

BEGUM JAHANARA SHAHNAWAZ AND THE SOCIO-CULTURAL UPLIFT OF MUSLIM WOMEN IN BRITISH INDIA

Begum Shahnawaz was one of those leading individual personalities who contributed a great deal towards the betterment of their society. The importance of her role was linked to the part she played as an emancipator of Muslim women from their long suppression as well as being most distinguished female leader during the course of Pakistan Movement. The Begum belonged to a well known Punjabi *Arain* family probably migrated to Lahore in the fifteenth century and was the daughter of Mian Muhammad Shafi, one of the founders of the All-India Muslim League as well as an elder statesman of the British Indian Empire.¹

Begum Jahanara was born in Lahore in 1896 and was brought up according to the traditional norms of Muslim families of that time. Her education began with the teachings of Quran and later she went to school, situated just half a kilometer from her residence. Her first lessons in English were taught by her maternal grandfather, Nizamuddin, one of the founders of *Anjuman Himayat-e-Islam*, and a well-known Muslim social reformer. Gradually, her interest in English literature increased and she was able to understand its theme and style. Regarding, her aptitude towards English, she says:

Father used to get a new novel every month from Thacker Spink & Co. of London, as a standing order had been placed with them to send him the best novel of the month. Often, after reading a good story, he would relate it to us in Urdu. Once

when he told us the story of one of Rider Haggard's new novels called *Swallow*, I asked father to give me the book. At that time, I could read very little English, but the desire to study the book made me work hard and I began to understand English well within a short time.²

At the age of fifteen, Begum Jahanara was married to Mian Muhammad Shahnawaz, a Barrister and Member of the Punjab and later Central Legislative Assembly. As Jahanara was keen to complete her education, she continued her studies until June 1912 by which time Queen Marry School, Lahore had become Queen Marry College. It was only due to the special attention and affection of Miss Edgley, the Principal of the College, that Jahanara was able to complete her education following the birth of her first daughter in 1912.³

Within her family, Begum Jahanara, found a favorable and healthy atmosphere, quite free from gender discrimination. Her male kin did not lead separate lives from their women-folk and their leisure was spent in their homes. They believed in sharing their thoughts and aspirations with their family members. They were providing for their growing children, (both boys and girls), an equal opportunities to get to know the problems that were confronting Muslim of the sub-continent and enter into the spirit of political activism at a tender age.⁴

The contributions of Begum Jahanara towards the uplift of Muslim women of India can thus be examined in terms of the social and cultural services which she offered throughout the course of her life. In the same way, her political career and insight dully bestowed on her father Muhammad Shafi needs be highlighted in order to understand as someone who helped to shape the political future of Muslims women of South Asia

Social and cultural services of Begum Jahanara

By 1900 *purdah* clubs and women social organization were being set up throughout India to cater to the new changing

needs of Muslim women. They provided settings in which Muslim women could meet and discuss their common issues. In the fashion, for the first time, growing number of Muslim women, previously confined to the four walls of their homes were brought together in public forum. This led them to exchange idea about with each widening the agenda of their lives and paving the way for greater participation in social and educational fields.⁵ These women were generally members of well-known families who were already positively inclined towards obtaining western education and were moderate in cultural terms.

The foundation of *Anjuman Khawateen-e-Islam* was the outcome of those fruitful efforts, mostly made by the women of the Shafi family. It was said that three ladies of well known families from Lahore (Baji Rashida, Saeeda and Fatima Begum) approached Begum Shafi, (the mother of Jahanara) and asked her to help in forming the organization for Muslim women of India.⁶

The primary concern of the *Anjuman Khawateen-e-Islam* was the spread of female education and social reform. For instance, when Mian Muhammad Shafi, was elected a member of Punjab Legislative Assembly, in 1910, the Anjuman arranged a *pardah* party in honor of Lady Shafi. A number of women including, many European ladies attended the party. In the same way, another party was arranged on the occasion of the marriage of Jahanara. It is interested to note that such kinds of celebrations were not only considered as a symbol of joy and entertainment, but also an opportunity to carry out fund raising for the betterment of Muslim women.⁷

The *Anjuman* was not only a social organ of the Muslim women of the British Punjab, but had a forceful magnitude towards the changing situation of that time. For instance, when in 1909, Sir Partole Chatterji, a Hindu social reformer and political activist supported the Punjabi language as a media of instruction for the people of the Punjab, Muslim women called it, 'a big instigation' in the context of Urdu-Hindi controversy. To mitigate such propaganda, an organization,

Anjuman Begumat Hamati-e-Urdu was established at Lahore. Almost all the members of the *Anjuman Khawateen –e-Islam* joined this organization. Prominent among them were Lady Shafi, Begum, (President), Mrs. Jalaluddin Ahmed (Vice-president), Fatima Begum Munshi (Secretary and Jahanara (financial Secretary).⁸

To promote the use of Urdu, among Muslim women in Punjab, the *Anjuman Begumat Hamiat-e-Urdu* not only published useful books in Urdu, but also increased its female membership, from Lahore and its outskirts. The membership fee was paid at the rate of two or four *annas* depending on the economic status of payee.⁹ Urdu was also used to uphold the communal spirit on ethnic basis. For instance, the members of this organization started to speak in Urdu as a symbol of community identity, despite the fact that most of the female members of the organization actually belonged to Punjabi speaking families and had used to speak their mother tongue before this time.¹⁰

The impact of the efforts of *Anjuman Khawateen Islam* was also felt on the national life of Muslims in British India. One of the best examples of this was during Khalifat Movement when the organization expressed its deep concerns about the integrity of the Ottoman *Khalifat*. As in the other parts of India, Muslim women in the Punjab were involved in different kinds of Khalifat activities arranging rallies and processions throughout the Province. As a member of the *Anjuman*, Begum Jahanara took an active role in raising funds for their Turkish brothers.

Begum Jahanara and the publication of Urdu Literature for Women

The development of reformist literature in Urdu for Muslim women pointed to the emergence of Urdu as a common language linking Indian Muslim *ashraf*.¹¹ The popularity of this body of literature lay in the way, that it directly approached issues and problems relating to Muslim women. In particular, the publications of Urdu novels relating to women issues not only

provided a space for the creative refashioning of indigenous culture but also proved an important source of guidance for women. Generally, the plots of such novels revolved around women's lives, with their central characters speaking their own languages, employing their own idioms, sharing their own feelings, and finally offering what they saw as the appropriate solution to their own problems.¹² Interestingly, the names of the characters of these Urdu novels usually, reflected their characteristics. The character of Asghari in Nazir Ahmed's *Mirat-ul-Arus* and Liqat-un-nisa in Muhammad Muslihuddin's *Kuhl –u-Jawahir* hence, symbolized those women who were trying to explore their identities both within, as well as increasingly outside the world of *zenana*.¹³

Gradually, the Muslim women also involved themselves in nation-building activities. One of the best examples of this development is provided by the female rulers of Bhopal (Begums of Bhopal) who worked positively for educational and social improvement for Muslim women. The reformist work *'Tehzib-e-Niswan –wa-Tarbiat-e- Insan'*, produced by Shahjahan Begum for instance, proved to be a source of inspiration and guidance for the Muslim women of late nineteenth century. Likewise, the literary work of Sultan Jahan Begum mostly targeted those social issues, that related directly to Muslim women of the early twentieth century.¹⁴

The efforts of Begums of Bhopal were also followed by many Muslim women, belonging to various social and political backgrounds. They too tried to address the issues of their female counterparts. Prominent among these women were Attiya Begum Faizi, the daughter of Badruddin Taybji (a well known Muslim political activist from Bombay) , Fatima Begum Munshi, (the editor of women news paper *Sharif Bibi*) Muhammadi Begum,¹⁵ (the wife of Maulvi Mumtaz Ali, and the first female editor of well known Urdu journal. *Tehzib-e-Niswan*, Sughra Humyoun Asghar, (a political activist) and above all, Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz, whose social writings and political perceptions sought to change the destiny of Muslim womanhood in British India.

Begum Jahanara served Urdu journalism by writing several articles and accounts of her travels in well-reputed female journals from time to time. As early, as the age of nine, she wrote her first article, entitled *Talim-e-Duktaaran* (a Female Education) in Urdu, which was published in *Tehzib-e-Niswan*, launched by Muhammadi Begum from Lahore.¹⁶ In the same way, her later autobiography *Father and Daughter* painted a forceful picture of her political and social involvements in a range of different kinds of activities.

Interestingly, the Urdu novel *Hasanara Begum* that written by Begum Jahanara in 1916 might be cited as an example of changing socio-cultural trends of Muslim society towards women. The only problem in the eyes of Begum Jahanara was the evil of ignorance, highly prevalent in Indian Muslim society. In particular, old-aged taboos and social discrimination victimized women and reduced the chances of their uplift. Keeping in view the prevailing situation, the publication of *Hasanara* by Begum Jahanara represented a step forward in the process of bettering the lives of Muslim women of India.

The story of the novel revolves around one Hasanara Begum, a young girl who faced the hardships of life boldly and continued and worked for the social and educational uplift of her Muslim sisters. Hasanara was the only female child of Nawab Blund Jung, a well-known figure of Lahore. Despite a great pressure from his family, Nawab Jung never thought a second marriage as he did not believe in gender discrimination and Hasanara always enjoyed the confidence, attention and affection of her father. Her education and training was started under the supervision of well-reputed female retainers of the time. After completion of her school education, she admitted into college where she succeeded brilliantly.

The dark and lonely days of her life however, started, after the sudden death of her mother and then her father. Her relatives snatched away her house and property and left her to face the hardships of life alone. At the time of leaving her home with her aunt Ashraf and maid servant Sosan, the only things,

which she took away with her, were her degrees and educational certificates, as she knew that this was the only asset that could not be robbed by any one. In her words “I know it is the *ilm* (knowledge) that can save me from the fears and hunger of life.^{17xvi} After leaving a home, Hasanara’s first destination was the city of Amritsar where she served as a schoolteacher. Her hardworking made her a very popular teacher among both students and staff. In particular, she enjoyed the confidence of Miss Marry, the Principal of school. Her educational experiences appeared in the form of a book, consisting of health advice to literature for the better health of women. The book was highly admired by both press and public as it proved itself a basic need and desire of every household. For Hasanara, it became a source of income in terms of her livelihood and in relation to future planning. She secured her admission at Delhi Medical College with the help of Muslim Ladies Conference, which was actively encouraging the educational advancement of Muslim women in British India. After becoming a doctor, she was then offered a job by Sultan Jahan Begum, the female ruler of Bhopal at the Ladies Hospital Bhopal and throughout the rest of her life she continued to serve the nation.

Through such writings,, Begum Jahanara, sought to emphasis to the importance of female education. Along with educational improvement, she also wished to see Muslim young girls and women become brave enough to cope with all the challenges of life. The character of Hasanara that she painted appealed to Muslim girls to choose the right path with spirit and courage.

The literary efforts of Begum Jahanara were not only limited to her Urdu writings but she also painted the picture of her personal experience in English literature. Her book *Father and Daughter* might be cited as the best example of that inspiration. Basically the book is an autobiography, covering the period from her birth to the imposition of Martial Law by Ayub Khan in 1958. It is an important historical source for Muslims of the subcontinent both before and after independence. The major

part of the book covers the various aspects of her political life and contribution which will be discuss in this article.

Muslim Women and the Political Services of Begum Jahanara

Begum Jahanara took up the cause of women's emancipation at an early age and it remained a life long passion with her – as it was clear from her unremitting struggle both in and outside legislative chambers. She was no empty slogan, mongering or mindless agitator. Rather, she herself gave the lead to women from various walks of life and showed by personal example how women could work shoulder-to-shoulder with their men-folk in the fulfillment of national goals. Her role as a fighter for women's rights was only one sides of her personality. She was a highly talented woman and made the fullest use of God's gifts in the service of her country. When Mrs. Annie Besant, the well known political activist, visited to Simla, a public meeting was organized by women there. The enthusiasm of Begum Jahanara might be best visualized in her own words:

“I could not sleep that night and went to father's room early in the morning and told him that I would very much like to speak in the meeting with his permission. He welcomed the idea and I spoke in a mixed gathering for the first time.”¹⁸

Begum Jahanara tried to maintain good social and political interactions with the leading personalities of the time. Particularly, she was on specially, good term with Sultan Jahan Begum of Bhopal and always looking forward to seeing her highness on different occasions. The formation of All-India Women's Association was highly welcomed by the ladies of Shafi Family and Jahanara was elected as a member to represent the women of the Punjab. The annual session of the association was held at Delhi, which was presided over by Begum of Bhopal. Jahanara attended the session as an elected member of the Punjab. Later, the leading members of the Association like Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mrs. Kamla Devi Chattopadyha successfully convinced the Simon Commission on the matter of

women's enfranchisement in relation to future constitutional reforms in India. Sir John Simon himself told Begum Jahanara that the sentence written in the Simon Report that "the key of the India's progress lies in the hands of women" was exactly what he had felt after attending the Women's Conference.¹⁹ Begum Jahanara herself was very much interested in the All India Women Conference and worked in it in different capacities. Her services to the Conference as a president of the Provincial Branch, an elected member of the Central Standing Committee and a Vice-President of the Conference were highly admired by her contemporaries.

Another noteworthy, of Begum Jahanara was her active involvement in the issue of the age of consent during the second decade of the twentieth century. Rai Bahadur Hari Bilas Sharda, MLA, proposed a bill in the Central Assembly for fixing the age of consent for the marriages of boys and girls. Mr. Shahnawaz, Jahanara's husband was the only Muslim member of the Age of Consent Committee, who supported the Bill in the House and this was noticed with surprise by the other members who suggested that this support was the outcome of the influence of *pardah*.²⁰ He not only supported the Bill but also argued in favor of social legislation to carry out social reform. Mr. Shahnawaz played a key role in the Select Committee and it was only now became aware of the need for social reform within their own community.²¹

Most of women worker and social activists filled the Assembly galleries and Begum Jahanara did not leave there until the Bill was passed.²² She remembers the event in the following words:

Father and I did our best to explain the case of Indian constitutional advance for freedom and asked for their kind help. I had a long talk with Mr. Bennett, the Prime Minister of Canada, who asked me most intelligent questions and so gave the opportunity of discussing the question of freedom for the Subcontinent and asking for his support.²³

The British response to Indian opposition to the Simon Report was to call for a series of Round Table Conferences to discuss constitutional reforms. The Conferences played an important role in promoting the cause of female suffrages in the country. The first Round Table Conference started in London on 12 November 1930. Indian women were represented by Begum Jahanara and Mrs. P. Subbrayan, both of whom believed that women needed reserved seats on ground that was a necessary route for achieving parity.²⁴ In arguing for special reserved seats for women, they pointed out that more than 120 million hapless women in India were denied many basic rights and that it was for the sake of those women that seats should be reserved in different constituencies.²⁵ Both the women also had a chance to address the first session of the conference India under the chairmanship of Ramsay Macdonald. On this occasion Begum Jahanara mad an earnest appeal by saying that:

We have taken our problems in hand, and are trying to tackle them day by day; with the help of God. We hope to achieve and achieve very soon-that Western freedom of speech and action, combined with Eastern restraint which is the ideal of our womanhood. The social reform of a country depends mostly upon women. Almost as soon as our men got the franchise, they did not hesitate in giving us our share: and now that women of India are coming forward and taking an active part in the political life of the country, the solution of al these problems will not be difficult to find.²⁶

Her speech was well received and when she sat down a large number of notes of appreciation were passed down to her including those of Lord Sankey, the President, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, Mr. Wedgwood Benn, the Secretary of State, a number of princes and all the leaders of the different delegation from India. Lord Irwin, the Viceroy of Indian in a letter to Jahanara showed his appreciation of her active participation by saying that:

This is only a brief letter to welcome you back to India and to congratulate you on the work you have done in London as

member of Indian delegation to the Round table conference. I need hardly say that I have followed the progress of your labour with intense interest and as increasing measure of hope that on the foundation to the laying of which you have so much in London, may be built a new constitution for India which will bring contentment and happiness to the country.²⁷

In the same way, her speech was highly admired by press by British press and media.²⁸

The ten-month stay of Jahanara at Europe and London and her participation in the Round Table Conference helped her to widen her horizon considerably in her own words:

“I had learnt a great deal and had opportunities of working with some well-known personalities. Coming into contact with unique statesmen of so many countries was an education in itself”²⁹

Upon her return to India, the Inter-Collegiate Society of the Punjab University asked her to address students at Government College Lahore, about the details of the Round Table Conference and the salient features of the new constitution of being proposed for India.

In 1932, the Begum , attended the Third Round Table Conference as the only representative of Indian women and succeeded in advocating the demands of women before the gathering. In 1933 she was nominated as the Indian delegation to the Joint Select Committee. Again as the only women member, she had to work very hard to secure the support of all female members of Parliament and other prominent women at different stages within the negotiations. In her opinion as the only woman member, her major responsibility was to safeguard the rights and interests of the womanhood of India, a duty that had been placed on her shoulders. She was also vigorously supported by female social activists of Great Britain including Lady Astor, the Duchess of Athol, Lady Pethwick Lawrence, Lady Reading, Miss Rathbone and Mrs. Corbett Ashby. She left London on 17th

August 1933, after the conclusion of the main work of the Joint Select Committee. Finally when the details Constitution of 1935 were published, the women were given an electorate 600,000 women voters. After the enactment of the 1935 Constitution, it was possible to see women playing an active role in regional and national politics. When in 1937, elections were held all over the country, 80 women members were elected to the Provincial and Central Parliaments. Some women won seats through joint electorate with men and India became third in the world regarding the number of its women legislative members.³⁰

In 1937 Begum Jahanara was elected as a member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly and became the first Muslim woman to be a parliamentary secretary. She worked up to 1942 in this position. During the course of her membership, Jahanara was very active trying to persuade the Assembly to resolve the issues of concerning women. In particular, she was very aware the status of their health commenting in one of her speech:

I am sure that like all other countries, the proportion of boys and girls that come into the world is practically then same, because nature always sees to it that an equal number of persons of both sexes are born. Then what is the reason? It is not due to the old rusty customs of this motherland of ours, the custom that have chained the women to the four walls of their homes? Is it not because there is child marriage and early maternity and because the women-folk have to be confined to their homes? You will find that there is a very high figure of mortality among the women of our province. It is the fault of the Punjab Government? Even with the magic wand they could not do away with all those rusty old customs within 11 months and have to chance of showing a substantial reduction in feminine mortality.³¹

In 1941, when the Second World War was at its height, Begum Jahanara was nominated by the Viceroy to be a member of Defense Council for India. However, when the Muslim League decided not to extend any kind of cooperation with the

British Government and asked Muslim members to withdraw from the Council. Begum Jahanara continued as a member in order to peruse the wider interests and representation of Indian Muslims. During the war she was asked by National War Front to organize war work among the women of India. On her suggestion, its women section was established at New Delhi and Begum Jahanara became as Lady –in –Charge of the women’s section of the Information Department. Accordingly, she traveled all over the subcontinent and addressed the gatherings of both men and women belonging to different class, culture and creeds. During the course of her travel, she was highly impressed by the changing trends of people towards the question of their rights. For instance, when she reached Sikandarpur, (situated in the Hazara District of NWFP) a lady teacher at a local primary school astonished her by saying :” let them (the government) go on doing it, our time is coming soon”.³² Later, she requested the government to set up a Women’s and Children’s Bureau along the lines of those existing in Great Britain, the United States and other countries. Begum Jahanara started collecting the information required and went on pressing the authorities to make this section a pool for information and suggestions for women recruitment to different posts and for the general advancements of womanhood of Indian.³³ As a Deputy Secretary, she fulfilled her task successfully. For instance, she started a women’s magazine with the assistantship of two women attended the Pacific Relations Conference, that was held at Mount Tremblon, in Canada. To highlight the salient features of the women’s movement in India she wrote an article for this Conference. During her journey to Canada she had a chance to spend some time in Cairo, where she had fruitful meeting with well-known Egyptian female activists.³⁴

During the course of Pakistan Movement, her political role might be symbolized as an emerging force for the creation of Pakistan. Thousands of women particularly from Punjab offered their services to rebuild the history of subcontinent and while doing so, they were following in the footsteps of their source of inspiration, Begum Jahanara. In 1940, she not only attended the historical session of the Muslim League held at

Lahore , but also provided the house hospitality to all the main women delegates of the session at her home 74 Lawrence Road Lahore.

The elections of 1946 were very important because they were the test of the Muslim League's claim of being the solo representative of the Muslims of British India. Begum Jahanara together with Begum Salma Tassaduq, contested the women's seats successfully; 75 per of the Muslim voters turned up to cast their vote and their opponents had to forfeit their deposit. In 1946, she was re-elected as a member of the Punjab Assembly and sent by the Quad-i - Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah as a representative of the Muslim League on a tour to the United States.

Soon after the 1946 election the League Ministry was set up in Bengal, but in the, Punjab the League had still not done enough to form a government. As a result various League leaders including Begum Jahanara were arrested. On 27th January, 1946 another 16 Muslim women were arrested and Section 144 was imposed. While in jail, they were glad to learn that all over the Punjab, women were marching in procession and forcing their men to join the Muslim League to fight peacefully for the creation of Pakistan. In Lahore itself Begum Jahanara 's sister Geteara Bashir, organized the work and practically every day, sometime even twice a day, huge procession of women marched on the roads shouting for Pakistan and calling upon the government not to deny Muslims nation. One of the processions led by Lady Shafi, Jahanara mother was *lathi*-charged. Begum Jahanara's daughter Mumtaz Shahnawaz commonly known as Tazi, who was arrested refused to sit quietly in jail, and instead along with other girl students made a Muslim League flag out of their *dopattas* and quietly climbed to the roof of the jail where they planted it for all to see.³⁵

Begum Jahanara after the Creation of Pakistan

The most important issue after 1947 was the rehabilitation of numerous people, arriving in Pakistan thanks to

partition. Refugee women and children suffered enormously. Both Begum Liaquat Ali Khan and Begum Jahanara worked to address the needs of these destitute newcomers. The Lahore public proved itself to be kind in terms of the support that it provided.

Meanwhile, Begum Jahanara believed that the women of Pakistan, instead of securing offices, should first work secure their economic independence and should ask for the implementation of the Muslim personal law in the Punjab at once. In fact women had played a great part in the winning of freedom and the creation of Pakistan and the government could not refuse any reasonable demand of this type. The request was made and the Mamdot Ministry agreed to present a bill to the Assembly for enacting the Shariat Bill in the budget Session of 1948. However, at the time of passing the bill, the recommendations about women were taken out of the agenda. Women members of the Punjab Assembly were very furious at that action and requested the Muslim League Women's Committee and other women activists to join them in the common cause. After a solid action by these women, the Minister of Mamdot was pressured to pass the bill immediately.

In conclusion, we can say that Begum Jahanara spent her whole life involved in cultural uplift of Muslim women. Her character can be symbolized as that of an enlightened woman who tried to lessen the intensity of taboos and social constraints which were highly damaging the image of Muslim women and the reality of their lives. She started her crusade at time when Indian Muslim society was passing through its transitional phase, and when with women, it was not clear whether they would become the part of transformation or continue to be restricted within their existing social environment. Like many other social reformers, she shared her experiences by producing the reformist literature in Urdu specifically, meant for women of that time. One of the best examples was her Urdu novel *Hasanara Begum*, through which she emphasized the importance of female education as the tool for future betterment, enhanced gender consciousness and overall progress of nation.

Indeed, the history of the political mobilization of Indian Muslim women would not be completed without mentioning the dynamic role of Begum Jahanara. She represented Indian women during the first and the third sessions of Round Table Conference, held at London. Her impressive and powerful arguments regarding the right of Indian women to vote were highly appreciated both by English leaders and press.

In the same way, she played very important role during the course of the Pakistan Movement. But she and her daughter Tazi (Mumtaz) saw the spirit of idealism receding and material self seeking taking over the young nation.³⁶

It can also be argued that the criteria adopted by Begum Jahanara indicated the moderate attitudes of Muslim *ashraf* families who permitted their womenfolk to emerge from within the four walls of the home and play their due role in the public arena.

Notes and References

- 1 The family which she belonged known as Mian family from a title probably conferred in the late fifteen century, belonging to third largest tribe of the Punjab , the Arain. Tradition had it that the tribe migrated from Arabia to Egypt and from there to came Indian subcontinent some times in the eleventh century Ishaqpur, a small village about four and a half miles from Lahore used to be the family seat until the Emperor Shah Jahan acquired the land as the site for the new Shalimar Gardens. In exchange for it he gave the family two revenue-free villages, and the head of the Main family to be the hereditary custodian of the Shalimar Garden. See for detail: Jahanara Shahnawaz, *Father and Daughter: A Political Biography*, Nigarishat, Lahore, 1971, p.1
- 2 *Ibid.* p.15
- 3 *Ibid.*p.38-37
- 4 *Ibid.* p. 6.
- 5 (Shahida Latif, *Muslim Women in India: Political and Private Realities 1890s-1980s*), Kali for Women, New Delhi, 1990, p.81
- 6 See for detail : *The Paisa Akhbar*, Lahore, 25th February, 1910, p.8)
- 7 *Ibid.*p.8
- 8 *Ibid* 20th August, 1909, p.4.
- 9 *Ibid.* 7 the September, 1909,p.4
- 10 Azra Asghar Ali, *The Emergence of feminism Among Indian Muslim Women*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, P.12
- 11 *Ibid.*p.256
- 12 *Ibid*
- 13 *Ibid*
- 14 *Ibid*

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- 15 In 1893 *Sharif Bibi*, a monthly began to be published and in 1898 and in 1898 the famous *Tehzib-e-Niswan* became the second such journal to come out from Lahore. The latter continued its publication right up to 1949, and created an important niche for itself in the social and cultural history of the Muslim women of the Punjab. See for details: Dushka Saiyid, *Muslim Women of the Punjab from Seclusion to Politics*, Macmillan Press, LTD, 1998, p.53
- 16 Jahanara Shahnawaz, *Hasanara Begum*, Steam Press Lahore, 1916, p.62
- 17 *Ibid*
- 18 Jahanara Begum, *Father and Daughter* ,p.66
- 19 *Ibid.*,92
- 20 *Ibid.*p.97
- 21 Dushka Saiyid, *Muslim Women of the Punjab from Seclusion to Politics*, p.29
- 22 *Ibid.*,p.98
- 23 *Ibid*
- 24 Azra Asghar Ali, *The Emergence of Feminism Among Indian Muslim Women 1920-1947*, p.173
- 25 Abstracts are taken from the printed memorandum, presented by Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz and Mrs. P. Subbrayan during the course of first session of the Round Table Conference, held at London in 1930. Sri Ram Sita Press, Madras, 1930 pp.1-18
- 26 Proceedings of the Indian Round table Conference, first session 12, November 1930-January 1931, (His Majesty's Stationary Office, London, 1931, p.15
- 27 The copy of the letter is published in *Inqil-ab-Nau*, a special edition published at the death of Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz, July 1980, p.24
- 28 See for details, the special editions of different newspapers, of England including Northern Daily Telegraph Liverpool Post and Mercury, *The Star and the Daily Mail*

- 29 Jahanara Shahnawaz, *Father and Daughter*, p.72
- 30 Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz, Parbati Devi, Baji Rashida Latif, Mrs. Duni Chand and Shirimati Raghbir Kaur were part of the assembly from April 5, 1937 to March 19, 1945.
- 31 Punjab Legislative Assembly Debates, 21 st March, 1938, Vol.IV-No1. Government Printing, Punjab, Lahore, 1938.p.34
- 32 *Ibid*
- 33 *Ibid*.pp.188-189
- 34 *Ibid*
- 35 See for details, Azra Asghar Ali, *The Emergence of Feminism Among Indian Muslim Women*, p.202
- 36 Mumtaz Shahnawaz, *The Heart divided*, ASR Publications, 2nd Edition, 1990, p. (v).