Azam :

"Punjab Muslim women are horror-stricken. They strongly condemn the barbaric action of the engine driver, reported to be a Sikh, in deliberately running over veiled Muslim women peaceful processionists in Peshawar—urge strong action." See *The Eastern Times*, 16 April 1947.

25. *The Eastern Times*, 23 April 1947 ; *Inqilab*, 24 April 1947.

26. *The Eastern Times*, 24 April 1947 ; *Inqilab*, 25 April 1947.

forfeited the confidence of the people and called upon the Governor to hold fresh elections in the Province.²⁷

Besides these activities, a secret organisation of the Muslim women known as 'War Council'²⁸ also started a campaign against the Government. The Council played commendable role during this agitation by establishing an underground 'Pakistan Broadcasting Station'.²⁹ From this station news bulletin were broadcasted in favour of 'Pakistan' and a detailed account of the daily progress of the civil disobedience movement in the Province was given twice in a day, at 08.30 hours and 20.00 hours. The news bulletin began and ended with 'Pakistan Zindabad'.³⁰ This Broadcasting Station supplied necessary information about the developments in the Province. This showed Muslim women's enthusiasm for the achievement of Pakistan and their capacity for constructive work and was a challenge to the Government which in spite of all the sources at its disposal could not trace out the Station.³¹

Towards the end of April 1947, Lord Mountbatten paid a visit to the Frontier Province to gauge the seriousness of the situation. According to Campbell-Johnson, "an immense Moslem League demonstration" was organised on his arrival, "which was to place its grievances before the Viceroy."³² The demonstrators were "estimated at well over seventy thousand", who "had been gathering from the most remote parts of the Province, many of them having been on march for several days. . . . which had a surprisingly large

27. Ibid.

28. *Aftab-i-Haram*, p. 524.

29. Ibid, p. 525. According to a press information this Radio Broadcasting Station broadcasted its programmes in favour of Pakistan on 70 metre wave-length twice in a day. See *The Eastern Times*, 20 April 1947; *Inqilab*, 21 April 1947.

30. *The Eastern Times*, 20 April 1947.

31. *Aftab-i-Haram*, p. 525.

32. Alan Campbell-Johnson, *Mission with Mountbatten*, London, 1951, p. 74.

number of women and children in its midst."³³ The Viceroy was astonished to find such an overwhelming number of Muslim women demonstration despite the fact that the Congress Ministry had exercised all possible means of checking the large caravans of Muslim women coming to participate in the demonstration. The vehicles at their disposal were punctured ; trucks, buses, vans and even private cars were made defective in one way or the other. But the women of Frontier managed to reach Peshawar on foot in two days carrying their children in arms.³⁴ Apart from participating in this historic procession they met the Governor Sir Olaf Caroe and placed their grievances before him, and later they saw the Viceroy as well when he toured the Province.³⁵ The meeting of Muslim women with the Viceroy was another important event not only in the history of the Province but of the Muslims of the subcontinent as well.³⁶

During these hectic days while the movement had widened its sphere in the Province, the British Government took steps to implement the 3 June Plan in regard to the transfer of power in India. The Plan offered an opportunity to the North-West Frontier Province to reconsider its position ; it was given the choice either of accepting the existing Constituent Assembly or holding a referendum. The League accepted referendum.

The object of the referendum was to find out whether the Muslims of the Province wished to join Pakistan or not. The civil

33. Ibid.

34. Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain to the author. For taking out such a large and well organised procession of Muslim women, the services of certain women leaders such as Begum Nawab Zari Sarfraz Khan, Begum Mumtaz Jamal, Begum Qazi Mir Ahmad and Begum Shilin Wahab must be mentioned.

35. Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain to the author. The same has been verified by Begum Mumtaz Jamal,

36. Ibid.

disobedience movement was called off on 3 June by the Quaid-i-Azam through a broadcast message in which he said, "I request the Provincial Muslim League of the Frontier Province to withdraw the movement of peaceful civil disobedience which they had perforce to resort to ; and I call upon all the leaders of the Muslim League and Mussalmans generally to organise our people to face this referendum with hope and courage, and I feel confident that the people of the Frontier will give their verdict by a solid vote to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly."³⁷ Referring to the unostentatious efforts of the selfless Muslim women, he remarked, "I cannot but express my appreciation of the sufferings and sacrifices made by all the classes of Mussalmans and particularly the great part the women of the Frontier played in the fight for our civil liberties."³⁸

In response to the Quaid's appeal, the Muslim women doubled their efforts in urging their sisters to vote for Pakistan. They even tried to influence their brothers, husbands, sons and other relatives as well.

While preparations for referendum were in full swing in the Frontier, the Punjab Provincial Women's Sub-Committee sent a small group to tour that Province. In a meeting held on 2 July 1947 at Abbottabad under the chairmanship of Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain about one thousand women pledged and promised to vote for Pakistan.³⁹ Begum Salma Tasadduque Husain along with her group toured the other areas in the southern districts canvassing the people to express their preference for amalgamation with Pakistan.⁴⁰

37. *Pakistan Movement : Historic Documents*, op. cit., pp. 339-40.

38. Ibid, p, 540 ; *Inqilab*, 5 June 1947.

39. *Inqilab*, 5 July 1947.

40. Ibid.

When the polling began in July, Muslim women in large numbers went to the polling booths to cast their votes.⁴¹ In Peshawar the League secured 2,880 votes out of 3,400 female votes on the very first two days.⁴² Eventually the League came out victorious and 2,89,244 votes were cast for Pakistan and 2, 874 for India. Dr. Khan Sahib's Ministry, however, remained in office until the creation of Pakistan and was later dismissed on 22 August 1947.

41. *The Eastern Times*, 8 July 1947.

42. *Ibid*, 12 July 1947.

APPENDIX A

Amat-ul-Hamid Khanum, (Begum Abad Ahmad).

Amat-ul-Hamid Khanum, daughter of Dr. Faiz Muhammad Khan, was born in October 1903 in Nabha, East Punjab, and was educated at home. From the days of the Khilafat Movement, she began to take interest in politics, especially in the welfare of women. In 1925, she compiled a book entitled the *Guldasta-i-Kashida*, a useful book for girls interested in tailoring and embroidery. In 1927, in response to the suggestion of Maulvi Sayyid Mumtaz Ali, she founded an Anjuman of Muslim women, known as Anjuman-i-Tahzib-i-Niswan, and a Library in Faizabad (Awadh), and in 1930, she founded a similar Anjuman and a Library in Pillibheet.

In October 1933, she was married to Sahibzada Abad Ahmad Khan who was then an officer in the Police Department.

Although she had started taking interest in the affairs of the Muslim League in early thirties, she came in closer contact with this organisation in 1937 when she lived in Dera Dun. In 1940, she was elected President of the Dera Dun branch of the Women's Sub-Committee of the Muslim League and in 1945, when she left Dera

Dun for Aligarh, she devoted her utmost attention to the League activities. At one time the Begum was offered the presidency of the Women's Sub-Committee, but she declined the offer and preferred to work for it as an ordinary worker. During 1946 Elections, she supported the League candidates.

In October 1947, Begum Abad Ahmad came to Lahore along with her husband and immediately undertook the refugee rehabilitation and relief work for the refugees from India and Kashmir.

Amir-un-Nisa, (Lady Muhammad Shafi).

Amir-un-Nisa was born at Lahore in 1879. Her father, Mian Nizam-ud-Din, was one of the few Muslim Session Judges of those times. She received her education under the guidance of her father, who held progressive views about social and educational values.

In 1894, she was married to her cousin, Mian Muhammad Shafi. The marriage brought her into contact with the leading politicians of her time and very soon she began to realise the handicaps of the Muslim women. Her desire to work for the uplift of the Muslim women was encouraged by her husband as she herself admitted in the words that "in all my works and activities. I am indebted to my late lamented husband Mian Sir Muhammad Shafi who always came to my relief and support in my progressive schemes for the welfare of Indian Womenhood."¹

She discarded *purdah* in 1919—a step which was bitterly opposed by the orthodox section of the community. According to Lady Shafi's statement, "I found no lady of rank to stand by me and help me in the emancipation of our Indian sisters. I was all

1. Zaidi, op. cit., p. 137.

alone and did all I could to preach the value of open air and refreshing atmosphere without the *zanana*.”² She formed an anjuman of women in Baghbanpura, Lahore in 1905 and Anjuman-i-Khawatin-i-Islam, in 1908.

She also helped in strengthening the All-India Muslim Women's Conference which was founded by the Begum of Bhopal in 1913. In 1918, she organised the annual session of the All-India Muslim Women's Conference which was held at Lahore.³ She also took part in the All-India Women's Conference and presided over some of its meetings but later resigned from the organisation for its support of joint electorates.⁴

She supported the Sarda Bill and represented the women community before the Sarda Bill Commission. In 1939, she was elected a member of the Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim Women's Sub-Committee and remained a member throughout her life.

In 1947, during the civil disobedience movement, Lady Shafi actively participated in the agitation and later played a commendable role in helping the refugees after the partition. She died in December 1959.

Amjadi Bano, (Begum Muhammad Ali).

Amjadi Bano was born in 1885 in the Rampur State. Her father, Azmat Ali Khan, held a high office in the State of

2. Ibid.

3. *Sitara-i-Subh* (Daily), Lahore, 22 March 1918.

4. *Nawa-i-Waqt*, 31 December 1959.

Indore. She lost her father during her childhood and was brought up by her grandmother. In the absence of suitable institutions for the education of Muslim girls at that time she was educated at home.

In 1902, she was married to Maulana Muhammad Ali. She was fortunate in having in her husband a passionate lover of his country and a great Muslim leader.

In the beginning she devoted herself to social work and did not hesitate to work with men though she kept herself in veil throughout her life. "She was of the type," says Halide Edib Khanum, "of those Turkish women...who threw themselves into the service of their country, especially on the social side."⁵ During the Khilafat Movement, she toured the country with her mother-in-law and enrolled Muslim as well as non-Muslim women to support the movement. After the arrest of her husband, she continued to work for the movement and collected a huge sum for the Khilafat Fund. According to Maulana Muhammad Ali, about 40 to 45 lakh rupees were collected by his mother and wife during a period of two years.⁶ It was during this period that she became Secre'ary of the All-India Women's Khilafat Committee.

In 1930, she accompanied her husband to London when he went to participate in the Round Table Conference and who was not keeping good health. His death in January 1931 was a terrible shock to her but she did not falter in her mission and continued the struggle.

In 1937, during the annual session of the All-India Muslim League held at Lucknow, she formed a separate section of the Muslim women to work under the All-India Muslim League. This

5. Halide Edib, op. cit., p. 50.

6. *Seerat-i-Muhammad Ali*, op. cit., p. 429.

body, however, did not materialise and it was in 1938 that the All-India Muslim League organised a Women's Central Sub-Committee to promote political consciousness amongst Muslim women and to bring them under the League banner. She served on this Sub-Committee with great devotion.

The Begum was a member of the Committee which drafted the historic Lahore Resolution and also presided over the first annual session of the Women's Central Sub-Committee held in Habibia Hall at Lahore in 1940.

In the Provincial Elections of 1946, she was returned unopposed to the U.P. Legislative Assembly from the Muslim women constituency of Lucknow and remained a member of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League for the rest of her life. On her death on 28 March 1947, the Quaid-i-Azam declared that her death was undoubtedly a great loss for the nation in particular and the Muslim women in general.⁷

Anwari Begum, (Lady Abdul Qadir).

Lady Abdul Qadir, daughter of Shaikh Muhammad Umar, Bat-at-Law, was born in 1884 and received early education in Urdu, Persian and elementary English at home. While still in her teens she began to write articles for the *Tahzib-i-Niswan* of Lahore, her theme being the enlightenment and welfare of women.

In 1909, she was married to Shaikh (later Sir) Abdul Qadir, Bar-at-Law, and helped her husband in bringing out successfully the famous Urdu journal, *Makhzan*. Lady Qadir was the

⁷. *Inqilab*, 31 March 1947.

foremost Muslim woman who started social gatherings of Muslim women in the Punjab and arranged several meetings at her own residence. Her interest in the welfare of women led her to form an anjuman, known as the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Niswan, at Lahore. In early 20's, she was appointed President of Women's Committee set up by the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam and in 1925, she was elected President of the All-India Muslim Women's Conference session held at Poona.

Lady Abdul Qadir was for many years President of the Ladies Club, Lahore. In 1931, when the All-India Women's Conference held its session at Lahore, she was appointed Chairman of the Reception Committee, and in 1933, she presided over the session of the same organisation held at Calcutta. In 1937, she was selected to represent Indian women in the Women and Children Welfare Committee in Geneva.

In 1938, Lady Abdul Qadir was appointed a member of the Women's Central Sub-Committee of the All-India Muslim League. She gave a commendable support during the arrangement of the League's annual session held at Lahore in 1940. In 1941, she was again included in the Women's Central Sub-Committee. She also remained on the Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Women's Sub-Committee for a long time and gave active support to the organisation throughout the struggle. In 1946, when the suffering refugees from Bihar came to Lahore, she donated a considerable amount for their help and later looked after the refugees in camps at Lahore during the partition period.

Miss Fatima Jinnah

Miss Fatima Jinnah, the sister of the Quaid-i-Azam, was born in 1893—4 at Karachi and was educated in the Bandra Convent School at Khandal, Bombay, from where she matriculated. In 1926, she took admission in the diploma course of Dental Surgery at Calcutta and after the completion of the course, started a clinic for practice. In 1929, she wound up the clinic and took over charge of the Quaid-i-Azam's house. Thereafter, throughout those critical years of stress and strain she looked after her brother. Paying glowing tribute to her sister, the Quaid once said, "my sister was like a bright ray of light and hope, whenever I came back home and met her. Anxieties would have been much greater and my health much worse, but for the restraint imposed by her."⁸

In 1932, she joined the Quaid-i-Azam in London who had remained there after the second session of the Round Table Conference. When the All-India Muslim League was being reorganised, Miss Fatima Jinnah was taken as member of the Working Committee of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League. In 1938, she was nominated a member of the Women's Central Sub-Committee of the All-India Muslim League, and worked in that capacity until 1947.

In March 1940, she attended the Lahore session of the Muslim League. It was chiefly due to her initiative that the All-India Muslim Women Students Federation was organised in February 1941 at Delhi.

During the mass transfer of population in 1947, she gave an inspiring lead to Muslim women and lost no time in forming the Women's Relief Committee which later formed the nucleus for the All-Pakistan Women's Association.⁹ Referring to the relief work done by

8. Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah, Creator of Pakistan*, London, 1964, p. 16.

9. Begum Shaista S. Ikramullah, *From Purdah to Parliament*, London, 1963, p. 95.

the Muslim women at Karachi under the personal supervision of Miss Fatima Jinnah, G. Allana writes, when news of Muslims' sufferings reached Karachi, "the women of Karachi rose to this occasion, and under the leadership of Miss Fatima Jinnah, they collected woollen blankets and warm clothes in thousands to be rushed by plane to the camps in Delhi."¹⁰ About the supply of food amongst the refugees, he adds, "the women of Karachi undertook to supply this want, and tons of cooked food was on its way to Delhi by plane every day."¹¹

She was held in high esteem by the people of Pakistan and by her brother, the Quaid-i-Azam, who while speaking to his Military Secretary, Col. Birnie "spoke of his debt to his sister for her long years of devotion to him, and for the way in which she had helped to lead the women of Pakistan towards emancipation."¹²

Despite her old age, Miss Fatima Jinnah continued to help the social and educational associations. Throughout her life she remained a selfless and sincere worker for the cause of Pakistan and the good of its people. During the illness of the Quaid, she remained passionately attached to her brother, spending most of her time in nursing and feeding him. In the words of Lt. Ahmad, one of the A.D. C's., of the Quaid-i-Azam, "Miss Fatima Jinnah who for years had been the Quaid's sole companion and who shared with the people of Pakistan their fanatical love for him, in these days of ill-health looked after the Quaid-i-Azam with an affection and devotion which only a sister is capable of."¹³

10. G. Allana, *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah, The Story of a Nation*, Lahore, 1967, p. 512.

11. Ibid.

12. Hector Bolitho, op. cit., p. 209.

13. *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah, The Story of a Nation*, p. 523.

After the death of the Quaid-i-Azam, she often issued important statements on important occasions as reminders to the nation of the ideals on which Pakistan had been established. In 1965, she contested the Presidential election against Field—Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan but was unsuccessful.

Due to her selfless work for Pakistan, the nation conferred upon her the title of *Madr-i-Millat* (mother of the nation). She died on 9 July 1967 at Karachi.

Fatima Begum

Fatima Begum, daughter of Maulvi Mahbub Alam, editor of *Paisa Akhbar*, was born in February 1890 at Lahore. She received early education under the supervision of her father and later studying privately passed the Munshi Fazil and the Matriculation Examination of the University of the Punjab.

In 1921, Fatima Begum was married to Raja Abdul Aziz, younger brother of Raja Jahandad Khan, Rais of Khanpur of the Hazara District.

Fatima Begum started her practical life as a teacher in the Lady McLagan College, Lahore. In 1930, she was appointed Inspectress of Urdu Schools for Girls in the Bombay Municipal Corporation. She was a keen supporter of the Muslim women's educational, social and cultural advancement to which she devoted her whole life and, later donated her property.

She was a regular contributor to a number of women's newspapers and journals. The famous Urdu newspaper, *Sharif Bibi*,

was published from Lahore under her guidance from 1913 to 1919.¹⁴ Her other journalistic achievement was the newspaper *Khatoon*. In 1937, she founded Islamia College for Girls in the vicinity of Nawan Kot,¹⁵ and a High School for Girls in 1944 at Lahore.

She was one of the founder members of the Anjuman-i-Khawatin-i-Islam and worked as its first Secretary.¹⁶ She was closely associated with the All-India Muslim Women's Conference and was also an active member of the All-India Women's Conference. She was an ardent supporter of the Punjab Provincial Muslim Women's League from the day it was set up at Lahore by Begum Shah Nawaz in 1935.

In 1938, she strongly supported the formation of the Women's Central Sub-Committee at the All-India Muslim League session at Patna and was for many years the General Secretary of the Punjab Provincial Women's Sub-Committee.

In April 1941, Fatima Begum was taken on the Central Sub-Committee and in May 1941, she was appointed a member of the Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League.¹⁷ The following month, she was taken on the Enquiry Committee appointed to investigate into the Bhawani disturbances.¹⁸

In April 1943, Fatima Begum was again nominated on the Central Sub-Committee and later worked zealously for the Bengal Relief Fund. During the elections of 1946, she arranged several gatherings of Muslim women and urged them to vote for Pakistan.

14. Fatima Begum, *Hajj-i-Baitullah* (Urdu), Lahore, 1959, p. 12.

15. *Inqilab*, 9 October 1937.

16. *The Pakistan Times* (Daily) Lahore, 14 December 1958.

17. *Inqilab*, 31 May 1941.

18. *Ibid*, 12 June 1941.

After the elections, she went to Bihar to help the refugees and brought many of them to Lahore. She made arrangements for their rehabilitation and donated some land for building quarters for them.

Throughout the struggle for independence, she stood firm behind the League and helped in the political awakening of the Muslim women. She made extensive tours of the Province and popularised the objective of the Muslim League. She played a remarkable role in the awakening of the Muslim women in the N.-W.F.P. and later during the civil disobedience movement there. When the agitation began against the Khizr Ministry in the Punjab, she led women processions and was one of the few women leaders to have shared the honour of imprisonment.

During the partition riots, she freely moved round the affected areas to look after the horror-stricken people, and at the time of the mass transfer of the population, she took up the task of helping the refugees. She died on 1 December 1958.

Feroze Bano, (Begum Abdul Wahid).

Feroze Bano, daughter of Dr. Ghulam Muhammad, was born in Amritsar District in 1899. She was educated in Kabul where her father was working as the personal physician of Her Highness the Queen of Afghanistan.

In 1914, Feroze Bano was married to Shaikh Abdul Wahid, a businessman of Amritsar. She started taking part in the activities of the Muslim League in early forties and helped a good deal in the enhancement of the Peshawar branch of the Provincial Sub-Committee. As President of the District Sub-Committee, she worked enthusiastically in bringing a large number of Pathan women under

the League banner and took keen interest in establishing a number of primary committees in districts like Naushehra, Charsada, etc.

During the 1946 Elections, she supported the Muslim League candidates. Later she took active part in the civil disobedience movement in the N.-W.F.P. As discussed previously, Begum Wahid led the first women procession brought out from her house at Peshawar, and gave a remarkable lead to the Frontier women in launching a forceful agitation against Dr. Khan Sahib's Ministry.

During referendum, she along with other women volunteers, arranged meetings, addressed gatherings and urged the Pathan women to vote for Pakistan.

Geeti Ara, (Begum Bashir Ahmad).

Begum Geeti Ara Bashir Ahmad, daughter of Sir Muhammad Shafi, was born in August 1899. She received her early education at home and later joined the Queen Mary College, Lahore, from where she matriculated. In 1917, she was married to Mian Bashir Ahmad.

She was one of the active workers of the Anjuman-i-Khawatin-i-Islam. During the Balkan Wars, she actively participated in the Muslim women gatherings and collected funds. She also worked on the various women committees appointed by the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore. She was a member of the All-India Muslim Women's Conference and Finance Secretary of the provincial branch of the All-India Women's Conference.

In 1939, she was taken on the Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim Women's Sub-Committee and was later elected its President.

During the 1946 Elections, she toured from place to place for propagating the League cause and through the press by issuing statements to women to vote for Pakistan.

During the civil disobedience movement, she organised and led several women processions and during the time of the mass transfer of population, she worked as President of the Lahore Women's Refugee Relief Committee.

Hasan Ara Begum, (Begum Hakim).

Hasan Ara Begum was born in about the year 1890—1 in the British Guiana where her father was running a business concern. She received the traditional education at home under the supervision of her father.

In 1906, her parents left Guiana and settled in Calcutta. The following year, Hasan Ara was married to Muhammad Mukhlasur-Rahman Abul Hakim, a landlord of Calcutta. In 1910, she became a member of the National Indian Association Club and later took keen interest in the formation of the All-India Muslim Women's Conference, founded by the Begum of Bhopal. It was due to her untiring efforts that a branch of the Conference was established in Calcutta. In 1927, Begum Hakim joined the All-India Women's Conference.

She was the pioneer in starting female social gatherings such as *meena bazars* in Calcutta which gave an opportunity to *purdah* observing ladies to enter into conversation and parleys of personal and social nature with one another.

The Begum was the first woman Honorary Magistrate in Calcutta in the late twenties and performed her duties diligently mixing up with men, keeping herself in veil throughout her life.

By thirtees, she started taking part in the League activities and was taken on the Women's Central Sub-Committee in 1941 and helped in strengthening the Provincial Sub-Committee of which she was a leading member since its formation. Two years later, she was again nominated on the Central Sub-Committee and during this period she worked incessantly for the famine-stricken people in Bengal. She made donations, collected food, clothes, medicines, etc., for the suffering people. About this time she also founded an orphanage known as *Bait-ul-Atfal*, at Calcutta which was shifted to Dacca after independence.

She made a number of tours in the Province popularising the League cause and helped in enrolling a large number of Muslim women in the Muslim League. In 1945, she toured the N.-W.F. Province as a delegate of the Central Sub-Committee for the League election campaign. The following year, she went to Bihar where she helped the Provincial Women's Sub-Committee in its relief work.

During partition she supervised the women refugee relief committees working for the penniless and disabled people.

Jahan Ara, (Begum Shah Nawaz).

Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz, daughter of Sir Muhammad Shafi, was born in April 1896. She was educated at the Queen Mary College, Lahore and was married to Mian Shah Nawaz, Bar-at-Law, in 1911. With the emergence of the All-India Muslim Women's Conference, she started working for it tirelessly, and it was mainly at her instance that the organisation passed a resolution against polygamy in its session held at Lahore in 1918. She was associated with the Educational and Orphanage Committees of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore. She was an active member of the All-India Women's Conference and remained President of its provincial

branch for seven years. She was Vice-President of the Central Committee of the All-India Women's Conference as well.

Besides being a member of the Lahore Municipal Committee, she was associated with several hospitals, maternity and child welfare committees. She was a Senator of the University of the Punjab. She was the first woman to be elected as Vice-President of the 42nd Social Reform Conference held at Lahore in 1929. She worked as Vice-President of Provincial Executive and member of the All-India Indian General Committee of the Red Cross Society. She was a woman delegate to the Round Table Conference and was member of Indian delegation which appeared before Joint Select Committee. In 1935, she founded the Punjab Provincial Muslim Women's League. In 1937, she was elected a member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, and was appointed Parliamentary Secretary for Education, Medical Relief and Public Health. In 1938, she was taken on the Women's Central Sub-Committee of the All-India Muslim League. In 1942, she was appointed a member of the National Defence Council by the Government of India and was expelled from the All-India Muslim League, when she refused to abide by the decision of the League, that the League members should resign from the Defence Council.

In 1946, she rejoined the League, and was elected a member of the Punjab Assembly. In the same year she was sent along with M.A.H. Ispahani on a good-will mission to the U.S.A. to explain the Muslim League point of view.¹⁹ During the civil disobedience movement in the Punjab in 1947, she played an important role and was arrested along with other Muslim League leaders.

19. *The Eastern Times*, 27 November 1946; *Nawa-i-Waqt*, 19 December 1946.

Begum Mumtaz Jamal

Begum Mumtaz Jamal, daughter of Taj Muhammad Khan, was born in October 1926 at Peshawar. She received her early education at the Lady Griffith High School and graduated from St. Executor Convent College, Peshawar.

With the formation of the Provincial Women's Sub-Committee of the Muslim League, Begum Mumtaz Jamal joined it as Propaganda Secretary. During the League election campaign, Begum Mumtaz Jamal played a distinguished role in support of the League candidates and in popularising the League objectives in the N.-W.F. Province.

In 1946, the Provincial Women's Sub-Committee was re-organised, and she became Secretary of the Sub-Committee. She, however, continued as Propaganda Secretary as well.

When the Punjab civil disobedience movement against the Khizr Ministry had its repercussions on the N.-W.F.P., Begum Mumtaz Jamal led the women with remarkable sense of leadership and arranged several meetings of women in the Province urging them to take active part in the movement. She herself led most of the processions and also organised an 'Action Committee' comprising leading workers to act as vanguard of the movement in the Frontier Province. About the same time the Women's National Guard of the Muslim League was brought into being in the province and Begum Mumtaz Jamal was appointed its Salar.

In April 1947, when Lord Mountbatten visited the N.-W.F.P., she joined a deputation of women which was to place their grievances before the Viceroy. She along with other women leaders met the Governor as well and urged him to dismiss the Frontier Ministry.

During the referendum, she organised a vigorous campaign in favour of Pakistan.

In 1947, she was married to Major Khurshid Anwar, the Chief Salar of the Muslim League National Guard.

Nusrat Khanum, (Lady Abdullah Haroon).

She is the daughter of Dr. Haji Khan and was born in 1896 in Iran. Later, her parents migrated to India and settled in Karachi where in 1914, she was married to Seth (later Sir) Abdullah Haroon. She took keen interest in female education and other social problems. To educate Muslim girls she started a school at her home and also founded a female organisation, known as Anjuman-i-Khawatin, to improve the conditions of women in Sindh.

In 1919, she entered the political field and worked as an ardent supporter of the Khilafat Movement in her Province. After the failure of the Khilafat Movement, she did not end her activities but continued to work for the women's uplift. With the opening of the franchise question, she opened a new front to protect women's rights.

In 1938, she was nominated on the Women's Central Sub-Committee of the All-India Muslim League and was also elected President of the Sindh Provincial Women's Sub-Committee. Actually the formation of the Sindh Provincial Sub-Committee was due to the efforts of Lady Abdullah Haroon who worked incessantly for bringing Muslim women under the banner of the League. She was also taken on the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League and during the 1946 Elections, she worked indefatigably for the League.

Apart from her activities as President of the Provincial Women's Sub-Committee, she worked as Treasurer of the Women's Central Sub-Committee. In 1943-44, she was elected President of the Central Sub-Committee and held this office until 1947.

She was a very successful housewife in whom her husband found all he longed for. He once admitted that "his wife had a great share in making him what he was ; Nusrat had completed his life and he was the happiest, luckiest and most contented man on earth."²⁰

Ra'ana, (Begum Liaquat Ali Khan).

Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan was born at Almora in the United Provinces and was educated at Naini Tal, and Lucknow from where she graduated in 1927. In M.A. Economics from the University of Lucknow she secured first class Honours in 1929 and later completed the Teacher's Diploma Course from the Diocesan College, Calcutta.

She began her practical life as a teacher in the Gokhale Memorial School, Calcutta, and later she moved to Delhi where she was appointed Professor of Economics in the Indraprastha Girls' College.

In April 1933, she was married to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and went to Europe for honeymoon. It was in London that she and her husband persuaded the Quaid-i-Azam to return to India.

After the reorganisation of the Muslim League, she devoted herself to the task of creating political consciousness amongst Muslim women and during the struggle for independence she was always found in the forefront. Campbell-Johnson, while discussing

20. A. M. Ahmad Shafi (of Lahore), *Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon, A Biography*, Karachi, n. d. p. 36.

the role of prominent women in Indian affairs considered her one of the formidable personalities, "whose ambition and interests measure up to those of their respective menfolk."²¹

Salma Mahmuda, (Begum Tasadduque Husain).

Salma Mahmuda, daughter of Mian Fazal Ilahi Bedil, was born in August 1908 at Gujranwala. Brought up and educated in the best traditions of a respectable Gakkhar family, and in a scholarly atmosphere the Begum, early in life, began to understand the value of art and literature. In 1922, she was married to Dr. Tasadduque Husain, Bar-at-Law.

Even after her marriage she continued to study and passed the B.A. examination from the University of the Punjab. With the formation of the Punjab Provincial Women's Sub-Committee, she became its most active member and in 1940, she was elected one of its Secretaries. She helped in founding girls' primary schools and industrial homes at Lahore.

In 1941, she was nominated on the Council of the All-India Muslim League and in the following year, she was elected Secretary of the Punjab Provincial Women's Sub-Committee. In April 1943, the Begum was taken on the Central Sub-Committee of the All-India Muslim League. She played a leading part in the Bengal Relief Fund Committee. In 1944, she was nominated member of the Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League.²²

She rendered valuable services during the elections of 1946 and also successfully contested on the Muslim League ticket for the

21. Campbell-Johnson, op. cit., p. 150

22. *The Eastern Times*, 7 November 1944.

Punjab Provincial Assembly seat from the inner Lahore constituency winning by an overwhelming majority of votes. The same year she was again taken on the Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League.²³

She worked very hard during the Bihar riots, helping the Bihar refugees in their camps, and staying for nearly two months in the affected area. She brought refugees from Bihar and provided accommodation to many of them at her residence.

In 1947, during the civil disobedience movement, as Secretary of the Women's Sub-Committee, she was heavily occupied with the organisation and management of women's processions. She participated in some processions and was eventually arrested along with Muslim League members of the Punjab Assembly. Her activities did not remain confined to the Punjab, but she also took personal interest in the affairs of the other provinces. When the civil disobedience movement spread to the N.-W.F.P., she went there with her colleagues and assisted in the organisation of processions.

During the partition riots, she was appointed Refugee Relief Secretary in the Provincial Muslim League Office and her duties were to receive the refugees from other areas and make arrangements for their boarding and lodging in Walton and other camps.

In the field of literature, she has attained a remarkable position as a writer and a poet. Her poems and short stories have appeared in the leading Urdu Journals and the translation of 'Cleopatra' into Urdu is one of her achievements.

Sayyida Sardar Akhtar, Haidarabadi

Sayyida Sardar Akhtar, whose original name is Sayyida Sardar Begum, descends from a Nawab family of Lucknow. She is

²³. *Inqilab*, 14 March 1946.

a daughter of Sayyid Amir Hasan and was born in 1918. Her father died during her childhood and she was brought up by her uncle Mahbub Ali Khan.

She received her early education under the supervision of her uncle. In 1932, she was married to Khan Sahib Abdul Ghani Rais of Nasirabad (Rajputana).

At an early age, she displayed interest in poetry and literature. She was closely associated with some of women's educational and social organisations and frequently attended the sessions of the All-India Muslim League. In 1937, during the annual session of the Provincial Muslim League at Gorakhpur, the title of *Khatiba-i-Hind* was conferred upon her.²⁴

In 1938, she toured the Middle East, studying the cultural and social activities of women in these countries.

She was a bold, daring and energetic woman. Her eloquence and patriotic spirit helped her in becoming President of the Women's Central Sub-Committee of the All-India Muslim League in August 1939.²⁵ In the same year, she was appointed *Nazim Mahaz Jang*, U.P., by Allama Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi.²⁶

Through her poems she preached unity to the nation and her message spread to every nook and corner of the subcontinent. She composed a Muslim League anthem for the election campaign and is also famous for her poem *Na'ara-i-Mujahid*.

24. Mahbub-ur-Rahman Asar, *Khutba-i-Istaqbaliya*, Sayyida Akhtar, President All-India Muslim Women's League (Urdu), Bangalore, n.d.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

Shaista Suhrawardy, (Begum Ikramullah).

Begum Shaista Suhrawardy Ikramullah was born to Sir Hasan Suhrawardy in July 1915 at Calcutta. In 1927, she was admitted in the Loreto House, a Convent School at Calcutta. Later, she graduated from the University of Calcutta and became associated with the King's College, London, and the School of Oriental Studies, London. By this time she was married to M. Ikramullah of the Indian Civil Service.

Her interest in politics dates from the late twenties when she delivered her first public speech in a small gathering of women at Calcutta held in connection with the execution of two young men namely Amir Ali and Abdullah who "killed the Hindu author of a particularly revolting book called *Rangila-Rasul*."²⁷ Her speech was highly emotional and "was tantamount to a criticism and condemnation of the Government." She soon earned popularity and began to take interest in the political affairs of the country. To this effect, she got ample opportunities to judge the pros and cons of the various political developments, as her house at Delhi "was one of the rendezvous of Muslim leaders" where she would listen to politicians belonging to various schools of thought.

In 1940, she joined the Muslim League and took utmost pains in popularising its aims and objects. Her work as a member of the Women's Sub-Committee received considerable appreciation in political circles. In 1941, she organised and founded the All-India Muslim Women's Students Federation at Delhi. In April 1943, the Begum was nominated to the Central Sub-Committee and worked as a member of the Council of the All-India Muslim League as well.

27. *From Purdah to Parliament*, op. cit., p. 46.

During the elections of 1946, she worked tirelessly and was elected a member of the Legislative Assembly as a Muslim League candidate.

The Begum, besides her social, educational and cultural activities, is a highly scholarly person and a gifted story writer. Her articles entitled *Behind the Veil* are a remarkable exposition of the social life of Muslim women in the subcontinent. In spite of her many pre-occupations and domestic responsibilities she submitted a comprehensive thesis on *The Development of the Urdu Novel and Short Story* in 1940 and obtained the Doctorate Degree from the University of London.

Her recent literary achievement *From Purdah to Parliament* gives an idea of her highly sophisticated literary taste and an interesting account of her life.

Shams-un Nihar, (Begum Mahmud).

She was born at Noakhali, East Bengal, in 1908 and brought up in Chittagong from where she started her educational career. In 1926, she passed the matriculation examination and then graduated from the Diocesan College, Calcutta. Later, she did her M.A. with distinction. After completing her studies she was married to Dr. W. Mahmud, Deputy Civil Surgeon, East Bengal.

She was deeply interested in literature and journalism and helped her brother Mr. Habibullah in editing a high-class monthly organ of the cultured Muslim society of Bengal. She is the author of numerous books, the most important of which is *Child Psychology*. She served as a teacher in the Lady Brabourne College, Calcutta.

and was an active supporter of the educational advancement of Muslim women in Bengal. She was a member of the Provincial Advisory Board of women's education and the Teacher's Training School and College. The Begum was actively associated with several All-India women organisations. She was member of the Central Executive Committee of the All-India Women's Conference and worked as Secretary in its Calcutta branch. She organised a vigorous campaign in Bengal during the women's struggle for franchise. In 1936, she represented Muslim women of Bengal at the International Women's Conference.

She was a member of the Council of the All-India Muslim League for sometime and devoted her energies to the awakening of Muslim Women's political consciousness in Bengal. She was responsible for establishing various primary committees of the Provincial Women's Sub-Committee. In 1944, she became M.B.E. During the partition riots, she made commendable contributions for the suffering people.

Sughra Begum, (Lady Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah).

Sughra Begum, daughter of Khan Yaqub Khan, a big landlord of Shikarpur, was born in 1904. She was brought up in strict *pardah* but was given a liberal education specially in religion and in Urdu, Sindhi and elementary English. She was married in 1919 to Shaikh (later Sir) Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah, a prominent political leader of Sindh. The Begum very wisely aimed her life at helping her husband in his social and political activities.

In 1938, she began her political life as worker of the All-India Muslim League and the same year she was taken on the Women's Central Sub-Committee. It was due to her efforts that various branches of the Provincial Sub-Committee were formed in different districts of Sindh such as Haiderabad, Nawab Shah, Dadoo, etc. In December 1943, she was elected President of the Women's Reception Committee on the occasion of the annual session of the All-India Muslim League held at Karachi.

In February 1947, during the civil disobedience movement, the Begum reached Lahore and took part in processions, urging the Government to accept the League demands. It is believed that the grand procession which marched towards the Civil Secretariate by the end of February, 1947 was led by Begum Hidayatullah. It was on the same day when the Muslim League flag was hoisted on the Secretariat building by Fatima Sughra. During the partition riots, she actively worked in removing the sufferings of the refugees. Her services in the 'Women's Refugee Relief Committee' were commendable.

Viqar-un-Nisa, (Lady Noon).

Begum Viqar-un-Nisa Noon, an Austrian by birth, was married to Sir Firoz Khan Noon in 1945 and left Delhi for Lahore the same year along with her husband after his resignation in September from the Viceroy's Cabinet. This was a period of mounting tension on account of the approaching general elections in the subcontinent and an effective propaganda for the League had been undertaken by the Muslim men and women. In Lahore, Begum Viqar-un-Nisa

had the opportunity of studying the political situation and public opinion very closely because of her husband's leading role in the Indian politics. Very soon, realising the gravity of the situation, she resolved to organise an election campaign, and became a member of the Punjab Provincial Women's Sub-Committee. In pursuance of the League's cause, she organised a band of girl students and other women volunteers and made hasty tours of the major districts of the Province propagating the cause of the League. She played an important role in the victory of her husband against Dr. Shaikh Muhammad Alam, Bart-at-Law.

During the civil disobedience movement in the Punjab, Begum Noon was one of the leading women leaders responsible for organising so successfully processions and demonstrations against the British-backed Khizr Ministry and courted arrest on three occasions.

During the period of mass transfer of population after the partition, when millions of homeless and destitute refugees poured into Lahore, she rendered invaluable assistance to various refugee committees and camps. She has been very closely connected with the 'Red Cross' for many years and has represented Pakistan on numerous occasions.

Begum Zari Sarfraz

Zar Nigar, popularly known as Begum Zari Sarfraz, was born in Mardan in July 1923 and is the daughter of the late Khan Bahadur Muhammad Sarfraz Khan. She was educated in the Presentation Convent School, Srinagar.

She made her debut in the political field in 1944 by becoming a member of the Muslim League. In 1945, she organised Mardan District Women's Committee of the Muslim League and later became its President.

She played a remarkable role during the 1946 Elections in support of the League and along with other women workers held meetings urging women to support the League financially and to vote for the League candidates. During the election tours of the women delegates of the Central Sub-Committee and the Punjab Provincial Women's Sub-Committee, she rendered enormous help and also played the part of an interpreter in Pushto during the women's gatherings. During the riots in Bihar, she rendered meritorious services and drew the admiration of the Quaid.

In the civil disobedience movement she played a significant role in the political awakening of the womenfolk in the Frontier Province. In the capacity of one of the women leaders of the Province, she gave her fervent support to the League. The unity of Pathan women particularly in the District of Mardan and its adjacent areas was greatly attributed to her. Begum Zari Sarfraz organised several meetings and led numerous processions and was a member of the 'Action Committee' formed in the Frontier Province. On the visit of Lord Mountbatten to Peshawar, the Begum along with other women leaders saw the Viceroy and the Governor to place their grievances before them.

During the referendum in the N.-W.F.P. in July 1947, she again made several whirlwind tours of various places and urged Pathan women to vote for the League demand.

APPENDIX B*

ماں کا پپہ-غلام

بیٹے کے نام

بولی اماں محمد علی کی جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو
ساتھ تیرے ہے شوکت علی بھی جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو
قید خانے میں جاؤ خوشی سے سختیاں سب اٹھاؤ خوشی سے
ہے اسی میں خوشی بھی خدا کی جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو

بولی اماں محمد علی کی

جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو

جز خدا کے کسی سے نہ ڈرنا کامہ پڑھ کر خلافت کا مرنا
ہے نصیحت یہی تم کو میری جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو

بولی اماں محمد علی کی

جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو

* This popular poem was composed by Munshi Nur-ud-Din Nur Ludhianvi during the Khilafat Movement and published in 1922 from Ludhiana.

جو فرائض تمہارے ہیں جانو کلی والے کا فرمان مالو
میں بھی راضی خدا بھی ہے راضی جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو

بولی اماں محمد علی کی

جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو

کوئی سولی پہ بھی گر چڑھائے آف تلک لب پہ تیرے نہ آنے
تو کہوں میں تمہیں مرد غازی جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو

بولی اماں محمد علی کی

جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو

ہوشیاری سے سب کام لینا اپنے مولا سے انعام لینا
ہے لگی حق و باطل کی بازی جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو

بولی اماں محمد علی کی

جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو

ہاں! خلافت پہ گردن کٹا کر کر لو اب خون اپنا بہا کر
نسخہ اسلام کی آبیاری جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو

بولی اماں محمد علی کی

جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو

دوست دشمن کہیں خواہ اچھا خواہ برا پر لہ پرواہ کرنا
یا کہے سلطنت تم کو باغی جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو

بولی اماں محمد علی کی

جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو

جوں خلافت پہ ترکی بہادر سر کٹاتے رہے زہر خنجر
بس اسی طرح سے آج تم بھی جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو

بولی اماں محمد علی کی

جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو

دل میں گر آپ کے خوف رب ہے یا بہشت برس کی طلب ہے
اگر دین کی پاسداری جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو

بولی اماں محمد علی کی

جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو

چھوڑ دو اور سب کام اکدم بس خلافت کے بن جاؤ خادم
ہے یہی بات اک سب سے اچھی جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو

بولی اماں محمد علی کی

جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو

دل میں درد خلافت کو جا دو اپنے سینے سے اسکو لگا لو
میں بھی دل سے دعا تم کو دوں گی جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو

بولی اماں محمد علی کی

جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو

”ہوڑھی اماں کا کچھ غم نہ کھانا“ دل کو ہمد خدا میں لگانا
ہمارے شوکت میں صدقے ہوں تم بھی جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو

بولی اماں محمد علی کی

جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو

میرے احسان دل سے بھلانا تم خوشی سے مجھے بھول جا
 بھولنا پر نصیحت نہ میری جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو

بولی اماں محمد علی کی

جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو

ھولکرے خود مصطفیٰ ماہ بطحا جنکی شاں میں ہے لولاک آترا
 تیرے میدان محشر میں حامی جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو

بولی اماں محمد علی کی

جان بیٹا خلافت پہ دے دو

APPENDIX C*

محمد علی جناح

ملت کا ہا سب ان ہے محمد علی جناح
ملت ہے جسم ، جاں ہے محمد علی جناح
صد شکر پھر ہے گرم سفر اپنا کارواں
اور میر کارواں ہے محمد علی جناح
بیدار مغز ، ناظم اسلامیان ہند
ہے کون ؟ یہ کہاں ہے محمد علی جناح
تصویر عزم ، جاں وفا ، روح حریت
ہے کون ؟ یہ کہاں ہے محمد علی جناح
رکھتا ہے دل میں تاب و توان نوکروڑ کی
کہنے کو ناتواں ہے محمد علی جناح

*This poem of Mian Bashir Ahmad was recited for the first time in the historic Lahore session of the All-India Muslim League on 22 March 1940.

رگ رگ میں اس کی ولولہ ہے حب قوم کا
 پیری میں بھی جوان ہے محمد علی جناح
 لگتا ہے ٹھیک جا کے نشانے پہ جس کا تیر
 ایسی کڑی کہاں ہے محمد علی جناح
 ملت ہوئی ہے زندہ پھر اس کی ہکار ہے
 تقریر کی ازاں ہے محمد علی جناح
 غیروں کے دل بھی سینے کے اندر دھل گئے
 مظلوم کی فغاں ہے محمد علی جناح
 اے قوم ! انہی قائد اعظم کی قدر کر
 اسلام کا نشان ہے محمد علی جناح
 عمر دراز ہائے مسلمان کی ہے دعا
 ملت کا ترجمان ہے محمد علی جناح

APPENDIX D*

پاکستان کا ترانہ

حق ہے ہمارا پاکستان حق یہ ہمارا ہے ایمان
اؤ کر دیں آج اعلان چاہے اپنی جان

لئے رہیں گے پاکستان
لئے رہیں گے پاکستان

ہم کو بہت کچھ کرنا ہے کرنا ہے دکھ بھرنے ہے
طوفانوں سے گزرنا ہے جینا ہے اور مرنا ہے

پائیں گے یوں پاکستان
لئے رہیں گے پاکستان

*This poem of Mian Bashir Ahmad was recited at the thirtieth session of the All-India Muslim League on 24 April 1943 at Delhi.

عالمگیر آخوت ہو سب کو سب سے محبت ہو
 نیکی اپنی دولت ہو خدمت اپنی خصالت ہو

دل کی راحت پاکستان
 لیے کے رہیں گے پاکستان

ہم کو ڈر ہے کا ہے ؟ لا الہ الا اللہ
 ہم ہیں وقف صدق و صفا ہم ہیں مسلم نام خدا

لے کے رہیں گے پاکستان
 لیے کے رہیں گے پاکستان

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