INTRODUCTION

Sind derives its name from the Sanskrit word *Sindh* or *Sindhu*, a river or an ocean. It was applied to the river Indus, the first great body of water encountered by the Aryan invaders. Sind, the home of Mohenjodaro-civilization, was unique due to its peculiar geographical situation in Indian sub continent. It had not been under Hindu rule since 712 and the Muslims ruled it for 1130 years till 1843 when the British conquered it. It was attached with Bombay Presidency purely on grounds of administrative convenience and in particular because it was a deficit province. During the period of Lord Dalhousie and afterwards also it was proposed that Sind should be annexed with Punjab but it could not be materialised. It was separated from the Bombay Presidency on April 1, 1936 and after the partition of India in 1947 it became a part of Pakistan.

The province of Sind lies between North latitude 23°35' and 28°30' and 67° to 70° East longitude and is the most westerly part of the Indian sub-continent. It has alluvial plain formed by the river *Sindhu* or Indus (after the Punjab rivers have poured water therein) and the delta of the river. A range of hills in the West demarcates Sind from Baluchistan and a stretch of desert.

in the east distinguishes it from Rajasthan. The Rann of Cutch in the south is the boundary between Sind and Cutch. Punjab lies in the north. Sind is generally known as the lower valley of the Indus and this river bisects the province for 360 miles. Sind's area is 57,000 square miles. There are three well-defined parts of Sind, the Siro or head, the Wichola or the middle, the Lar or the descent, and two outlying regions, one in the West, Kohistan or the hill-tract, and the other in the East, the Registan, or Desert of Thar. 3

The boundaries of the region called 'Sind' have not always been the same. The Chachnameh, tells us that under the Rai Dynasty the dominion of Sind extended to the boundary of Kashmir on the east and Makran on the west, to the sea on the south, and the hills of Kardan and Kaikonan on the north. 4 Sometimes it extended its influence in the east till Kanauj and in the north west till Kandhar. 5 The language of Sind bears such close affinity to that spoken in the Punjab, Kashmir and the North-West-Frontier Province that it is not difficult to conceive that the extent of the province of Sind was at one time much greater than today. The ancient city of Alum now in ruins, is said to have been the capital not only of Sind but of Hind as well. 6 This was the greater Sind of which the present province, which alone retains the original name, is but a part. When, however, the

4. Fredung beg, *Kalech b"eg, Chachnameh*, Translated, (Delhi, 1979) p. 11
5. Ibid, 11-12
6. Ibid
imperial armies of Akbar annexed the province (1592) to the empire of Delhi the boundaries and extent of Sind were practically the same as they are to day.

Triangular in shape, it has on its west a range of the Kirthar mountains, barren and monotonous; towards the east, it is guarded by Thar, the greatest Indian desert; in the north its narrow apex penetrates into the land of the five rivers; while at the base of this deltaic region is the Rann of Cutch and the Arabian sea. Thus the mountain ridges, the desert and the sea, served as the political frontiers of the province and gave it natural boundaries.

Sind occupied a central place between Europe and Asia. It had intimate cultural as well as commercial relations with the rest of the civilized world during Mohan-jo-Daro and Vedic periods. Alexander, the great made his home-ward march, after the invasion of India; and it was here that the Arabs came first to trade then to conquer and rule after their conversion to Islam. The Mughals, the Afghans, the Persians and the Rajputs tried their hands at subduing it. The invaders could not succeed in retaining it for longer period due to its peculiar geographical situation. On the contrary quite a number of those who came to conquer and trade remained to stay and were merged, in course of time, into the native population.7

The climate of Sind ranks among the hottest and most

variable in India. The average temperature of the summer months is 95°, and that of the winter months 60°. But the thermometer frequently rises in summer to 114° and occasionally to 120°, while in winter it falls at night a few degrees below freezing point, and ranges even in the day time from 40° to 80°. No other part of India has so long a continuance of excessively hot weather, owing to the deficiency of rain. The climate of the sea coast, however, is much more equable in temperature than in upper Sind. Karachi, the sea coast city, enjoys a strong Sea breeze, which blows day and night from April to October. In Northern Sind the extremes of temperature are strongly marked. The thermometer at Shikarpur often sinks below freezing point in winter, and ice forms as late as February; yet in summer for weeks together, the reading at midnight do not fall below 100°. Jacobabad is the hottest place with the highest temperature recorded to 126°. The rainfall of Sind is scanty and irregular which averages only about 8 inches.

Sind is indeed a 'Gift of the Indus'; and its fertile banks are like an oasis of the desert region. Running in the shape of 'S', it irrigates a larger tract of land and made up for the deficiencies of rainfall. It tended to break the natural isolation of the country and gave it also a commercial importance for which Sind was at one time famous. The Indus has over-flowed its banks and changed its course, more than any other river in

8. The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XXII, New Delhi, p. 393-94
9. Chiblani, S.P., Economic Condition in Sind (Calcutta, 1951) p. 11
India. It had a two fold effect on the economic life of the province. On the one hand, it made the Sind desert fruitful and fertile with the silt it brought and on the other hand, it swept away many cities on its banks.

The peculiar geographical factors have indeed played an important part in moulding the Sindhi life and character. The influx of the foreigners and their mingling with the locals gave birth to a mixed culture and sense of toleration. The hard life which they followed brought them further nearer and broke many social taboos. They became the World citizens due to their enterprising and adventurous nature. They could not become brave like their counterpart Punjabis and pathans as they did not taste any decisive battle. After the failure of the Arab conquest of Sind, the Muslims came to know that it was not Sind but Punjab was the real gateway of India. Geographically being separated and poor communication with India, Sind evolved a separate regional identity.

The story of Sind, through the ages, has been the story of the decline of a great fertile and civilized region to the level of a backward and despised tract, until the British raised it once more to a prosperous and honourable position. The Rigveda says, "The Sind is rich in horses, rich in Chariot, rich in clothes, rich in gold ornaments well made, rich in wood forever fresh,

10. Ibid, p.12
abounding in silama plants, and the auspicious river wears honey growing flowers. \(^1\) In his well known work entitled *Mohenjo-Daro and Indus Civilization* in the period 3250 B.C. to 2750 B.C., Sir John Marshall refers to the Indus Valley Culture as 'a marvellous culture,' surpassing in many respects the splendour of Egypt and Mesopotamia.\(^2\) In the two great epics of India, the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, Sind does not loom large for the centre of gravity as Indian life had shifted by then from the Sindhu to the Ganges and Jammuna but Sindhi horses are praised and reference made to Sindhus mingling with the deep.\(^3\) The horses, cows, cotton cloth and fine muslin of Sind attracted the greedy Persian King, Cyrus the Great, (558-530 B.C.) and his successor, Darius the Great, who annexed Sind in 512 B.C. Sind's yearly contribution of 360 talents of gold was the largest furnished by any satrapy of the Persian Empire. Alexander's passage through Sind on his way back to Babylon through the land route via Makran left no impression on Sind at all. In the days of Mauryans, Sind formed a part of their empire and Buddhism came to Sind. After the decline of Mauryan empire came the Bactrians, the Greeks (the Yavanas), the Parthians, and the most important of Sakas or the Scythians whose blood mingled with that of Sindhis so largely that Sind became 'Indo scythic'. In the age of Guptas, Sind was quite a flourishing and progressive province and it continued to be such until the coming of the Arabs.\(^4\)

11. Quoted in Ajwani, L.H., *op. cit.*, p.4
When the Arabs conquered Sind in 712 under Mohammed Bin Kasim, Sindhis had become superstitious, caste-ridden, easily loving and timorous. Dahir, the ruler of Sind, fought like a national hero in vain. The military power of the Arabs lasted only a short while but Sind's ancient culture was rudely shaken and suffered a set back. The cultural effect of the Arab conquest may be summed up in the off-quouted words of Henry Cousens: "The Arabs destroyed but did not build".15 Mehmud of Gazni conquered Sind in 1026 and annexed it with his kingdom. About 1053 Sumras, a local clan, became the rulers of Sind.16 Nearly three centuries later (1333) the sumras were overpowered by another native Rajput tribe, the Sammas.17 Mohammad Tughlag invaded Sind in 1351 and died on the banks of river Indus near Thatta.18 Firoz Tughlaq, his successor, subdued the province in 1362 and made it a part of the kingdom of Delhi.19 Sammas returned soon to power and extended their authority to the whole province. They governed the country wisely and well and their rule was on the whole benevolent. They encouraged agriculture, industry and trade and built a number of new towns, and such was the prosperity of the country that their reign has been called the 'golden age' of native rule in Sind.20 In 1521, the Sammas were superceded by

15. Ibid
17. Ibid, p.74
19. Ibid, p.247
20. Haig, op.cit., p.83
the Arghuns - a pathan tribe of Kandhar who were displaced by their kinsmen, The Tarkhanas in 1554. In the following year a Portuguese detachment under Pedro Barreto Rolim attacked Thutta, destroyed by fire property valued at over two million pounds and carried away 'one of the richest booties' ever taken in Asia. 21

In 1592, Akbar the Great, annexed the province of Sind to the empire of Delhi. Sind was made a subordinate division of the Suba of Multan. It was a peaceful time, Industry and trade flourished, Thutta became a centre of international commerce. The Portuguese, the English and the Dutch-founded their factories in the province 22 . During the decline of Mughal rule Kalhoras, a local tribe, had become powerful. After Nadir Shah, who conquered the province and annexed in 1739, Nur Mohammed Kalhora revolted and established his rule soon. The Kalhora rule ended in 1783 when Talpur Chief Mir Fateh Ali obtained firman from the Afghan king, Zaman Shah, and made Hyderabad his capital. 23 Later the disagreement in the family resulted in the division of the country, into three independent governments. First central part had its capital Hyderabad, second state was Khairpur and the third was Mirpur.

The Sammas and the Mughals tried to bring prosperity to the province but the infighting after the decline of Mughal

21. Ibid, p.98
22. Chablani, S.P., op.cit.,
empire for power among the various tribes on the one hand and Afghan invasions to establish their suzerainty on the other made the condition of Sind very pitiable. The Talpurs, who were Baluchees, did not take interest in administration and in the well being of the people. The Talpur rulers of Sind were motley crowd and the unity of the country under them was sacrificed. They established aristocracy by giving jagirs to their tribemen. Napier writes, "If the Kalhoras were bad princes, the Talpurs have been worse." The Talpur Ameers were famous for their tyrannical pleasures. They converted within a few years, a fourth of the fertile peoples land into Shikargahs or hunting preserves. It was said that 'their hunting was dearer to them than their wives and children'. The long period of thousand years or more of Muslim rule in Sind was a period of almost progressive degeneration for Sind and Sindhis.

After defeating the armies of the Mirs of Sind in the battle of Maini in 1843, the British annexed it. In the beginning it was placed under a separate commissioner and later in 1847 it was made over to the presidency of Bombay. The conquest of Sind followed in the wake of the Afghan war and was morally and politically its sequel. Eastwick writes about the British conquest of Sind quoting a Persian proverb which says "When you hunt the

25. Ibid, pp.58-59
deer, be prepared to meet the tiger". He added, "Our friends who conquered Afghanistan had, unfortunately read the proverb the other way - they wanted to hunt the tiger and made their preparation for the deer". The conquest of Sind was morally indefensible. Sir Napier, the conquerer wrote of this episode, "We have no right to seize Sind, yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous useful human piece of rascality". Later he termed his conquest, "Peccavi" Latin for "I have sin (ne)d".

Sind, throughout the ages remained victim of foreign invasions. Political stability was uncommon there. It remained aloof from the political activities of India. Only under Mughal rule it was connected with India for a longer period. During that period too, it was not favour ed like Punjab or Kashmir. Moreover, it was not given a status of a province. It was made a part of Sube-I-Multan as later the British made it a part of Bombay presidency.

The British conquest of Sind was no doubt an act of aggression, but the Sindhis welcomed their rule as giving them relief from autocracy and barbarism. The government of Mirs was an unalloyed despotism supported by a feudal system very

30. Chablani, op.cit. p.15
31. Ajwani, op.cit., p.8
similar to that which once prevailed in Europe. The whole land was given to jagirdars and zamindars. The jagirdars, mostly the Baluchi Chiefs were almost independent. The zamindars, who got the land for definite period gave the share of the produce to the government, were free in dealing with the cultivators i.e. haris. Besides, the zamindars, some persons who possessed the hereditary right to cultivate their lands, had to pay lapa, a rent to zamindar. At the local level, the Kotwal and the Kardars worked as the government agents. There was no check on their powers. The Mirs were generally illiterate, fanatic, ignorant and incompetent rulers.

After its annexation, Sind was first governed as a separate province for four years and thereafter united with the Presidency of Bombay. Napier, the conqueror of Sind, was made commissioner with a secretary, and a Judge Advocate to help him. The province was divided into three collectorates with headquarters at Shikarpur, Hyderabad and Karachi. Each of them was governed by a collector with magisterial powers. Napier adopted a very cautious policy. He wanted to establish British empire in Sind on sound footing then later to establish reforms. He promptly called the Baluchi jagirdars, returned them their swords and confirmed their jagirs. He told them: "Obey me! Do what you like -

33. Easwick, _op.cit._, p.213
34. Choksey, R.D., _op.cit._, p.2
rob, murder anything, I have not forbidden all things unless I have said! 'No' His administration was a military occupation mixed with a Sindhian system and the only change was the removal of the Amirs and his favourites replaced by responsible officers who protected the people from the native oppressions by listening to their complaints. 37

Charles Napier was succeeded by Sir Bartle Frere in 1851 who remained as Commissioner till 1859. During his stay in Sind a big change was brought in the whole set up. On his coming he recorded, "not a mile of bridged or a metalled road, not a masonry bridge of any kind in fact not five miles of any cleared road not a set of barracks of higher clan than 'temporary', not a single dawk bungalow, serai or charmsala or district Katchery; but one market place and not a Court house, lock up or police station or office of any kind". 38 In 1853 he gave Sind its first English school. In 1858 he saw the Sind Railway Company start work on Karachi - Hyderabad railway track. He got Lt. Fife, an Engineer, to submit a plan that eventually found consummation in the great Sukkurr Barrage. He organised a trade fair in Karachi that attracted not only all India but also Central Asia. He pursued the Viceroy to get ships coming from England to halt at Karachi, before they reached Bombay. He also decided on a script for Sindhi and then recognized it as the language of administration and

37. Choksey, R.D., op.cit., p.16
38. Ibid., p.35
at the lower levels. He even gave Sind the honour of the first postage stamp in all India; The 'Scinde District Dawk', in 1852. 39

The British administration, though could not change the basic structure of Sind's old feudal structure, yet it established law and order in the province. Justice was also established. In 1866 the court of Civil and Criminal judicature was instituted; and a judicial commissioner, ranking next to the Commissioner of Sind was appointed, who presided at the Sadar Court, the court of appeal, and controlled all the other courts, civil and criminal, throughout the province. New departments like Public Works, Irrigational, Customs, Postal and Educational started their works. 40

After the Montagu - Chelmsford reforms, the Bombay Legislative Council included a certain number of members elected in Sind, and there were similarly one or two in the Central Legislative Assembly. Not unfortunately, the reported deliberations of these bodies sitting several hundred miles away from Sind, and not very often concerned with sind affairs, aroused relatively little interest within that province. Moreover, the members of Sind were considered pro-government and weak in these assemblies. The Governor of Bombay presidency never visited Sind. Thus the people of all classes continued to look up to the Commissioner. 41

40. Ross David - op.cit., pp.8-9
41. Philips, C.H., Wainright, M.D., op.cit pp.504-05
Even after the separation of Sind from the Bombay Presidency and the establishment of 'Provincial autonomy' after the elections of 1935, the province could not get better administration due to lack of political immaturity. Sind remained disturbed throughout. Provincial government was reduced to a travesty of the administrative machinery. Party alignment was based on considerations of personal gain rather than on moral convictions or a desire to do public good.42

Sind, once a Hindu province, was turned to be a muslim majority province, till the advent of the British rule.43 Islam made its impact on the province through the Arab traders in the 8th century A.D. The Arab invasions and the conquest in 712 A.D. further rooted Islam. Persion, which was made an official language during the Muslim rule in Sind, spreaded the Islamic view of life. The sufis of Sind, who were mostly the muslims, attracted many Hindus to their fold. Akbar's religious toleration had reaction in Sind. Most of the Hindus were converted to Islam during Kalhora rule and under the Talpurs.44 Conversions continued as the new converts could not find equal status in the old society of the Muslims and they had to increase their number for social intercourse.

The population of Sind was estimated two millions at the beginning of the Mughal rule and it attained its three million peak during the regime of early Kalhoras; and then as a result of num-

42. Gopal Das, Stern Reckoning, (New Delhi), p.243
43. Choksey, R.D., op.cit.,p.108
44. Malkani, K.R., op.cit.,p 148
ber of causes which led to an all-embracing economic decline of Sind, it fell to about fifteen lakhs towards the close of the Talpurs in 1843. Since then it had shown an upward trend again. In 1881, the population increased to 25,42,976 and its increasing trend continued and in 1941 it reached 48,40,795. Being an agricultural province, the population of Sind was mostly rural. Still like the other parts of India, the urban population increased from 10.35% in 1871 to 18.9% in 1941. The Muslims mostly the agriculturist lived in villages while the Hindus who adopted trade lived in towns. The only Hindu lived in a village was a Banja.

The Muslim population which was more than 70% in Sind was divided into different classes. The majority of Indian converts were called Sheikhs. The Afghans or Pathans had settled near Hyderabad after their frequent attacks. The Baluchis, were hired by the rulers in Sind for military purposes but later they established their own rule under the Talpurs. The Memons and Khoagas were originally Kutchi Hindus. The slaves were Zanzibaris, Mombasis and Habshis (Abyssinians). Islam, based upon equality of mankind, was not practically adopted in Sind as there was no open inter-marriages among the different castes of Muslims. The slaves were sold like animals.

The Hindus were divided into four castes, i.e. Brahmins,

45. Chablani, S.P., op. cit., p. 139.
47. ibid., p. 111.
Kashatriyas, Vaishyas and Gooros. Unlike in Hindu India the Brahmins of Sind were poor and illiterate. They were only among the whole Hindu population. It seems that during the period of religious persecution they might be target of the Muslim fanatics. The Rajputs, known as kashatraiyas lived in desert region of Thar and Parkar. The Lohanas, related to vaishyas, were leading among Hindus. They were the amils or the Government servants and also bhaiband, the shopkeepers. The number of Gooros or schedule castes was very less. Most of them had been converted to Islam. A few who were living in Sind were from the neighbouring provinces who came in search of work. Most of the Sindhi Hindus had common features, manners, religion, ceremonies and even opinions with the Punjabis which proves that the Punjabi Hindus might have migrated to Sind in different times for the purpose of trade or for earning livelihood.48

The social set up in Sind was feudal. During the Muslim rule, there were only two classes, upper and lower. The upper class consisted Jagirdars, Zamindars, Pirs, Mullahas and Government Officials and all others came under the lower class. The condition of the lower class of peasantry was truly wretched; unable at times to obtain sufficient food and even clothing, it was often out of their reach to provide a home for a wife and family, hence they seldom marry.49 On the other hand the people of upper class, were owners of great estates with a large number of followers.

48. ibid., p.112
49. ibid., p.115.
who lived with little less than princely power in their own fortified palaces called Kots. The British rule could not change the basic social structure but it brought some relief to the cultivators. Though they remained ignorant and poor yet they had plenty to eat. It was due to the reforms brought by the British in the land revenue and also due to the spread of canals.

Sind had three main languages—Sindhi, Siraiki, and Baluchi. The Sindhi of the Hindus differed from that of the Muslims somewhat as Hindi from Urdu. The Muslims used more Arabic and Persian words and the Hindus used Sanskrit words. The Siraiki was Western Punjabi identical language spoken in Dera Ghazi and Bhawalpur. The Baluchi had lost its purity and had adopted many Sindhi and Siraiki words.

Sind remained backward in the field of education. The Muslim rulers of the province did not show any interest in this field. The jagirdars and the Zamindars wanted to keep Sindhi peasants illiterate so that they could keep them under their thumb. The British rule made some impact. The Hindus readily adopted the western education while Muslims hesitated. The result was obvious. Being 70% of the population, the number of educated Muslims was half to the Hindus. In the whole province 4.9% male and 0.5% females could read or write.

50. Chablani, S.P., op. cit., p.149
51. ibid., p.142
52. Choksey, R.D., op. cit., p.121-122
53. The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol.XXII, p.430
Agriculture was the main occupation in Sind. More than 60% of the population was engaged in this profession. It had perhaps the most ancient agricultural record in the world and finds of Mohan-jo-Daro had shown that wheat was cultivated in the province 5,000 years ago. Different varieties of Kharif and Rabi crops were produced. The principal Kharif crops were Jowar, Bajra and Rice, Cotton, Sesamum and Mung; while the principal Rabi crops were Wheat and Barley; Indigo and Mustard and Sugar-cane; while hemp and opium were raised in a small measure during Rabi.

Cultivation of fruits and vegetables or flowers was known in Sind. Writing as early as 1699, Hamilton tells us that the 'Kings gardens were in pretty good condition and were well stored with fruits and flowers, particularly the most delicious pomegranates which I had ever tasted'. The Arabs introduced date-palm, a fine variety of which was found on the banks of the river Indus near Rohri. The dates of Rohri were rated the best. The best gardens were of course situated in the principal towns - Thatta, Nasarpur, Hyderabad, Shikarpur, Sehwan and Rohri.

A general decline had come in the field of agriculture before the advent of British rule in Sind. The last Muslim rulers of the province, the Talpurs, had turned the most of the agricultural land into the Shikargahs, the hunting grounds. The old jagirdars had given way to the new Baluchi jagirdars. The British ended the jagirdari system under which the jagirdar enjoyed absolute

54. Chabiani, S.P., op. cit., p.32
55. ibid., p.34
57. Chabiani, S.P., op. cit., p.35.
powers in dealing with the cultivators and raising the land revenue. The jagirdars, who later became zamindars lost their absolute powers. The land revenue was fixed which was to be collected by the British collectors from the Zamindars in cash.

The zamindars got his land cultivated by the haris in different ways. In one way the zamindar supplied, the bullocks, the seed and all expenses except labour; the cultivator performed the labour, receiving in return a share of the produce. This was what in Sind was meant by the Zamindar's Khood Kasht. In the other, the land was let for the season to the cultivator, who found bullocks, seed etc. as well as labour, merely paying rent to the land owner. This system was known as Moojarat. Land was also cultivated by hired labour. Sometimes, the cultivators got permanent right on a small piece of land. Being a small Zamindar he had to pay lapa, a kind of tax to the zamindar.

Sind had been irrigated by means of artificial canals from time immemorial. Arabs and early European travellers gave description of irrigated and non-irrigated land by canals. The British gave much importance to irrigation. The canals before them were mostly inundation canals, which rose and fall with the fluctuation of river water. Barrages were constructed to make the water flow regular in a controlled way. The most important barrage was 'Central Lloyd Barrage' at Sukkur which was completed in 1932

58. Choksey, R.O., op.cit., p.91
59. ibid., p.81
60. ibid., p.56
after a great labour of continuous nine years with the cost of Rs. 240 million.

The position of the zamindar under the British had worsened. He had lost his authority and feudal powers but still he lived aristocracy. His expenditure was more than income. Division of property after his death, unfavourable seasons and calamities brought him to the stage of bankruptcy. The land revenue was to be paid in cash which he paid after getting loans from the village Bania. Under the new revenue policy the zamindar had to pay assessment on all land that he claimed, though the greater part of it might be unirrigated and incapable of yielding any result. The British courts gave powers to the Bania, the money lender, for recovery of debt which made the zamindar to sell his land. The Hindus could not own land under the Mirs but under the British this restriction was not imposed. The Hindus started buying land and in a few years they owned 40% of land in Sind though they were only 30% of the whole population. The British who wanted to keep the zamindar alive for his loyalty, came to his rescue. Many Acts were passed to save him but in vain. No doubt, the new policy under the British made the situation critical for the zamindar but it was not the new policy only for his decline. It was due to his laziness and carelessness. The hari, cultivator, got some rights and became land holders. They also were lazy and dependent on migrated labour.

63. ibid., p.130.
66. ibid., p.165.
Sind's commercial communication had been facilitated by its geographical position, its natural resources as well as enterprising character of its people. Before Karachi port, Debal and Lahri Bunder were main ports through which brisk trade was carried with the countries of the West. Seeing the commercial values of Portugues, Dutch and the British established their links with Sind. The place of these cities was taken by Shikarpur, Hyderabad, Karachi, Khairpur, Larkana and Mirpur. The main items of export were indigo, cotton, wool and hides and those of import were, cotton goods, machinery, metals and coal etc. The British policy in Sind was that of imperial. They bought the raw material on low price and sold the manufactured items on high price. Mostly the Hindus were engaged in their traditional occupation of trade.

Small scale industry which was flourishing before the Britishers in Sind, decayed. No encouragement was given to the local industries. Still, Hyderabad was famous for its leather work; Thatta, Nasarpur, Larkana, Mirpur-Khas and Shikarpur had cotton weaving and handloom industry; woolen textile or local manufacturers consisted of carpets, rugs, blankets and sacking was famous of Karachi and Hyderabad. Woolen carpets were also

68. *ibid.*, pp.51
69. Choksey, R.D. *op. cit.*, pp.179-180
made at Nawabshah and Babak. Thatta’s silk industry which was once famous was dying. Some persons were engaged in cotton dyeing, silk dyeing and woolen dyeing. Fishery was an occupation of people living near the river. Boat building was an important industry which lost its importance with the coming of railways. On the whole, the province was backward in the field of Industry. In 1901 there were only 39 factories that could be governed by the Factories Act. The total number employed was only about 8400.  

Sind had two main religions, Hinduism and Islam. A few persons belonged to Buddhism, Jainism, Zorasterism, Sikhism and Christianity. Islam had been the dominant religion since the 7th Century A.D. as the rulers belonged to that religion. Hindus had reconciled and they lived as second rate citizens. Sufis like Lal Shahbaz, Jhooley Lal, Shah Abdul Latif, Abdul Wahab known as Sachal and Chainrai Sami, preached religious toleration. Akbar and Guru Nanak also made their impact on Sind. All preached unity of Godhead and brotherhood of mankind. The Sufi saints were being worshipped by both the Hindus and the Muslims. Later their descendants known as pirs, the spiritual leaders played an important role in Sind. They lived in shrines which had large land holdings which ultimately made them the leaders of the masses.  

When the British took over Sind, Hindus were in a pretty

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70. Ibid., pp.223-37  
71. Ibid., p.108  
72. Mulkani, K.R., op.cit., p.148  
parlous state. They could neither keep an idol, nor ring a bell. The lust of a Mir of the fatwa of a pir could ruin them.\textsuperscript{74} Under the British rule, the Hindus started realising their self respect as the new rule ended the preferential treatment of Muslims. Arya Samaj movement in the end of the 19th century and in the beginning of 20th century made its headway in the province. Shudhi movement, by which the converted Hindus were brought back to their ancestral religion, was started. The rise of Sikh power in the Punjab did come as a moral boost to the Sind Hindus.\textsuperscript{75} The Hindus had already made Guru Nanak their spiritual leader and respected Guru Granth Saheb. Maharaja Ranjit Singh keeping in view the interest of Sindhi Hindus in Sikhism had taken land for the construction of a Gurdwara at Hyderabad. The Gurdwara, well known as Akal Bhoonga was built.\textsuperscript{76} The Hindus in Sind read Gurbani and visited Gurdwara but along with it respected other Hindu scriptures. They remained 'Shishyas' (disciples) that is Sikhs of the Guru; with few exception, they were not Khalsas or Sardarji.\textsuperscript{77}

Conversions from Hinduism to Islam under threat or otherwise, had been the part of history in Sind. Many Hindus had joined Islam and a few who opposed had migrated to other provinces. Under the British rule, the Hindus regained confidence

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{74} Malkani, K.R., \textit{Op.cit.}, pp.77-78
\item \textsuperscript{75} \textit{Ibid.}
\item \textsuperscript{76} \textit{Ibid.}, p.152
\item \textsuperscript{77} \textit{Ibid.}, p.175
\end{itemize}
and started opposing the conversions. 'The Great Sheikh Case' in 1891 created tension between the Hindus and the Muslims. One Mewaram who had been converted to Islam, wanted to get his wife and children. The wife refused to join him. He put a case in the court to get possession of his children. Both the Muslims and the Hindus collected huge money to finance the husband and the wife respectively. When Mewaram lost the case he tried to use the force. The new converts who always tried to show their loyalty to new religion did excesses. Deomal, elder brother of Acharya Kripalani after becoming Sheikh Abdul Rehman, had his elder brother, Thakurdas, drowned through his Muslim firends as he was obstacle in his conversion. Later he kidnapped his 12-year-young brother Nanak from the school got him converted, sent him to the Frontier. Nanak died fighting for the Turks against the Italians in 1911. It was rightly observed, Sheikh putt Shaitan jo; na Hindu, na Musalman (the New convert Sheikh is the son of Satan; he is neither Hindu nor Muslim).

The mullahs had great impact on Sind politics and Muslim masses during the Muslim rule as the state was theocratic. The British rule could not diminish their leading role as the Muslim remained aloof to the British liberal politcies and education. The mullahs were mostly ignorant and fantical. They kept their control over the illiterate and conservative Muslim masses. Knowing nothing about religion they often divided over non-issues. They

78. Ibid., p.115
79. Ibid., p.116
issued *fatwa*, a religious order, which was followed by the Muslims blindly. Their fatwas gave air to the communal feelings. G.M. Syed a noted Sind leader, had suggested that a legal ban should have been imposed on mullahs issuing fatwas, doing communal propaganda or taking part in politics.  

Apart from religious differences between the Hindus and the Muslims, there was resentment on economic and social issues. The Hindus who were down trodden during the Muslim rule made tremendous progress in the economic field because of their traditional interest in education and business. Muslim landlords lost their land to the Hindu money lenders. The Hindus dominated the services, the professions, trade and industry. They lived in the cities. Thus the caste-community difference was reinforced by class differences. The society had been divided as haves and the have nots and rural verses urban. The Muslims were jealous of the Hindus progress in a province in which they had majority.

Indian freedom movement, the urge of Indians to get independence from the British rule, was the product of nationalism in the 19th and 20th century. Indian National Congress which was a movement in itself not just a party included within its fold different individuals and ideologies, played an important role during the Indian freedom struggle. About the origin of

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80. Ibid., p.156
81. Ibid.
the Indian nationalism, Prof. Rothermund writes, "It originated in the vision of those Indians who learnt to look at Indian from a new point of view after experiencing the political, educational and missionary impact of the West. It was nurtured by the increasing opposition of the autocratic rule of the alien colonial power". 83

The modern view of Nationalism has been given by Prof. Hans Kohn when he says, "Nationalism is a state of mind and an act of consciousness, a process of integration of masses of the people into a common political form, a product of the growth of social and intelectual factors at a certain stage of history, gains the emotional warmth of concreteness and the effects of education, economic interdependence and corresponding political and social institutions, brings about identification of masses with a body for too great for any concrete experience". 84

The Indian nationalism, which was the product of the impact of British rule in India, did not base on traditional key factors like common race, religion and language. It based upon modern view of emotional unity. It was more objective than subjective. It was the result of consciousness and the recognition of the socio-cultural synthetic unity of the past. 85 From the very beginning all the national leaders realised the fact that

India was not yet a fully structured nation but a nation in making. So they tried to unite regions and religions to fight against the imperialism. 86

When the process to develop India into a nation was going on, communalism hindered its progress. Communalism which emerged from the modern views after politics based on the people, believes that religion is the main base of unity among the masses. Communalism starts with the belief that the people follow the same religion have common interests, in the second stage it gets its liberal phase. It is believed that the common interests of the community are different to the interests of the fellow of another religion and in the third stage it takes the extremist view that different communities are mutually incompatible, antagonistic and hostile. 87

Communalism that ostensibly grew in India after the revolt of 1857 was due to relative socio-economic backwardsness of the Muslims and the conscious British Policy of 'divide and rule'. 88 Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, a revivalist and great Muslim leader, made the Muslims conscious of their backwardness and inspire them to get the British favour in removing it. He became pro-British and opposed Indian National Congress from the very beginning which was a national organisation. 89 The formation of the Muslim

86. Chandra, Bipin, op.cit., p.23
87. Ibid., pp.398-99
88. Kishore, Satyndra, National Integration in India, (New Delhi) 1987), p.60
89. Gangadharan, K.K., op.cit., p.152
League by the Muslims and later the Hindu Maha Sabha by the Hindus to protect the interests of their respective communities gave strength to the communalism.

British rule and its policy of divide and rule bore special responsibility for the growth of communalism in modern India. First, by consistently treating Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs as separate communities and socio-political entities which had little in common. Second, official favour and patronage were extended to the communalists. Third, the communalist Press and persons and agitations were shown extraordinary tolerance. Fourth, communal demands were readily accepted, thus politically strengthening communal organisations and their hold over the people. Fifth, the British readily accepted communal organisations and leaders as the real spokes-persons for their 'communities'. while the national leaders were treated as representing a microscopic minority - the elite. Sixth, separate electorates served as an important instrument for the development of communal politics. Lastly the colonial government encouraged communalism through a policy of non-action against it.  

The Muslim communalism flourished under the British patronage. In 1905, Bengal was partitioned to weaken the forces of nationalism in India. Lord Minto accepted the demand of separate electorates of Muslim deputation led by the Agha Khan in 1906. Macdonald issued the communal award in 1932.  

90. Chandra, Bipin, op.cit., p.409
Communalism remained liberal till 1937 as the communalists demanded separate communal rights, safeguards, reservations etc. within the broad concept of one Indian nation-in-the-making. In 1940, Muslim League, demanded a separate state for the Muslims namely Pakistan. The demand for Pakistan was communal as it based on religion. Jinnah, who led the movement for Pakistan aroused the religious feelings of the Muslims through his speeches. He criticised Indian National Congress and Gandhi. In his presidential address to the League in 1938, Jinnah said, "The High Command of the Congress is determined, absolutely determined, to crush all other communities and cultures in this country". In March 1940 he told the students at Aligarh, "Mr. Gandhi's hope is to subjugate and vassalize the Muslims under a Hindu Raj". Both the allegations against the Congress and Gandhi were baseless. He actually, wanted to bring out the Muslims from the national body and national leadership. Posing as an advocate of Islam, as Aligarh in 1941, he said, "Pakistan is not only a practicable goal but the only goal if you want to save Islam from complete annihilation in this country". In his presidential address in April, 1941 Jinnah declared that in a united India, "The Muslims will be absolutely wiped out of existence". In 1946, asking Muslims to vote for the League he said, "If we fail to realize

91. Ibid.
93. Ibid., p.127
94. Ibid., p.243
95. Ibid., p.248
our duty to-day you will be reduced to the status of Sudras and Islam will be vanquished from India." Religion was brought into the forefront of propaganda. In 1946, Muslims were asked to vote for the League because a vote for the League and Pakistan was a vote for Islam. The Quran was widely used as the League's symbol; the League's fight with the Congress was portrayed as a fight between Islam and Kufar (infidelity).

The different sub-cultures of Indian society which had been influenced by British penetration in different phases of expansion of the administration and educational frontier were not drawn into the orbit of the movement for national independence all at one time. The three Presidency capitals - Calcutta, Bombay and Madras - were the first to experience nationalist aspirations and the Punjab, Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh came into its orbit much later. Sind being annexed by the British in the later stages could not make good progress in the field of nationalism. Geographical isolation, political backwardness, social and economic inequalities and religious disbeliefs further served as barriers for the smooth rise of national consciousness.

The Revolt of 1857 is rightly said to be the mother of Indian Nationalism. even in failure it served a grand purpose; a source of inspiration for the national liberation movement

96. Ibid., Vol.II, p.240-241
97. Chandra, Bipin, op.cit., p.436
98. Gangadharan, K.K. op.cit., p.3
which later achieved what the revolt could not.\textsuperscript{99} The British rule was not welcomed by the Mirs, landlords, religious leaders and the Sindhi soldiers. The revolt inspired them to come into action against the Britishers. A conspiracy was hatched to murder the British officers at the camp of Jacobabad on August 21, 1857. Captain Merewether came to know about the plot and it could not be executed.\textsuperscript{100} A body of fanatical Mohammedans unfurled the green flag at Karachi and called each other to fight for the Prophet.\textsuperscript{101} Constant alarms and outbreaks in certain parts of Sind found the echoes of the sepoy war which induced European ladies and families to take refuge in the forts or other defensive positions at Karachi, Hyderabad, Shikarpur and Jacobabad where the English officers were stationed.\textsuperscript{102} In September two more plots against the British in Hyderabad were nipped in the bud.\textsuperscript{103} The army joined the Mutiny in Shikarpur, Sukkur and Hyderabad. Sher Mohammed Khan, Imam Bakash, Alif Khan and Darya Khan were the leaders of the Revolt. After the failure, Darya Khan was expelled to Aden and Sher Mohammed Khan was blown from cannon mouth at Rambagh at Karachi.\textsuperscript{104}

The participation of Sind in the Revolt was partial. Common

\textsuperscript{99} Chandra Bipin, \textit{op.cit.}, p.40
\textsuperscript{100} The History of the Indian Revolt (London,1857) pp.207-08.
\textsuperscript{101} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{102} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{103} Holmes, Rice T. \textit{A History of the Indian Mutiny} (London,1898) p.470
\textsuperscript{104} Malkani K.R. \textit{op.cit.}, p.69
people did not participate and no major incident occurred as Frere, commissioner of Sind had reconciled the people of the province by good administration. The Revolt failed to make great impact also owing partly to the great distance from the disturbed provinces of Hidustan, partly to the vicinity of the well disposed Bombay army and partly to the activity and good organisation of Jacob's Irregular Horse.

The socio-religious movements, the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Ramakrishna Mission and the Theosophical Society prepared the soil for the growth of Indian nationalism. Navalrai a Sindhi, visited Calcutta and met Keshub Chandra Sen, a Brahmo Samaji. Coming back to Sind, he pursued the social and educational policies of the Samaj. He sent his younger brother Hiranand to Calcutta where he lived much time with Keshub Chandra. He met Ramakrishna Paramhansa and his great disciple Narendra known as Vivekananda. The two brother Navalrai and Hiranand, put new life into Sind. They opened N.H. Academy and a girl school, both at Hyderabad and started a Leper Home in Karchi. They fought against social evils like child marriage, drinking, gambling and abusive language. They started Sind Sabha, an organisation of prominent personalities of Sind irrespective of religion. The Arya Samaj made headway in Sindh through Punjab-preachers Lekhram and Poornanand. Coming under the influence of the Samaj Tarachand

105. A history of the Indian Revolt, op.cit., p.207
106. Ibid.
107. Malkani, K.R. op.cit., pp.79-81
Gajra and Swami Krishnanand preached its principles.\textsuperscript{108} Theosophical society of Annie Besant brought under its influence the stalwarts of Sind such as Jethamal Parasram, Jamshed Meheta and G.M. Syed\textsuperscript{109}, T.L. Vaswani a scholar and a saint led a movement of spiritual revival. He started Shakti School for Boys and Mira School for girls both in Hyderabad.\textsuperscript{110}.

The socio-religious movements, no doubt, were against social evils and religious ritualism still these gave religious tinge to Indian nationalism. The Arya Samaj's Shudhi movement in Sind was opposed by the Muslims. The other development regarding these movements were looked upon as Hindu revivalism which gave strength to communalism.

The Western education brought a big change in the outlook of the Sindhis and produced great men like Acharya Gidwani, Kripalani, Malkani, the Agha Khan and Mohammed Ali Jinnah from Sind who played very significant role during the Freedom struggle. The man who contributed a lot in spreading the western education in Sind was Dayaram Jethmal. He was to Sind what justice Renade was to Maharashtra. He established D.J. Sind college at Karachi, helped in founding N.H. Academy and D.G. National College both at Hyderabad. He was founder father of Sind Reform Association, Sadhu Ashram and Gidumal sanskrit Pathshala all in Hyderabad;

\begin{itemize}
  \item 108. Ibid., p.83
  \item 109. Ibid., p.83
  \item 110. Ibid., p.84
\end{itemize}
Seva Sadan at Bombay, Shanti Ashram Library at Amritsar, J.B. Sanatorium at Dharampur (Simla Hills) and Leper Asylum at Karchi. The Hindus in Sind readily adopted the Western education while the Muslims were reluctant. The result was obvious. The Hindus monopolised all services and trades which brought resentment among the Muslims.

The Press in India proved a great force through which the Indian nationalism derived its vigour and strength. It exposed colonial rule and aroused political consciousness. Newspapers were not in those days business enterprises, nor were the editors and journalists professionals. Newspapers were published at a national and public service.

The history of journalism in Sind started from the later half of the 19th century. Two earliest journals of Sind were the Sind Times in English and Sind Sudhar in Sindhi founded by the Sind Sabha and edited by Sadhu Hiranand. Both the newspapers exposed the British rule and its economic policy of exploitation. Tolaram Menghraj Balani edited Mata and Sada-e-Sind. A weekly Shakti was edited by Man Singh Chuharmal who later took the charge of the Hindus as general Manager and became member of its weekly Hindvasi. Jethmal Parasram and Lilaram Pherwani started weeklies Gharvasi and Watan respectively. Virunal Begraj's weekly was The Sindhi and Swami Govindnand's The Kesari. The New Times an English daily

112. Chandra, Bipan, op.cit., p.103
was published from Karachi by T.K. Jeswani when it was ceased in 1919 its place was taken by *Sind Observer* edited by K. Punnaiah. Another daily appeared namely the *Karachi Daily* edited by Tara Chand Lalwani. Karasandas Manik a Gujarati, published *Indian Mirror* and H.D. Mariwalla published a weekly *Congress*. Mulchand Virumal published a weekly journal *Sind Advocate*. *Sandesh* and *Hitechhu* were two Gujarati papers published in Sind.  

The most important nationalist papers published in Sindhi were the *Hindu* by Man Singh, the *Hindu Jati* by Vishnu Sharma and Lokram Sharma, the *Swarajya* by C.T. Valecha and the *Azad* by Allah Baksh. Jairandas Doulatram an eminent Sindhi leader was selected by Madan Mohan Malaviya to be the first editor of the *Hindustan Times* founded by him.  

The press which was national in outlook in the beginning turned to be communal after the failure of non-cooperation Movement. The *Al-Wahid*, a Muslim paper in Sind opposed Arya Samaj and the *Mirpurkhas Gazette* criticised the Muslim leaders like Haji Abdullah Haroon and G.M. Bhurgri. The British as elsewhere in India encouraged the communal press and suppressed the national one.  

When the flood of nationalist movement spread all over the country following the partition of Bengal in 1905, it reached...
the far-off Sind region. Many young men were influenced by it and joined the national movement. Choithram Gidwani, Virumal Begraj, Lokram Sharma started taking active part in the activities concerning India's independence. Swadeshi became very famous. Swadeshi stores were set up by Virumal Begraj and Lokram Sharma respectively at Sukkur and Hyderabad.\textsuperscript{116} In Shikarpur the Pritam Sabha inspired the setting up of Swadeshi Sugar, soap and cloth mills.\textsuperscript{117} A pamphlet in Sindhi, entitled \textit{Swadeshi Movement or the Opinions of Patriotic Shri/jut Tilak}, was written by Gordhan Lal Kilachand, published by Chetumal Hiraram and printed by Virumal Begraj, was considered a revolutionary step by the Government. A case was registered and all three related with the pamphlet were sentenced to five years rigorous imprisonment. Under the same repressive policy the Government convicted Nandlal Shivdyal at Karachi for his public speech and Ratansi Gela for the distribution of handbills.\textsuperscript{118}

The repressive policy of the Government could not bring down the spirit of the nationalists. The first Sind Provincial Conference was held at Sukkur (1907) where prominent leaders of the province gathered to discuss the national problems and to chalk out programmes. The second Sind Provincial Conference was held at Hyderabad in 1908 under the presidentship of Harchand Malkani, \textit{op. cit.}, pp.88


\textsuperscript{117} ibid.

\textsuperscript{118} ibid.
rai Vishandas (1862-1928), a great patriot who attended all the Congress sessions since 1888. He asked the people to unite and to work for India's freedom. A resolution was passed calling the All India Congress's Annual Session in Sind. 119

In 1910, Acharya Kripalani, Kaka Kalekar, Swami Govindanand, Choithram and others set up the Brahma Charya Ashram in Hyderabad. This was not only an institution to produce patriotic young men through songs, drama and gymnastic but also a forum for other patriotic activities, including shelter for revolutionaries-in-hiding. Choithram, Swami Alaram, Deendyal Vachaspati and Swami Satyadev went on a cow-protection tour of Sind singing, Bael Sahib ko Karo Sallam (Salute Sir Bullock) and collected Rs. 3000 for the Brahmacharya Ashram. Baba Gurdir Singh of Komagatamuru took refuge in Sind for three years. Ras Behari Bose who remained in Sind in disguise, was helped by Choithram in making him reach Japan via Afghanistan. 120 In 1911, Lokram and Gurdas founded a nationalist dramatic association known as Ras Mandli which taught nationalism through dramas. 121

Seeing the progress of Sind in the field of nationalism the 28th session of Indian National Congress was held at Karachi in December, 1913. Harchandrai, Chairman of Reception Committee, read the welcome address. The session was presided over by Nawab

120. Malkani, K.R., op. cit., pp.89.
Syed Mohammed Bahadur who drew attention to the "Subversion of the Ottoman Empire in Europe and the Strangling of Persia." He expressed the grief with which all the Muslims had felt the blow to the Turkish Empire. He concluded with an earnest plea that Hindus and Muslims should clasp hands and work for the Motherland.\(^{122}\)

It was under these conditions that the Hindus and the Muslims closed their ranks and the Congress "placed on record its appreciation of the adoption by the All-India Muslim League of the idea of self Government for India within the British Empire."\(^{123}\) The new spirit of communal harmony was seen at Karachi. Dinshah Edulji Wacha said that the Congress had a new Nativity with the New Star they would achieve new success.\(^{124}\)

On the invitation of Choithram, Gandhi visited Sind from February 26 to March 3, 1916. He was received by G.M. Bhurgri and Chulam Hussain both Mohammedan members of the Bombay Legislative Council. In his speeches at Hyderabad and Karachi called Gokhle his political guru. He laid stress on Swadeshism.\(^{125}\) In December, 1916 Lucknow Congress session was attended by Choithram, Bhurgti, Harchandrai, Jairamdas Daulatram and many other nationalist leaders from Sind. Bhurgi played an important role in bringing Congress League Pact of 1916, which later was known as Lucknow Pact.\(^{126}\) Coming back from Lucknow the leaders founded congress committees in

\(^{122}\) Sitaramayya, P.Pattabhi, The History of the Indian National Congress (1885-1935), (Madras, 1935) pp.75

\(^{123}\) ibid

\(^{124}\) ibid., pp.75.


every district. Sind was given a provincial status in the congress constitution in 1917 on the persistent demand and on its progress in the national field.127

Gandhi visited Sind again in March, 1917. During his short stay he attended a public meeting under the auspices of the Citizen's Association, Karachi. He spoke against indenture labour. After mentioning various evils of the system, he told the audience that India must insist on its abolition by the 31st of May this year. If their request were not acceded to, all practical steps should be taken to prevent Indians from leaving the country of labour in Fiji.128 The two frequent visits of Gandhi brought Sindhis nearer to him and they started taking keen interest in the national developments.

The Home Rule Movement in India on the Irish model was started by Annie Besant in 1916. She established India Home Rule League. The idea attracted Bal Gangadhar Tilak and he also, organised Indian Home Rule League. This movement became popular in Sind, too. Leaders like Jairamdas, Bhurgri and Jamshed Mehta took active part in Peasant's League while Lokram Sharma became an ardent follower of Tilak's League. After some time Tilak's League become popular and many under its influence started believing in Tilak's extremism.129


Thus, even before the Non-cooperation movement, Sind had shown some kind of interest to join the national mainstream. The unjust annexation of Sind by the British sowed the seeds of nationalism which sprouted fourth during the great revolt of 1857. The socio-religious movement also gave a fillip to nationalism. Some eminent people like Dayaram Gidumal, Harchandrai and G.M. Bhurgri contributed a lot in boosting up the national spirit. The partition of Bengal brought into the limelight the simmering resentment of Sindhis against the British. The press mobilised the public opinion and the Karachi session of the Congress of 1913 inspired the people to take active part in the national movement. Gandhi's visit to Sind further cemented the bonds between the Sindhis and the rest of the nation. During the Home Rule Movement the Sindhis indentified themselves with the nation.