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Advancement of Education for Muslim Women in Colonial Bengal (1813-1947)

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Abstract

In the conservative society of Bengal, the opportunities available to Muslim girls were limited until the early 19th century. Girls were unable to attend school or receive modern education since they were confined to their homes. With the advent of modernism in the Muslim community throughout the latter part of the 19th century inspired significant transformations in all spheres of life for the Muslims of Bengal. This class was able to give up their outdated meditational theories regarding women's education. Starting in the second part of the 19th century, several assemblies and associations were formed in different regions of Bengal with the assistance of passionate individuals to advance women's education. From the early 20th century, the government also recognised the importance of educating Muslim women. The British administration implemented a variety of steps to promote the education of women in Bengal. The efforts of the government aided the expansion of female education across all communities. However, the limitations of the colonial rule may be seen in this effort. By virtue of this circumstance and changing social environment, Muslim girls were able to educate themselves and take their first steps towards modernity.

Keywords: Women Education, Bengali Muslim, Christian Missionary, Zenana Education, Begum Rokeya, Nawab Faizunnesa Choudhurani, Abul Kasem Fazlul Huq

Bengali Muslim society likewise fell into political and then socio-economic decline as a result of the British control in India. During this period of decadence in Muslim society, Bengali Muslim women found themselves in a position that was both pitiable and excruciatingly painful. The Muslim women's society faced significant challenges, primarily due to issues such as illiteracy, child marriage, polygamy, divorce, and a variety of superstitious beliefs. Following the introduction of Islam in India, there exist a tendency among conservative Muslim intellectuals and religious authorities to abstain from engaging in discourse regarding the rights and duties outlined for women in the Qur'an and Hadith. The new Sharia rules were enforced, resulting in a variety of restrictions on the women's community. Although education is an essential requirement in Islam for both men and women in equal measure,¹ but Bengali Muslim women were not permitted the opportunity to further their education.

During the 19th century, Bengali society witnessed a transformation in its ideological landscape. A variety of intellectuals significantly contributed to the advancement of women's education and the reform movement. However, the scopes of their reform campaign were limited to the Hindu women only and were unable to extend its influence on Muslim women. The Hindu and Brahmo women in this country were influenced by westernisation and modernisation, which had a significant impact on their lives. In contrast, the Muslim women were constrained by traditional limitations. As a result, the Muslim women community of Bengal remained immersed in the darkness of ignorance. The Muslim population in Bengal experienced a notable expansion throughout the latter half of the 19th century. The 1872 census revealed that Muslims constituted approximately 48 percent of Bengal's population.² Muslims in Bengal outnumbered Hindus in the 1881 census. In that particular year, there were 1,72,54,120 Hindus and 1,78,63,411 Muslims living in Bengal.³ This majority section of Bengal kept themselves away from modern education.

A clause in the Charter Act of 1813 AD stipulated that the East India Company would spend at least one lakh rupees per year on education in India. This was the first time that money was allocated to the education sector under British rule in India. But they had no vision for women's education at this time.⁴ As at that time in England, no special measures for the advancement of female education were taken in their own country, the same could not be expected of them to adopt a policy for the education of women in the colonies.⁵ In Bengal, the beginning of the women's education reform movement was organised by private initiative. In this particular instance, Christian missionaries were the first to step forward and offer their assistance. Established in 1819, the 'Female Juvenile Society' was instrumental in the development of girls' schools around Calcutta. Mary Ann Cooke took the initiative to build eight girls' schools in various locations inside the city of Calcutta by the year 1822. In 1827, a notable development took place in Calcutta with the establishment of around twelve girls' schools. This achievement was made possible via the dedicated efforts of the Ladies' Association. Approximately 160 students were enrolled in those educational institutions. The majority of them identified as Muslims.⁶ But this picture was not entirely satisfactory. According to Adam's report, the missionary schools in Burdwan had a total of 175 female students, with only one student identifying as Muslim.⁷ These schools were primarily founded for the goal of propagating Christianity; hence, Muslims and girls from higher castes within the Hindu religion were not allowed to attend them. Only lower caste Hindu and native Christian girls studied in those schools.⁸ However, it is imperative to acknowledge the commendable efforts of Christian missionaries as the foremost initiative towards women's education during the contemporary period.

The 1881-1882 Indian Education Commission report reveals that, out of 17452 students in primary girls' schools, 1570 were Muslim females. The vernacular middle school for girls had a total enrolment of 527 students, with six of them identifying as Muslim. Among the 340 students enrolled at the English medium Girls' Middle School, a total of four students identified as Muslim. At the English High School for Girls', which had a total enrolment of 184 students, not a single one of them identified as Muslim.⁹ Therefore, it seems that Muslim women's education did not advance until 1882. W. Hunter maintained that 'The existing education system to be unsuited to the requirements and hateful to the religion of the Muslims.'¹⁰ The Muslim community residing in Bengal has shown a preference for the

Persian language and demonstrated a tendency to distance themselves from the pursuit of English education. Even the Bengali Muslims of the 19th century had reluctance towards the native Bengali language. They considered this language as the language of Hindus. According to the Education Reports of 1887-88 to 1891-92, parents in this country were hesitant to send their daughters to school because they believed educated females would neglect household work.¹¹

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898), the father of Muslim modernism in India, was ambivalent about the education of Muslim girls. He was not against educating the girls of the family. He believed that the socio-economic status of Muslims at the time had not established a suitable environment for teaching girls.¹² In the year 1863, Nawab Abdul Latif (1828-1893) was the one who took the initiative to extend modern education to the Muslim population in Bengal. He did this by founding the Mohammedan Literary Society. However, he focused only on Muslim men in his endeavours. Syed Ameer Ali and Md. Yusuf presented their statement in favour of Indian Muslim women's education, but they did not take any initiative to implement the program in reality. The waqf property belonging to Haji Mohammad Mahasin (1732-1812) of Hooghly was utilised for the establishment and support of Muslim educational institutions, with a notable absence of initiatives focused on the promotion of women's education.¹³ However, in 1854, the government implemented a policy to promote women's education in India for the first time, as per Charles Wood's educational policy. He announced steps to be taken about women's education: The importance of female education in India cannot be overrated, and we have observed with pleasure the evidence which is now afforded of an increased desire on the part of many of the natives to give a good education to their daughters.¹⁴

The prevailing intellectual circles of the day expressed scepticism over the appropriateness of imparting contemporary and non-religious education to females within a Muslim societal context. In the *Al-Islam* magazine, Abdur Rahman expressed his dislike for the modern education of Muslim females.¹⁵ Bengali Muslim thinkers such as Abdul Ghafoor Jalali, Ismail Hossain Siraji, and Taheruddin Ahmed placed significant emphasis on the importance of providing religious education to girls, alongside education that would provide women with the necessary skills for household management. They were against educating girls in western education. On the other hand, there were some Muslims in Bengal who pushed for contemporary education for girls alongside Arabic, Persian, and Urdu lessons. These Muslims are rare in number. Notable among them are Qazi Imdadul Haque (1882-1926), Wazed Ali (1890-1951), and Abdur Rashid (1900-1986).

In the second part of the 19th century, numerous groups and organisations emerged across different regions of Bengal through private initiatives, with the aim of advancing women's education. Various projects were implemented by the '*Uttarpara Hitakari Sabha*' with the aim of promoting the education of women belonging to both Hindu and Muslim populations. Based on the departmental report of the society in 1866-67, it is evident that the Burdwan Division exhibited significant involvement in the promotion of females' education.¹⁶ The role of '*Dhaka Mussalman Suhrid Sammilani*' established in 1883 in promoting Muslim women's education is commendable. They arranged door-to-door teaching, which is known as the *Zenana* method of education. They had to take such initiatives due to the various restrictions on women and the practice of veiling in the contemporary era. Commendable initiatives were taken in the expansion of women's

education with the efforts of 'Srihatta Sammilani' established in 1878. This society did not restrict its activities solely to young people from Srihatta who were residing in Calcutta. Women from the Hindu and Muslim populations in Sylhet were the focus of a concerted effort that resulted in the founding of a number of educational institutions spread out around the city. This organisation reported that 383 female students were successful in passing the examination that took place in 1884. 21 of them were students who identified as Muslim.¹⁷ Subsequently, the number of Muslim female students increased gradually. 'Tripura Anthapur Stri Shiksha Sabha' (1883), 'Noakhali Sammilani' (1905), and 'Dipali Sangha' (1923) founded by revolutionary Leela Nag, deserve special mention for promoting women's education.

Nawab Faizunnesa Choudhurani (1834-1903) was the pioneer of institutional education for Muslim women in Bengal. She instituted three different forms of education: primary education; education in Bengali and English for both genders; and religious education.¹⁸ The middle vernacular girls' school she founded was praised as 'the best girls' school' in the Government Education Report of 1880-81.¹⁹ It was probably the first modern middle girls' school established in the subcontinent for the education of Muslim women.²⁰ Later it became an English-medium girls' high school.²¹ She arranged hostels for girls, and the expenses of these hostels for girls were borne from the income of her Zamindari. She also arranged monthly scholarships for girls. With the donation of Nawab Ferdous Mahal and Nawab Ahsanullah of Dhaka and the initiative of Syed Waheed Hossain, Muslim Girls Madrasa was established in Calcutta on 19 January 1897. It was the first girls' school established in Calcutta under the initiative of Muslims during the British period. The school was inaugurated by Lady Mackenzie, wife of the Governor. In 1909, Khujista Akhtar Banu (1872-1912), a social activist and the mother of the renowned Bengali Muslim leader, Hossain Shahid Suhrawardy, founded the Suhrawardia Girls School in Kolkata. The school was inaugurated by the viceroy's wife, Lady Minto.²² Khujista Banu became the first Indian Muslim woman to pass the Senior Cambridge Examination (matriculation equivalent).²³ In 1896, Latifunnesa, a Muslim student from Campbell Medical School in Calcutta, stood second in the L.M.F. exam. She was the first woman doctor among the Muslim women of Bengal in the modern era.²⁴

As the nineteenth century came to a close, the British colonial administration took initiatives pertaining to the establishment of educational institutions for girls. The establishment of the 'Calcutta Female School' by Bethune in 1849 was a significant milestone in the advancement of female education in modern Bengal. It holds the distinction of being the inaugural government girls' school in the subcontinent. But for a very long time, Bengali Muslim women were denied admittance to this school.²⁵ The establishment of Eden Girls School in Dhaka in 1878 was undertaken with the specific aim of providing education to girls belonging to the Muslim community. Girls from Muslim and Hindu backgrounds were able to enrol in this school. The British Government's Department of Education was in charge of both the Eden Girls' School in Dhaka and the Bethune Female School in Calcutta.²⁶ It was the very first educational institution in East Bengal that offered higher secondary education specifically to female students. In 1926, this school established a college section.

According to the Supplement to Progress of Education in Bengal, 1902-03 to 1906-07, there were 38095 female students in Bengal's primary and secondary schools in 1901-02,

with only 1214 of them being Muslims. In 1906-07, there were 5939 Muslim female students among the 75767 female students in Bengal's primary and secondary institutions.²⁷ In 1906-07, the number of Muslim female students climbed significantly, but the majority of them attended primary schools. In a 1905-06 report, Miss Brooke, the Inspector of Female Schools, asserted that the low number of Muslim female students at the high and secondary levels was due to their early withdrawal from school. In that report, she made the following statement about women's education:

Education both in the schools and in the Zenana is one of the most meagre descriptions. In the former this undoubtedly due to the early age of girls are withdrawn, not for marriage, but within the *pardah*; in the later it is owing to the almost utter lack of training and education in the teachers...I am convinced that if we could obtain teachers capable of giving an acceptable course of instruction, a large number of Zenana would be at once available.²⁸

In Muslim society, child marriage was extremely prevalent. Islam views marriage as a contract between a man and a woman. However, in Muslim society, a child's marriage was essentially arranged by their guardians. W.W. Hunter notes in 1873, 'Both among Mohammedans and Hindus, both are generally married at 10 and have no choice. The parents arrange the match, if possible, in their own village.'²⁹

Begum Rokeya Sakhawat Hossain (1880–1932) stands as a prominent figure in the realm of women's liberation during the colonial era in India. On October 1, 1909, she founded the Shakhawat Memorial Girls School in Bhagalpur, Bihar, in memory of her husband Shakhawat Hussain, who died in 1909. However, familial disputes arising from land acquisition and property matters compelled Rokeya to relocate from Bhagalpur to Calcutta. Shakhawat Memorial Girls School was established here on 16 March 1911. In September 1916, Sarojini Naidu wrote an extensive correspondence in which she expressed her admiration and extended congratulations to Begum Rokeya for her altruistic contributions to society and exceptional aptitude in the field of education:

Will you allow a stranger like me to write and tell you from my sickbed how greatly I have sympathised with your brave work for several years, how deeply I have admired your self-sacrifice and devotion in not only founding but so ably sustaining your work of education for Muslim Girls.³⁰

Begum Rokeya aimed to educate Muslim women through her school, equipping them with the knowledge and skills necessary to excel as virtuous daughters, efficient housewives, and exemplary mothers. In addition to teaching girls about religion, Rokeya wanted them to make a commitment to helping others and serving their country in some way.

In conjunction with private initiatives, governmental entities began to prioritise the education of Muslim women from the onset of the 20th century. The Government of Bengal placed significant importance on Zenana education for the advancement of Muslim women's education, in accordance with the suggestions put out during the Shimla Education Conference of 1901. There are two distinct methodologies that have been introduced for the purpose of Zenana education. One example involves the dissemination of education through the provision of in-home lessons, while another approach entails the consolidation of women by building various centres. The government provides

scholarships and grants to support the educational pursuits of female Muslim students. The 1901 census revealed that the Zenana system had taught 400 Muslim women in English.³¹ The '*Mahila Shilpa Samiti*' guided Muslim girls in Calcutta to attend industrial schools, where they received instruction in various handicrafts such as weaving and stitching. These schools were established as a part of an effort to empower women.³²

After the partition of Bengal in 1905, the governments of East Bengal and Assam separately appointed a committee in 1908 to formulate policies on women's education. The committee elected Mr. R. Nathan, the Education Inspector of Dhaka Division, as its president. The Committee appointed Miss M. Garrett as its Secretary. The committee put forth several recommendations pertaining to the education of Muslim women. These recommendations included the introduction of secular education in select girls' schools, the allocation of financial assistance ranging from Rs 5 to 10 for female students attending non-religious schools, the establishment of dedicated schools for Muslim girls in urban areas, the recruitment of Muslim female teachers, the facilitation of appropriate training programs, the establishment of residential facilities for trainees, and the development of a specialised curriculum for Muslim girls, among others.³³ Following careful deliberation, the East Bengal government took action to adopt the suggestions put forth by the committee. A number of primary and secondary schools exclusively for girls were founded within the newly formed province. The training of female educators was implemented, and measures were taken to ensure that half of the members on school committees were women. A total of 114 scholarships were allocated to economically disadvantaged and academically accomplished female students across several tiers of primary and secondary education. Additionally, seven scholarships were specifically designated for students of the Muslim faith. In the recently opened schools, efforts are made to hire as many female teachers as possible.³⁴ The provincial government allocated a grant of Rs. 94552 in the fiscal year 1906-07 and Rs. 213224 in the fiscal year 1911-12 to support the establishment of primary schools for females. In the fiscal year 1906-07, a sum of Rs. 126160 was designated for the purpose of supporting female education at the secondary level. The fiscal year 1911-12 saw an increased allocation of Rs 282541 towards the advancement of female education at the same level.³⁵

The advancements made by Muslim women in primary and secondary education in East Bengal and Assam during this particular period deserve recognition. In the year 1906, there were a total of 51180 female pupils enrolled in primary schools. Among them, 22223 were identified as Muslim. During the academic year of 1911-12, it was observed that out of a total of 110817 female students, 56575 of them identified as Muslims. Over the course of this time frame, there was a notable rise in the quantity of primary school establishments, which grew from 2781 to 4956. Although this development in primary education was remarkable, it was less so in secondary education. Out of the 1503 female secondary school students in 1906-07, just 48 were Muslims. There were 2480 female students at this level in the academic year 1911-12, of whom 108 were Muslims.³⁶ That is to say, it would appear that the issue of Muslim females dropping out of school at an early age remains the same as it was in the past. During this period, not only did the number of young women enrolling in primary school in East Bengal increase, but there were also significant advancements in Zenana education.

During Bengal's partition, the number of Muslim girls attending West Bengal government schools was exceedingly low. This was as a result of the veil system, the absence of Muslim-friendly curricula and schools, the shortage of skilled female teachers, children dropping out of school, and other factors. John Earle, the director of education, underlined the necessity of enrolling Muslim women in girls' schools in 1906. Leading Muslims presented the government with several recommendations at a 1907 meeting, including the creation of an updated curriculum to expand women's educational opportunities and the recruitment of Urdu teachers. Miss Honeyburn, the school inspector, proposed the establishment of a rural educational institution specifically catering to Muslim female students, with the provision of retaining the practice of wearing the veil. In response to these proposals, the government implemented measures aimed at establishing a specialised curriculum for Muslim females, allocating sufficient funding to educational institutions, offering scholarships, and enhancing teachers' remuneration.³⁷ The Zenana method of education is given particular attention by the government.

In West Bengal, during the school year 1907-1908, there were a total of 126955 female pupils attending primary school, and the number of Muslim girls was 9080. During the academic year 1911-12, there were a total of 158265 female students at this level. Among them, 1,200 were Muslim females. In the academic year 1907-1908, there were a total of 1554 female students enrolled in middle vernacular schools. Fifteen of these students identified as Muslims. In the school year 1911-12, there were a total of 2862 female students, and 35 of them identified as Muslims.³⁸ It is worth mentioning that the Muslim population in West Bengal constituted 17.06 percent throughout the specified period.³⁹ The educational involvement rate among Muslim women was much lower relative to the whole population.

To alleviate the frustration that had developed in the Muslim community following the retraction of the decision to split Bengal, the Government of India focused on the issue of education within the Muslim community. The formation of the Muslim Education Advisory Committee in 1914 was initiated by the government. The committee presents several recommendations to the government, including the establishment of Muslim girls' schools in every sub-division, the integration of religious education with general education to promote school attendance, the distribution of printed books, the provision of veils for female students in examination centres, the appointment of female inspectors for supervising model schools, the establishment of boarding schools for Muslim female students, and the provision of scholarships for training purposes.⁴⁰ In 1914, the government established 3031 educational institutions specifically for Muslim girls. There were 320 in the Presidency Division, 138 in the Burdwan Division, 1233 in the Dhaka Division, 701 in the Rajshahi Division, and 369 in the Chittagong Division.⁴¹ In the five years following the government's withdrawal of the decision to divide Bengal, some chosen Muslim girls' institutions received 45,000 rupees for the education of Muslim women.⁴² In 1916-17, the government contributed 5 lakhs and 50 thousand rupees to improve the education of Muslim women in general.⁴³

In 1928, Nawab Musharraf Hossain (1871-1966), who was the education minister of Bengal at the time, enacted 'The Bengal (Rural) Primary Education Bill 1928'. This is a significant advancement for the primary education system in Bengal. In 1930, Education Minister Khawaja Nazimuddin (1894-1964) implemented 'The Bengal (Rural) Primary

Education Bill 1930'. This bill has significant implications for women's education. The 'Bengal Primary (Amendment) Bill 1932' made primary education compulsory for girls and marked a major change in the education of Muslim women.⁴⁴ Child marriage was one of the obstacles to higher education for women in Bengali Muslim society. In 1929, the 'Sharda Act' came into effect, mandating a minimum age of 18 for males to marry and 14 for females. This act ushered in a new age of social development and increased opportunities for women to pursue higher education.

Abul Kasem Fazlul Huq (1873–1962), the Prime Minister of the coalition government formed by the Muslim League and Krishak Praja Party in Bengal in 1937, had a notable level of impact on education. He established the Women's Education Committee in 1938, appointing W.A. Jenkins, the director of public education, as its chairman. The suggestions made by the committee placed an emphasis on the provision of scholarships, tuition-free studies, personalised education, and specialised curricula for Muslim women in the field of education. The Bengal Cabinet under Fazlul Haq established the Lady Brabourne College for Girls in Calcutta in 1939. The college, named after the Governor of Bengal's wife, initially solely admitted Muslim girls but eventually expanded to include students from all communities. The college reserved its hostel exclusively for female students of the Muslim faith. Subsequently, in 1947, the college's hostel was made accessible to female students from all communities. Prior to the partition in 1947, there were 152 female students enrolled at this college, with 120 of them being Muslims.⁴⁵ Arabic-Persian education is incorporated into higher education curricula, alongside general education, with the aim of fostering a heightened enthusiasm for learning. Bethune College, for instance, began offering courses in Arabic and Persian in 1938, while Eden College in Dhaka did the same in 1939.⁴⁶ Due to various activities of the government of Bengal and various private initiatives, the rate of female education in Bengali Muslim society increased compared to before. According to the public instruction report of 1940-41, the number of Muslim girls scaled to 425103 (54.55 percent) at the primary level and 1899 (7.97 percent) at the secondary level.⁴⁷

In Bengal, government efforts as well as private initiatives contributed significantly to the advancement of Muslim women's education. From the beginning of the 20th century, awareness of Bengali Muslim women's status and the desire to secure their rights were aroused. At that time, Muslims published magazines and journals such as *Islam Pracharak*, *Nabanoor*, *The Mohammadi*, *Al Islah*, *Saugat*, *The Mussalman*, *Bangiya Mussalman Sahitya Patrika*, *Sadhana*, *Annesa*, *Sahachar*, *Dhumketu*, *Shariat*, *Shariat-e-Islam*, *Shikha*, *Tabligh*, *Nowroz*, *Muazzin*, *Jagran*, *Bulbul*, *Noor*, *Kohinoor*, *Hedayat*, *Moslem Darpan*, *Al-Islam*, among others, were established with the primary aim of promoting the holistic advancement of women in society.⁴⁸ The '*Bangiya Nari Siksa Samiti*' was established in 1922 to improve the education of women in Bengal. '*Bangiya Muslim Mahila Sangha*' was established in 1925 with the same objective. In 1927, the '*Parda Birodhi Sangha*' was established by the initiative of some students of Dhaka University against the practice of blockade, which is the main obstacle to Muslim women's education. In conjunction with several organisations dedicated to the promotion of women's education, Muslim authors and intellectuals have expressed their support for women's education through their literary works. Prominent writers such as Abul Hussain (1896-1938), Kazi Imdadul Haque (1882-1926), Mohammad Lutfar Rahman (1889-1936), Akhter Mahal Syeda Khatun (1901-1928), and Faziltunnesa

Joha (1905-1976) focused on women's liberation and emphasised the need of women's education. Lutfar Rahman established a women-centric organisation known as 'Naritirtha' in 1922 AD. Faziltunnesa, the first woman to obtain a Master's degree in mathematics, was appointed as the Head of the Mathematics Department at Bethune College in Calcutta. She subsequently progressed to the position of vice principal there.⁴⁹ After partition, she moved to Dhaka and became principal of Eden College in 1948.

In Bengali Muslim society, as well as in Indian Muslim society more generally, women's education was disregarded. Women's education was restricted to religious instruction and the appropriate observance of family duties. Despite numerous challenges, Muslim women's access to education made significant strides over the first half of the 20th century. The limitations of the colonial administration can be observed in government initiatives, but it cannot be said that the role of the government was not at all present. It is notable that the writer and intellectual community played a role in raising awareness about the need of women's education. At the instigation of numerous politicians and social activists, privately founded educational institutes for Muslim women caused a commotion in stagnant societal progress. During the period under consideration, many Muslim women in Bengali society who were involved in contemporary education were from affluent, education-conscious households. Muslim women of ordinary families were deprived of that opportunity. Official statistics do not provide information about this majority of women in the Bengali Muslim community. Excluding this category prevents obtaining a comprehensive understanding of women's education during the discussed period. Additional in-depth studies on these marginalised women are possible. However, the spread of education among Muslim girls has resulted in a change in their values and instilled a sense of awareness among them. Bengali Muslim society was able to realise the fact that girls have the right to education and the right to participate in the outside world. A section of Muslim women recognised that education was not only a way to become skilled in managing household affairs but also a crucial factor in liberating themselves from their socially subordinate position. Within the framework of women's emergence during the colonial period, Muslim women sought to establish a position in society for the girls of their community by acquiring political and legal rights, aligning their demands with the advancement of femininity, protesting against the exploitation of women, and engaging in resistance movements. However, they could not spread their movement beyond the circle of a handful of educated and conscious women. Nevertheless, the consciousness and principles they acquired through their rights campaign enabled them to embark on the journey of modernity and prepare for more significant movements.

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42. *Progress of Education in Bengal, 1912-13 to 1916-17, p. 110*
43. *Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1917-18, Calcutta, 1918, p. 15*
44. *Bengal Legislative Council Proceedings, Vol. XXXVIII, No.1, p. 369, dt.17.02.1932*
45. Anowar Hossain, *op. Cit. (n. 6), p. 80*
46. *Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1938-39, Calcutta, 1939, p.21. Report on Public Instruction in Bengal 1939-40, Alipore, 1942, p. 22*
47. *Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1940-41, Alipore, 1943, p. 54*
48. Aminul Islam, *Nabajagarane Banglar Muslim Nari, (in Bengali) Akshar Prakashan, Kolkata, 2017, pp. 108-109*
49. *Ibid, p. 123*