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Social and Educational Reforms of Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum

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Abstract:

During the Period of nineteenth and twentieth centuries the central Indian Muslim Princely State of Bhopal ruled by a succession of Begums like Fatah Bibi, Manji Saheb Mamola Bai, Zeenat Begum, Bahu Begum, Nawab Qudisia Begum, Nawab Sikandar Begum, Nawab Shah Jahan Begum and Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum. Among them the last of four generation of Queens, Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum contributed immensely in the field of female education and carried out Social and Educational reforms in order to uplift the status of Muslim Women.

In the present paper an attempt is made to highlight the Social and Educational contribution of Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum of Bhopal who functioned as an icon of Social Reformer especially for women and became a powerful image in Indian history.

Sultan Jahan Begum was the towering personality of her times whose reign of twenty five years in Bhopal was exceptionally enlightened, progressive and compassionate. The most notable achievement of Sultan Jahan Begum in the field of social and educational reforms were the opening of schools, colleges, technical institutions, hospitals and medical centres both for men and women in the pattern of western and yunani in towns as well as in the villages. Her contribution in the field of female education was remarkable. She became an international figure whose educational and social campaign for women's emancipation reached to global level.

During the Period of nineteenth and twentieth century the central Indian Muslim Princely State of Bhopal ruled by a succession of Begums like Fatah Bibi, Manji Saheb Mamola Bai, Zeenat Begum, Bahu Begum, Nawab Qudisia Begum, Nawab Sikandar Begum, Nawab Shah Jahan Begum and Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum. Among them the last of four generation of Queens, Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum contributed immensely in the field of female education and carried out Social and Educational reforms in order to uplift the status of Muslim Women.

In this Paper an attempt is made to highlight the Social and Educational contribution of Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum of Bhopal who functioned as an icon of Social Reformer especially for women and became a powerful image in Indian history.

Sultan Jahan Begum, was the daughter of Nawab Shah Jahan Begum and Nawab Baqi Muhammad Khan, born on 9th July, 1858/1274 A.H. She noted in her autobiography that she had the 'high privilege to begin her life in the very year the rule of the East India Company ended in favour of the British Crown, an event that 'like a sun rising in the West, brought life and vigour to the fainting East'ⁱ. Thus, this year was memorable one in history because Queen Victoria was declared Empress of India and started an era of peace and prosperity.

If we trace the lineage of Sultan Jahan Begum, we find that she belonged to a powerful and influential dynasty of Bhopal where she received the patronage of her Grand-mother Nawab Sikandar Jahan Begum and Great-grand mother Qudisia Begum who were the inspirational personalities of their times. Sultan Jahan Begum was 'deeply religious, homely, frugal and as ascetic' like her Great grand-mother Qudisia Begum and Grand-mother Nawab Sikandar Jahan Begum who was a reform-oriented ruler in Bhopal, inspired her development as a ruler and reformerⁱⁱ. From the diary of young Sultan Jahan Begum, which she wrote shortly after her Grand-mother's death, it is evident that her Grand-mother was so concerned with the matter of her education that there was 'not a single moment free' from itⁱⁱⁱ.

Sultan Jahan Begum gave the description of her early life in '*Taj-ul-Ikbal*' which is so brief and void of detail. In this work, she gave some detailed accounts of her education and general training and the way in which passed her childhood^{iv}. She mentioned that her initial education was started at the age of four year four month and four days with the *Bismillah* ceremony by reciting the Holy *Quran*. In her biography she writes that 'the foundation of my education was laid, with the customary invocation of the divine blessing. A regular course of study was prescribed for me and a daily routine in which prescribed lessons of reading and translating the *Quran*, Handwriting, Arithmetic, Persian, Pashtu and English as well as horse-riding and fencing^v. Her Grand-mother also appointed highly trained men for her education like Munshi Husein Khan, the private secretary of Sikandar Jahan who taught English, the first minister of Bhopal Maulvi Jamaluddin Khan who was the tutor for translation and interpretation of *Quran* and Pandit Ganpat Rai, the tutor for Arithmetic^{vi}. All this proved that Sultan Jahan Begum received sound education at the beginning of her childhood and it was compared with the Sharif gentlemen of an earlier generation in India where the education of girl would be similar to that received by men.

Sultan Jahan Begum succeeded her mother Shah Jahan Begum and ascended the throne on 4th July, 1901 (17th Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1319 A.H) at the mature age of 43. Her coronation ceremony took place in Sadar Manzil Palace with the gathering of state guest and the chief guest Col. Meade. On this installation ceremony she received the *Khilât* which valued 10,000 rupees, a necklace, a *Sarpech*^{vii}, a robe of honour, and a sword. When she seated on the throne a salute of twenty one-guns was also fired by the state artillery^{viii}.

After coming to the throne, Sultan Jahan Begum promoted the social and educational reforms especially for women. As a campaign of social reforms, she toured the villages and listening the problems faced by the womenfolk. She paid special attention to improve the health of women and children and established two hospitals in Bhopal state i.e, Prince of Wales hospital for males and Lady Lansdowne hospital for females which later was known as Sultania Zenana Hospital. There were many orphan girls who received the instruction of nursing and midwifery at the Lady Lansdowne hospital. Another was Lady Hardinge Infant Home for infants which maintained under the supervision of the Lady Lansdowne hospital. In this Infant Home, orphan and destitute children were housed, fed and clothed^{ix}. The Infant Home and Lady Minto Nursing School was inaugurated by Lady Hardinge during her visit to Bhopal in 1912.

Her Highness Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum in her account mentioned the necessity of a nursing school which is as follows:

'In times of illness, we need not only good doctors and medicines, but good nursing. I know from my own experience how much patients suffer in this country in consequence of the ignorance which prevails of the arts of nursing. In Europe, many women receive expert training in this art, which they practice as a profession. They are ready for service not only in hospitals and nursing homes, but in private houses. There is scarcely a woman in Europe who does not possess some knowledge of nursing. In India, unhappily, the reverse is the case. It is surely, therefore, a matter of the utmost importance that the steps should be taken to train Indian women as nurses, so that the people in every grade of society may be able to obtain the assistance, they so urgently need. It was with this thought in my mind that I determined to establish a school for nursing in Bhopal. As Her Excellency Lady Minto had done so much for the cause of nursing in India, I asked and obtained Her Excellency's permission to name the institution after her name. I called it, accordingly, the Lady Minto Nursing School, and a start was made on a small scale in the month of August, 1909^x.

As a part of Women's health reforms, Sultan Jahan Begum was to promote the process of professionalization with regard to female health practitioners and medical institutions. She maintained the women's hospitals and dispensaries in her state and introduced the training programme for *yunani* physician, nurses, mid- wives, and health visitors. She also instituted the first new medical project in her state namely, the establishment of the *Madrasah-i-Asifia* where the indigenous medical practitioners and *hakims* were trained for *yunnani tibb*^{xi}.

During the time of Sultan Jahan Begum, a no of dispensaries in the mofussil were increased and there were more than 30 *yunnani* dispensaries which were maintained by the state. These dispensaries served the women exclusively and operated under the care of female health practitioners who were said to have 'taken proper *tibbi* training and received certificates'^{xii}.

The other major project was to train the mid-wives that belonged to the hereditary *dai* caste. Under this scheme, all the midwives in Bhopal city were called along with their daughters to attend classes daily at the Lady Lansdowne hospital and received instruction from the lady doctor. They were also ordered to send their daughters to the lady doctor for elementary training. When they properly trained and examined by the Indian medical services, they were granted a certificate without which they could not practice their profession legally in the state. The Begum also wanted to popularize this scheme thus she directed that every woman who attended the classes was to receive an allowance of five rupees a month. About this, she writes in her account the following statements:

'In any States or Provision, a system of medical relief which does not include the provision of trained nurses and midwives can benefit only half the population, since it leaves out of account the needs of female sex'^{xiii}.

Sultan Jahan Begum's distinctive approach to the *dai* issue may be also seen in a speech which she gave at the maternity and child welfare exhibition held in Delhi in 1920. In this exhibition she suggested that the female health practitioners would be best served if their instruction consisted of a 'happy combination' of western and *yunnani* medical knowledge^{xiv}. Thus it was important to encourage professionalization in relation to women's health. The other things which needed was to educate the mothers and gave them the knowledge of basic elements of childbirth, first aid, and home nursing in order to bear and raise strong and healthy children who could contribute to the state. Thus Her Highness established 'a school for mothers' in 1919 as a part of the Princess of Wales Ladies Club^{xv}.

In the Women's health reforms project, the issue of sanitation and hygiene was also noticed. Sultan Jahan Begum wrote a book on health and sanitation for women in 1913 titled as '*Tandarusti*' (Healthy) and also published a manual in 1916, titled '*Hifz-i-Sehat*' (the Preservation of Health) in which she encourage the women, not only to maintain physical fitness through exercise and balanced diet but also to improve sanitary conditions within the home in order to reduce the cases of sickness^{xvi}.

Sultan Jahan Begum also noticed that the most 'interesting and important' problem which faced the Muslim women in society was *Purdah*. She wrote books on the right and duties of women in Islam such as '*Iffat-ul-Muslimat*' (Muslim Women's Modesty) in 1918 and it was later reproduced in a more widely circulated English translation as '*Al-Hijab*' or '*why Purdah is necessary*' in 1922^{xvii}. The Begum devoted the first full chapter of '*Iffat-ul-Muslimat*' and '*Al-Hijab*' to the theme of *Purdah* and Shari'at (*Purdah* and Islamic law)^{xviii}. She defended the practice of maintaining strict *Purdah* by which Muslim women was only to leave home for essential tasks and wearing a veil that covered her whole body including hand and face. According to her, *Purdah* was not a hindrance to higher education, travel, good health, philanthropic works, patriotic conduct or ruling state. In '*Al-Hijab*' she also highlighted the negative effects of non-observance of *Purdah* in Europe and North America^{xix}.

Besides this, a series of lectures on religious injunctions' was compiled in another collection, '*Sabil-ul-Jinan*' (The Path to Heaven) in 1917^{xx}, while her more detailed pronouncement on women's right appeared in short treatise such as '*Islam mein Aurat*

ka Martaba in 1922^{xxi}. Another work written in 1916 was '*Khanadari*' (Housekeeping), which is a detailed guide to household management and a lengthy treatise on women's responsibilities was '*Faraiz-un-Nisa*' (The Duties of Women) written in 1921^{xxii}. She also wrote a full book on the topic '*Hadiyat-ul-Zaujain*' (A Guide for married couple) in 1917. This book was later translated into English under the title '*Muslim Home*'. The extract on polygamy and the relative position on man and women in Islam were also reprinted in British Muslim press in the late 20th century^{xxiii}.

Sultan Jahan Begum's contribution in the field of female education was remarkable. The Secretary of State for India, Edwin Montague, noted in his diary that 'She was 'frightfully keen on education and jabbered about nothing else'^{xxiv}. Her Highness was interested to educate the women like her mother and Grand-mother both academic and practical. She believed that the emancipation of women was possible only through education.

Sultan Jahan Begum was a prolific writer who narrated the story of her own life in three volumes under the English title, '*An Account of My Life*' (*Gohur-i-Ikbal*) in 1912, 1922, 1927 and wrote the biography of her close relatives such as '*Hayat-i-Shahjehani*' in 1914 on her mother and '*Hayat-i-Qudsi*' in 1917 on her Great grand-mother and '*Tazkira-i-Baqi*' in 1929 on her father^{xxv}. Besides these, she also wrote a biography of Prophet Muhammad entitled '*Sirat-i-Mustafa*' which showed her wider interest in Islamic history^{xxvi}. She published near about 50 books on different issues like cooking, householding, Health, women's rights and duties etc. Her writings were reformist in nature. Her many speeches on female education which presented at women's clubs and conferences were compiled in '*Silk-i-Shahwar*' in 1919^{xxvii} and a brief Decennial Report of the Princess of Wales Ladies Club, Bhopal in 1922. The others were published in the women's Urdu Journals like '*Khatun*'^{xxviii} (Aligarh) and '*Zill-us-Sultan*'^{xxix} (Bhopal). She also wanted to reform the kitchens of Muslim's women and compiled a cook book '*Matbakh-i-King George*' which dedicated to England's reigning monarch George V in which recipes were provided for European dishes and it was in Urdu languages^{xxx}. The other most popular work of Her Highness was '*Bagh-i-Ajib*' (Fables of the Magic Garden) written in 1924. In this book the allegorical stories of plants, vegetables and flowers were presented in verses and the prose provided the moral and religious instruction to young children^{xxxi}.

She was extremely keen to promote female education and regarding this she attributed equal educational opportunities which prescribed in Holy Quran in which it mentioned that education was obligatory for both men as well as women. She wrote in her own word that 'Education to my mind is the best ornament of women'. She further stated that 'It is perhaps forgotten that women, too are half the community and no real progress can be achieved if the educational needs of this important area is neglected and started of'^{xxxii}.

She also visualized an appropriate curriculum for female education which was scientific and about this she mentions in her account:

'In my opinion, imperfect education is worse than none at all. The sweet water of this spring should either be drunk deep or not tasted at all. It is a stupid thing to my mind, to teach the girls to read and write, and then leave them to their fate. The very least that should be done for them, is to give them a thorough grounding in things that matter, and to awaken the dormant soul in them'^{xxxiii}.

She stated that:

'Although greatly handicapped by the absence of a well thought out curriculum, I made the best of my resources and made a start with a few classes in which Holy Quran with its translation, Urdu, Arithmetic, Geography and domestic economy were taught'^{xxxiv}. Thus, she started a new institution for women named as the *Sultania Girls School* on 21st Rajab, 1321 A.H./1903 A.D and it was situated in an annexe of the Taj Mahal. This school was opened only for noble and rich families. It was affiliated with the middle school courses of the University of Allahabad. The number of students enrolled in this school in the first year was 40 and they were under ten year of age. Three mistresses Mughlai Khanam, Nazeer Bi, Zainab Bi were appointed and one of the pious men Maulvi Syed Mohammad Ali Rizvi was appointed superintendent of this school. A closed conveyance was also provided by the state to bring all the girls to the school in morning and take them back in the afternoon^{xxxv}. Her concern for women's education was also shown in a speech at the prize distribution ceremony of Sultania Girls' School on 16th Feb, 1911 in which she commanded the girls to 'seek diligently to acquire knowledge' as it was a 'women's wealth' but also stressed the fact that 'the object of their education was not to prepare them to undertake the duties of men, rather they were being trained as 'capable housewives and good mothers' roles that received the approbation of God'^{xxxvi}. In this way Sultan Jahan Begum tried to broaden the mind of women and socially mobilized them.

The other school opened by the Begum was Victoria School for girls. It is noted that Sultan Jahan Begum was a great promoter of art. She wrote in her account that 'I have a taste for art ever since my childhood. In my early age, I found scope for this taste in excluding ornamental needle work of various kinds and particular embroidery'^{xxxvii}. Thus, she encouraged the teaching of art and handicraft in the two Girls school in her state namely the Sultania and Victoria schools. It is significant to note that both these schools continued to exist till today. She also founded the school of art in 1905 for the welfare of widows and destitute women known as Widows' Industrial School which was maintained by royal donation and public subscription. In this school the poor women were trained for sewing, needlework etc. Thus the women became self-dependent. Later on the name of this school was changed to *Asifia Technical School* in which the beautiful handicraft made by the women won many prizes for Bhopal in All India exhibition^{xxxviii}.

Sultan Jahan Begum also showed her interest for the less fortunate Hindu girls. She opened a special school for them in 1907 known as *Birjisia Kanya Pathshala*. About this she wrote in her account, 'For the benefit of Hindu Girls, whose claims on my attention were quite as insistent as those of their Mussalman sisters. The religious needs of Hindus being entirely different from those of the Mussalmans, and education divorced from religious being a thing of no value in my eyes'^{xxxix}. Beside these, she took many steps to improve the quality of education for boys in her state and made separate schools for the sons of Sardar. She opened *Alexandra Nobles School* on 17th Oct, 1903 (25th Rajab, 1321 A.H)^{xl} to educate the sons of nobles and Jagirdars and other high

officials along with her third son Sahibzada Hamidullah Khan. In this school, the students received the modern education along with religious and moral instructions. A school for the Muslim boys was especially started in Sehore where they taught Quran. Another school for boys in Bhopal was *Jahangiri School* opened in 1907 where the students provided the classes of tailoring and boot making^{xii}. The Begum also established a full-fledged industrial school for boys, *Habibia Technical School* in 1916. This school offered vocational courses in mechanical engineering, carpentry, cabinet making, coach builders and motor cars mechanics under the supervision of Mr. Joshi, a graduate of the Central Technical Institute in Bombay^{xiii}. Her Highness also sanctioned a scheme for the foundation of a middle school at each of the three tehsils such as Baseli, Bairasia and Bamhori.

In 1911, a Kindergarten class for the training of young child was opened in Bhopal and the classes were held at Ali Manzil. The Kindergarten class was an admirable system where the children mind was developed by means of games and pleasant exercises. Thus, the child looks upon his lesson as a recreation rather than a task^{xiiii}.

Besides this, many schools received the generous patronage of Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum outside the state of Bhopal such as *Aligarh Zenana Madarsa* in Aligarh, the Muslim Girls School in Lucknow and the *Madarsah-i-Sultania* in Panipat^{xv}.

There were some new regulations regarding education which implemented in the year 1906-07 and in this schemes tuition fees was introduced in the city school but the Begum exempted the village school from this tuition fees. In 1906 a new educational code was drawn up by the Moien-ul-Moham. Under this code high school had been affiliated to the Allahabad University and Mathematics was made compulsory in schools. The Punjab University course had been adopted with regard to oriental literature^{xvi}. Her Highness mentions in her account that the state was spending a sum of ten thousand rupees every year on scholarship and those scholarships were given to assist students to qualify themselves in medicine, engineering, agriculture, law, and other sciences or to enable them to proceed to Europe for more advanced study^{xvii}. In the year 1912 the report of state budget cleared the fact that every year the amount of one lakh rupees spend on education and ten thousand rupees for scholarships. However, later on this amount was raised and she made three endowments for the advancements of education in her state. The second endowment was made in 1917 and the sum was increased to 5, 24,400 and the *Bilqisia Girls school* was added to the institutions^{xviii}. The other endowment was made in 1918 and the sum increased to four lakh rupees for the boys' school in Bhopal^{xix}.

A significant feature of state education was the provision in different classes of regular courses of moral and civil instruction. Sultan Jahan Begum established a library known as *Hamidia Library* which started in 1900 by her third son Sahibzada Hamidullah Khan^{xx}. This library became an important source of motivation and inspiration for the pupils and scholars of the state.

Besides the above mentioned schools which maintained by the Government, the other six public schools which aided by the state government were *City Sanskrit Pathshala*, *the Jain Digambar Pathshala*, *the Jain Shwetabar Pathshala*, *the Kanya Vidyalaya* and *the Sehore Kanya Pathshala*¹.

We find that women's education and emancipation received the greatest attention of Sultan Jahan Begum who acted as the first woman chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University. She patronized women's organization at national level and participated in Muhammadan Educational Conference in 1912 and became the founding president of the All-India Muslim Ladies Conference (*Anjuman-i-Khwateen-i-Islam*) in 1914 and in 1918 founded the All-India Ladies Association in Bhopal. Her Highness also acted as life patron of the National council of women in India from 1925 and presiding the All-India women's conference in 1928. She also had the international links which encouraged her to travel Britain, Europe and Middle-East and promoted collaboration with the British to safeguard the interest of South Asia's Muslim communityⁱⁱ. Thus she was an international figure whose educational and social campaign for women's emancipation reached to global level.

After analyzing the social and educational reforms of Sultan Jahan Begum, it can be said that she was the towering personality of her times who ruled for 22 years in Bhopal and led the movement for the upliftment of women in India.

References

ⁱ Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum, *An Account of My Life*, vol.I, trans. C.H.Payne, London: John Murray, 1910, P-28. This text was first published in Urdu under the title *Gohur-i-Iqbal* (The Pearl of Prosperity).

See also, Muhammad Amin Zuberi, *Begamat-i-Bhopal, Ruler of Bhopal*, vol-II, 1918, P- 1.

Muhammad Aslam, *Khwateen*, New Delhi, 1914, PP-334.

ⁱⁱ Siobhan Lambert Hurley, *Muslim Women, Reform and Princely Patronage: Nawab Sultan Jahan Begam of Bhopal*, Rout ledge, London and New York, 2007, PP- 15-43.

ⁱⁱⁱ This document, hereafter referred to as the 'Diary of Sultan Jahan Begum', was found amongst the possessions of Princess Abida Sultaan, granddaughter of Sultan Jahan, at her home in Karachi, Pakistan. It consists of 16 pages that were composed in the 1870s when Sultan Jahan was 15 or 16 years old. It is written in Urdu, though it contains extensive Persian and Arabic vocabulary.

^{iv} Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum, *An Account of My Life*, (*Gohur-i-Iqbal*),vol. I, trans. C.H.Payne, London: John Murray, 1912 , P- 20.

^v *Ibid*, P-32.

^{vi} Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum, *An Account of My Life*,(*Gohur-i-Iqbal*),vol. I, trans. C.H.Payne, London: John Murray,1912 ,PP- 16-19.

See also, *Purdah: An Anthology*, edited by Eunice De Souza, Oxford University Press, 2004, PP-365-367.

See also, Muhammad Amin Zuberi, *Begamat-i-Bhopal, Ruler of Bhopal*, vol-II, 1918, PP-2-3.

^{vii} Jeweled ornament worn on the front of the head-dress.

^{viii} Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum, *An Account of My Life*, (Gohur-i-Iqbal), vol. I, trans. C.H.Payne, London: John Murray, 1912, P-215.

See also, Muhammad Amin Zuberi, *Begamat-i-Bhopal, Ruler of Bhopal*, vol-II, 1918, P-5.

^{ix} Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum, *An Account of My Life*, (Gohur-i-Iqbal), vol.III, trans. C.H.Payne, Bombay, The Times Press, 1927, P-254.

See also, Kamla Mittal, *History of Bhopal State: Development of constitution, Administration and National Awakening, 1901-1949*, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1990, P-89.

^x Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum, *An Account of My Life*, (Gohur-i-Iqbal), vol.III, trans. C.H.Payne, Bombay, The Times Press, 1927, pp-21-23.

^{xi} Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum, *An Account of My Life*, (Gohur-i-Iqbal), vol. I, trans. C.H.Payne, London: John Murray, 1912, PP-320-22, 333.

See also, Siobhan Lambert Hurley, *Muslim Women, Reform and Princely Patronage: Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum of Bhopal*, P-127.

Muhammad Amin Zuberi, *Begamat-i-Bhopal, Ruler of Bhopal*, vol-II, 1918, P-13.

^{xii} Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum, *An Account of My Life*, (Gohur-i-Iqbal), vol.III, trans. C.H.Payne, Bombay, The Times Press, 1927, P-254.

See also, Siobhan Lambert Hurley, *Muslim Women, Reform and Princely Patronage: Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum of Bhopal*, P-127.

^{xiii} Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum, *An Account of My Life*, (Gohur-i-Iqbal), vol.III, trans. C.H.Payne, Bombay, The Times Press, 1927, PP-25-26.

^{xiv} Speech of H.H.Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum of Bhopal at the Maternity and Child Welfare Exhibition held at Delhi on the 23rd February 1920, Bhopal: Sultania Press, 1920, P-6.

^{xv} 'School for mothers', attached to a letter from Sultan Jahan Begum to Lady Reading, 6 October 1921, NAI (B), BSR, NO.5(B.72), 1921. See also, Van Hollen, *Birth on the Threshold: Childbirth and modernity in South India*, Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 2003, P- 51.

^{xvi} Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum, *Hifz-i-Sehat, Bhopal*, Sultania Press, 1916.

See also, Muhammad Amin Zuberi, *Begamat-i-Bhopal, Ruler of Bhopal*, vol-II, 1918, P-116.

^{xvii} Sultan Jahan, *Iffat-ul-Muslimat*, Agra: Mufid-i-Amm Press, 1918; and *Al-Hijab or Why Purdah is Necessary*, Calcutta: Spink and Co, 1922.

^{xviii} Sultan Jahan, *Al-Hijab*, PP-48-106, and *Iffat-ul-Muslimat*, PP-41-109.

^{xix} Sultan Jahan, *Al-Hijab*, P-131.

^{xx} Nawab Sultan Jahan, *Sabil-ul-Jinan*

See also, Muhammad Amin Zuberi, *Begamat-i-Bhopal, Ruler of Bhopal*, vol-II, 1918, P-116.

^{xxi} Sultan Jahan, *Islam mein Aurat ka Martaba*, Bhopal, Hamidia Art Press, 1922.

See also, *Decennial Report*, PP-172-88.

^{xxii} Sultan Jahan, *Khanadari*, Bhopal: Sultania Press, 1916, and *Faraiz un Nisa*, Bhopal: Sultania Press, 1921.

^{xxiii} Sultan Jahan, *Hadiyat-ul-Zaujain*, Madras, weekly Newspaper Press, 1917, Muslim Home, part I: Present to the Married Couple, Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co, 1916.

See also, Muhammad Amin Zuberi, *Begamat-i-Bhopal, Ruler of Bhopal*, vol-II, 1918, P-116.

^{xxiv} Montagu, *Indian Diary*, 22.

^{xxv} Bonnie G. Smith, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Women in World History*, vol-4, Oxford University Press, 2008, P-213.

See also, Muhammad Amin Zuberi, *Begamat-i-Bhopal, Ruler of Bhopal*, vol-II, 1918, P-115.

^{xxvi} Shaharyar M. Khan, *The Begums of Bhopal, A Dynasty Women Rulers in Raj India*, New Delhi, 2004, P- 179.

^{xxvii} Sultan Jahan, *Silk-i-Shahwar*, Bhopal, Ruler of Bhopal, 1919, 128-34.

^{xxviii} Khatun (Aligarh), 9 (February-March 1914), 44-54.

^{xxix} Zill-us-Sultan (Bhopal), 1 ((February, 1914) 28-46.

^{xxx} Sultan Jahan, *Matbakh-i-King George*, Agra: Shamsi Steam Press, n.d.

^{xxxi} Sultan Jahan, *Bagh-i-Ajib*, (part-1, 2, and 3) Bhopal, Hamidia Art Press, 1924.

See also, Muhammad Amin Zuberi, *Begamat-i-Bhopal, Ruler of Bhopal*, vol-II, 1918, P-118.

^{xxxii} Sultan Jahan, *An Account of My Life*, vol- II, trans. Abdus Samad Khan, Bombay, 1922, 150ff.

^{xxxiii} *Ibid.*

^{xxxiv} Sultan Jahan, *An Account of My Life*, vol.II, trans. Abdus Samad Khan, Bombay, 1922, P-152.

^{xxxv} Sultan Jahan, *An Account of My Life*, vol.I, trans. C.H.Payne, London: John Murray, 1912, P- 325.

^{xxxvi} Speech given by Sultan Jahan Begum at the prize-giving ceremony at the Sultania Girls' School on 14th February 1911, quoted in *Account*, vol-III, 121. See also, Khatun (Aligarh), 1, January 1910, PP-27-34.

^{xxxvii} Sultan Jahan, *An Account of My Life*, vol.II, trans. Abdus Samad Khan, Bombay, 1922, P-179.

^{xxxviii} *Administrative Report of Bhopal State, 1905-1908.*

See also, Muhammad Amin Zuberi, *Begamat-i-Bhopal, Ruler of Bhopal*, vol-II, 1918, PP-67-68.

Siobhan Lambert Hurley, *Muslim Women, Reform and Princely Patronage: Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum of Bhopal*, 92-93.

^{xxxix} Sultan Jahan, *An Account of My Life*, vol-II, trans. Abdus Samad Khan, Bombay, 1922, P-265.

See also, Muhammad Amin Zuberi, Begamat-i-Bhopal, Ruler of Bhopal, vol-II, 1918, PP-64-65.

^{xli} Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum, An Account of My Life, vol-II, trans. Abdus Samad Khan, Bombay, 1922, PP- 153-55.

See also, Muhammad Aslam, Khwateen, New Delhi, 1914, P-341.

^{xlii} Siobhan Lambert Hurley, Muslim Women, Reform and Princely Patronage: Nawab Sultan Jahan Begam of Bhopal, 91. see also, NAI(B), BSR, no. 8(B.29), 1916.

^{xliii} NAI (B), BSR, no. 8(B.29), 1916.

^{xliiii} Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum, An Account of My Life, (Gohur-i-Iqbal), vol. III, 135.

^{xliv} The Higher Education of Indian Chiefs, Allahabad, The Pioneer Press, 1908, The Higher Education of Indian Chiefs-II, Allahabad, The Pioneer Press, 1909, and the Higher Education of the Sons of Indian Chiefs and Nobles, Bhopal: Qudisia Press, 1913.

^{xlv} Kamla Mittal, History of Bhopal State: Development of constitution, Administration and National Awakening, 89.

^{xlvi} Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum, An Account of My Life, (Gohur-i-Iqbal), vol. III, 254

^{xlvii} Kamla Mittal, History of Bhopal State: Development of constitution, Administration and National Awakening, 89.

^{xlviii} Foreign and Political Department, Government of India, 1931, File no. 443, 6.

^{xlix} Siobhan Lambert Hurley, Muslim Women, Reform and Princely Patronage: Nawab Sultan Jahan Begam of Bhopal, 111-112

See also, Muhammad Amin Zuberi, Begamat-i-Bhopal, Ruler of Bhopal, vol-II, 1918, P-13.

¹ Kamla Mittal, History of Bhopal State: Development of constitution, Administration and National Awakening, 1901-1949, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1990, P-89.

^{li} Siobhan Lambert Hurley, Muslim Women, Reform and Princely Patronage: Nawab Sultan Jahan Begam of Bhopal, Routledge, London and New York, 2007, PP-95-96.

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