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FATIMA BEGUM: A NARRATIVE OF UNSUNG HERO OF PAKISTAN MOVEMENT

Abstract

Creation of Pakistan has generally been attributed to some prominent political leaders. While building historiography of the great movement; efforts, works and sacrifices of some provincial and local leaders or workers had been neglected or overlooked. Fatima Begum was one of such unsung heroes without whose efforts ML could not become strong-rooted organization among women of Punjab and NWFP. This study reveals that she was central figure to motivate the women of the Punjab and NWFP to be active in politics. Besides it, this study proves that she was a great humanitarian who had worked a lot to settle victims of Bihar riots 1946 and of migrant women victims of partition of the Punjab's episode.

This paper has been produced on the basis of primary and secondary sources including some interviews of the students of Islamia College and of some followers of Fatima Begum. Archives of Pakistan Movement Workers Trust, Quaid-i-Azam Papers, magazines edited by Fatima Begum, newspapers and books are other important source material.

Key Words: Narrative, unsung hero, Pakistan movement, Fatima Begum, women activism.

Introduction

This paper focuses on the questions how had Fatima Begum created awareness among women of Punjab on her individual level, through her writings and through her college; the Jinnah Islamia College (the only Muslim Girls College) in Punjab, how on later stage that college played the same role among womenfolk of the Punjab, which had been played by MAO college, Aligarh. Ms. Fatima Begum's efforts had created activism among women of both the provinces of the Punjab and NWFP and their activism had made it smooth for Muslim leadership to create Pakistan. She had also rendered great services for the Muslim women of the other provinces especially NWFP and Bihar. Her services for the rehabilitation of Muslim migrant women are also praiseworthy.

The central theme of the paper is to highlight the role of Fatima Begum in organizing the women of the Punjab and NWFP, her efforts to make the ML successful in 1946 elections in the Punjab and in the civil disobedience movement. She was also in the forefront of the Punjab Provincial Women Muslim League

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(PPWML) leadership in settlement process of the Muslim refugee generally and of Muslim women specifically.

Preparing a Women Leader: Early Career of Fatima Begum

Fatima Begum (1890-1958) was the daughter of Molvi Mehboob Alam. He was a liberal and broad-minded father who gave equal importance to the education of his daughters. Later the daughter, Fatima Begum paid back and played a pivotal and pioneering role in educating the Muslim girls of the province. In 1901 she passed her matric examination privately. Before this she had passed Munshi Fazil.² She had also served as a teacher in a local school for a few months. A gifted lady she had the honour to be the first female Muslim journalist in India. She had been trained by her father in the field of journalism. She was the editor of a fortnightly magazine for women, 'Sharif Bibi,' after the start of its republication in 1909. Her editorials and essays were regularly published in a monthly magazine, 'Asmat.' Later, she started publishing a weekly magazine 'Khatun.' The purpose of both the magazines was mental, moral and political training of the Muslim women. Few examples of the articles, published in the Sharif Bibi included Kind Mothers, Baby Birth, Health of Baby and Mother, Training of Children, Human Rights, Importance of Education, Prominent Women of India 6 etc. Besides it, these magazines prepared minds for women's education by giving arguments from Holy Quran and Hadis as well as from Western traditions. A serial of different moral lesson-oriented novels was usually published in Khatun, written by Fatima Begum. Such novels contained lessons of love, trust, faithfulness, tolerance, truthfulness etc. which made family relations strong. Fruit of Tolerance⁸ (sabar ka phal) and Wife of Faithfulness⁹ (Wafa Ki Bivi) are only two examples. All other stories, informative essays, poems and other kind of writings targeted to create a perfect Muslim woman. She had also written a travelogue, "Haj-i-Baitullah-o-Ziyarat-i-Dayar-i-Habib." 10

Besides working as Editor of Magazines for Muslim women, she had served as Joint Secretary and Secretary of two very prominent Lahore-based Organizations en; Anjuman-i-Khatunan-i-Islam ¹¹ (Muslim Women's Anjuman-i-Hami-i-Begmat-i-Urdu ¹² (Muslim Women Women: Muslim Association for the Support of Urdu) respectively. At that time Fatima Begum used abbreviation of her name i.e. F.B. or Bintey-Mehboob to hide her identity: as it was tradition among Muslim women of the time. 13 Lady Shafi was President of both the Organizations and other prominent members were Lady Fazl-i-Hussain, Begum Mohammad Yaqub and Bintey-Mohammad Shah. 14 The meetings of both the Organizations were held on monthly basis. Initially Fatima Begum attended meetings of the Anjuman-i-Khatunan-i-Islam in company of her mother, Begum Mehboob Alam. She, being Secretary noted down the minutes of the meeting and other details, which were usually published with her short name in Paisa Akhbar (newspaper). 15 Besides giving details in the newspaper, Fatima Begum was always an active participant of the meetings; delivered speeches, read translations of the verses of Holy Quran and gave suggestions where required. She, on behalf of the Conference, collected funds for the victims of Turablus and Balqan and donated her own gold ear-rings. The money was presented in the meeting of Anjuman-i-Khatunan-i-Islam. 16 Anjuman-i-Hami-i-Begmat-i-Urdu was majorly run by Fatima Begum. She requested the literary figures related to Urdu to write for women and to give their writings to this Women Organization for publication. ¹⁷ Her participation in social and religious activities prepared to play large-scale role in politics in the future years to come.

Fatima, in her young age of only twenty-five, attended opening ceremony of a new building of Muslim Girls School, Aligarh Zenana Madrasah in Aligarh in 1915. She went there in accompany of Begums of Mian family, Begum Mian Mohammad Shafi and Begum Shah Din. The School was inaugurated by Begum of Bhopal. Fatima Begum was part and parcel of the opening ceremony of *Anjuman-i-Khatunan-i-Islam* (Muslim Women's Conference) in Aligarh, which was founded after opening ceremony of the School. Begum of Bhopal addressed the gathering while presiding the session. Seven other ladies also addressed. Fatima Begum while representing Punjab, along with Begum Shah Din, said that English education was compulsory for Muslim girls as well as boys. They would lag behind Hindus in all fields of life without it. She further emphasized on having educated liberal mothers. ¹⁹ Later, she helped to open a branch of Muslim Women's Conference in Lahore and actively arranged its third annual meeting in 1918 in Lahore which was successful. ²⁰

She served as an inspector or superintendent of Muslim Girls School in Bombay in 1930s. During her stay in Bombay, she remained in constant touch with the Quaidi-Azam and discussed the problems of the Muslim women of the Punjab specifically and of the other areas generally with him. According to a tradition she taught Urdu to the Quaid-i-Azam during her stay in Bombay. She, at times wrote Urdu speeches for the Quaid. She was sent back to Lahore, most probably in 1937, by the Quaid-i-Azam to serve the Muslim women's' cause in the Punjab.²¹ She, very wisely, had started her work with the establishment of Jinnah Islamia Girls College at Nawan Kot in 1938 on her personal property to make it a base for propagation of the Muslim League's ideology among Muslim women of the Province. The College was inaugurated by Jinnah himself. 22 The college was established at the time when Congress Ministries were in power in most of the provinces of Colonial India and the ML was highly conscious about the identity of the Muslims and was well aware of the Wardha scheme of education of Hindus.²³ She was of the opinion that missionary schools were not providing right religious and cultural education to Muslim girls, ²⁴ so special arrangements of *purdha* (veil) and of religious education were made at her College. 25 This was a great service to a lot of Muslim girls of middle and other classes who got education and served the cause of Pakistan in the later years.

A. Services of Fatima Begum

This part of the paper deals with the services of Fatima Begum for achieving the target of Qauid-i-Azam of making a nation. She had served not only at the level of Punjab but also on national level. She was also a great humanitarian and this part of the study also deals with her humanitarian efforts.

I. Fatima Begum at the Punjab Level

Fatima Begum's role was crucial in motivating and organizing the women of the Punjab. She started her efforts from her college. She delivered inspiring and emotional speeches on daily basis in the morning Assembly to prepare the girls to

perform their national duties since its establishment. Her words had an impact on her students and professors. Students and teachers of her college were very active to serve as host of the female guests of the ML to make the 1940 session of the ML successful. Punjab Provincial Muslim Women League (PPMWL) appointed a subcommittee, Women Reception Committee, in March 1940 at Lahore under the Presidentship of Lady Abdul Qadir. It was her responsibility to organize women volunteers and to cater to the needs of the guests properly who came to attend the annual session of the Muslim League at Lahore in March 1940. These women volunteers came from Jinnah Islamia College for Girls, Lahore of Fatima Begum besides women workers of the Muslim League from Lahore and other areas of the Punjab. Islamia College was converted into a guest house for women-guests who came from others cities and provinces. The girl students of the college had been busy throughout the period to provide every possible support to the honourable guests.

Fatima Begum arranged a separate session of the Muslim Women League at Jinnah Islamia College, Lahore after the annual conference of the ML. Many girl students and other distinguished ladies delivered speeches and sang Pakistan songs which reflected their feelings about Pakistan and their spirit to come in the practical struggle to achieve it. In the end, Quaid-i-Azam delivered a speech and said:

No struggle can ever succeed without women participating side by side with men... It is women and women alone who can teach man how and when to wield the sword or pen when the occasion arises."²⁸

Fatima Begum helped Hamid Nizami, the President of Punjab Muslim Students Federation, to establish Women Section of the Federation in February 1941. ²⁹ More than five hundred students of her College were members of the Federation. ³⁰ She and her college both were the backbone of Punjab Muslim Girls Students Federation. She extended hard effort to politically activate the women of Punjab for the national cause of the Muslims.

In April 1943, Fatima Begum was as member of Women Central Sub-Committee of the Muslim League also. She was a moving spirit behind opening of the branches of the Provincial Women Muslim League in different districts of the Punjab. She opened the branch in Lyalpur in 1943 and another branch was opened by her in Murree in August 1944.³¹

a. Pakistan Conferences

Fatima Begum's role was very active in arranging Pakistan conferences. Muslims of the Punjab started their work through propagating the Pakistan ideology from the platform of Pakistan Conferences. Muslim girl students worked for the success of the first Pakistan Conference, held in March 1941 at Lahore. The delegation of Organizing Committee of Pakistan Conference went to Jinnah Islamia College for Girls to get support. On behalf of the girls of the College, Fatima Begum, the Principal, said, "...we pray for you and assure you that our prayers from heart are with you. Your sisters are with you for the cause of Pakistan without any reward."

During the Pakistan Conference, Muslim girl students were supposed to manage the affairs related to female guests. Separate meetings of the women were also arranged by them. After the end of Pakistan Conference, a separate gathering of girl students was held at Islamia College on 4th March 1941 and the Quaid-i-Azam was invited as the guest of honour there. In his address, he told the girls how it was essential for Muslims to achieve Pakistan.³⁴

On occasion of second Pakistan Conference in Rawalpindi, Fatima Begum requested the Quaid-i-Azam to come to Lahore to inspire the Girl students again:

We have learned it with great pleasure that you are coming to Punjab to preside over the Punjab Muslim Student's Federation Session at Rawalpindi in the first week of March, 1942. We hope you have, by now, received an invitation for the Punjab Muslim Girls Students Federation, urging you to stop at Lahore and inspire the daughters of Islam with a renewed zest to work side by side with their brothers for the achievement of the common goal. We are trying to popularize the Muslim League in the Punjab through our womenfolk.³⁵

Quaid-i-Azam was always eager to address and motivate the students of her college. While addressing a meeting of Punjab Girls Students Federation in Jinnah Islamia College, held in 1942, he said: "I am glad to see that not only Muslim men but Muslim women and children also have understood the Pakistan scheme. If Muslim women support their men, as they did in the day of Prophet of Islam, we should soon realize our goal." 36

Fatima Begum, her college, faculty and students were once again active to organize March 1944's Pakistan conference.

b. Elections 1946

Elections 1946 were a great test for Muslims to pass, if they wanted to have a separate homeland. Fatima Begum was part and parcel of the Muslim League's election campaign 1946. She visited many urban and rural areas to convince Muslim women to cast their vote for Pakistan. She made extensive tours of West Punjab specifically.³⁷ She wrote to Jinnah while giving report to him about her tours:

During the last week, I visited Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Gujrat, Wazirabad and Gujranwala and addressed women's meetings at all these places. They had the desired effect everywhere and I was also able to enroll about 400 members in the women's section of the League. A lady from Jhelum who was formerly a Congressite has now become a staunch Leaguer. 38

Besides working on individual and party level, she had provided favourable circumstances to the faculty and students of her college to propagate for the ML. The students of her college including Khalida Rathor and Fahmida Begum went to canvass the Muslim women of Lahore on regular basis with their teachers. Khalida Rathor mentioned that she usually visited Muslim mohalas with her teacher Ms. Siddiqui. This election campaign had great impact on the Muslim women and large number of common Muslim women got membership of the ML and cast their vote for the ML.

Fatima Begum invited Major Khurshid Anwar of the Muslim National Guards to address her students at her College. Major Khurshid Anwar urged the hundreds of the girl students 'to join Muslim Women National Guards and thereby strengthen the hands of the male members of their community in their struggle for the attainment of their cherished goal of Pakistan.'⁴⁰

c. Civil Disobedience Movement

Fatima Begum was once again in the forefront of the Punjab Muslim League's Direct Action Movement. She made widespread tours of the province and addressed exclusively the Muslim women gatherings at a large number of places. She arranged a big Women gathering at Islamia College Lahore where resolution was passed under her Presidentship that they would play "their full part in the coming struggle of the Mussalmans by sacrificing their worldly belongings including their children for the purpose of keeping up the honour and prestige of Islam and also condemned the Government and the Congress for conspiring in this land against the just interest of the Muslims. The meeting also expressed complete faith and confidence in the leadership of M. A. Jinnah."

She also provided leadership to the Civil Disobedience Movement of the Punjab Muslim League against coalition government of Khizer Hayat Khan Tiwana. On 27 January 1947, there were two processions of Muslim Women in Lahore; One on temple road and the other on Lawrence Road. One was led by Fatima Begum along with the students of her College and other women. Both the processions were tear-gassed, some girl students were fainted and had to be taken to the hospital. The procession on temple road regrouped and moved towards Assembly Chambers under Fatima Begum. She was also injured in result of lathi charge. She led some women processions and was also arrested during the movement. Begum Jehan Ara Shahnawaz had mentioned that Fatima Begum with other women and with a number of girl students, who had been tear-gassed, were also imprisoned and were locked up in the Lahore female jail. Later was released without any condition.

She had also provided conducive atmosphere in her college and encouraged the students and teachers to campaign for the Muslim League, Pakistan and to be participant in the CDM. ⁴⁵ Khalida Rathor had presented herself as a proof of this. She told that she had participated in the CDM with many other students of her college under supervision of their teachers. The students of Islamia College participated in the processions in a very organized way on daily basis. ⁴⁶ Khalida told that students and teachers of the College were not afraid of tear gas, beating or even arrests. Some of her friends were arrested by the police for short period. She also remained in lock up for few days. Fatima Begum, being Principal of the College was the real spirit and reason behind that whole situation.

II. Services of Fatima Begum for the Muslims of NWFP (presently called Khyber Pakhtun Khawa)

Fatima Begum was available on the first call of Quaid-i-Azam to organize the Frontier Women. Although Frontier Women Muslim League (FWML) was formed in 1939, it could not become active in the political activities of the province, for two other Political Organizations, *Khudai Khidmatgar* and Congress exercised a

great influence on the *Pashtoon* Society. The Central High Command of the Muslim League advised Fatima Begum, founder of Islamia College for Women, Lahore, to reorganize FWML. She, under the advice of Quaid-i-Azam, visited KPK in 1945 to work upon the project of reorganization of Frontier's women. Till that time some girls of prominent Pathan families had got education from Islamia College, Lahore of Fatima Begum. These educated women helped Fatima Begum to reestablish FWML. Among them Nazir Niaz was now working as a teacher in Government school at Peshawar. Fatima Begum stayed at her home.

Nazir Niaz arranged for a female gathering at Islamia Club Building. She invited her Muslim students including two daughters of Justice Mohammad Shafi i.e. Munawar Shafi and Balqis Shafi, Mumtaz Jamal, Razia Butt, Fahmida Sharif Hussain and some others. Besides these girls some prominent women of the city, too, were invited. Fatima Begum explained clearly about the importance of the establishment of Pakistan. She injected high spirit among the present women. ⁴⁷ FWML was reorganized in that very session. Begum Qazi Mir Ahmed was installed as President, Zari Sarfraz, Vice President, Begum Shireen Wahab as general Secretary and Begum Sardar Haider Jaffer as propaganda secretary. ⁴⁸ One resolution to popularize Urdu was passed in the meeting and also stressed the need to open Degree College for girls in the Frontier. Another Resolution expressed full confidence in Quaid-i-Azam's leadership. Later a sub-committee of twelve women was formed for publicity of the forthcoming League session. ⁴⁹

Fatima Begum stayed in KPK for fortnight in the month of April 1947. There, she, addressed many gathering and motivated not only Muslim women of the province but also the men. She also addressed the students of Islamia College for Boys, Peshawar. She exhorted them to quit their books for the present and actively join the struggle for Pakistan by touring the countryside and educating the Muslim masses on the present crucial issues. ⁵⁰ She also led a deputation of Frontier Women to the Frontier Governor and the Premier; Dr. Khan Sahib. She brought to their notice the vulnerable conditions of the Frontier jails where ML workers were maltreated. She told while giving a press statement that the governor gave a sympathetic hearing but the Premier refused to deal with the matter, while saying that the jail was the choice of ML volunteers. 'Let them have a little taste of it." ⁵¹

Fatima Begum again stood besides the women of KPK to make their CDM successful. She with Ms. Nasira Siddique, Mrs. Ahmed Hassan, Mrs. Abdul Hameed, Mrs. Tassaduq Hussain and others had visited KPK in May 1947. They toured the whole province in groups. They addressed a lot of women gatherings in Mardan, Kohat, Hazara district and Peshawar⁵² etc. After return, Fatima Begum remarked:

The Muslim women of the Frontier are made awake and have become fully politically conscious. They are aware of their duties and conscious of their privileges... the arrest of thousands of their menfolk has given a rude shock to them. They began to question for themselves why all these processions, public meetings, picketing of Muslims are going on. When the true reasons of these happenings were going before them they too, like their menfolk, offered themselves in thousands to participate in the movement. With their husbands, brothers, parents and other relatives in jail, they are not in a mood to wait or be

indifferent. They are boiling with new life and are not prepared to lag behind and let their menfolk to rot in the jails, but are determined to play a decisive role to carry the movement to a successful end. ⁵³

Fatima Begum worked hard to make the ML successful in KPK during the referendum campaign, which started after the introduction of the June 3rd 1947 Plan of Independence and transfer of power to Pakistan and India. She with Begum Shahnawaz and Begum Tassaduq Hussain addressed many gatherings especially a big male gathering of *Khawanin* (tribal heads) in Kohat. Their speeches were translated into Pashto by Shireen Wahab, wife of a leading lawyer of KPK.⁵⁴

Fatima Begum's continuous involvement and guidance to the less experienced women of KPK had brought many successes for the women of KPK also. Her efforts had been recognized by the women of the KPK on many occasions.⁵⁵

III. Humanitarian Efforts of Fatima Begum

Fatima Begum was a great humanitarian besides politician and educationist who had highly soft corner for those Muslims who were in trouble. She did not have any child of her own but worked selflessly for the poor and the neglected. She eagerly collected funds for poor Muslim victims of Turkey and Balqan in 1912 from the platform of Anjuman-i-Khatunan-i-Islam in her young age. She helped Mir Aziz ur Rehman of Amritsar to establish Anjuman-i-Dar ul Khawateen Punjab in May 1927 with other members of Anjuman-i-Khatunan-i-Islam. It was establish to help Muslim widows. The office of this Organization was established at her home, situated in Kocha Khurasian, Near Imli Wala, Anarkali, Lahore. She also served as Secretary of the organization. ⁵⁶ After six months of the establishment of this Organization, a small vocational school was established under headship of Fatima Begum. Muslim women of prominent families provided essentials for the school besides money. Fatima Begum also donated some elements. ⁵⁷ Fatima Begum requested Muslim women to get tailoring services from that vocational Centre to help the students of the Centre. ⁵⁸

a. Bihar Riots

Fatima Begum was not only serving the cause of Muslims of the Punjab but she also rendered great services for the Muslims of different parts of the whole of India. She was in the front-lines to help the victims of Bihar riots. The riots in Bihar had started on 26th October, however, no news about the Muslims' suffering had been leaked out of the province until the 4th November 1946. The news of Muslims' suffering had shocked the whole of Muslim community of India. Muslim volunteers had started going to Bihar from all over India. Volunteers from the Punjab were also in the forefront to every possible help to the Bihari Muslims. ⁵⁹ A group of volunteers was led by Fatima Begum from Punjab to Bihar where they helped Bihari Muslim families. This group transported about four hundred people from Bihar to Punjab and provided them with shelter and food. Fatima Begum constructed a colony for the Bihari Muslims on her own property. ⁶⁰

Fatima Begum was part of the public meeting of the Muslim women of Punjab, held in Barkat Ali Mohammadan Hall, which demanded the dismissal of Bihar Ministry as it had failed badly to protect the Muslim minority of the province.⁶¹

They demanded the introduction of Governor's Rule in the province. Fatima Begum addressed the audience and explained to them the plight of Mussalmans in Bihar and how they had suffered at the hands of the mad enemies. ⁶²

b. Refugee Crisis and Recovery of the Abducted Women

The leaders and workers of the Muslim League had also worked hard to help the refugees on individual as well as on joint basis. Fatima Begum, the principal of Islamia College for girls, appointed Muslim League women workers as nurses in the refugee camps. They not only looked after the sick and wounded refugees but also regulated the work of providing eatables and clothes to them in time. ⁶³

Recovery of the abducted women was such a tragedy which had no answer.⁶⁴ Governments of India and Pakistan signed an Inter-dominion Agreement to recover abducted women and children from both sides of the border. 65 The task of the recovery of women was done in three stages. The immediate recoveries had been done from September 1947 to December 1947. Second and third stages were from December 1947 to July 1948 and from August 1948 to December 1948 respectively⁶⁶. Fatima Begum with the help of some ML leaders and workers served a lot to find out the abducted women. According to Begum Shahnawaz, Fatima Begum was the Vice President of the Muslim League Women Committee at that time and was asked by the ML High Command to take charge of the work of bringing the Muslim women back from the East Puniab. 67 She visited Indian Puniab on many occasions to find out the Muslim women from there. Tai Sultana. another unsung hero of Pakistan Movement had said while sharing her memories about Fatima Begum that "We (Taj Sultana, Salma Tassaduq Hussain, Saeeda Waheed & others) used to wear a uniform "overall" given by Beghum Fatima to identify as workers of All India Muslim League," 68 while visiting Indian areas to perform their duty.

The recovered women were brought in the Office and were provided with the places to live there on temporary basis and then advertisements were given on Radio and newspapers to find out their relatives. The condition of such women who had been repeatedly raped or had been brought back after a long period of abduction was the worst. Finally, most of the women were handed over to their families, who contacted the Office. She had given refuge to some lonely women whose families could not be found or who were mentally and physically highly disturbed due to their horrible experiences. She herself soothed the miserable women. She dined with them, listened to them, cried with them and gave them financial support. She also managed livelihood for them. It is worth mentioning here that there were many abducted Muslim women who were not ready to come back to join their families in Pakistan due to shame and some others due to their children. The efforts of West Pakistani women and West Punjab's government to take more initiatives to settle the abducted women had been well appreciated by different quarters.

Fatima Begum continued her service to the nation after independence also. She with the help of Taj Sultana established Fatima Girls High School at Justice Jameel Hussain Road adjacent to Lahore High Court in 1953.⁷³ Taj Sultana was appointed as its first principal. Begum Fatima and Taj Sultana used to move house to house to persuade parents to send their daughters to the school at that time. She

also constructed a mosque in Nawan Kot near her residence, after her name Fatima Mosque. Besides it, a number of small schools of handicraft's training were opened for the helpless migrant women specifically and generally for all women. Fatima Begum died in 1958 after spending a very active life, which meant only for others.

Conclusion

It can be concluded safely that if less unknown but faithful and selfless workers like Fatima Begum were not available to the Muslim League and the Ouaid-i-Azam, creation of Pakistan was a distant task. She was at the top of the list of unsung heroes of the Pakistan movement who not only extended great efforts to create awareness among women of the Punjab and KPK through her welfare organizations, writings and educational institution but also through her own activism and continuous participation in the public debate and political movements. Besides her political services, her humanitarianism is also praiseworthy. She rendered great services for the victims of Bihar riots and for the Muslim women victims of partition of the Punjab who had been brutally treated by Hindus and Sikhs. Her broad-scale work in the field of journalism especially from female point of view still needs a lot of exploration. The impacts of her efforts to educate and mobilize women of the Punjab and KPK were visible and clear. The Muslim families not only started sending their daughters to schools and colleges but also let the women on the whole to take part in the national movement. There is great need to work and to bring to light the services of unsung heroes of the great movement of the Muslims of India.

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¹⁰ Khatun, January 1963, Vol. 1 of the New Age, The Travellogue is available in the library of Idar-i-Khatun.

¹¹ It was established in 1908. The purpose of Anjuman was to revive religious and social consciousness among Muslim women, to strengthen Muslim brotherhood and to provide a platform to Muslims women to gather and communicate with each other on all local, provincial and other issues.

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³⁰ Aftab Qurshi, Karwan-i-Shauq, 229.

³¹" Women's Muslim League at Muree," *Eastern Times*, 23 August 1944.

³² A series of Pakistan Conferences was held by the Punjab Muslims Students Federation from 1941 to 1944 to make the idea of Pakistan popular among Muslim masses. First Pakistan Conference was held at Lahore in March 1941, then in Lyallpur in July 1941, at Multan in March 1942, in Rawalpindi in 1942 and at Jallundhar in November 1942. Another series of Pakistan Conferences was held 1944 at Lahore in March 1944, Sialkot in May, Rawalpindi in June and Amritsar in October 1944. MGSF helped and supported PMSF to make the conferences successful in most of the cases. Cited in Naumana Kiran, "Political Awareness Among Women in the Punjab: A Case Study of their Role in the Pakistan Movement," *Pakistan Journal of Women Studies: Alam-e-Niswan* Vol. 20, No. 2 (2013): 74.

³³ Aftab Qurshi, *Karwan-i-Shauq*, 229.

³⁴Dawn, 5 March 1941.

³⁵ S. Q. Hussain Jafri, ed. *Quaid-i-Azam's Correspondence with Punjab Muslim leaders* (Lahore: np, 1977), 400.

³⁶ Eastern Times, 22 November 1942.

³⁷ Amarjit Singh, "Foundation of Pakistan: A Study of the Women Leadership of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League," *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan Vol. 45 No. 1* (Jan-June 2008): 7.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹Interview with Khalida Munir ud din Chughtai (She was Khalida Rathor before marriage), 15 May 2005, 66-Begum, Street No.2, Cavalry Ground, Lahore.

⁴⁰ Eastern Times, 28 May 1946 cited in David Willmer, "Women as Participants in the Pakistan Movement: Modernisation and the Promise of a Moral State," *Modern Asian Studies* 31, 3 (1996): 581.

⁴¹Eastern Times, 3 September, 1946.

⁴² Eastern Times, 26 January 1947.

⁴³ Shahnawaz, Father and Daughter, 193.

⁴⁴The Tribune, 26 January, 1947.

⁴⁵ Interview with Khalida Munir ud din Chughtai.

⁴⁶ For more details of the services of Khalida Rathor, please see Naumana Kiran, "Political Awareness among Women in the Punjab, 51-80.

⁴⁷ Syed Salahuddin Aslam in interview with Professor Sardar Haider Jafar in Syed Salahuddin Aslam, B*unn Ka Raha Pakistan*, (Pakistan was Created) (Islamabad: Gul Publishers, 1993), 306 and Dr. Muhammad Anwar Khan, *The Role of KPK in the Freedom Struggle* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 2000), 231.

⁴⁸Mashriq, 3 December 1997 and Anwar Khan, The Role of KPK in the Freedom, 231.

⁴⁹Dawn, 12 June 1945.

⁵⁰ Pakistan Times, 15 April 1947.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Dawn, 29 June 1947.

⁵³The Eastern Times, 3 May 1947

⁵⁴ Shahnawaz, Father and Daughter, 206-07.

⁵⁵ Professor Sardar Haider Jaffer, *Mujahidat-i-Subah Serhad: Tehrik-i-pakistan ki Numaiyan Khawateen* (Female Freedom Fighters of Pakistan Movement) (Peshawar: A. R. Printers, nd), 39.

⁵⁶ Report of the First Year, Anjuman-i-Dar ul Khawateen Punjab, 1927-28 cited in Saeed, *Musalmanan-i-Punjab Ki Samaji Aur Flahi Anjumanain*, 338.

⁵⁷ For details please see Saeed, *Musalmanan-i-Punjab*, 338-339.

⁵⁸ Report of the First Year, Anjuman-i-Dar ul Khawateen Punjab, 1927-28 cited in Saeed, *Musalmanan-i-Punjab Ki Samaji Aur Flahi Anjumanain*, 341.

⁵⁹ Aftab Ourshi, Karwan-I-Shaua, 229

⁶⁰Ibid., 433.

⁶¹Eastern Times, 14 November 1946.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ourhsi, karwan-i-Shauq, 434.

⁶⁴Dawn. 25 October 1947.

⁶⁵Kamran Asdar Ali, Surkh Salam: Communist Politics and Class Activism in Pakistan, 1947-1972 (Karachi: OUP, 2015), 12.

⁶⁶Raghuvendra Tanwar, Reporting the Partition of Punjab, 1947 Press, Public and Other Opinions (New Delh: Manohar Publishers and Distributors, 2006), 434.

⁶⁷ Shahnawaz, Father and Daughter, 216.

⁶⁸ Taj Sultana to his Brother, posted on <u>January 19, 2013</u> by Azfar Abbas, azfar5.wordpress.com/2013/01/19/unknown-heroes-taj-sultana.

⁶⁹Mehar Nigar Masroor, *Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan, A Biography* (Karachi: All Pakistan Women Association, nd), 41.

⁷⁰ Ourhsi, *karwan-i-Shauq*, 434.

⁷¹ Fazila_Yacoobali Zimindar, *The Long Partition and the Making of Modern South Asia, Refugees, Boundaries, Histories* (Karachi: OUP, 2008), 7.

⁷²Civil and Military Gazette, 10 October 1947 and 15 October 1947.

⁷³ Taj Sultana to his Brother, posted on January 19, 2013.