

Hur

The Freedom Fighter

Nasir Aijaz

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Culture & Tourism Department
Government of Sindh



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The Freedom Fighter
Redefining Identity of Hur

Nasir Aijaz



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Publisher's Note

The Hur Movement, a century-long struggle of people of Sindh to free themselves from the colonial yoke, is an important chapter of the history of Sindh, so vast and multilayered that none of the research works published so far covers all its aspects.

This book, 'Hur – The Freedom Fighter' by Mr. Nasir Aijaz, a senior journalist, is, happily enough, so comprehensive that it fulfills the need for bringing the entire history of the Movement at one place. The author has traced the ancestry and historical background of the Pagaro family of spiritual guides and their Hur disciples, emergence of the Movement in 1818 when Sindh was under threat of invasion by Sikh Raja Ranjeet Singh, role of Hurs in Syed Ahmed Shaheed's war against Sikhs, history of Khairpur and Sanghar as hub of Hur activities, British atrocities like concentration camps, mass killings, etc. The book contains many historical facts, which hitherto have not been discussed by any other researcher.

This book is a valuable addition to this Department's similar publications, and Mr. Nasir Aijaz must be thanked for writing it..

Manzoor Ahmed Kanasro

Director General Culture
Government of Sindh.

Preface

The Indian subcontinent remained under British occupation for over 150 years. Its colonies, conquered in the last were Sindh and Punjab. Although the British, through its coercive policies, had brought the rulers of Sindh and Punjab in grip since long to act according to its orders, the two countries were conquered formally in 1843 and 1849 respectively. However, it was Sindh that resisted colonial forces and fought guerrilla war even after subjugation for 104 years. Mir Sher Muhammad Talpur continued guerrilla fight for ten years and surrendered. But the Hur community led by its spiritual heads waged unending war for freedom of motherland. For this cause they sacrificed every thing including their own life, children, families, properties, lands etc. Hugh Trevor Lambrick, the English officer in Sindh in charge to crush the Hurs when the last phase of Hur Movement was on its peak, wrote a book 'The Terrorist' in 1972. The book is translation of a story of a Hur Saeen Rakhiyo. The manuscript found in pieces was in Sindhi and bore the name of writer on its front page as 'K Ghulam Chibro', which seems a nickname. Lambrick was of the opinion that it was nickname of a prisoner who must have been the occupant of prison cell adjoining Saeen Rakhiyo who on his release had thus tried to comply with that person's appeal to write down his story. Lambrick translated that story and named it 'The Terrorist'. He dubbed the Hurs as 'Terrorists' with same mindset he had during the British oppressive rule in Sindh

when the disciples of Pir Pagaro hailing from different tribes, clans and communities were declared as 'Criminal Tribe' as a whole.

In fact critical reinterpretation of history of Sindh is direly needed to analyze what it means to be a Hur. Sindhi writers had been arguing that there are two issues, which need to be taken seriously when researching the Hurs of Sindh, a community labled by the British as a criminal tribe. One issue is the failure to give proper weight to the Hur Movement according to the facts; the other is the lack of critical reading of the British archives and proper cross-examination of these documents with oral traditions and other local sources. According to these writers, British documents present distorted information about Hurs and therefore need to be read against the grain to find the truth.

Novel 'The Terrorist' and 13000-page files containing the correspondence of British officials regarding the Hur Movement had so far been the major source material for the historians. Sindhi writers have either translated the novel 'The Terrorist' and some other books or authored books on atrocities of British forces. Muhammad Usman Deeployee's novel 'Sanghar' was the first major work in this regard besides Dr. Nabi Bux Baloch's research papers on Hur Movement and Pir Sibghatullah Shah-II published in 1960s much before the Lambrick authored the book. The other source material on Hur Movement, in Lambrick's own words, besides confidential official documents such as the Report on Operations Upper Sindh Force issued in 1944, is two books each occupying three pages. The first was Philip Woodruff's book 'The Guardians', the second volume of his book 'The Men Who Ruled India', published in 1954. The other one was Sir Percival Griffiths' 'To Guard My People: The history of the Indian Police' published in 1971. The first book contains the 4500 word note written by H. T. Lambrick on author's request. According

to Lambrick, he furnished same note to the President of Indian Police Association in 1967 when they approached him in connection with a project.

Lambrick served the British Crown in Sindh between 1927 and 1946 in a variety of administrative posts. His maternal grandfather was also Commissioner of Sindh in 1889. Lambrick was Special Commissioner for the Hur Operation from 1942 to 1946 and it was his tenure that martial law was imposed in Sindh in 1942 and Royal Air Force bombarded Hur areas; thousands of Hurs were captured and put into concentration camps; thousands of Hurs were martyred and a large number of others were sentenced to death. The leader of rebellion, Pir Pagaro, was also hanged in 1943 when Lambrick was in charge. But strangely, this British officer, who suppressed the Hur uprising with barbaric actions, became the official historian of Sindh when Muhammad Ibrahim Joyo, Secretary of Sindhi Adabi Board in early 1960s, commissioned Lambrick to write the history of Sindh. Lambrick wrote two volumes – Sindh: A General Introduction (1964) and Sindh before the Muslim Conquest (1973). Interestingly, University of Sindh, Jamshoro conducted a seminar at the Institute of Sindhology on January 02, 1997, to celebrate the contribution of H. T. Lambrick to the history of Sindh, and to inaugurate the Lambrick Corner at the Institute. Muhammad Ibrahim Joyo had read a paper on Lambrick at the seminar and later published in ‘Sindh Quarterly’ magazine.

During last few decades, some other books were also published each containing one or two chapters on Hur Movement. Wasal Muhammad Khan, a military officer, who served British Army and was posted in Sindh to crush the Hur rebellion, also narrated the atrocities committed against disciples of Pir Pagara in his book. Parts of his autobiography relating to Hur Movement were published in ‘Sindh Quarterly’ magazine of Syed Ghulam

Mustafa Shah in 1980s. Syed Shabbir Hussain, a late journalist from Punjab, who was a railway guard during British, also wrote on Hur Movement and Pir Sibghatullah Shah-II in his autobiography, as he was the witness to Pir Sibghatullah Shah's journey after his release from Indian jail and his popularity among masses. Moreover, Sara F. D. Ansari's book 'Sufi Saints and State Power: The Pirs of Sindh 1843-1947' with two chapters on Pir Pagaras and Hur Movement came into market in 1990s. In the meantime over a dozen books appeared containing also the interviews of Hurs who had survived after partition of Indian subcontinent. These surviving Hurs narrated the stories how they operated against colonial forces. Their accounts give a picture of guerrilla war strategy and the policies of their leader. Prof. Umar Chand's book and Khadim Hussain Soomro's book 'Freedom at the gallows' are also worth mentioning. It was painful, as I observed, that incorrect dates and years were mentioned in most of the Sindhi, Urdu and English books and magazines. The dates and years appearing in various books and articles contradicted each other. In a book, the figures mentioned in upper half of page differed to those appearing in second half.

After going through all the books and other source material, I noted that history of Hur guerrilla struggle is scattered in pieces and could be found in different books and research papers and thus a comprehensive book is needed to be written to bring all the historic events at one place. Similarly, the history of ancestry of Pir Pagaras, their arrival in Sindh and services to the religion, literature and organization of Hur community during the pre-British era besides the the situation prevailing at the time of Talpur rule in Sindh when Sikh Raja Ranjeet Singh of Punjab wanted to conquer Sindh and get access to Arabian Sea also needed to be brought at one place. I observed that a very little has been written or discussed on the relations of Pir Pagara and Talpur rulers of that time, as a few sen-

tences are found in articles and some books on the subject. The researchers have also neglected Pir Pagara's role in Syed Ahmed Shaheed's war against Sikhs in the areas falling in former North Western Frontier Province, as a very brief account is available on these wars. A very brief history is given about the emergence of Hurs and the reasons why the Hurs fought against the British when the colonial forces faced no opposition from other sections of population in Sindh.

In view of these points, I started researching and writing the book to redefine the identity of Hurs and critically examine the history of Hur Movement that started very much before the conquest of Sindh by the British. I hope my quest to dig out the facts and re-examine the history would provide answers to several questions. As regards title of this book, I chose 'Hur – The Freedom Fighter', which in fact is rebuttal to H. T. Lambrick's book 'The Terrorist', which, according to a note on flap of the book, is based on Hur material accumulated by him in great quantity and diversity including statements of Hurs and papers seized during the operations. The remarks at the end of note are insulting, as the publisher has compared this story in 'Meadows Taylor's words 'Confession of a Thug: Tale of Crime'.

This book 'Hur – The Freedom Fighter' encompasses history and ancestry of Rashdi dynasty, their arrival in Sindh, services to Islam and local people, contribution to literature, politics and above all their sacrifices for safeguarding the motherland that gave birth to a militant force named as 'Hur Jama'at'. I have discussed in detail different phases of Hur Movement from 1818 till its end in 1950s, atrocities of colonial forces, guerrilla strategies of Hur militants, betrayal of feudal lords and politicians of Sindh and several other related aspects.

The materials consulted on this subject have been listed in the Bibliography that also include the unpub-

lished material like the official correspondence of 1920s between the British authorities of Sindh and India regarding concentration camps where the Hur families were lodged after deportation; an official letter of British authorities refusing provision of a washerman to Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II during his incarceration in Bangal jail; and the reports of leading Sindhi daily Al-Waheed of that time. The book also contains rare photographs of Pir Sibghatullah Shah-II including his unpublished photograph with Salawat community in Karachi when he visited the city after his release from Indian jail in 1936; unpublished photographs of Hur Militants interviewed in 1980s and the images of foreign newspapers.

I owe deep gratitude to a number of friends especially Mr. Sanaullah Rajar, a senior officer at Sindh Information Department, Badar Abro, the journalist and researcher, Hamsfar Gadehi, a senior journalist, Ghulam Abbas Bhanbhro, a senior journalist of Khairpur, Qurban Mangi, a social worker and writer based in Khairpur, Mushtaque Nizamani, research officer at Roza Dhani Chair, Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai University, Khairpur, Akash of Sindh Archives, Dr. Muhammad Ali Thalho, Munir Bhutto, Ali Akbar Khamisani, Noor Ahmed Memon, Nisar Sheikh, Ustad Nizamani and Shahnawaz Rajpar, who not only provided books and valuable information but also encouraged me to complete the task.

I must show my deep gratitude to Mr. Manzoor Ahmed Kanasro, Director General, Department of Culture, Sindh Government, for personal support and making it possible to publish this book.

Nasir Aijaz

Part One

Historical Background of Pir Pagaro Dynasty

Sindh is known as the land of Saints and the people of this land had generally been the followers or disciples of those Saints called locally the 'Pir' or 'Murshid', the spiritual leader or mentor. There are hundreds of shrines of those Saints scattered all over Sindh. In certain cases, the descendents of those Pirs and Murshids continued holding the spiritual office as dynastical tradition having a large number of disciples. The spiritual office of Pir Pagara is one of the biggest and most influential one with hundreds of thousands followers in Sindh, Bahawlpur and some States of India including Rajasthan. In 19th century the number of disciples of Pir Pagara was said to be three hundred thousands, which currently is estimated to be in millions. The headquarters of Pir Pagara are located at village Pir Jo Goth in Khairpur district of Sindh.

The Pir Pagaras are said to be descendents of Hazrat Ali, the 4th Caliph of Islam, who was the cousin and son-in-law of Prophet Muhammad. According to historians, Syed Ali Maki, one of the great grandfathers of Pir Pagara, accompanied by one hundred men, migrated from Saamra region of Iraq to Sewistan province of Sindh

for spreading Islam and settled at Bhago Torho foothill of Khirthar Mountain Range on right bank of River Indus. He selected this area for peace and seclusion. This village was later known as 'Lak-e-Alvi' (Alvi Pass) after the name of Syed Ali Maki. It was a narrow pass in the mountain. The descendents of Syed Ali Maki chose to settle at different places in Sindh and are called Lakiari Syeds.

In Arabic language, the word Syed means 'Chief' or 'Elder', but in Sindh or elsewhere in other Asian countries, the Syeds are known as descendents of Prophet Muhammad, his cousin and 4th Caliph of Islam Hazrat Ali. Historians relate different stories to the arrival of Syed Ali Maki in Sindh. There also exist differences about the period of arrival of Syed Ali Maki. According to some historians he came here in 4th century Hijra while others opine that he came with Muhammad bin Qasim in 92nd century Hijra (711 AD). However great thinker, scholar and nationalist leader late Saen g. M. Syed writes in his book 'Janab Guzariam Jin Seen' that Syed Ali Maki, as it's said, migrated to Sindh from Mecca in 512 Hijra (1118 AD) and his descendents settled at Laki. Shah Saddaruddin was the renowned Saint of Laki village. Syed Bahauddin was the brother of Shah Saddaruddin and Syed Muhammad Rashid is the descendent of Syed Bahauddin.

It is generally said that a large number of Arabs migrated to Sindh to take refuge due to severe rivalries among Arab rulers and their opponents. Moreover, many pious and learned Arabs found refuge in Sindh when heathen Mongols were devastating the Muslim kingdoms. However, as far as arrival of Syed Ali Maki is concerned, a historian relate it to an incident, according to which Raja

Dilorae, ruler of Arore and Brihmanabad (Bhanbhra) areas, was cruel and evil-mind person and had designs to molest his younger brother Chhutto's wife Fatima, an Arab beautiful woman. Chhutto had embraced Islam and married Fatima in Mecca where he had gone to perform Hajj. One day, Raja Dilorae tried to forcibly enter into house of Chhutto in his absence but fortunately he came, saved his wife and fled to Baghdad, the seat of Caliph of Arabia to lodge complaint against his cruel brother. The Caliph of that time taking serious note of the complaint had rushed Syed Ali Maki along with one hundred soldiers to punish the Raja however by the time he arrived in Sindh, the Arore and Brihamanabad or Bhanbhra were destroyed due to natural disaster. Raja Dilorae repenting to his misdeeds offered his daughter to Syed Ali Maki for marriage. Syed Ali Maki had four sons namely Syed Muhammad, Syed Muradio, Syed Haji alias Syed Bharkia and Syed Chango from this wife. There is no mention of this incident in any book of history except 'Tuhfatul Kiram' and seems to be a fictional piece, as it is strange and unbelievable that only one hundred soldiers were rushed from a far away region to punish a Raja of a country. The difference of opinion also exists among the historians about the cause and period of destruction of Brihamanabad. Some other researchers and scholars opined that Syed Ali Maki came to Sindh along with Arab General Muhammad Bin Qasim in the year 711 AD and later settled at Laki being moderate in climate and having availability of water. Syed Ali Maki attracted the local people due to his piousness.

The Lak-e-Alvi village at a later stage got the name of Laki Shah Saddar where Shah Saddar, son of

Syed Muhammad and grandson of Syed Ali Maki, is laid to rest. A big shrine of Shah Saddar exists there and could be seen while traveling by road and rail. The railway station here too is called 'Laki Shah Saddar Station'. It is said that Iranian invader Nadir Shah had ordered to build this shrine. The graves of Chhutto and his wife Fatima are also located at Sehwan, the nearest town, and are visited by a large number of people but some of the researchers doubt it.

Shah Saddar and his brother Syed Bahauddin had many descendents who earned name for their piousness and spiritual and Islamic teachings but Pir Muhammad Rashid was the one who proved to be a shining star on the sky of Sindh. The Pir Pagaras are called Rashidi after the name of Pir Rashid who was born in 1170 Hijrah. The last resting place of Pir Rashid is at Pir Jo Goth in Khairpur district. The first spiritual hub of this great Syed dynasty is Laki Shah Saddar, the second one at Pir Jo Goth and third one at Pir Jhando village located between Hala and New Saeedabad towns.

As earlier stated, the descendents of Syed Ali Maki had spread and settled at different places across Sindh, some of them had chosen Khairpur as their abode where Syed Muhammad Baqa, father of Pir Rashid, was born on 1st Shoaban 1135 Hijrah, at village Rasoolpur alias Nandhi (Small) Saeendi. He had then shifted to village Rahim Dino Kalhoru. Syed Muhammad Baqa was a great religious scholar and poet. He loved books and always kept them in a bag while traveling. It is said that a gang of robbers assassinated him on 9th of Islamic month Rabi-ul-Sani 1198 Hijrah while he was on the way to a nearby village along with the bag of books, which the

bandits thought it must be full of valuables. Syed Muhammad Baqa was laid to rest at village Shaikh Tayab.

Syed Muhammad Baqa had 18 sons and one of them was Pir Syed Muhammad Rashid who earned name as 'Roz-e-Dhani' or Master/lord of Shrine. Pir Rashid was man of letters and used much of his time in writing. He proved to be a true spiritual leader and visited different areas of Indian subcontinent, Afghanistan and Iran. He was martyred in 1233 Hijrah at the age of 63 years.

After the martyrdom of Pir Rashid, his son Pir Sibghatullah Shah-I assumed the spiritual office. He was the first of this dynasty to be declared as Pir Pagara (Turbaned Pir). His brother Pir Muhammad Yaseen chose to settle between Hala and New Saeedabad towns, as he couldn't get the spiritual office of Pir Pagaro. Pir Muhammad Yaseen took a flag along with him, and thus was declared Pir of Jhando (Pir possessing the flag). His village is called Pir Jhando Village. The flag was gifted by Afghan king to his father Pir Rashid.

The period of Pir Sibghatullah Shah-I is most important in the history of Sindh, as it witnessed the emergence of Hurs. At this time of history, Sindh was ruled by Talpurs, Sikh Raja Ranjeet Singh was in power in Punjab while British used to play game with both of them. The following chapters would minutely discuss the situation prevailing at that time. Pir Sibghatullah Shah-I passed away in 1831 after which Pir Syed Ali Gohar Shah-I ascended to the throne. Pir Syed Hizbullah Shah was the 3rd Pir Pagara who was succeeded by Pir Ali Gohar Shah-II as 4th Pir Pagara. Shah Mardan Shah-I assumed the spiritual office of Pir Pagaro-V in 1896 and continued till his demise in 1921. The entire period from mid-19th century

to mid of 20th century in fact proved to be war time for the Pagaras and their disciples. The war of independence came to its peak when Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II was crowned as Pir Pagara-VI at the age of 9 in 1921. The British abolished the spiritual office after martyrdom of Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II on March 20, 1943 however it was restored after creation of Pakistan and his son Pir Syed Sikandar Shah Alias Shah Mardan Shah-II was crowned in 1952. The living Pir Pagara Syed Sibghatullah Shah-III assumed the spiritual office on January 12, 2012. He is 8th Pir Pagara.

Lineage

Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah Rashdi-III (Sitting Pir)
s/o Pir Syed Sikandar Shah alias Shah Mardan Ali Shah-II
s/o Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II s/o Pir Syed Shah Mar-
dan Shah-I s/o Pir Syed Hizbullah Shah s/o Pir Syed Ali
Gohar Shah-I s/o Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-I s/o Syed
Muhammad Rashid Shah s/o Syed Muhammad Baqa Shah
s/o Pir Syed Imam Shah s/o Pir Syed Shakrullah Shah s/o
Pir Syed Usman Shah s/o Pir Syed Khatan Shah s/o Pir
Syed Sanjar Shah s/o Pir Syed Bolan Shah s/o Pir Syed
Hussain Shah s/o Pir Syed Meer Ali Shah s/o Pir Syed
Nasir-u-Din Shah s/o Pir Syed Abbas Shah s/o Pir Syed
Fazalullah Shah s/o Syed Shahab-u-Din Shah s/o Syed
Baha-u-Din Shah s/o Syed Mahmood Shah s/o Muham-
mad Shah s/o Syed Hussain Shah s/o Syed Chakhan Shah
s/o Ali Makki Shah Lakiyari s/o Syed Abbas Shah s/o
Syed Zaid Shah s/o Syed Asadullah Shah s/o Syed Um-
mar Shah s/o Syed Hamza Shah s/o Syed Haroon Shah s/o
Syed Abdullah Shah s/o Syed Hussain Shah s/o Syed
Imam Ali Shah s/o Imam Moosa Kazim s/o Imam Jafar
Sadiq s/o Imam Baqar s/o Imam Zain-ul-Abideen s/o Haz-
rat Imam Hussain s/o Hazrat Ali.

Profiles

Pir Muhammad Baqa Shah

Father's Name: Pir Imam Ali Shah

Birth: 1st Shaban 1135 Hijra/1723 AD

Death: 10th Muharam 1198 Hijra/1779 AD

In some books the birth year of Pir Muhammad Baqa Shah is mentioned as 1722 while that of demise as 1783. Pir Baqa Shah, born at village Rahim Dino Kalhoro, Khairpur Mirs, was the disciple of Makhdoom Muhammad Ismail, a religious scholar of Naqshbandi school of thought, who lived about 10km from his village. Later, Pir Baqa Shah was instructed by his spiritual leader to join Qadri school of thought for which he had to follow Syed Abdul Qadir Jilani of Pir Kot in Jhang area of Punjab who was descendent of Syedna Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani. Pir Baqa Shah visited Punjab several times to meet his Murshid. Pir Baqa always kept his bag full of books and once when he was going to meet his disciples, the robbers attacked him and snatched bag as they thought it was full of valuables. The robbers later identified him as Pir Baqa Shah who had sustained injuries and took him to his home. Pir Sahib forgave robbers but succumbed to injuries. He was laid to rest at village Shaikh Tayyab, district Khairpur.

Pir Syed Muhammad Rashid

Father's name: Syed Muhammad Baqa Shah

Birth: 6th Ramadan 1170 Hijra/May 14, 1757 AD

Place of birth: Village Rahim Dino Kalhoro, Khairpur Mirs

Death: 1st Shaaban 1233 Hijra/June 01, 1818 AD

Qualification: Ilm-ul-Quran and Hadith

Teachers: Hafiz Zain-u-Din Mahesar, Makhdoom Tayab, Muhammad Akram Ghumro, Madressa (seminary) Faqir-u-Allah Alvi, Shikarpur, Makhdoom Yar Muhammad, Kotri Kabir and Makhdoom Maulana Muhammad, Village Khair Muhammad Arija, Larkana. Spiritual guidance from father Syed Muhammad Baqa Shah

Assuming spiritual office: 10th Muharam 1198 Hijra at the age of 28 years

Books written: Jama-ul-Jawami'u, Asama-ul-Allah-ul-Husna and Maqtoobat (Letters). The 3000-page book 'Jama-ul-Jawami'u' is based on religion and theology

Poetry: Sindhi and Persian

Syed Muhammad Rashid spent 35 years of his life travelling Sindh, Indian areas of Jaisalmer, Jodhpur, Kachh, Rajasthan, Balochistan, Punjab, Afghanistan and Iran for preaching.

Syed Sibghatullah Shah-I Pir Pagara-I

Father's name: Syed Muhammad Rashid

Birth: 1193 Hijra/1780 AD

Place of birth: Village Rahim Dino Kalhoro, Khairpur Mirs

Death: 5th Ramadan 1246 Hijra/18th February 1831 AD

Assuming spiritual office: 1233 Hijra/1818 AD

Qualification: Islamic education, Fiqah

Books written: Poetry in Sindhi, Hindi, Persian and Urdu

Activities: Reading poetry of Maulana Rumi and delivering lecture on religion daily after morning prayers. He also collected sayings of his father.

Pir Syed Sibghatullah-I helped Syed Ahmed Shaheed to fight against Sikhs. In fact he organized his men to counter threats of Sikh Raja Ranjeet Singh against Sindh. He was the first Pir Pagaro as after the differences among brothers over holding the spiritual office, the disciples fa-

vored Pir Syed Sibghatullah to assume the seat. His brother Pir Yaseen, the contender of seat, took the flag gifted to their father by Afghan king, and got settled first at Thalaha near Baqrani Station and then moved to a place located between Hala and New Saheedabad.

Pir Syed Ali Gohar Shah-I alias Asghar Pir Pagara-II

Father's name: Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-I

Birth: 4th Rajab 1231 Hijra/ 1816 AD

Death: 11th Jamadi-ul-Awal 1263 Hijra/28th April 1847 AD

Qualification: Islamic education, literature

Assuming spiritual office: 1246 Hijra/1831 AD

Books written: Kalam-e-Asghar (Sindhi & Persian Poetry)

Pir Pagara-II assumed the seat at the age of 15 and used to travel Sindh, Kachh, Kathiawar, Ahmedabad and Surat Port holding spiritual gatherings and delivering lectures to his followers. He organized his disciples for resistance to British who conquered Sindh in 1843. He also collected sayings of his father. Pir Ali Gohar Shah's poetry is sung by the folk singers. Pir Ali Gohar Shah migrated from native village Rahim Dino Kalhoro to present day Pir Jo Goth due to floods in River Indus. He also shifted all the graves of his ancestors. He built the main mosque at Pir Jo Goth.

Pir Syed Hizbullah Shah-I Pir Pagara-III

Father's name: Syed Pir Ali Gohar Shah-I

Birth: 18th Shawal 1258 Hijra (A book mentions it as 1225 Hijra)

Death: 4th Muharam 1308 Hijra/21st August 1890 AD

Assuming spiritual office: 1262 Hijra/1847 AD at the age of 5

Qualification: Islamic education and spiritual guidance from father

Books written: Deewan-e-Miskeen (Sindhi and Persian Poetry)

Pir Pagara-III is known for his services in the field of religion, politics and military. He wrote a letter to the king of Turkey informing him of British threats. He had appointed Hafiz Muhammad Siddique to translate Holy

Quran with Tafseer for his disciples. He also used to visit Jaisalmir and other Indian areas to create awareness among his disciples through his lectures. He reconstructed main mosque at his village built by his father to increase its capacity due to increasing number of worshippers. The mosque had capacity of 4000 worshippers at a time. Pir Pagara-III also organized the Jama'at (organization) of his disciples and divided it into 12 parts (units) spread from different areas of Sindh to Jaisalmir area of India. These units were named as 'Choki' and one such 'Choki' was setup at Ghahiki, Khawar, Kalian, Shahdadpur, Khitto, Laar, Gamahh, Par, Jaisalmir, Achhro Thar, Naaro and Ban. The Choki System, introduced by Pir Hizbullah Shah continues till date. Hur Jama'at has three Chokis in India from where the Heads of Chokis had traveled to Sindh to decide installation of new Pir Pagaro on demise of Shah Mardan Shah Pir Pagaro VII in 2012.

Syed Pir Ali Gohar Shah-II Pir Pagara-IV

Father's name: Syed Hizbullah Shah

Birth: 1275 Hijra/1860 AD (A book mentions 1858 AD)

Death: 24 Jamadul Sani 1314/1896

Qualification: Islamic education

Assuming spiritual office: 4th Muharam 1308/1890 AD

Poetic work: Spiritual poetry in Persian

Pir Pagara-IV was physically weak and could not travel on horse-back so his disciples built a 'Maafu', a wooden seat, to carry him wherever he went and for that he was named as 'Maafa Dhani'. The Hur community geared up freedom struggle against British colonization in Sindh during the tenure of Pir Pagara-IV. He always chose to remain silent. Since Pir Pagara-IV had no son, he had transferred all responsibilities to Syed Shah Mardan Shah-I, his fourth brother, and accordingly Syed Shah Mardan Shah-I assumed as Pir Pagara-V after death of Pir Pagara-IV. Pir Syed Ali Gohar Shah-II who passed away at the age of 39 years.

Syed Shah Mardan Shah-I alias Shams-ul-Ulma Pir Pagara-V

Father's name: Syed Hizbullah Shah (4th son)

Birth: 7th Safar 1279 Hijra/1860 AD (A book mentions as 1862 AD)

Death: 7th Rabi-ul-Awal 1349 Hijra/9th November 1921 AD

Qualification: Islamic education

Assuming spiritual office: 27 Jamadi-ul-Sani 1314 Hijra/1896 AD at the age of 35 years

Books written: Tafseer Kausar (Islamic book in Sindhi)

Pir Pagara-V used to arrange Islamic literature for awareness of his disciples. He also used to invite religious scholars of the day from all over Indian subcontinent at the congregations. He wanted to educate the Hur community members and keep them abreast of British designs. He built a very high boundary wall like a fort around shrine and established a seminary, guest house and residence for the travelers and visitors. He was generous person and always helped the poor arranging food and clothes. He also planned to arrange food support for the pilgrims at Saudi Arabia and collected other things required for at least five hundred people but unfortunately couldn't dispatch due to shipment problems. Later he distributed all the things in local needy people. Pir Pagara-V also established a printing press to publish Islamic literature. The books published included Hidayatul Mureeden (Instructions for Disciples), Zakat Wajibul Muslimeen (Zakat mandatory for Muslims) and other books. He passed away at the age of 61 years.

Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II alias Qaim Shah Alias Surhia Badshah Pir Pagara-VI

Father's name: Syed Shah Mardan Shah-I

Birth: 13th Safar 1337 Hijra/6th March 1909 AD

Assuming spiritual office: 9th November 1921 at the age of 12 years

Qualifications: Islamic education from the seminary established by his father. He got knowledge of Islamic Ideology and spiritual training. He had command on Arabic, Persian and Sindhi language

Books written: Tanbeeh-ul-Fuqra (He wrote this book during confinement at Ratnagri Jail for guidance of his disciples as Code of Life). He wrote other books too but all were forfeited by the British government.

Pir Pagara-VI was regular and punctual in offering prayers. He used to visit different areas of Sindh and Hindustan to organize his disciples and impart them training to launch freedom fight against British rulers. Pir Sibghatullah was sentenced to eight year imprisonment in false cases fabricated against him and kept in different jails since 1930 to 1936. He was again arrested in 1941 and martyred by hanging in Hyderabad Jail on March 20, 1943. His two sons were taken into custody and kept in England. They were brought to Pakistan in December 1951.

Shah Mardan Shah alias Sikandar Shah Pir Pagara-VII

Father's name: Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II

Birth: 27th Safar 1347 Hijra/2nd November 1928 AD

Death: 10th January 2012

Assuming spiritual office: 4th February 1952

Qualification: Qualified from Aligarh University, India and Liverpool, England

Shah Mardan Shah had primary education at his hometown Pir Jo Goth. After the arrest of his father Pir Syed Sibghatullah, he was taken into custody along with his brother and mother in 1943. From Karachi, they were shifted to Aligarh where they stayed for three years. In 1946, the two brothers were sent to Liverpool, England through a ship. They were admitted in Major Davis private school. Two brothers were taken back home in December 1951 and on February 04, 1952, Shah Mardan

Shah alias Sikandar Shah was installed as Pir Pagara-VII. He used to study all kind of books including politics, history and philosophy. He was fond of horse racing and making predictions was one of his hobbies. He also took active part in politics. He was head of Pakistan Muslim League (Functional) and being very influential was known as 'king-maker'. Shah Mardan Shah passed away on January 10, 2012 at a London hospital after protracted illness at the age of 83. His body was flown back and laid to rest at ancestral graveyard at Pir Jo Goth.

Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-III alias Raja Saeen Pir Pagara-VIII

Father's name: Shah Mardan Shah Alias Sikandar Shah

Birth: February 14, 1956

Assumed spiritual office: 12th January 2012

Pir Sibghatullah Shah-III is the eldest son of Late Pir Pagara Shah Mardan Shah-II. He actively took part in politics. He was elected Chairman, District Council Khairpur under the local government system introduced by Dictator Gen. Zia-ul-Haq. He was also elected three times to become member of Sindh provincial assembly and held the office of Minister for Irrigation in 1985. Pir Sibghatullah Shah Rashdi-III was installed as 8th Pir Pagara after demise of his father Shah Mardan Shah. He is also the head of his father's political party Pakistan Muslim League (Functional).

Part Two

Emergence of Hurs before British Invasion as Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-I assumes spiritual seat in 1818

In Arabic, the word Hur means a free person or the one who fights for freedom. Hur was the name of a warrior who was sent by Caliph Yazid along with other soldiers to arrest and kill Imam Hussain, the grand son of Prophet, and his companions, but he sided with Imam Hussain and embraced martyrdom fighting against the forces of Yazid.

It is general perception that Hur Movement started in late 19th century after the British conquest of Sindh in 1843. But the fact is contrary to it, as the Hurs emerged in early 19th century during the Talpur rule. Pir Sibghatullah Shah Rashdi-I had ordered his disciples to be alert, take arms to defend motherland against the designs of Sikh Raja Ranjeet Singh of Punjab and to foil the designs of British colonial forces, and had named them Hur. Another theory is that some of the brothers of Pir Sibghatullah Shah-I were opposed to his assuming the spiritual office and conspired to kill him but his disciples saved his life and thus Pir Sibghatullah Shah-I declared them Hur.

Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah Rashdi-I assumed the spiritual office in 1818 after the demise of his father Pir Syed Muhammad Rashid on June 04, 1818. Sensing the

grave situation, he organized his community and started sermons to his disciples bewaring them of threats and urging them to get prepared for crusade. He also started dispatching letters to the disciples across the lower Sindh, Thar Desert and Kutchh area of Hindustan apprising them of threats and urging to be prepared for waging Jihad.

This period of early 19th century was important one of Sindh history, as it faced threat of occupation by Sikh empire of Punjab and the British who ruled rest of India. The Afghan invader Shah Shuja, having support of British, had also the claims over Sindh. The British was not sincere to Sikh Raja Ranjit Singh or Afghan invader Shah Shuja but had made several treaties with them and always played the game, exploiting them against Sindh. The British was engaged in war in Afghanistan while it also feared Russian and the French influence in the region. Sindh had cordial relations with Iran and as the Iran had an alliance with France, the English feared French influence through Iran and Sindh.

Napoleone Buonaparte (15 August 1769 – 5 May 1821), a French military and political leader, realizing that France's naval power was not yet strong enough to confront the Royal Navy in the English Channel, had proposed a military expedition to seize Egypt and thereby undermine Britain's access to its trade interests. Bonaparte wished to establish a French presence in the Middle East, with the ultimate dream of linking with a Muslim enemy of the British in India, Tipu Sultan.

Napoleon assured the French authorities that soon as he conquered Egypt, he will establish relations with the Indian princes and, together with them, attack the English in their possessions. According to a report written in February 1798 by Talleyrand "Having occupied and fortified Egypt, we shall send a force of 15,000 men from Suez to India, to join the forces of Tipu-Sahib and drive away the English." The French authorities agreed in order

to secure a trade route to India.

A Franco-Persian alliance was also formed, from 1807 to 1809, between Napoleon and the Persian Empire of Fat'h-Ali Shah Qajar, against Russia and Great Britain. The alliance ended when France allied with Russia and turned its focus to European campaigns.

At the same time English wanted to block the Russia's way to Afghanistan where it was already engaged in war and River Indus was of very much important for transporting weaponry for war in Afghanistan. Moreover, Sindh was historical route for commerce to central Asian states. The Punjab eyed Sindh for its seaport, as former was a landlocked country. It was the time when Pir Sibhatullah Shah-I held the spiritual office and sensing the threats to Sindh, he ordered his disciples to be prepared for safeguarding the motherland and named them Hurs. In order to understand the situation at that time, the students of history would have to go through it minutely.

According to history, Sikh Raja Ranjit Singh of Punjab had invaded and occupied Ludhiana and some other states in 1806. The British did not like his interference in the affairs but at the same time wanted his help against the French. Owing to pressure exerted by British, Raja Ranjit Singh agreed on the condition that he may be recognized as the sovereign of all the Sikh states, which the British did not accept. After this, Ranjit Singh crossed Sutlej third time and conquered more territories. In the meantime, French invasion disappeared and British also developed friendship with Turkey. Ranjit Singh's help was no longer necessary and they became ready to resist him. In February 1809, the British declared Cis-Sutlej states to be under its protection. Ranjit Singh, aware of British power, signed 'Perpetual Friendship Treaty' at Amritsar on April 25, 1809 and in return British recognized him as ruler of 45 Parganas north of Sutlej and

he recognized British protection to the Cis-Sutlej states. The river Sutlej became the boundary between Ranjit Singh's domain and the British territory. Thus Ranjit Singh's desire to be the sovereign of all Sikhs was foiled forever. After the treaty of Amritsar, Ranjit Singh always maintained friendly relations with British. While for his self-interest Ranjit Singh did not want to displease the British, the latter did not show any eagerness to please him. Rather, on some occasions the English went against his interest. The Ranjit Singh had plans to occupy Shikarpur but due to their warning, Ranjit Singh couldn't conquer Shikarpur area of Sindh, whereon the English puppet Shah Shuja had claim.

In 1831, Lord William Bentinck met Ranjit Singh at Rupar and both parties expressed friendliness towards each other. However, on this occasion, Bentinck rejected the proposal of Ranjit Singh for the partition of Sindh between him and English. On June 26, 1838, Ranjit Singh was prevailed upon by the English to sign a tripartite treaty (The English and Shah Shuja whom they wanted to install as Amir of Afghanistan by removing Dost Muhammad were the other two parties) against the possible Russian intervention in Afghanistan. Of course Ranjit Singh himself was quite indifferent to the Russian threat.

Despite the fact that Ranjit Singh had well-trained efficient army of 75000 with officers from France, Germany, America, Greece, Spain, Russia, Scotland and England, and manufactured artillery and heavy guns at Lahore and Amritsar, he was fully aware of the rising tide of British imperialism in India and of his own weakness. Therefore, instead of defying the English, he yielded to them and maintained friendly relations with them at any cost. In this Anglo-Sikh alliance the British government was rider and Ranjit Singh was the horse.

Ranjit Singh had the designs to conquer Sindh,

despite having built a big empire occupying Kashmir (1819) and Peshawar (1823), because Punjab or his entire empire was land-locked area, and he wanted to have access to the Arabian Sea waters. However, the British thwarted his designs of occupying Sindh whenever he planned any action because the British itself wanted to occupy Sindh. The British taking benefit of Ranjit Singh's designs, exploited it for exerting pressure on Amirs of Sindh to accept undue treaties. On different occasions the attempts were made to exploit the Amirs' fear of Ranjit Singh's invasion to make them accept a fresh treaty. In early 19th century, Lord Minto had sent a mission to Sindh, which concluded a treaty of 'Eternal Friendship' under which the Amirs had agreed not to allow the French to stay in Sindh. (The British feared French invasion, as the Amirs of Sindh had friendly relations with Iran and the Iran had close relations with France). The treaty was renewed in 1820 when Ranjit Singh was contemplating to invade Sindh.

In 1838 also, British representative Col. Pottinger played part in exploiting the Amirs' fear of Ranjit Singh's invasion plans. Suspecting the British motives, the Amirs told him in clear terms: "We have vanquished the Sikhs and will do so again." On this, the Pottinger then threatened Amirs that British might help Ranjit Singh to execute his designs if Amirs did not accept proposed treaty. Resultantly, the Amirs accepted the treaty in 1838 by which they agreed to accept British mediation for the settlement of disputes with Sikhs, and accepted a British Resident at Hyderabad. It was like a bombshell planted in the palace of Amirs to explode for their destruction.

Same year, the British made a tripartite treaty with Shah Shuja and Ranjit Singh by which Ranjit Singh accepted the British as the mediator for settlement of his disputes with Amirs of Sindh while Shah Shuja agreed to give up his claims over Sindh in return for payment of

arrear tributes. According to terms of treaty, the British forced the Amirs of Sindh to agree to pay Rs.25 lacs to Shah Shuja.

In February 1839, British again forced the Amirs to allow its subsidiary force to be stationed at Rohri and Bakhar and pay Rs.3 lacs annually for the force. The Amirs also agreed not to have relations with any foreign state without knowledge of British.

After death of Ranjit Singh, British had been watching the situation. They thought of annexing Sindh and Punjab to their empire to recover prestige damaged by defeat in Afghanistan. They executed their old plan despite the fact that the Amirs of Sindh had always obliged the British and there was no reason to conquer Sindh.

J. D. Cunningham in his book 'History of Sikhs from the origin of the nation to the battles of Sutlej' published in 1918 writes on policies of British. He says: "With regard to Ranjit Singh, the English rulers observed that they were bound by greatest considerations of political interest to prevent the extension of Sikh power along the course of Indus, and that, although they would respect the acknowledged territories of Maharaja, they desired that his existing relations of peace should not be disturbed, for, if war took place, the Indus would never be opened to commerce. The political agent of English was also directed to use every means short of menace to induce Ranjit Singh to abandon his designs against Shikharpur; and Shah Shuja, whose hopes were still great, and whose negotiations were still talked of, was to be told that if he left Ludiana (where he had taken refuge), he must not return, and that the maintenance for his family would be at once discontinued."

With regard to Mazaris, whose lands had been occupied by the Sikhs in Sindh area, it was said that the question of their permanent control could be decided at a future period. The Sindhians on their part had complained

that the fort of Ken had been occupied and in reply Ranjit Singh demands that their annual complimentary or prudential offerings should be increased or that a large sum should be paid for restoration of captured fort. Ranjit Singh had also occupied the Rojhan area of Sindh. He had threatened to destroy the fort Ken and continue occupying the Rojhan. He avoided distinct boundaries with Amirs of Sindh. The place remained in Sikh possession, as the English, under its policy, did not take any action. The Rojhan area became part of Sikh regime formally at later stage when the chief of tribe submitted to Ranjit Singh in 1838.

Syed Ahmed Shaheed arrives in Sindh, Seeks help of Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-I

Some historians with a particular mindset relate emergence of Hur community to the arrival of Syed Ahmed Barelvi of India in Sindh in 1826. According to these historians, Syed Ahmed Barelvi convinced Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah Rashdi-I through a letter for launching Jihad, which is incorrect. As earlier stated, Pir Sibghatullah Shah had started organizing the community in 1818 six years ahead of Syed Ahmed's preparations for war against Sikhs in 1824. He had sensed the evil designs of British imperialism and the Sikh Raja of Punjab. He took relentless efforts to organize a force to face probable threats. Syed Ahmed might have heard about Pir Sibghatullah-I's preparations for safeguarding Sindh, as a number of religious scholars from India used to visit Pir Sibghatullah Shah. It might be that there had been any correspondence between Pir Sibghatullah Shah and Syed Ahmed at some time but there exists no evidence of it. The most important historical evidence that differentiate the two leaders is that Pir Sibghatullah Shah-I had been preparing for defense of motherland against Sikh and British threats while Syed Ahmed did not fight against British who ruled India and instead chose to travel a long way from India to Peshawar and Balakot areas via Sindh and Afghanistan to attack and capture the region ruled by Sikh Raja.

A research scholar Prof. Mubeen Wasan in his

book 'Bachu Badshah aeen Piru Vizier' writes quoting excerpts from Mirza Herat Dehlvi's book that Syed Ahmed Shaheed, at the time when he was gathering the Mujahids, wrote a letter to the British authorities seeking their permission. "We are preparing for waging Jihad against the Sikhs and let us know if the British Sarkar has any objection," he had wrote, and the reply from Lieutenant Governor was that 'we have no objection if it doesn't disturb our rule.'

Mirza Dehlvi writes that when Syed Ahmed left Calcutta and Patna for Peshawar via Sindh, he had not more than 400 Mujahids along with him.

Moreover, Pir Sibghatullah Shah and Syed Ahmed were followers of different religious beliefs. The former was follower of Ahl-e-Sunnat while the latter was Wahabi and believer of Muhammad Bin Abdul Wahab of Al-Najd. Syed Ahmed, born in 1786 at a small town Bareli, had served in the army of State of Tonk in India under Aamir Khan Yousufzai. His ancestors had once settled in Yousufzai area of what is now the Khyber Pakhtoonkhaw province, from where they had migrated to India. Syed Ahmed had also visited Mecca and Medina and held meetings there before coming back to India for starting preparations for launching 'Holy' war.

It is surprising that Syed Ahmed did not launch Holy war against British who had colonized India and instead chose to fight Sikh Raja for which he travelled to Afghanistan via Sindh and then launched attacks from Peshawar. Even if he intended Jihad against Sikh empire, why he didn't chose nearest way directly attacking from Indian Territory? This creates doubts about Syed Ahmed's role and is suspected to be the British agent. He might have acted according to British agenda of attacking Sikh Raja in the rear to weaken him. There was however a solid reason for Pir Sibghatullah Shah-I to fully support Syed Ahmed and that was weakening Raja Ranjeet Singh and

diverting his attention from Sindh.

Pir Sibghatullah Shah-I had provided 500-member Hur Force, weapons, boats and financial assistance to Syed Ahmed and had also appealed other Sindhi Muslims to join the 'Holy' war. Some correspondence between Pir Sibghatullah Shah-I and Syed Ahmed at a later stage reveals that Pir Sahib had completed all the preparations to himself join the war and command the forces but unfortunately he passed away.

Madam Dr. Hamida Khuhro in her book writes: "There were other reasons also owing to which the Hurs came into existence. Syed Ahmed had sought help of Talpur rulers of Sindh in war against Punjab but since the Talpurs had no resources, they requested Pir Pagara who selected a group of his disciples and took oath of allegiance from them. Those Hurs followed their Pir's instructions for rest of the life." She confirms that 500 Hurs were sent along with Syed Ahmed however states that they didn't take part in war, and had returned after one of them was killed. However there is no such evidence to testify her contention, which could be owing to her reported bias towards Pir Pagara family. According to historical facts a large number of Hurs embraced martyrdom while fighting wars against Sikh forces at Akora Khattak and Balakot areas of present day Khyber Pakhtoonkhaw province of Pakistan.

Some of the writers hailing from community of disciples of Pir Pagara also do not agree that Hur title was given by Syed Ahmed. According to them, Urdu writer Ghulam Rasool Mahar first wrote in his book and then all other writes followed him saying that this title was introduced by Syed Ahmed, which is incorrect. Mr. Wali Muhammad Khaskheli in his article published in weekly Kawish magazine dated 21st September 2014 says that Hur title was adopted by the disciples loyal to Pir Syed Hizbullah when he was installed on 'Gadi' at the age of

four years and seven months. As the other members of Rashdi family wanted to develop their influence and to occupy the seat, the loyal disciples raised slogan 'One God, One Prophet and One Murshid (Spiritual Leader)' and declared themselves the Hur after the name of warrior who sacrificed his life fighting for Imam Hussain, the grand son of Prophet Muhammad.

He also rejects the general perception that Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-I sent 500 hundred Hurs with Syed Ahmed. He argued that if the 500 Hurs were sent and all of them martyred at Balakot, why there is no information about their names and their discendents. He says: "Syed Ahmed wanted to marry in Peshawar and for that he sent a man to Pir Jo Goth for seeking permission from his wives, whom he had left there. If a man could be sent for this purpose from far off area, why no such messenger ever visited Sindh on behalf of 500 Hurs who were fighting in Pakhtoon areas."

Eminent historian Dr. Mubarak Ali in his article also says that a number of works has been written, out of devotion and reverence, on the life and movement of Syed Ahmed Shaheed (death 1832), but no attempt has ever been made to analyze the movement critically. Analyzing the arrival and stay of Syed Ahmed Shaheed in Sindh and the reaction of the ruling classes and people towards the movement in Sindh, he quotes Charles Masson (Narratives of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and Punjab published in London 1842), James Burnes (A visit to the court of Sindh, published in Bombay 1829) and some other books, says that at the time of on arrival of Syed Ahmed, the rulers of Hyderabad were Mir Nur Muhammad (death 1833), Mir Karam Ali (death 1823) and Mir Murad Ali (death 1837). It appears that the Mirs were well informed about the person and activities through their agents and spies. The Mirs were particularly apprehensive about the expansionist policy of the East India Company

and kept all kinds of information about the happenings in British territories. It was natural that some doubts were created in the minds of Mirs regarding the movement of Syed Ahmed, who recruited the majority of his followers from the British territory and received generous donations to equip his followers to fight against Sikhs, and in spite of all his military preparations and preaching of the holy war, the British government connived and allowed him to march along with his armed men through the British territories. The rulers of Indian States, who were completely under the British influence and never dared to annoy them welcomed him and provided him moral and material support. Under these circumstances the Mirs believed that Syed Ahmed and his movements were supported by the British government. It was rumored in Sindh, Balochistan and Punjab that he was British agent and the British were sponsoring his cause. Charles Masson, who was wandering these areas, reported that as Syed Ahmed paid his troops in Company's rupees, people believed him an agent of British government. He further writes: "It was suspected he was sent by the Sahib Logs, by the vulgar, and I was often questioned on the point, but of course was unable to reply."

The arrival of Syed Ahmed in Sindh and his interview with the Mirs of Hyderabad did not remove their doubts. When James Burnes visited the court of Mirs in 1827, Mir Murad Ali asked him in one of the private meetings whether the British government supplied money to Syed Ahmed. James Burnes writes: "I expressed my wonder that any

person, form such an idea, since it was notorious that Syed was fighting solely for faith; but my answer didn't seem to convince him as he remarked that though the Bombay government, whose servant I was, knew nothing of the matter, it was probably very well understood at Bengal."

Under these circumstances, when Syed Ahmed came to Sindh in 1826, he was not welcomed here as he expected. Neither could he get the volunteers for his army nor the financial support for the movement. He arrived in Sindh from Marwar crossing the desert and reached Umarnkot as his first stopover in Sindh. Soon after his arrival, he sent Haji Abdul Rahim to talk to the keeper of the fort (Qila'dar) and discuss with him for arrangements of his stay. The Qila'dar was suspicious about Syed Ahmed's arrival from the British territories; therefore he refused to allow him and his followers to enter the fort. He took precautionary measures and asked him to stay outside at safe distance. He was also ordered not to come to the fort and leave the place next day. When some of the followers of Syed Ahmed approached the fort for the purpose of visit, the soldiers suspected their approach and were ready to fire. When they were assured that their only purpose was to visit the fort, the soldiers allowed them to enter.

From the Umarnkot, Syed Ahmed reached Karo where he met Syed Chorani Shah, a highly respected Syed, who presented him a buffalo. Chorani Shah told him about the rumors circulating throughout Sindh that he was an English agent. Chorani Shah proposed that he would introduce Syed Ahmed to the ruler of Mirpur Khas to remove his doubts. When he reached Mirpur Khas, Mir Ali Murad (death 1837) did not come to see him. He sent some food and two persons to guide him to Hyderabad.

From Mirpur Khas, he went to Tando Allahyar, where two persons came from Hyderabad to investigate about Syed Ahmed. From Tando Allahyar, he went to Tando Jam and from there he sent a message to the Mirs of Hyderabad informing them about his arrival. The Mirs sent one Syed Sibghatullah to receive him. On reaching Hyderabad, he was welcomed by the Kotwal of the city, who provided him foodstuff on behalf of Mirs. Three days

after his arrival, he went to the fort to see the Mirs. He was well received, and the Mirs gave him some cash and some minor gifts. Some of the courtiers took oath of allegiance to Syed Ahmed such as Mir Ismael Shah, Vizier of the Mirs, Muhammad Yusaf Khan, a noble. He stayed in Hyderabad for 13 days. He was greatly disappointed by the cold attitude of the Mirs. He couldn't get support and financial help from them as he hoped. He also abandoned the idea to call his family to Hyderabad. From Hyderabad, he went to Ranipur via Lalukot, Hingorja and Halani and then to Pirkot. Pir Sibghatullah Shah Rashdi-I, who first met him in Ranipur, arranged his stay at his town and provided him all kinds of facilities. Finding him friendly and cooperative, he decided to settle his family there. Pir Sibghatullah Shah expressed his desire to participate in the holy war against the Sikhs. From Pirkot he went to Rakha, Habib Kot and finally Shikarpur.

His sudden arrival at Shikarpur surprised the people of the town as they mistook him and his followers as a part of Afghan invader Shah Shuja's army who had left bitter memories for the inhabitants of the city. Therefore, the people and the administration of the town immediately closed the gates and did not allow anybody to come in. Syed Ahmed sent some of his trusted men to Agha Kazim Governor of the town, to give him assurance that he had no relation with Shah Shuja and wanted to stay in the town for only two or three days. The Governor then allowed two persons to come in the city for shopping. Later on the city gates of the town were opened and the people of the town came to see him. Agha Kazim also entertained him and his followers and gave him presents to show his devotion. He showed much enthusiasm and promised to follow him along with his army to fight holy war. At Shikarpur, which was the commercial hub of Sindh, Syed Ahmed bought shoes and clothes for his followers. He left Shikarpur on July 20, 1826 and marched onward.

Syed Ahmed had high expectations from Sindh to get volunteers for his movement and financial aid from the Mirs and people. The author of Tarikh Taza Nawa-i-Ma'arik reported that Syed Ahmed faced great criticism and opposition in Sindh on account of his religious views, as he was known as Wahabi. There were also doubts among the people regarding his motives behind fight against the powerful Sikh government with a small number of his followers. There was a general belief that the whole movement had no definite and solid motives except to entangle innocent people in the name of religion.

The reason why Syed Ahmed and his movement couldn't attract the people of Sindh is found in the different political, social and economic conditions of British India and Sindh. Sindh, like India, was not an occupied country therefore the people could not be roused and united on any political slogan. The whole basis of Syed Ahmed's movement was on religious emotionalism and for the people of Sindh this approach had no attraction, as they felt economically and politically satisfied and saw no material benefit in joining the movement. Therefore, a section of the people, such as Agha Kazim, who showed sympathy for his cause and had promised to join him never fulfilled their promise. Moreover, Syed Ahmed's short stay did not give him any opportunity to propagate his religious and political views among the people and win them for his cause.

The attitude of Mirs was diplomatic. They showed their sympathy in public, but remained very cautious not to involve themselves in this movement. They were not sure of the real motives of the movement and did not like to offend Ranjit Singh, who was very powerful and had the intention to find some pretext to attack Sindh. According to Dr. Nabi Bux Baloch the Talpur ruler of Khairpur and Nawab of Bahawalpur had also refused support to Syed Ahmed.

In 1831, the Mirs, however, tried to exploit the name of Syed Ahmed to prevent the mission of Alexander Burnes to navigate the Indus. The Mirs' agent at the court of Ranjit Singh told him that the carriage which Burnes was bringing for him was full of gold Mohars to give Syed Ahmed. The ruse was not successful and the navigation was done by Burnes.

Though the arrival and the stay of Syed Ahmed had no significance in the history of Sindh, but his wars with the Sikhs indirectly affected the course of history of Sindh. Ranjit Singh was involved in a series of wars with Syed Ahmed at a time when he planned to invade Sindh. In 1832, when he became free after defeat and death of Syed Ahmed and sought the British consent to occupy Sindh, it was refused, as now British were interested in Sindh.

After going through entire history of Syed Ahmed's arrival in Sindh, the students of history might question how Syed Ahmed was allowed by Talpur rulers of Sindh to enter into their territory? The Talpur rulers were reportedly aware of his movement through their spies but couldn't or didn't stop him moving ahead. It might be that they suspected Syed Ahmed to be British agent and any action against him would antagonize the British.

Part Three

History of Sanghar, Pir Jo Goth and Khairpur

The Pir Pagaros had their disciples across the province of Sindh but Sanghar, Khairpur and Pir Jo Goth earned fame – former for being the hub of guerrilla activities of Hurs and the latter two for being the hometown of Pir Pagaro. And when the name of Pir Jo Goth is mentioned, the Khairpur State cannot be neglected for its ruler's role played against the Pirs and the 'battles' fought by the Hurs in the State. This chapter discusses the historical background of Sanghar, Pir Jo Goth and the Khairpur.

Pir Jo Goth and Khairpur

Pir Jo Goth possesses great importance in the history of Sindh, as this place, once a tinny village and now a town of Khairpur district, has remained center of spiritual power being the resting place of ancestors of Pir Pagara dynasty. The historical background of Pir Pagara dynasty however shows that previously they had settled at another village. According to family record, Pir Muhammad Baqa Shah (1723-1779) was born to Pir Imam Ali Shah at village Rasoolpur, also known as Nandhi (small) Saeendi village. They later shifted to Rahim Dino Kalhoro village however Pir Baqa Shah was laid to rest on his demise at village Shaikh Tayyab. His son Pir Syed Muhammad Rashid (1757-1818) was born at village Rahim Dino Kalhoro and latter's son Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-I (1780-1831) too was born and laid to rest at same village. It was

Pir Syed Ali Gohar Shah-I (1831-1847) who migrated from village Rahim Dino Kalhoro to present day Pir Jo Goth due to inundation of area by the River Indus. He also shifted all the graves of his ancestors to his new abode and built a mosque and graveyard. Pir Syed Shah Mardan Shah-I (1896-1921) developed the village further by constructing a fort-like wall around the shrine, a seminary and residence for visitors and travelers.

The Pir Jo Goth, previously part of Gambat taluka or subdivision, now falls in Kingri taluka, which is named after the Kingri Deh, a small revenue unit. The Pirs had also named their fort-like residence in Pir Jo Goth as 'Kingri' after the name of Kingri Deh. Muhammad Usman Deeployee in his famous novel on Hur Movement titled 'Sanghar' writes that the previous village of Pirs existed in 'Keti', an island-like area with dense jungle surrounded by Indus River on three sides. The present village was named as Kingri after the name of Deh but it is generally called as Pir Jo Goth. According to old revenue record, the Pir Jo Goth existed in the limits of Khairpur even before the British conquered Sindh in 1843. After the conquest, the British authorities detached Pir Jo Goth from Khairpur State and attached to Rohri to keep the Pir Pagaro under its control. Moreover, the British authorities had confiscated all the lands and properties of Mir Rustam Talpur and since the area falling in Deh Kingri did not belong to Mir Ali Muarad Talpur, they attached the same to Rohri, being in their administrative control. It remained so even during the period of Pir Sibghatullah Shah-II and was made part of Khairpur in 1956 when the Khairpur State was abolished due to imposition of one unit in 1955.

Khairpur, formerly a village named Boira, was founded in 1786 by Mir Sohrab Khan Talpur as the capital of the kingdom of upper Sindh (founded in 1783) which was part of the confederacy of Talpur kingdom ruled independently from Khairpur, Hyderabad and Mirpur Khas.

The Talpurs had come into power by defeating the last Kalhora sovereign Mian Abdul Nabi in 1783 at Halani. After conquering Sindh, Mir Fateh Ali Talpur established himself at Hyderabad, his cousin Mir Tharah took over south-eastern Sindh from Mirpur Khas and Mir Sohrab Talpur ruled upper Sindh from Khairpur. His kingdom consisted of the areas including Kashmore, Sabzalkot of Bahawalpur, and by 1791, it included the autonomous Mazari tribal areas up to Mithankot, now in Punjab, while to the south it possessed Naushehro Feroze and bordered the kingdom of Jodhpur at its southeastern strip. At its greatest extent, Khairpur ranged from Gandava, now in Balochistan, to Shahgarh, now in India. Its area was well over 50, 000 sq. kilometers. However, Khairpur gradually lost most of its territory to the East India Company after the conquest of Sindh. By 1851, its territory was reduced to 15669 sq kilometers. When Sir Charles Napier arrived in Sindh, Mir Ali Murad Talpur had established himself as the ruler of upper Sindh and even after conquest, he survived as ruler of Khairpur for his loyalty to British.

The map of Sindh of 1823 (annexed in this book) shows the boundaries of confederacy of Khairpur, Hyderabad and Mirpur Khas. According to the map, the Khairpur bordered with Mirpur Khas, which, although small in area, stretched upto Naushehro Feroze through a narrow strip between the boundaries of Hyderabad and Khairpur.

The "Memoirs on Sindh", a selection from the records of the Bombay Government, edited by R. Hughes Thomas, contains a chapter 'Khyrpoor State'. The author says: "I am unable to discover any exact statement of the amount of territory appropriated by Sohrab upon his first establishment in upper Sindh; but whatever that extent may have been, it was too limited for his restless and ambitious spirit. Partly by force of arms, and mainly by intrigue, Sohrab expanded his originally narrow tract, until

it reached Subzalkot and Kushmore to the north, the Jey-sulmere Desert upon the east, and the borders of Kutch Gundava towards the west. Its northern frontier he seems to have wrested from the Bhawalpoor, and to have introduced himself across the Indus by means of Afghan indifference, or avarice.”

“This indifference or avarice resulted in the incorporation, by Khyrpoor Meers, of those districts upon the right bank, commonly known under the name Mughulee, and which comprise the two divisions of Boordeka, or the land of the Boordee (Burdi) Balooch, and Shikarpur. These include, as I learn from Captain Goldsmid’s private notes upon the subject, Sukkur, Nowshera (Naushehro Feroze), and the tracts formerly known as Ropa, Chuk, Magurcha, Mahomedbagh, and Shah Bagla. The island of Bukkur fell to the sword of Sohrab’s son, Roostum (Rustam), but in what year I am unable to ascertain. The estates of Soheeja and Kulwaree, a little below Sukkur, were annexed to Khyrpoor by Roostum’s younger brother Moobarak. The city of Shikarpoor became, in 1823, joint prize among the Meers of Hyderabad and Khyrpoor, the latter’s interest therein being three-sevenths.”

He further states that in 1811, Sohrab, wearied of public life, abdicated the ‘Raisat’ in favour of his son Meer Roostum, and retired to the fort of Deejee (Kot Diji), formerly called Ahmedabad. During the years which intervened between the date of his abdication and of his death, many documents were issued by the ex-Rais, or at least under his seal and sanction, modifying and re-appropriating his territory. In these documents the name of a son, Ali Moorad (Murad), born in 1815 to Sohrab, in retirement, by the wife of his old age, found prominent insertion. By a will, dated 18th May 1829, the country was apportioned among his three sons, in four shares; each having one share as his property, and Meer Roostum, as Rais, holding the other share, in addition to his patrimony,

with remainder to his two brothers, Meer Moobarak and Ali Moorad. The whole revenue of the territory was also so proportioned.

“In 1830, Sohrab fell from a window of his palace in Khyrpoor, and survived for a period only long enough to commend his boy Ali Moorad to the care of his elder brother Moobarak. The latter failed of obeying this last injunction. He and Roostum seem to have combined to avail themselves of the youth’s inexperience to defraud him of parts of his rightful inheritance, and thus were sown the seeds of those dissensions destined to contribute toward the common ruin of the brothers and of their country,” Hughes Thomas writes.

This was the point that made Mir Ali Murad Talpur to open communication with British officials and later when Charles Napier arrived in upper Sindh in 1842, he at once approached him. “The General quickly detected in him a vigorous-minded, ambitious, and cunning barbarian,” the author quotes remarks about Ali Murad Talpur, who, in coming years, was punished and degraded from the rank of ‘Rais’ for a fraud and forgery in documents of his territory that caused revenue loss to the British authorities.

Dr. Hameeda Khuhro in her book ‘Muhammad Ayoob Khuhro’ writes that differences developed between the then Pir Pagara Pir Ali Gohar Shah and the Talpur ruler of Khairpur because the Pir Pagaro informed the British authorities that Talpur ruler had forged the document to claim more territory.

In a footnote on the same page of book, Dr. Hameeda Khuhro also alleged that Pir Ali Gohar Shah had forged the documents in connivance of Mir Ali Murad Talpur to show the territory of the Mir’s state excessive of actual one. “Mir was supporter of English at that time but when the differences developed among Mir and Pir, the latter approached the British authorities and disclosed the

forgery," she says.

However, the historical account given by Hughes Thomas in his book negates the allegations leveled on Pir Syed Ali Gohar Shah Pir Pagao by Dr. Hameeda Khuhro. It seems inconceivable why Pir Syed Ali Gohar Shah would forge the document for Mir Ali Murad Talpur, who being loyal to British had been instigating the authorities for crushing the Pir and his disciples. When, after the defeat at Dubo, Mer Sher Muhammad Talpur launched guerilla attacks on British forces, it was Mir Ali Murad who told his masters: "It's not the Sher Muhammad Talpur but the Pir Pagaro, who is fighting against you."

Hughes Thomas has quoted a memorandum presented by Mr. Pringle according to which, under a Treaty, the British was bound to abide the assumption of the Turban by Meer Ali Moorad, and to recognize his right to all such lands, as were in his own rightful possession. Under the Treaty, rest of the area from Sukkur to Sea on both banks of Indus, were to be at the disposal of British Government. The memorandum goes on to relate that a draft of a proposed Treaty between the Government and Ali Moorad was submitted by Sir Charles Napier on the 4th of May 1845, and that correspondence at protracted intervals was maintained on the subject up to 18th January 1847; but that in the meantime a circumstance had come to Sir Charles Napier's knowledge, or rather he obtained corroborative proofs of former suspicions in respect to it, which tended to invalidate the authenticity of one of the documents on which the application of his principles to the forefieted territory north of Rohri had been based. This document was a Treaty, purporting to have been executed between Meer Ali Moorad and Meer Roostum and Nuseer Khan (the son of their brother Moobarak), towards the close of the year 1842. At that time the dissensions of these Ameers had been brought to the issue of arms, and in an action, in which Ali Moorad had the advantage,

peace was purchased by the other two, by the cession to him of certain lands enumerated in this Treaty, which was written in a copy of the Koran. "It was however brought to Sir Charles Napier's knowledge that a fraud had been committed by Ali Moorad in respect to document, by endeavoring to substitute in it the word 'District' for 'village', in the designation of place in which the village and its surrounding district bore the same name, and interpolating the names of some districts altogether; and that when this attempt was unsuccessful, the leaf itself on which the names were written had been extracted, and the matter which it bore was written afresh, with the desired alterations and additions, on another blank leaf of the same Koran, by the same person by whom the original Treaty had been written; the effect of which was to convey to Ali Moorad districts of considerable value, in place of villages of trifling extent."

"In 1850, a commission, attended by Meer Ali Moorad in person, sat, to pass their opinion upon the accusation against His Highness, of having made interpolations and additions in the Treaty signed at Nownahur by Meer Roostum, Nuseer Khan, and himself, whereby he obtained possession of the Purganas of Meerpoor, Mathela, and Mehurkee, instead of the villages of Dadloo and Mathela; and of having afterwards substituted a leaf in the Koran, containing these alterations copied fairly, in lieu of one in which they had been originally made," Thomas writes. The verdict of this commission resulted in the issue, on 21st January 1852, by order of Governor General of India, of a proclamation, declaring that His Highness Ali Moorad Khan's guilt has been proved: that he was therefore degraded from the rank of Rais; and that all his lands and territories, excepting those hereditary possessions only, which were allotted to him by his father Meer Sohrab Khan, should thenceforth be a portion of the British Empire in India." (Text of Proclamation annexed).

Khan Bahadur Khudad Dad Khan, employee of the British government for 45 years, in his book 'Lub-e-Tareekh -e-Sindh' also mentions this case and states that Governor General of India himself had come to Rohri to recover the areas from Mir Ali Murad Talpur. The areas were: Daharki, Maharki, Mathelo, Baldko, Moghlja, Sahiti, Ladho Gagan, Chak Hazarcho and Rupa. According to him, Mir Ali Murad had gone to London to seek justice but failed.

Mir Ali Murad Talpur, despite being stripped of his rank and most of the territories, cooperated faithfully with British during 1857 mutiny and ensured to suppress any upsurge within his jurisdiction. He died in 1894 after a long reign of 52 years. He was succeeded by his second son Mir Faiz Muhammad Talpur, as his first son had died earlier. Mir Faiz Muhammad ruled Khairpur State from 1894 to 1909 and on his death his son Mir Imam Bux Talpur took over to rule till his death in 1921. He was succeeded by his son Mir Ali Nawaz Talpur who passed away in 1935. This was a volatile period when Pir Sibghatullah Shah-II was in jail and the British government feared severe reaction. After the demise of Mir Ali Nawaz Talpur, his son Mir Faiz Muhammad-II assumed the office but the colonial authorities, under a well-hatched plan, declaring him 'suffering from unstable and nervous affliction', and unable to run the affairs of State, constituted a 'council of regency under the ministers', and ordered him to leave the State. Mir Faiz Muhammad Talpur spent these years in Lahore and after 12 years he had to abdicate power in favour of his minor son George Ali Murad Talpur in July 1947. The State acceded to Pakistan in October 1947 and finally was merged to West Pakistan in 1955.

During 12 years – from 1935 to 1947, the British ruled the Khairpur State through ministers appointed by it. However, the British influence or intervention in the State affairs could be witnessed even during previous rulers, as

the ministers were appointed on the British recommendations. Sardar Muhammad Yaqoob, an Indian officer, who earlier had served as Deputy Commissioner and earned notoriety for barbaric actions against the Hur community, was later elevated to the office of Vizier of Khairpur State in 1903 after the death of Khan Bahadur Qadir Khan. Sardar Yaqoob remained in the office till 1907 when he died. The British government had granted him lands in Sinjhora taluka of Sanghar as reward for his barbarism.

During the Hur insurgency in 1890s, the British government had established a special police station at 'Manghan Wari' near the shrine in Pir Jo Goth, as the Pir's disciples used to pass from that area. The police would stop all the disciples including women and would allow only after thorough search.

The Hur militants clashed several times with the Zamindars of Khairpur, who committed atrocities on the villagers, allegedly under the patronage of Talpurs. One Chhuttal Bhurgri, the Kamdar (caretaker of Talpurs' lands) was one of such persons. It is said that Bachu Badshah, the Hur Commander who ruled Sanghar for over eight years, received a complaint in September 1893 from the Mulla community of Makhi area that the armed men of Chhuttal Bhurgri have kidnapped a girl and taken away cattle from their relatives. On this, Bachu Badshah sent a warning to Bhurgri for release of girl and cattle but instead he beat up the messenger and called armed men from the Talpurs. Now, the Bachu Badshah had no way but to take action. He, accompanied by Piru Vizier and other militants, attacked on Chhuttal Bhurgri's village near Khenwari in Khairpur state recovered the kidnapped girl and cattle. They did not loot any person, but the Bhurgri and the British officers accused them of plundering the village.

Another big incident, which is said to be biggest one in the history of Khairpur, and that of entire Hur guerilla war, was the murder of Khairpur police Nazim

(Chief) Ghulam Rasool Shah at Khenwari, a desert area of Khairpur. H. T. Lambrick in his book 'The Terrorist' calls it 'Battle of Khenwari' fought on March 14, 1942, during the last phase of Hur uprising after arrest and internment outside Sindh of Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II in April 1941. According to him, the Khairpur State police casualties were five killed including the Nazim, and ten wounded. Nine Hurs were reported killed. This was the period when British ruled Khairpur through the ministers appointed from India and Mir Faiz Muhammad Talpur-II lived in Lahore under the government orders.

Another place that attached importance to Khairpur was Keti of Pir Pagaro in the riverine area of River Indus, where Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II used to supervise the guerrilla training of Hurs. The Pir Jo Goth was part of Rohri, as stated earlier, but the Keti or the Pir's Estate, as generally known, was in the limits of Khairpur. Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II, after launching the crusade against British, came seldom to Kingri, and had taken up his abode in camp in his country estate within the Mir's territory.

"Pir Sahib prefers living in the Estate, as it is more convenient for training Ghazis and giving interviews to the chief Fakirs who come from all parts of the country (Sindh), without being subject to annoyance by the inquisitive police. You see, shortly after he had begun enrolling men, the Collector of Sukkur asked what his object was. Our Lord was able to satisfy the officer by explaining that they were to be civic guards for protection of Kingri; but recognizing that for such a purpose no more than forty or fifty at most could be required, he soon moved into Mir Sahib's territory in order to continue recruiting undisturbed," one Mohbat, a character of the Lambrick's book 'The Terrorist' says.

Dr. Hameeda Khuhro, in her book, has also quoted Muhammad Ayub Khuhro as saying that he had an opportunity to meet Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II in 1939 at

Keti located in Khairpur State during summer season. “Sardar Qaisar Khan Bozdar, member legislative assembly, had suggested seeing Pir Sahib, and seeking his help for local bodies’ polls. On a very hot day, we left Sukkur in a car for his camp in the forest. Pir Sahib was staying in a ‘Landhi’, a cottage made of brushwood, with curtains of same material hanging on windows, where the servants were sprinkling water to keep the cottage cool.”

“I was invited by Pir Sahib to spend some days there, as this place was more comfortable than the houses fitted with fans in Karachi,” Khuhro says.

After the arrest and internment out of Sindh of Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II, the British Government destroyed the Kingri – the fort-like residence and shrines through bombardment, turning it into debris.

Sanghar and Makhi Forest

Sanghar district derives this name from its headquarters town Sanghar. The district is bounded on the north by Khairpur and Nawabshah districts, on the south by Umar Kot and Mirpur Khas districts, Matiari and Hyderabad districts on the west while on the east by India. Once considered as one of the largest districts of Sindh, the Sanghar is located at central point of province's international border with India. The existing Sanghar district was previously the part of Tharparkar district when the British conquered Sindh in 1843 and divided the country in three administrative districts or units namely Karachi, Shikarpur and Thar & Parkar. After creation of Pakistan, some areas on the northern side were detached from Tharparkar district and named as Sanghar district. Later, Sanghar and Tharparkar districts were further divided to create Umarkot and Mirpur Khas districts. The district headquarters town Sanghar is located roughly 350km from Karachi, 56km from Nawabshah and same distance from Mirpur Khas. Tando Adam, Shahdadpur, Shahpur Chakar, Sinjhor, Jhol, Khipro and Jam Nawaz Ali are main towns of the district having a total population of 1453028 according to 1998 census. Its current geographical area is 10728 sq km. According to Gazetteer of Province of Sindh (1919) the area of Sanghar Taluka at that time was 820 square miles, of which 571 square miles were alluvial and remainder desert. The Makhi Lake

existed in Sanghar Taluka. The most of area of the district is fertile plain formed by canals except eastern desert from Jamrao to Khipro Taluka. The desert is called Achhro Thar (White Desert). The average elevation of the area is about 50 meters above sea level. Like other districts of Sindh, Sanghar has extremely cold weather in winter and hot during the summer.

Sanghar town was formerly a small village and got populated since 18th century. According to oral traditions, the village was named after a fisherwoman Mai Sanghaar and remained as tinny village for over a century with a population of few hundreds. However, another story says that Sanghar town derived its name from a canal known as Saang. A village namely Ghihlpur used to exist near that canal. Later the village was named after the canal as Sanghar. The Ghihlpur village existed at the place where currently police-line is established. According to research scholar late M. H. Panhwar the Sanghar emerged as a tinny village during Talpur rule and got its name from 'Sanghra', a small canal taking off from eastern Nara canal at the time of floods.

Sanghar occupies unique place in the history of Sindh, as it's known as quite fertile for nourishing certain glaring chapters of history and the civilization. The Brahman Abad civilization and folk story of Suhni Mehar had their births in the valley of Sanghar. The spiritual movement and the poetry of Sufi Saint Poet Shaheed Abdul Rahim Girhori, making predictions about future of Sindh, had also brought magnanimity to the history of Sanghar. The turning point that in fact brought high profile to the name of Sanghar is Hur Movement, which began against British occupation of Sindh in 1843 and continued till early 1950s. In 1896, the Hurs had formed their own parallel government in the areas comprising Sanghar and Tharparkar districts and named it as 'Sanghar Sarkar'. Bachu, known as 'Bachu Badshah' was the head of gov-

ernment while Pir Bux alias Piru Wazir was the premier with ten other ministers and advisors. The Bachu Badshah's village was located two kilometers west of Gajri village 20km north of Sanghar town at Head Jamrao Road. His father's name was Waryam and they originally belonged to Makhi Forest area adjoining to Achhro Thar.

Sanghar or previously Tharparkar district and its adjoining areas were center of guerrilla activities for certain peculiarities of the region. A large number of disciples of Pir Pagaro inhabited this area. Moreover, the geo-strategic position of the area was suitable for fighting a guerrilla war. The web of natural lakes and dense forest named as Makhi, spread over a vast area, was the hideout of Hur guerrillas for over a century while during the last phase of Hur movement it had Pir Pagaro's headquarters at Gurang Bungalow situated in the Sanghar.

One Muhammad Yousif Mahar, a disciple of Pir Sibghatullah Shah Rashdi-II, had built the Gurang Bungalow for Pir Pagara during the period when he was first sentenced and jailed for eight years in 1930. The bungalow was located near a big sand dune known as Bago Daro about 3km from Sanghar at Mirpur Khas Road. This place was formerly used by British Army as Firing Range to train the soldiers being a jungle and away from town. The bungalow was named after 'Gurang' Deh (a revenue unit). The masons for construction of bungalow were hired from Hyderabad while around 500 to 1000 disciples of Pir Pagara worked there. On his release from Indian prison, Pir Pagara visited the Gurang bungalow and decided to make it his headquarter. He had directed chiefs of different sections of his community to erect Landhis, traditional Guest Houses made of brushwood, in the surroundings of bungalow and within no time a new village surfaced, as a number of Landhis were built there. A large number of disciples thronged at Landhis from far off areas. This was the turning point of the history, as Pir Pa-

gara had decided to wage a guerrilla war against colonial forces. He used to meet his disciples on daily basis and selected the young and energetic persons as guerrillas, whom he named 'Ghazi'.

The Makhi Lake of Sanghar district, once, was the largest natural lake after Manchhar Lake located in Dadu district. The Makhi Lake and Forest were like 'No Man's Land' between the Talpur rulers of Mirpur Khas and Khairpur. It's said that the Makhi Lake and forest spread over 512 Koh area (One Koh is equal to two miles). According to a report prepared by Sardar Muhammad Yaqoob, an Indian official of British, the Makhi Lake consisted of at least 200 big and small lakes and its entire area was covered with wild plants and trees making it so dense and dark that visibility inside the jungle was almost zero even during the daytime. The Makhi Lake stretched up to the border of Khairpur district and the Achhro Thar in the north. The Nara Canal, taking off from Sukkur Barrage, flowed 150km in the area to culminate in Tharparkar district thus all the branches of Nara Canal in Makhi area had the water all the time. The entire area remained inundated during floods in the river in summer season every year, as the canals overflowed turning Makhi Lake into a big dam. It's the same place where the Chotiariyoon Dam has now been built. The local people found large amounts of wood in the bed of Chotiariyoon Reservoir after the water level reached dead level some years back. Elders of the area believed that the big trees visible in the reservoir once constituted the historic Makhi Forest, which was hideout for the Hur fighters. According to Mir Muhammad Nizamani, president, Hur Historical Society, the reservoir was built at the place known as Baqar Lake, a cluster of several freshwater lakes and the Makhi Forest used to be near it.

The names of some of the lakes existing there in olden times, as researched by Prof. Muhammad Mubeen Wasan, are:

Gharpo, Sahri, Kari, Lunde Wari, Thartari, Khawi, Lakhma, Pathwari, Lahra, Badar Wari, Nathu Wari, Kara Wari, Tari Kaharo, Gadar Wari, Thabio Wari, Tarpa Wari, Ghare Wari, An Wanri, Pane Wari, Soan Wari, Bhoank Wari, Awachan Wari, Janar, Pani Wari, Sanghre, Lor Wari, Baghan Wari, Nando wari, Lahro Wado, Sanhoro, Bheelan Wari, Kande Wari, Bado Kharor, Khad Wari, Pakhar Wae, Mahmooda, Pathriyo, Jhangri, Ghanghri, Gularo, Kander, Peroon, Kuraro, Samund, Rahro, Dhorko, Dhorki, Talwari, Bagan Wari, Jadopur, Ghagh, Kumhari, Hunra, Sabeji, Jhol, Jalal, Karam Wara Kunb, Sadori, Bankali, Sanghrani, Sanhrodo, Hurmat, Ajo, Lundo, Nonghno, Ranjho, Kanika, Kalachi, Pharhari, Pandhal, Agham, Sanghraro, Kaltwari, Dabhri, Rahri, Sareji, Thadri, Kamanwari, Botar, Seri, Badpur Wari, Tajor, Rahuja, Soro, Garan (Narwal), Achhi, Okar, Sokhi Ji Sim, Bhalian Wari, Pari, Sanhro nando, Dhandh Khairo, Bada Lodh, Jami Hingoro, Sabu Hingoro, Palharo, Morkadh, Marvi, Mathoon, Markoli, Palharo, Jurhal, Kalinkar, Sanhro, Loon Khaan, Ghario Kodhno, Madakar, Tanbum Wari, Gohri, Kharori, Landhi, Bhataro, Jangaho, Wari Kakar, Bandno, Sanghari, Sakodhi, Dandh kalor, Khadhar, Nir-mal Wari, Shahmeer Wari, Chhanbhahi, Hasil Wari, Rahib Wari, Ratrao, Parhal, Pokhial, Asanjaran, Woanan Wari, Sandhan Wari, Pakhroi, Phatal Wari, Sao Naro, Bandan Wari, Nirawal, Wari Dhandh, Kunri, Khari Wari, Sooraj Wari, Ghation Dhorion, Kute Wari, Badar Badaho, Wahri, Rakh Wari, Mai Mat, Lehor, Toah Wara Kharoro, Fateh Wari, Lae Wari, Mir Khan Wari, Henro, Koranki, Bankial, Wanhial Wari Sim, Khama, Dorsar, Khato Wari, Marian Wari, Kalach, Baqar, Parohion, Odhani, Badar Wari, Mangrki, Nango Wari Sim, Khanal Wari, Noghro, Shahan Wari, Galaho, Sakhe Wari Sim, Madoh wari, Wachhe Wari, Sabhai Wari and Haider Shah Wari.

The small canals emanating from Nara Canal are Jamraoo, Mithraoo, Baran, Dim and Heran. The villagers

cultivated different crops in the winter when the water receded.

According to researchers, the Sanghar area used to be confluence of three big rivers in the era from 10000 years BC to 4000 years BC. Sakro or Sarswati River also is said to have its discourse from this area. Another river known as Karro and Saa (Green) Naro passed from mid of the Makhi forest. A canal emanated from Ali Wahan and joined present day Jamrao canal forming Do'aba, the convergence, in this area. Yet another canal passed from Dalorae and Jhol areas. In olden days, Darshawati or Dursha Duati canal used to flow taking off near north of Saharanpur and culminated in Hakro River and then discharged Puran Lake. Another research suggests that Western Nara was natural branch of River Indus and was in commission during Kalhora-Talpur rule. The research further says that three canals from Makhi Lake namely Mithrao, Dim and Heran, which started operating when Fife gave new mouth to eastern Nara above Rohri town, may have been old canals belonging to Samma-Soomra period in Sindh and may have flowed occasionally as and when spill waters from the Indus and Sutlej discharged into eastern Nara. They were probably in use occasionally during Noor Muhammad and Ghulam Shah Kalhora's rule, as latter took care that no spill water from eastern Nara reached Kuch via Puran. The weather pundits calculated 14 inch annual rainfall in the era 9500 years BC to 2000 years BC and that was the main reason of existence of thick forests in this region. Mr. James, the Commissioner of Sindh in 1896, had prepared the map of Makhi Lake and Forest. According to him, the Makhi Lake spread over 10 to 12 miles. The eastern Nara Canal fills the lake during monsoon. He said the Makhi Lake located north of Tharparkar is spread far off and touches the boundaries of Indian region of Jodhpure.

The gazetteer of Province of Sindh (1919) says

there are no other streams or rivers in the district, unless the Eastern Nara is regarded as one. It was the bed once of either an independent river, or of a branch of the Indus, and afterwards provided a channel of the Indus whereby the annual floods from upper reaches of the Indus found their way ultimately to the Rann or to the Kori creek. But it could not carry the whole body of water, and the overflow was often destructive, particularly in the Sanghar and Pithoro Talukas. When measures were taken to restrain the floods, drought succeeded and these lands became a waste inhabited only by nomad graziers; but the opening of channel which now connects the Nara with Indus at Rohri converted the former into a permanent canal which together with more recent irrigation works, has brought back verdure and fertility to the Nara Valley. The course of the Nara itself has been described as "a carpet of ever-green grass, with a dense tamarisk, kandi and babul jungle interspersed with large, deep lakes running miles into sandhills and having a perennial stream of water running through the valleys." Of these lakes the greatest is the Makhi Dhand, in which the Hur 'outlaws' found secure shelter and defied every effort to capture them during the years 1893-98, the gazetteer says.

J. W. Smyth, the compiler of the gazetteer, quoted a report of Sir Evan James (Commissioner of Sindh at one time) submitted to the government according to which "the Makhi Dhand consists of a very large depression, roughly about twelve miles by ten in extent, into which the waters of the Eastern Nara discharge themselves on their way to the Mithrao, Thar and other canals. During the inundation it is almost all under water and forms a large swamp filled with 'lai' (tamarisk) trees, babul and coarse grass and reeds, though a few little dry oases are at all times to be found. After the subsidence of the inundation, though there is a great deal of swamp and dense jungle, large areas of good grazing ground are exposed which

gives pasture to thousands of cattle.”

Since the harnessing of the Nara, and construction of the Jamrao canal system, floods have entirely ceased in the district, and the land is now dependent for its fertility upon regular irrigation, Smyth said.

The British authorities started constructing Eastern Nara canal in 1859 and completed in 1879 after which the Makhi Lake was supplied water through regulator from this canal. The Heran canal or ex-Makhi Lake was completed by the year 1860 and Thar canal was completed from 1864 to 1867. The Jamrao canal was built from 1894 to 1900 and was the main part of eastern Nara canal. Another canal named ‘Khipro’ was completed from 1861 to 1891.

Richard F. Burton, the author of ‘Sindh Revisited’ has also given some account of this area. He says ‘Nara distances some eight miles from Aror; it is deep sunk in the plain, like a canal and its course of 300 miles is string or chaplet of “Sindh hollows”, Gharos (creeks, especially Indus branches), Dhandhs, Dhoras, Kolabs, Kars, Kumbhs, Wahurs and multiform varieties of “broads”, lakelets and flooded depressions. They number some 400, and several of them are three miles long by one broad.’

H. T. Lambrick in chapter ‘The Plains of Sindh and the River Indus’ of his book ‘History of Sindh Series VOLUME I’ mentions the river courses leading to Sindh and passing through Sanghar area. “The flood channels from old beds of Sutlej River or some times entire Sutlej River joined the Hakra in three widely separated places. At Vinjrot, an ancient site just within the Sindh boundary, the Hakra divides and loses its name for a distance of more than 300 miles. The main branch known as Wahinda takes a winding course, at first with a generally southerly direction, as far as a place called Mithrahu (Mithrao), on the caravan track between Rohri and Jaisalmir. It then bends more to the west, thereafter south west and finally

south again when it approaches the low hills south of Rohri. Meanwhile it has been joined by the second branch, called the Raini Nullah, which takes a comparatively direct course, about south west by south, from Vinjrot.”

“Some thirty miles southward from Rohri, and not far from the eastern side of small range of hills that extends in that direction, the Raini, Wahinda, and other branch flood channels gradually blend in the Nara. Shortly after the Khairpur border is crossed, the lime stone gives place to sand hills; and thence for about sixty miles the Nara winds along in a valley some two miles wide, hemmed in by sand hills on either hand, with a direction very slightly west of south. Emerging into the plains, the Nara continues to skirt the Eastern Desert, bending south east or south until the sand hills recede abruptly due east, enclosing an extension of the alluvial plain. The Nara crosses the mouth of this bay, and meeting the edge of the desert again to southward, resumes its close parallel course, including south south west, until it falls into the Rann of Cutch. It is for the last portion of its course that we find the river called by the name it parted with nearly four hundred miles above – the Hakra”, he writes.

Lambrick writes that the last two hundred and fifty miles of the Nara-Hakra valley are identical with lowest valley-line east of the Indus with exception of its reach across the mouth of bay at Umarkot, where the land eastward falls still further. “It is to be noted also that when water was first regularly introduced into the Nara, in 1859, much of it went to fill a vast number of hollows of varying depth along its left bank in the talukas of Sanghar and Khipro. These lie parallel to one another in the valleys between the characteristic sand ridges of this part of Thar, and into some of them water would penetrate as far as ten miles from the bed of the Nara itself,” he stated adding: “We may fairly suppose that the Nara would have adopted

a course several miles further to the east, but for the repeated interruption of this lower level by the sand ridges.”

Discussing further the Sutlej, Hakra and Mihran (Mehran), the Lambrick concludes that the contours of the country tell us that the main terminal stream of the great snow-fed rivers must have flowed for much the greatest part of say, the last five thousand years – a trifling period in a river’s life – on varying axes all well within the outermost valley-lines on east and west of the plain. “For an overwhelming large portion of that or any longer period, the Hakra-Nara must have been a seasonal channel down, which enormous discharges indeed passed, it may be with fair regularity; but not a continuous perinial flow,” he opines.

He quoted Major Raverty, a British engineer who had been reconstructing river courses in North West India, who says that ‘there is reason to suppose that there was at least intermittent flow in Hakra through Sindh in the 18th century A.D. There is in fact clear evidence that up to about 1742 it could be used, perhaps only in a particularly favourable season, to transport stone from the Rohri hills to a point southward of Umarkot.

About the change of Indus River course, he opines that it occurred about the year 1758-59, however says the extraordinary transformation was not apparently completed in a single season.

In the same chapter, discussing General Haig’s notes, Lambrick does not agree his identification of the Nala Sankra with the Sangra canal.

The Makhi Forest got its name due to honey available here in abundance. The Sindhi word Maakhi means honey, which later became simplified word of Makhi. There used to be three to four honey beehives at a tree and the villagers got the honey in such a quantity that they stored the honey in earthen pots.

A large number of retired armed forces personnel,

especially those who served the British Indian Army before partition, live in the area that belonged to people of Hur community. Although villages in Sindh are called 'Goth', more than 200 villages in Sinjhora and Sanghar Talukas are known as 'Chak' – a term used for villages in Punjab. The Chaks were developed under the supervision of military, which provided all kind of machinery to retired personnel to develop infrastructure. Each Chak comprises of around 80 blocks spread over 1300 acres of land. The British government had allotted the land to its armed forces' personnel after confiscating the properties of Hur community people and reclaiming more land from natural wet lands and Makhi forest. The British government reclaimed the Makhi forest to crush the Hur movement. British officer Mr. James had started bringing a large number of Punjabis, Pathans and Baloch people to settle them in Makhi Forest area. He writes in a report: "After opening of Jamraoo canal, I will settle Balochis, Kabulis (Pathans) and Punjabis near the Hurs to bring them under pressure. The people of Nawab Shahbaz Khan Bugti will also act as police to control the Hurs."

Prof. Umar Chand quoting the Lambrick documents (Letter No: MSS/Eur. F 208/83) says British authorities closed the Dim Canal for ever to punish the people of Makhi area who used to cultivate their crops taking water from it. Surprisingly, all the correspondence was done by the Lambrick office instead of irrigation department.

Eminent politician of Pakistan, Sardar Sher Baz Mazari also wrote in his autobiography that English sought help from Baharam Mazari to crush the Hur rebellion but he refused, and then the elders of Nawab Akbar Bugti supported the English forces and in return they were granted 23000 acres of land in Sanghar area.

Fakir Manthar Nizamani, a Hur who took part in derauling of Lahore Mail near Udero Lal in 1942, told in

an interview that the Bugtis settled by the British committed brutal acts against the Hur and non-Hur community in Sanghar district. They killed several innocent villagers, took away their ripe crops and cattle head. As a result, the Hurs retaliated and killed several Bugtis. "In one of such attacks we killed at least 35 to 40 Bugtis," he said.

Arms Factories in Makhi Area

The Abu Pota clan, known as pioneers of arms manufacturing in this part of Sindh, used to be settled in Dube, a small village located at the Badar Lake's bank near confluence of Makhi and Achhro Thar around 25km north of Sanghar. Their ancestors were famous for manufacturing and repair of all kinds of weapons including daggers, axes, spear, armors, swords and above all guns of high quality. Some members of Sikh community also lived there and it's said that they had got expertise in arms manufacturing while working with French and Portuguese forces in India. Later, the Sikh experts transferred the skill to Abu Pota clan. Some Sikh experts had also visited Makhi area to help establish arms factories. This way they helped Hur guerrillas.

One Ghulam Hussain Abu Poto earned a name for manufacturing high quality guns. According to Khan Muhammad, an elder of Abu Pota clan, there was a big factory where a large number of laborers worked. The iron ore for the factories was purchased from Sukkur. The factory had 30 furnaces where ammunition was produced. While according to another research around 50 arms factories used to work here round the clock to meet the orders placed by Rajas of different Indian states. The Rajas ordered weapons for their personal use as well as for their soldiers. It is said that caravans consisting of 60 camels loaded with weapons

used to depart from here to Bharmeer, Bekaneer, Jaisalmir, Rajputana and other areas of India.

British official T. Postens writes that the guns produced in Makhi area were superior to those produced elsewhere in India and to some extent are better than European guns, as the barrel of European gun cannot sustain ammunition produced in Sindh. Mir Noor Muhammad Talpur had also presented Alexander Burnes a gun produced at Dube. The Hur fighters used the weapons manufactured at Dube during their century-long war.

Eminent writer and journalist Muhammad Usman Deeplai in his famous novel 'Sanghar', based on real stories of Hur Movement, narrates account of an encounter of Hur guerrillas with British forces after which the group of Hurs entered into Makhi forest where an arms factory was in full operation manufacturing the guns and rifles. The 303 rifles looked same as of British rifles. The local blacksmiths were producing weapons under the supervision of Tribal Pathans while the horses, donkeys and camels were used for transportation of weapons. According to character of the novel, the arms, produced there, were not of that quality which the British forces possessed. These arms were often returned for repair at the same factory after using in wars and it took several days to repair them. "That's why the Hurs were short of weapons, and they had to ambush the British forces and snatch their weapons," he says. Thousands of Hurs were present in that area and were being trained in using the weapons. A firing range also existed there.

One Fakir Khan Muhammad Abupoto, interviewed at the age of 98 in 1992, was the only surviving person of his clan who knew the skill of manufacturing the arms. Resident of Dubi village, Khan Muhammad told: "My ancestors used to manufacture arms of all kinds including axes, swords, hatchets, daggers, guns and rifles since much before the Talpur rule. The ammunition too was

produced there. The founders of this industry in Dubi were two brothers - Muhammad Ali and Chhutto Abupoto. The traders from Jaisalmir, Jodhpur, Barmir, Dasimro and other areas of India would come and buy the weapons and transport the weapons on camels to their respective areas.”

“I am 8th generation in line but I still remember that there were at least 30 furnaces of our blacksmiths working round the clock. A gun would take five days to go through the process of manufacturing. This trade came to an end by 1940s when the Murshid Saeen (Pir Sahib) enrolled the Ghazis and the British launched operation destroying the Makhi area,” he said.

Part Four

Why British targeted Pir Pagaras and their followers?

It was policy of the British rulers to buy local feudal lords, Waderas, Mirs, Pirs and Mullahs to smoothly rule here. They allotted lands to tribal chiefs, offered titles and monetary benefits to others to buy their loyalties. Soon after conquest of Sindh in 1843, the British rulers restored Jagirs of over one thousand feudal lords of Sindh who in return took oath of allegiance to them. Similarly, there were a number of caretakers of shrines who openly sided with colonial rulers for material gains. The British rulers had called a meeting to award lands to their protégés. A large number of chiefs of various tribes attended the Darbar and secured lands, titles and other benefits.

Sara F D Ansari in her book 'Sufi Saints and State Power: The Pirs of Sindh 1843-1947' writes that although the British brought Sindh out of isolation in 1843 but it needed help of local elites for smooth rule. They had intelligence reports that Pirs of Sindh were most influential being the natural elites and possessing lands and getting stipends from the rulers and charities from their followers. They had collected such reports much before conquest of Sindh during their visits here for trade and military purposes. Their spies had specially mentioned importance of Syeds and Pirs of Sindh in their reports.

When the British occupied Sindh, they found that Pirs had four kinds of properties – the Jagirs granted to them without any condition; the lands and other property given to them in charity for their livelihood and taking care of shrines; agricultural lands and orchards granted to them free of land revenue and certain lands allotted on lease.

Sir Charles Napier, soon after the conquest, had declared amnesty for all the feudal lords for their allegiance to British government while through another announcement it was ordered that all the feudal lords and others who were in possession of big lands and other properties must attend Darbar to show their allegiance to British Crown on May 24, 1844.

Dr. Hamida Khuhro in her book ‘The Making of Modern Sindh’ writes: “Every Jagirdar making his *salam* was given a *salam sanad* or *salam parwana* signed by Napier and bearing his seal, saying that the Jagirdar making his submission was to receive back the entire Jagir held by him in undisputed possession on the 17th February 1843, the date of the battle of Miani.” Thus a large number of feudal lords, who were in possession of Jagirs since generations, got the lands back for their allegiance to British Crown.

The British authorities also did not disturb the stipends being paid to Pirs, not because they needed any spiritual help but for their allegiance. Similarly, the authorities exempted the barren lands of land revenue leased out to Pathans settled in Shikarpur district after Afghan invasion. Two religious families – Alvis of Shikarpur and Makhdooms of Khuhrra (Khairpur) also benefitted from this facility. In her book, Dr Hamida Khuhro also mentions the *Khairat* or charitable Jagirs as well as the lands owned by Pathans in Shikarpur Collectorate on *Patta* or contract basis. She says: “*Khairat* or charitable Jagirs had been given for a great variety of reasons, mainly religious and educational. The holders, who might hold either land or money grants, were both Hindus and Muslims.

The main holders in this class were the Syeds of Rohri and Bukkur who held land grants and Syeds of Thatta who held money grants. Though most of these grants were made in the name of the grantee, and it was not usually specified that they were meant for the support of a school or for scholarship, they served in fact as support for men of learning and educational or religious institutions.

Pirs and Syeds of Sindh were perturbed over the British orders of appearing in Darbars for allegiance. The authorities confiscated the properties of those Pirs and Syeds who did not turn out. The Pir of Ghotki was one of them however, later he regained properties after he submitted an application. In certain cases the British authorities restored properties due to political and cultural influence of the Shrines and their caretakers. Caretaker of Shrine of Khawaja Khizr and Pir of Luwari Sharif are two of them.

The Mirs of Khairpur were on the forefront who secured their state by declaring allegiance to British much earlier. On different occasions, Pir Pagaro Syed Hizbullah Shah, Syed Muhammad Shah of Sunn, Makhdoom Muhammad Zaman of Hala, Alaf Khan Pathan of Shikarpur and Sardar Imam Bux Khan Jatoi were baited through the promise of similar rewards but they could not be swayed. The British administration felt affronted by their refusal and victimized them possibly because they were perceived as threat. Yet all these persons stood up to the British and faced victimization at their hands. However, the British rulers remained cautious of the Spiritual office of Pir Pagara due to its role since 1818 when Pir Sibghatullah Shah-I organized his militant force. None of the other Pirs of Sindh had such a large number of disciples as that of Pir Pagaro nor did they have militant force.

The British government was well aware of Pir Sibghatullah Shah-I's efforts to organize force against threat of Sikh Raja as well as British designs. They also knew that Pir Pagaro didn't like the allegiance of Mirs of Khairpur to

the British. The Mirs of Khairpur, as staunch allies of the British, also behaved same way with Pagaro family. The British had also closely watched the role of Pir Pagaro and his Hurs in war against Sikh Raja along with Syed Ahmed. Some incidents also testify that the spiritual office of Pir Pagaro and the Hurs were greatly involved in guerrilla war against the colonial forces launched by Mir Sher Muhammad Talpur, the ruler of Mirpur Khas, after the defeat at Dubo in March 1843. This guerrilla war had continued for ten years till the surrender of Mir Sher Muhammad. He had close relations with Pagaro family being the follower of Khalifa Mahmood Nizamani Qadri Naqshbandi of Kariyo Ghanwar district Badin, a Sufi Saint and disciple of Pir Syed Muhammad Rashid. Khalifa Mahmood Nizamani was of such a caliber that his spiritual teacher Pir Syed Muhammad Rashid had allowed him to make his own disciples. He was born in 1775 and passed away in 1851. Some researches have quoted Mir Ali Murad Talpur of Khairpur as saying to his British masters that 'It's not Mir Sher Muhammad Talpur but the Pir Pagaro who is fighting the guerrilla war'. Mir Ali Murad Talpur's remark could be correct, as according to Sir William Napier the great Sardars and chieftains, who were still in arms, were for the most part at feud with the 'Lord of Meerpoore' (Mir Sher Muhammad Talpur) and 'these considerations led the English leader (Gen. Charles Napier) to look on the 'Lion' (Mir Sher Muhammad Talpur) as an 'isolated chief' whose bravest followers had fallen in battle, leaving him without material resources for regular warfare and without influence beyond his own feudatories'.

Scholar and researcher late Dr. Nabi Bux Baloch in an article writes that dispatching Hur fighters for the war against Sikh Raja Ranjeet Singh by Pir Sibghatullah Shah-I in

1829-30 was not a secret to British and that's why they were highly cautious of Pir Pagara family when they conquered Sindh 13 years later.

A researcher Ustad Nizamani writes that soon after conquest of Sindh in 1843, the British realized that the only threat to their rule was Pir Pagara and his followers, who were opposed to their imperialistic policies since long, and therefore they started implementing 'divide and rule' plan by creating differences among Pir Pagaro and the Talpurs of Khairpur.

Pir Ali Gohar Shah-I, the 3rd son of Pir Sibghatullah Shah-I, born in 1816, had assumed the spiritual office of Pir Pagaro at the age of 15 years in 1831 after the demise of his father. He continued the mission of his father till April 28, 1847 when under a conspiracy hatched by British he was poisoned to death by the Talpurs of Khairpur. This way Pir Ali Gohar Shah-I was the first victim of British conspiracies. He was young man of 32 years at the time of martyrdom.

After the martyrdom of Pir Ali Gohar Shah-I, his 5-year son Pir Syed Hizbullah Shah was crowned as Pir Pagara. The British government, in a bid to create differences in Pagaro family and bring forth a person of its choice who would support their rule, encouraged other members of Pagaro family. Such persons always tried to undermine the 5-year Pagaro, however, Khalifa Nabi Bux Laghari and other community elders loyal to Pir Pagara, protected him from conspirators till attaining the age of puberty and started taking his own decisions. According to Khan Bahadur Khuda Dad Khan, Pir Syed Hizbullah Shah was generous, kind-hearted and a gentleman. Khuda Dad Khan was however unfair while writing about the Hurs.

Although the young Pagaro paid his full attention to the community and did not indulge in politics but even then British considered him a potential threat in view of increasing number of his disciples. The British officials developed links to certain relatives of Pir Pagara, who had failed to get them crowned as Pir Pagara, to get information about the internal affairs of the Pagaro family. For

this purpose it offered benefits to those disloyal members of Rashdi family who felt honored by their raised status.

The British conspiracies continued as in 1860s Pir Syed Hizbullah Shah was implicated in false cases including murder of one Mubarak, a forest guard and poacher of Mir Ali Murad Talpur of Khairpur, attempt to murder of Mir Ali Murad by a person and assassination of Pir Fazlullah Shah of Jhando. Although the accused persons of three cases were arrested, the accusations were hurled on Pir Hizbullah Shah even after he was exonerated of such allegations.

The British administration was scared of Pir Hizbullah Shah due to his growing influence, evident from its actions. When Pir Hizbullah Shah was on a visit to his disciples in Sanghar and Khipro areas of Tharparkar district, Mr. Crawford, the Collector of Tharparkar, issued him written order to leave the district within 24 hours, as his presence would disturb the law & order. Sanghar was then part of Tharparkar district.

Crawford was the same person who was police officer of Shikarpur district in 1867 and had implicated Pir Syed Hizbullah Shah in Pir Fazlullah Shah's murder case. District Magistrate Col. Phillips however exonerated the Pir Pagaro but Crawford, not content with it, got the case transferred to Karachi in the court of City Magistrate Mr. Gibbons and produced Pir Pagaro handcuffed. This court also rejected the case declaring Pir Pagaro innocent.

Daya Ram Gidumal, a judicial officer of British government, in a note on Pir Fazlullah Shah's murder case in 1896 exposed the Crawford's designs stating that 'Pir of Jhando was assassinated by Ahmed Fakir Laghari and Umeed Ali Laghari for old enmity over a woman. They ambushed Pir Fazlullah in the mosque when he was performing ablution at the time of sunset prayers. One of the accused persons Ahmed Laghari was arrested from the place of incident while the other one – Umeed Ali Laghari

is absconding.’

Crawford became the Collector of Tharparkar district after 14 or 15 years and issued orders to extern Pir Syed Hizbullah Shah from Tharparkar. Similar orders were also issued against Pir Syed Ali Gohar Shah-II (1890-1896) and Shah Mardan Shah-I during their visits to Tharparkar district. Pir Syed Ali Gohar Shah-II was born in 1854 and assumed the spiritual office on demise of Pir Syed Hizbullah Shah in 1893.

Hur Insurgency begins

The British coercive polices resulted in unrest among the followers of Pir Pagaro. Their uprising began in early 1880s according to some researchers however Dr. Nabi Bux Baloch in an article writes that it erupted in 1869. The Hurs started attacks on British authorities despite being scattered and having no weapons. They had no means of communication and it took lot of time to coordinate for an organized guerrilla war. On the contrary, the British authorities were well equipped with lots of resources to counter the insurgency. Although the Hurs suffered huge losses, which were ten times more than that of government, but even then they baffled the British authorities. During this war Hur Commander Darya Khan Nizamani and several other Hurs embraced martyrdom. Some researchers narrate a different story about Darya Khan. According to Prof. Muhammad Mubeen Wasan, Hur warrior Darya Khan, who continued guerrilla war for several years from his hideout in Makhi Forest, was arrested along with another Hur Qaim Mochi by the police of Talpur rulers of Khairpur after they killed in ambush one Chhuttal, their important functionary. Darya Khan was kept in Kot Diji fort from where he escaped. The authorities exerted pressure on Pir Hizbullah Shah to order surrender of Darya Khan. Darya Khan Nizamani later was arrested from Kamil Khan Laghari near Shahdadpur and was sent to Andaman Islands after sentencing him to life imprisonment. H T Lambrick in the notes in his book 'The Terrorist' writes

that 'the old Fakir Darya Khan, a Hur of Nizamani clan, was the most notorious outlaw before Bachu Badshah and the first rebellion. According to him Fakir Darya Khan was captured in 1888. Lambrick however says that first Hur rebellion took place from 1893 to 96.

Staggered by the Hur guerrilla war, the British administration approached Pir Syed Hizbullah Shah to order surrender of the guerrilla leaders and other fighters but the Pir refused. The British placed many obstacles in his path to punish him but he remained defiant till his demise in August 1890. All his life as spiritual head of Hur community, he organized the followers dividing them in sectors, which were then called 'Chokies'. He also wrote a letter to Sultan Abdul Hameed of Turkey drawing his attention towards atrocities of British in India in general and Sindh in particular, and urged him to play a role. Although he organized Hur community for crusade against the foreign rulers but realized that fighting such a powerful enemy was not possible without foreign help. The letter to Sultan of Turkey was written in Persian language.

Hurs establish Parallel government

The Hur guerrillas were locked in fierce battle with British forces when Pir Hizbullah Shah passed away and Syed Ali Gohar Shah-II ascended the throne in 1890. This war reached at the peak by 1888 and in 1890 the Hurs established their own government in Sanghar and adjoining areas with Bachu as its head and Pir Bux and ten others as ministers and advisors. They named their government as 'Sanghar Sarkar'. Bachu, being the head of government, got the fame as Bachu Badshah while Pir Bux as Piru Vizier. The 12-member cabinet was known as 'Barahn (twelve) Bharotia'.

Muhammad Bachal Khaskheli Alias Bachu, born in 1860 at village Mithraoo located in sand dunes near present day Gajri town at Head Jamraoo Road 20km north of Sanghar town, was son of Waryam Fakir Rali Waro who himself was a great warrior and had played important role in organizing the Hur force when Pir Syed Hizbullah Shah was the Pir Pagaro. Waryam Fakir was such a brave person that once he saved the life of Raja of Jaisalmir and killed the lion with his sword. Raja had rewarded him with a gold bracelet and a sword. The British administration, scared of Waryam, had implicated him in a false murder case along with his two friends Syed Laiq Dino Shah and Syed Muqem Shah and after trial in a local court of Sanghar sent him to Hyderabad jail where he was poisoned to death. The jail officials propagated that Waryam Fakir committed suicide.

The Jamrao was a prospering village but British officer Lucas set it ablaze in 1895. The bazaar of this village was built at sand dunes. It had a big well from where the villagers used to get water. A police station was also established near it. The village was again destroyed by the British forces in 1943 after which the villagers migrated to other areas.

Pir Bux Wasan Alias Piru Vizier was 3-year younger than Bachu Badshah, as he was born in 1863. His father Salih Fakir lived at a village in Taluka Sinjhor. Piru was tall and very smart person with normal size beard. The community people used to call him 'Hothi Jam'.

The other ten cabinet members of parallel government were Tagiyo Fakir Chang of Samatri, Taluka Sanghar, Gulu Fakir son of Pariyo Gagnani Mangrio resident of village Hussain Ali Nizamani, Taluka Sanghar, Bhulo Fakir son of Gulo Gaho, resident of village Mojan, Taluka Khairpur, Misri Fakir son of Khanan Fakir Gaho, resident of Bajar Wah, Taluka Shahdadpur, Usman Fakir son of Malook Fakir Hingoro, resident of Charao, Taluka Tando Allahyar, Issa Fakir Dahri, resident of a village near Hala, Khamiso Fakir son of Fakir Sachal Wasan, resident of Bakhoro, Taluka Sanghar, Soomar Fakir son of Fakir Mir Khan Gaho, resident of Chotiari, Taluka Sanghar, Fatloo Fakir Hingoro and Fakir Rano Wasan. Fatlo Fakir was appointed Qazi to look after judicial matters while Khamiso Wasan was Kotwal to act as police officer. The other cabinet members were assigned with collecting land revenue, irrigation water tax and other levies.

The Sanghar Sarkar ruled over an area of 1024 sq miles (32 miles in length and 64 miles in width). The headquarters of Sanghar Sarkar was a sand dune locally known as 'Tikan Waro Daro', Hiran Lake and Jhao tree in Makhi where Bachu Badshah, Piru Vizier and their cabinet members used to meet. A large number of other leading guer-

rilla leaders also used to join them for discussing the situation and devising strategies. One Khan Muhammad Brohi, originally hailing from Balochistan and a soldier in British Army, had also joined them as Hur.

The officers of British administration including James, the then Commissioner of Sindh, William Henry Lucas, the Deputy Commissioner of Tharparkar, Police Inspector Jula Singh and many others used all tactics in the battle against Hur guerrillas but failed to overpower Bachu Badshah, Piru Vizier and other warriors. Sikh police inspector Jula Singh, who had earned notoriety for his cruelty, and several other policemen were slain by the Hurs in an encounter at the annual anniversary celebration of Bharam Bari. Fakir Bharam Bari Junejo, born in 1810 and died in 1875, was a pious man. The shrine of Bharam Bari is located at his village 5km north of Pirumal town where the Hur warriors used to pay visit every year. In 1895, Inspector Jula Singh had a tip off that the Hur warriors would participate in anniversary celebration. He went there along with police force and challenged Gohar Junejo, the caretaker of shrine to call the Hurs. Jula Singh took a glass of milk and sat near the fire being the cold weather when Piru Vizier and other warriors appeared and sprayed bullets on Jula Singh killing him on the spot.

Murder of Jula Singh prompted British backlash. On the orders of Deputy Commissioner William Henry Lucas, the British forces started destroying villages, killing innocent people and making mass arrests without discrimination. The colonial forces set villages on fire, shot dead men, women and children and also encouraged habitual criminals to loot the people and put blame on Hurs. Besides, the British administration exerted pressure on Pir Syed Ali Gohar Shah-II for the surrender of Bachu Badshah, Piru Vizier and other Hur militants. They promised general amnesty for those who would lay down arms.

Fighting unto death

Amidst the reign of terror, a delegation of area people called on Pir Syed Ali Gohar Shah-II at Hyderabad where he was under treatment in February 1896 and requested to take the notice of such brutalities. Khadim Hussain Soomro writes in his book 'Freedom at the gallows' (Page 21) that 'on the orders of their spiritual leader (Pir Syed Ali Gohar Shah-II), six Hur warriors surrendered to the British. The Hurs were identified as Piru son of Salih Fakir Wasan, Khamiso son of Sachal Fakir Wasan, Gelo son of Doso Fakir Chang, Gulo son of Pario Fakir Mochi, Usman son of Malook Fakir Hingoro, Bhullo son of Gulo Fakir Gaho and Misri Fakir son of Khanan Fakir. He writes that rather than granting amnesty, the British put them on gallows reneging on their pledge to Pir Syed Ali Gohar Shah-II. Their treacherous action must have shocked the Pir whose state of health deteriorated soon after and he died in 1896. Bachu Badshah and Issa Dahri did not surrender at that time however laid arms in 1898 on the orders of 5th Pir Pagara Shah

Mardan Shah-I, he adds.

Prof. Muhammad Mubeen Wasan however narrates some different story in his book 'Bachu Badshah and Piru Vizier' that rejects the contention of Khadim Hussain Soomro. According to Prof. Mubeen, following the request by a delegation, Pir Syed Ali Gohar Shah-II called Bachu Badshah and Piru Vizier and ordered them to 'Go and fight unto death'. "Get the people rid of British atroci-

ties and till then food and water is forbidden to you," he had asked them.

"Yes Murshid! We are lions and the lions never leave the field," was the reply of Piru Vizier before leaving for a decisive war. He first went to his sister Fatima's home and then to fiancé's village to say good bye to them, as he had planned a big encounter wherein he might embrace martyrdom. The encounter took place on April 02, 1896 at a place known as 'Jhoro Fakir Bhambhro's Jhao tree' near Sanghar.

In those days Bachu Badshah had gone to Rajasthan area of India on some mission. Piru Vizier and some of his other warriors took arms and gathered at Jhoro Fakir Bhambhro's big Jhao tree two kilometers south of Sanghar at Sanghar-Nawabshah Road. Piru drew a circle at the land and apprized them of Pir Pagaro's decision of 'do or die'. "Those who are prepared to fight unto death have to enter into circle. The rest of friends are responsible to convey spiritual leader's instructions to other warriors," Piru told them. Piru himself, Tagio Chang and Gulu Mochi entered into the circle to fight unto death. They sent message to one Ghulam Keerio to inform the British officers about their presence. Soon as the Lucas received this information, he rushed there along with police force. When they faced each other, Lucas offered Piru to surrender and join British force for which he would be rewarded but Piru refused and shot dead one of the police officers. Encounter began between three warriors and a big police force that resulted martyrdom of all the three who did not come out of that circle. The British police force was so scared that it did not believe death of Piru and his companions and avoided coming closer to bullet-riddled bodies. Their bodies were first buried in Sanghar at a place where National Bank exists. Later, the Hur community people shifted the bodies to a graveyard at Sanghar-Mirpur Khas Road.

After a month on May 01, 1896, three other warriors embraced martyrdom. Khamiso Wasan, Qazi Fatloo Hingoro and Pir Bux Ansari went to Pir Jo Goth where they murdered Nawazio, a servant of Pir Pagaro, who had turned to be police informer due to greed, and when they were returning, the British police surrounded them at a place called 'Manghan Wari'. All the three militants were killed in encounter.

On July 14, 1896, Mian Singh, son of slain Inspector Jula Singh, came along with a big force to avenge his father's murder. They took position at 'Chakar Waro Kunb' located near Saang channel. British officer Lucas had also accompanied the force. It's surprising that this time too the Hur warriors had challenged the British police through Ghulam Muhammad Keerio, as they knew that he would pass on information to the administration. Three warriors Bhalo Fakir Gaho, Usman Fakir Hingoro and Misri Fakir Gaho came out of Makhi forest and fired bullet directly on Mian Singh killing him with single shot. In the meantime the police force sprayed bullets on them. Bhalo Gaho, who had a sword in his hand, continued moving ahead despite receiving several bullets in the chest. The police then attacked him with sword and chopped his arms after which he fell into channel and died. Usman Hingoro and Misri Fakir too succumbed to bullet injuries.

There are contradictions about the year of surrender of Bachu Badshah. According to Khadim Hussain Soomro, he surrendered in 1898 on the orders of Pir Pagaro Shah Mardan Shah-I. However Prof. Umar Chand in his book writes that Bachu Badshah surrendered on May 07, 1896 and was hanged on June 10 or 12, 1896. But the Sindh gazetteer compiled by E H Aitken and published in 1907 says that Bachu Badshah was hanged on November 26, 1896.

Prof. Muhammad Mubeen Wasan writes that Bachu Badshah was very sad on martyrdom of his brave warriors. One day he received a handkerchief from Pir Pagaro, which

in fact was a message for him to surrender. He put the handkerchief on his eyes, kissed it, took his sword to surrender abiding by the orders of his spiritual leader. When Bachu Badshah entered into camp office of Deputy Commissioner Sardar Muhammad Yaqoob established in a tent in Sanghar, the Indian officer was surprised to see a strong man with long hair, beard and turban. "Who are you?" Sardar Yaqoob asked. "I am Bachu Badshah," was the answer and listening to it the Deputy Commissioner became so scared that he tried to hide beneath the table. "Don't get afraid of me. I am here to surrender on the orders of my spiritual leader," Bachu Badshah told him.

Issa Dahri too surrendered to the British on the orders of Pir Pagaro at police station Hala. British officer Lucas registered cases against Bachu Badshah and Issa Dahri in Mirpur Khas where they were tried by Special Judge and were sentenced to death. There are also contradictive stories about hanging of Bachu Badshah and Issa Dahri. According to a story they were hanged at open place in Sanghar for which special arrangements were made besides publicizing it to teach lesson to others. Another story says that they were hanged inside old prison of Sanghar located at a road north of present day National Bank.

A Sindhi writer Lal Chand Amar Dino Mal in his novel "Hur Makhi Ja" (Hurs of Makhi) has distorted the facts stating that British administration took the beloved of Bachu Badshah into custody and announced that she would be auctioned if he did not surrender. As he learnt about it, Bachu Badshah appeared from Makhi and surrendered to British, he says. In his novel, which is just a piece of fiction, Lal Chand writes that when Bachu Badshah was being hanged in the jail, his beloved came there and gave a dagger to him to kill her, which he did before he was hanged.

In fact, Bachu Badshah became father of a son before his surrender. When he was sentenced to death, he wished to meet his wife Saadan and son named Waryam

after his grand father. The British officials had allowed him last meeting with his wife and infant son Waryam. This was the same Waryam who became the hero of Hur guerrilla war of 1940s.

According to oral traditions, Bachu Badshah was laid to rest secretly by the administration in an orchard owned by Hindus. Now there is no sign of his grave as a mosque of municipal committee Sanghar exists there. Mansoor Qadir Junejo in an article published in a book 'Hur Tahreek aeen Surhia Badshah' (compilation of articles) writes that two warriors were buried at a road leading to Jhol town and currently shops are built there.

It was deliberate attempt of British administration that the actual place of graves of Bachu Badshah and Issa Dahri remains unknown to the general public, as otherwise it would attract a large number of Hur community people and become a sacred place for their regular pilgrimage. Sir Edmund Charles Cox bat, who served as Superintendent of Police in Shikarpur and Hyderabad districts and later became the first DIG Police of Sindh in his book 'Police & Crimes in India (published in 1911) concedes: "It would have become place of pilgrimage for the Hurs if the graves of Bachu Badshah and Issa Dahri were built."

Although Shah Mardan Shah-I was of moderate views and he attached much attention to the community organization, construction of buildings and the legal matters, the British authorities continued to distrust him. He was once forbidden from completing a tour that was undertaken to meet his disciples. He was forced to abide by the orders and leave the area.

The British authorities, being suspicious of his movement, always deployed a 10-member police team headed by a Inspector or Sub Inspector whenever he moved even to visit his

Lands. Shah Mardan Shah-I couldn't gain British authorities' trust even when he provided 500 militants to

them during 1st world war in 1914.

During 1913-14, William Henry Lucas, who by then had become Commissioner of Sindh, summoned Syed Shah Mardan Shah-I to Karachi for a meeting. Though unwillingly, Pir Pagaro visited Karachi and tried to contact the Commissioner at his office several times but the Lucas being highly biased deliberately avoided meeting him. His behaviour offended Pir Pagaro however at last he had to meet the Commissioner under police escort.

Again, during the meeting Lucas behaved in crudest possible manner to exert pressure on Pir Pagaro for handing absconding Hurs over to the administration. Pir Sahib however remained calm and told him in clear terms that being the administrator of Sindh he has the power to arrest the absconders. At some point they exchanged hot words.

At a later stage the flatterers of British government impelled the Pir Pagaro to sign a promisory note guaranteeing the handover of absconding disciples. Weighing the situation, Pir Sahib had signed the document but later discussed with Ghulam Muhammad Khan Bhurgri, the first Sindhi Barrister, who advised him to file an appeal in the court against the forced agreement. Mr. Bhurgri volunteered to act as the counsel for Pir Pagaro.

When he challenged the Commissioner's orders, the court after hearing the arguments gave its verdict in favor of Pir Pagaro stating that the promissory note was sought under duress.

Shah Mardan Shah-I passed away on November 08, 1921 and his son Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II had to assume the spiritual seat at the tender age of 12. The Hur resistance movement and the guerrilla war touched its peak during the 6th Pir Pagaro who following the traditions of his ancestors sacrificed his life while fighting for freedom of motherland. He was the man who raised slogans 'Azadi Ya Maut' (Freedom or Death) and 'Watan Ya Kafan' (Country or Coffin).

Part Five

The last phase of Hur Guerrilla War

Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II, the sixth Pir Pagaro, was born on 6th March 1909 at Pir Jo Goth when the volatile situation prevailed in entire subcontinent in general and Sindh in particular. The political leadership of Sindh had kicked off mass political awareness drive. The first ever Sindh Conference was also held in Sukkur presided over by Seth Harchandani, to discuss several issues including separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency, at the time when Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II was one year of age. He was five years of age when the World War-I had started in 1914 that continued till 1918. Some other gruesome incidents like Jarianwala B. gh massacre (April 13, 1919) also took place when he was 11-years old. The Rowlatt Act, passed by the Imperial Legislative Council in London on March 10, 1919, was imposed indefinitely extending "emergency measures" (of the Defence of India Regulations Act) enacted during the First World War in order to control public unrest and root out conspiracy in India. Passed on the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee and named after its president, British judge Sir Sidney Rowlatt, this act effectively authorized the government to imprison any person suspected of terrorism living in the Raj for up to two years without a trial, and gave the imperial authorities power to deal with all revolutionary activities. The unpopular legislation provided for stricter

control of the press, arrests without warrant, indefinite detention without trial and juryless *in camera* trials for proscribed political acts. The accused were denied the right to know the accusers and the evidence used in the trial. Those convicted were required to deposit securities upon release, and were prohibited from taking part in any political, educational, or religious activities.

The Jarianwala massacre had rocked the subcontinent, as storm of protests ensued, which also was actively participated by Sindh. Amid horror and shock, the teenage Pir witnessed the barbaric bloodshed at the hands of British imperialism. He observed and absorbed all these barbaric acts in his mind, which gave him a direction to move ahead at the tender age of 14 when his father Shah Mardan Shah-I Pir Pagaro-V passed away in 1921.

The British government was keen to groom teenage Pir as a liberal person and loyal to the Crown. For the purpose, the British administration indulged in the affairs of spiritual office and entrusted his academic supervision to Ejaz Ali, a minister in Khairpur State, who chose Inspector of Government Schools, Akhund Rasool Bux of Rohri, as the tutor and keeper of Pir. When the Pir came to the age of puberty, he disassociated himself from his tutor, which left no doubt in the mind of British that their dream of weaning him away from his radical traditions was doomed and Pir would neither grow up to be a British loyalist nor sympathizer.

The young and energetic Pir began reorganizing the Hur brotherhood. He was fully aware of his responsibilities, as he had been witnessing the atrocities perpetrated against Hur community. He had also listened to the stories of valiant struggle of his ancestors and the Hur community passed on to him orally. His father Shah Mardan Shah-I too was a great example for him, who despite helping the British in World War, got no appreciation but intimidation. Young Pir knew that thousands of Hurs were

languishing in concentration camps in and outside Sindh along with women and children. His mind agitated against the soldiers and policemen who were free to do what they wished under the Criminal Tribes Act passed by the British administration. The new Pir's courage instilled a fresh spirit into his disciples and renewed their zeal to battle the British colonialists and their procurators. It looked as if the Hurs were awaiting a leader to lead them to avenge the humiliation at the hands of British. The Hurs felt they now had a leader in person of Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II.

European historian Peter Mayne in his book 'Saints of Sindh' painted the image of Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-I in following words: "Sibghatullah was growing into a large man, black-bearded, handsome, with eyes as calm as planets. He had suffered from smallpox in his childhood and the disease had left his skin pitted with the scars of it. But already he had majesty of presence that was commented upon, even by those who claimed to be unafraid. He had an agile mind, and unlike his forebears, he gloried in his godhead. He was God! Let those ridiculous little Englishmen over in Sukkur, those Collectors and District Magistrates and Superintendents of Police, pore over their files and shake their heads! His world was his own to do with as he pleased."

Instead of acting as flatterer of British imperialism like other Pirs and Jagirdars of Sindh, young Pir lived with honour and dignity. He didn't even like receiving awards from British rulers. Once he saw hanging on the wall a framed certificate, awarded to his uncle Pir Syed Ali Gohar Shah-II by the British authorities, and threw it down. This lordly role of the Pir was not acceptable to British rulers, who received the news as a sign of rebellion by the Pir. The imperialist regime in fact had now a reason to be afraid of the young Pir.

Pir Sibghatullah Shah-II arrested, put on trial, convicted

The British administration kept under strict watch the activities of inflexible and resolute spiritual leader to retrain him at the initial stage with same tactics as used against his ancestors like implicating in cases. Under such a plan, the authorities decided to arrest him in certain cases through Sukkur administration where Sidney Ridley, said to be Pir's staunch enemy, was the Collector. A Punjabi Police Inspector Ghulam Akbar was especially deputed there to lodge F.I.R. against the Pir. It was the year 1929 when the Pir was 20 years of age. The case at Sukkur police station was registered on a complaint submitted to Superintendent of Police by a woman Mariyam securing release of his son Ibrahim Koree from the alleged 'illegal custody' of Pir. A police team, headed by J. J. Ridley and Inspector Ghulam Akbar, raided the 'Pir Kot' and according to their report, the boy, locked in a box, was recovered after thorough search. The biased police team also claimed having seized 'illegal arms and ammunition' that included 12 rifles, three guns, two revolvers and 15000 bullets (25000 rounds of ammunition according to H. T. Lambrick) besides apparatus used for making arms, a ridiculous allegation, as if the Pir had an arms manufacturing factory at his residence. The weapons recovered were those generally kept at home traditionally. All the seized weapons were licenced but the Collector of

Sukkur had earlier cancelled the licences to implicate the Pir in 'illegal weapons' case. The cases were registered under Sections 344 and 346 of Indian Penal Code.

Pir Pagaro was arrested and the charges in two cases – one of wrongful confinement and the other of illegal arms were framed against him on 28th August 1930. He was tried in the court of City Magistrate Sukkur Ud-haram. Pir Sahib, with the help of Khan Bahadur Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, engaged Muhammad Ali Jinnah as his defence lawyer and paid him Rs.500/- per day. A local lawyer Motiram Advani also assisted Jinnah. The Magistrate awarded Pir Sahib ten years rigorous imprisonment in both the cases. Pir Sahib was also implicated in a fake murder case, but it couldn't prove and thus was acquitted. However, he, through Jinnah, filed an appeal (No: 176 of 1930) in the Chief Court of Sindh against the magistrate's verdict. The Appellate Bench, consisting of A. C. Wild, Judicial Commissioner, Sindh, and R. B. Milne, Judicial Additional Commissioner, Sindh, curtailed the sentence to eight years. H. T. Lambrick writes that Pir Sahib was sentenced to eight years imprisonment on August 28, 1930.

Pir Sahib was not given fair trial, which is evident from Dr. Hameeda Khuhro's book on her father Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, Intelligence Officer of British government Maj. Gen. Wasal Muhammad Khan's articles published in Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah's Sindh Quarterly Magazine (1980-81) and other accounts of history. Dr. Hameeda Khuhro writes in her book: "Muhammad Ayub Khuhro met Pir in October 1930 in prison and a month or so later on the directives of the Pir he also held meeting with George Thomas, then Commissioner-in-Sindh. He appeared to be quite angry and burst out: You seem to have sympathy with the Pir but he is a dangerous young man. He is an inhuman tyrant and I will see to it that he is put in for at least ten years."

"I told the Commissioner that the case was not

being tried in a proper manner. The Pir was not allowed to sit in the court and instruct his lawyers on the spot, and instead is kept in jail where the lawyers had to go every-time to get instructions, and the judge does not adjourn the hearing whenever the lawyers want to meet their client. In fact, the case was being tried in absentia. I realized that there was no way to persuade him to be lenient although I thought that the threat of sending the Pir behind the bars was just uttered in anger. I was very much surprised when the magistrate later announced the sentence exactly the same as threatened by the Commissioner,” Ayub Khuhro was quoted as saying by Dr. Hameeda Khuhro.

The following words of Maj. Gen. Wasal Muhammad Khan are very much important that expose the British plans. He writes in his first article: “Government officials in Sindh displayed great regard for the Pir but a few police officials took an active part in spreading wide propaganda aimed at damaging the reputation of the Pir who was eventually arrested in 1930 and was sentenced despite the fact that the witness failed to give evidence in the court of law to substantiate the allegations of wrongful confinement of boy and possessing the illegal weapons. The main reason for this state of affairs was that the British Government was bent on the arrest and punishment of the Pir hence every kind of evidence was concocted and fabricated and the witnesses failed to utter lies and corroborate evidence in the presence of Pir.”

Late Syed Shabbir Hussain Shah in a chapter in his autobiography writes that despite Mr. Jinnah’s forceful pleading in the Sukkur Court as Pir Sahib’s counsel, the court couldn’t exonerate him because of the orders from above. The court tried to convince Mr. Jinnah of its helplessness but he continued to plead.

However, Mushtaque Nizamani, Research Officer at Roza Dhani Chair of Shah Abdul Latif University, Khairpur writes in an article that Mr. Jinnah withdrew

from pleading the case as protest against court's attitude and returned the fee he had been paid by the Pir Sahib. In fact, Mr. Jinnah had realized that government was adamant to sentence the Pir at any cost.

Dr. Nabi Bux Baloch says in his paper that Jinnah was told confidentially that the government would sentence the Pir at any cost, therefore he shouldn't plead his case but even then he continued. However he left as a protest over the unfair conduct of the judge.

Haji Fakir Abdullah Hingoro, a trusted man of Pir Sahib, and who used to be his guard when he travelled from India to Sindh in a train after release from the jail in 1936, and also served him during visit to Saudi Arabia, told in an interview on 4th January 1981 that the court was located at the hilltop in Sukkur city and the each hearing continued for four to five days for which the Pir Sahib had to be brought from the central jail. Hundreds of disciples of Pir Sahib would come on each hearing staying at Manzilgah at night and at the railway tracks during the daytime, as the administration never allowed them to the court and the jail area.

British Government, either afraid of reaction against the arrest or in a bid to demoralize the 21-year Pir, did not lodge him in local jail and instead sent him to different prisons of India including Ratnagiri, Dacca, Rajshahi and Midnapore. Dr. Aftab Nabi, a police officer of Sindh, in his research paper on Hur Movement, mentions that Pir Sahib was also lodged in Alipur jail of Calcutta. It transpired that the British Government wanted Pir to compromise or face the incarceration and victimization by different means.

Cronological order of Pir Sahib's shifting from one prison to other is as follows: Arrived at Ratnagiri jail on 15th September 1930; granted A class in the jail on experimental basis on 5th November 1931 on the recommendation of Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto and Governor of Bom-

bay; the condition for granting A class was that Pir sahib would read the books but Sukkur administration opposed it and the facility was withdrawn on 11th February 1932. The prisoner number of Pir Sahib at Ratnagiri jail was 1496; he then perhaps was shifted to Rajshahi but the record shows that Pir Sahib was at Midnapore jail in 1932 where he remained lodged till 16th July 1934; Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto, Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, Miran Muhammad Shah and three other Muslim leaders of Sindh jointly requested the British government on 28th February 1933 to remit the rest of sentence till any decision is taken in this regard, Pir Sahib should be granted A class to Pir Sahib but Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto received a reply on 13th March 1933 from R. M. Maxvale, secretary to Governor of Bombay, that neither the Pir will be released prematurely nor he will be granted A class. Pir Sahib himself had also requested the authorities on 5th December 1933 from Midnapore jail for granting A class or shifting him to any jail of Sindh, but that too was rejected on 11th January 1934 due to opposition by Sukkur administration; he was shifted from Midnapore jail to Alipur jail of Dhaka on 17th July 1934; his letter to Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto bearing the date of 29th 1934 was written from Dhaka; another letter bearing the date 11th January 1935 was also sent from this jail. Here the Pir Sahib's prisoner number was 8836-A; Sometime later Pir Sahib was again shifted to Rajshahi, as his letter bearing date 17th February 1935 is written from Rajshahi jail; From Rajshahi, he was shifted again to Midnapore on 4th December 1935.

When the Pir was arrested and later convicted, his disciples didn't resort to violent means of protest and instead started observing hunger strikes in front of government offices demanding the release of Pir however the government showed total apathy.

Haji Fakir Abdullah Hingoro told that Pir Sahib used to send messages to the disciples from Indian jails through

the visiting Khalifa and other disciples directing them not to pay land revenue to the British government; do not harass any commonman; make no efforts for his release and instead focus on organizing the community and self-defense.

Pir Sibghatullah Shah-II Observes hunger strike in jail

Even in jail, the British authorities continued victimizing the Pir. After two years of his conviction, when Pir was in Ratnagiri district jail (Prisoner No: 1496) in February 1932, the Collector of that district accused him of violating the jail rules despite the fact that there never had been any complaint against him. He was not allowed monthly interviews to visitors; he had to take stale meals for fasting; no washerman was allowed, and several other injustices were done to him.

A letter from W. Gilligan, District Magistrate, Ratnagiri, dated 16th January 1931 addressed to the Secretary to Government, Political Department, Bombay seeking permission to allow a washerman to Pir Sahib on his request bears a note rejecting the request on the grounds that Pir Sahib was a B-class prisoner (he was not granted A-class by that time) and that he was not the only prisoner in that class. "He has two sets of clothes, which he must himself keep clean," note ended.

The District Magistrate had reported in the letter that Pir Pagao wants permission to employ a washerman for jail clothes, as he suffers from pains in his chest as a result of such unaccustomed labour. He recommended granting the permission, as the Pir Sahib, not the government, was to bear the expenses. (Letter is available at Sindh Archives). In such conditions, Pir Sahib had no way but to observe hunger strike, as stated by him in letters given below.

Pir Sahib wished an interview with his friend Shahnawaz Bhutto, and after seeking permission from Inspector General of Prisons, Poona on January 28, 1932 the Jail Superintendent had allowed him to write a letter.

In a letter dated 11th February 1932, addressed to Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto, Pir Sahib stated: "I want you my friend to meet me within two months from today as I want to speak to you about some important matters. If I didn't consult you at this moment, I don't know what will happen afterwards. Therefore, you should take the trouble of coming over here."

Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto, later in a letter informed Pir Sahib that his visit was delayed as he couldn't get permission to see him. Eventually, the meeting did take place but in the meantime another letter followed from Pir Sahib containing details of British official's attitude, his hunger strike and other details. Pir Sahib writes:

"I got a teacher after you had an interview with me. I am very much pleased at such a favour of the government done through your efforts. But after a few days, the Collector paid a visit to the jail on February 15, 1932 and asked me that my activities were undesirable. I twice asked him to explain the details of my wrongdoings so that I could give it up but the Collector replied "I am not telling lies" and left. Same day I wrote an application to the Collector requesting him to pointout my sinful acts or otherwise I would resort to hunger strike. When I didn't get response, I started hunger strike for eight days, after which a Sessions Judge visited the jail asking me to take meals with promise to disclosing everything. He then remarked that I was innocent in what the Collector had told and that the Collector was just joking."

"The reasons for my hunger strike were first the Collector didn't pointout my sins despite repeated requests; secondly I was afraid the Collector may write against me to the government with the result that it might turn preju-

dice against me. If I had committed no sin, why the Collector tormented me by making such fake allegations?"

"Sir Shahnawaz! Explain it to the government that my hunger strike does not imply anyother purpose but to pointout that I have done no fault. Let the government know what misdeeds I can do in jail. I continue my studies for four hours during the day time; since I am placed in A class, I remain busy doing government work. As to my religious obligations, I observe fast every Monday, Thursday and Friday, and also on the 1, 13, 14, 15 and 20 of lunar month. During the whole month of Ramadan, Shival and Zilqad, I never had a single talk to anybody except the jail superintendent, the Collector and the Sessions Judge. I patiently have been accepting the meals of every kind and never returned any meal. I never quarreled with anyone. My jail character is so good that during the course of two years never a prisoner or a Sepoy made a complaint against me to the Jail Superintendent. The Jail superintendent never pointed out to me that my conduct was bad. This shows that my conduct was what the rules require."

"Under these circumstances I am compelled to put an application to the government in connection with seven requests and I ask you to inform the government about my demands. Please advise which two or three requests out of seven might be acceptable. In case the demands are not met, I would start hunger strike again from 6th June 1932 because death is far better than such a life. There is ample time and I request you to do something or in case of failure inform my followers of losing all hopes of my life."

"The demands are: I may be transferred to any jail of Sindh; I may be supplied with every kind of food at my own expense; I may be confined at 7p.m and allowed to come outside the Cell at 6a.m.; I would prepare meals myself; I should be informed of my misdeeds, which the Collector had alleged during his visit to jail on February 15; I may be permitted to put on my own clothes on the inter-

view day and Eid days; and a kerosene oil fan may be provided, as in Sukkur jail.”

“If the government didn’t accept four of the seven demands, I would be compelled to resort to hunger strike from the date given above. The reason why I demand to be kept in a jail in Sindh is that my men coming here to have an interview with me incur heavy expenses; moreover, with grace of Allah, my sons have grown and I desire to see them. If I would be in any jail in Sindh, they can pay visit to me. At present it’s very difficult to call them on such a distant journey. Moreover, I have lost my weight by 52 pounds and there is constant decline in it but no jail authority has taken notice. In view of weight loss, I may be allowed fruits at my own expense, and also a kerosene oil fan may be supplied on my own expense like done in Sukkur jail. And since you are my true well-wisher, it’s your duty to convey my demands to the government.”

“Regarding allegations of misconduct, I would only say that in that case the Jail Superintendent could have punished me. God knows, if the teacher has made any complaint. He himself concedes that I possess as much knowledge as he does. What more he can teach? At present stage, truly speaking, there is no necessity of teaching me Persian. But despite this, I have not said anything in this regard. The teacher still holds on and if the teacher still alleges that ‘Pir Sahib’ had hot views; can he explain what those views are? Except studying books, I have never talked to him on any nonsense matter. I just read and the teacher listens to me. I study 10 to 11 pages daily.”

“You must come to see me before 6th June when I will inform you what goes on in jail. I would also refrain from hunger strike if you advised me so. But your visit is must. I have become weak for losing the weight. As told you earlier, I do fasting and break it at 7p.m but the meals

are provided at 4p.m. I commence fasting before sunrise with stale food. For this, I may be provided with a stove to prepare my meals on my own or some prisoner may be assigned to prepare it timely. Please translate my application in English and place it to the government. If the government doesn't trust my words, it may hold inquiry."

In the end of letter, Pir sahib quoted a Persian couplet: "It's all alike whether a man dies on earth or on throne", and said: "To me the death looks to be preferable to the present life."

He also expected that all the Muslims in Sindh will extend him help in release and return.

Consequent to Pir Sahib's letter, six political leaders of Sindh – Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto, Khan Bahadur Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, Syed Miran Muhammad Shah, Nabi Bux Khan Bhutto, Haji Mir Muhammad Khan Baloch and Khan Bahadur Sher Muhammad Khan Bijarani submitted a petition dated February 28, 1933 to the Governor of Bombay requesting him release of Pir Pagaro. The six leaders argued in the petition that Pir Sahib has suffered jail life for nearly three years. He is a youth of only 24 years and his social and religious position in India needs no description at our hands, as it is very well known that his followers all over India are estimated to be near 10 lacs. The Muslim community of Sindh feels aggrieved by arrest of Pir Sahib who is respected by even those who are not his followers. Sindhi leaders also drew attention of the Governor to the deteriorating health of Pir Sahib. "Pir Sahib is ailing since long and is under treatment at Midnapore prison. It's gravely apprehended that if he continued in jail, it is likely to jeopardize his life owing to chronic ailment. The Sindhi leaders also mentioned their earlier clemency appeals and deputation and said no response was given except granting A class to Pir Sahib who earlier was put in B class in the jail.

The British Government however ignored the peti-

tion of forefront leaders and senior parliamentarians, and did not release the Pir.

Again on June 20, 1934, Pir Sahib wrote another letter to Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto asking him to come forward for his help and bringing along with Wadero Jalal Rajar and Wadero Din Muhammad. "You are aware of destruction of my family. You have always expressed love for my family, and for this reason you must have felt it. By grace of God you have the influence to help my family," he writes.

Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto responded Pir Sahib's letter on September 03, 1935 informing him of his efforts and told that his application has been placed with full facts before the government.

Pir Sahib's another letter is on record, which was written on June 01, 1936, and was addressed jointly to Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto. By that time, he had served in jail for five years and nine months. Pir Sahib was concerned why the government always blames him of misconduct whenever the political leaders of Sindh make any effort for his release. "My jail record is clean and I have earned two and half a month remission for good conduct under the rules. In January 1931 I was made a night watchman by Major Drumond and was required to supervise the political prisoners. Even after the transfer of Maj. Drumond, I continued this work. On my transfer to Rajshahi jail, I was again made a Convict Supervisor by Maj. Dawson on May 18, 1935. There is no complaint against me and if the government constitutes an inquiry committee of four members, I am prepared to bear the cost. If the proposal is not accepted, the government should stop slandering me in public. It can put me in jail for whole of life, but defaming me is not fair."

Pir Sahib, pointing out discrimination against him, informed both the leaders that under the jail manual, the

prisoners are allowed to meet visitors once a month but he is allowed once in two or three months. His disciples had deposited about Rs.25000/- in his name at banks in Rajshahi and Midnapore, which he wanted to transfer to Muhammad Hayat son of Karimdad Junejo, for which he had submitted applications repeatedly to the Jail Superintendent, but all in vain. Pir Sahib, under the jail manual, was entitled to send money to anyone by postal order, but the Jail Superintendent refused the permission saying he required approval of the government.

Surprisingly, during his confinement in far off Indian jails, Pir Sahib was served with a notice by the Income Tax Officer to pay Rs.6000/- as tax on his income during the year 1932-33. "I submitted my reply that I have not authorized any person to collect Nazrana (Tribute) on my behalf, and since 1931, I had asked my followers not to pay Nazrana money to any of my Khalifa. I requested the Income Tax Officer to let me know who received this money in my absence, as I was in jail all these years," he told in his letter.

Pir Sahib also offered to give surities if the government remits his remaining six month sentence. However the British Government ignored all the petitions submitted by Pir Sahib and the prominent political leaders of that time, and released Pir Sahib after seven years of incarceration, in October after which he returned to Sindh in November, 1936. Some of the local researchers mention his date of release as November 25 but according to H. T. Lambrick Pi Sahib returned to Sindh in October that year. There are contradictions in researches about the jail from where Pir Sahib was released. According to some, it was Ratnagiri jail, while for others it was Midnapore jail.

Mir Chakar Khan Junejo in his book 'Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto – A Memoir' writes that 'One of outstanding achievements of Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto was to get the British Government agree to releasing the Pir Pagaro from

Ratnagiri jail. The British was not happy at Sir Shahnawaz's advocacy of late Pir Sahib but in this matter he didn't bother himself about their displeasure." Mr. Junejo's memoirs confirm the close relations between Pir Sahib and Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto, the Advisor to Sindh Governor Graham, and the release of Pir Sahib from Ratnagiri jail.

After the release, Pir Sahib spent four to six days at Calcutta and Delhi and later boarded a train, specially chartered by the Hur community, from Calcutta via Sama Sata (Summa Satta) to Rohri and Khairpur. Late Syed Shabbir Hussain Shah, a senior journalist of Punjab, then a railway guard, recalls in his autobiography the days when he lived at Summa Satta and got acquainted with Hur organization and young Pagaro. He writes: "My usual trip by goods train would end at Khanpur in Bahawalpur State, but I could have view of a Hur's personality whenever I happened to go up to Rohri as second guard."

At Luqman railway station near Khairpr, the Pir Sahib was received by Khan Bahadur Syed Ghulam Nabi Shah, Din Muhammad Junejo, Khan Bahadur Ghulam Muhammad Khan Pali, Pirzada Abdul Sattar, Rahim Bux, and Assistant Public Prosecutor G. M. Issani, Pleader Agha Nazar Ali Khan, Ali Muhammad Rashdi (who played role against Pir Sibghatullah Shah-II), Sardar Luqman (son of notorious Indian officer Sardar Yaqub), Pir Abdul Rahman (Pir of Bharchundi, who also played role against Pir Pagaro) and others beside businessmen, lawyers and thousands of his didciples.

On returning home, Pir Sahib received a courtesy message from Governor of Sindh Sir Lancelot Graham offering him to repair strained relations between him and the British administration. Graham was the first Governor of Sindh after its separation from Bombay Presidency in 1936.

Resolute Pir Emerges

A biased researcher while producing the above letters gave impression as if Pir Pagaro had no courage to face the hardships of jail. In fact, the jail life brought drastic changes in his vision. The young Pir was a dignified person and spiritual leader of hundreds of thousands people across Sindh and in India, therefore, he agitated all the time in jail against the injustices and discrimination. The most he agitated was British attempt to defame him. He emerged as a resolute person after seven-year incarceration, during which he availed the opportunity of meeting the revolutionary leaders. As stated by the Pir Sahib in his above letters, he was assigned to work as 'watchman' to supervise the political prisoners in Ratnagiri and Rajshahi jails, and in my view, it was the time when he came in contact to those leaders, and had made up his mind to 'fight unto death'. The Persian couplet "It's all alike whether a man dies on earth or on throne" quoted by the Pir in his letter is manifestation of his resolution. Dr. Aftab Nabi in his research paper opines that Pir Sahib developed his contacts with nationalist extremist leaders during his confinement at Alipur jail. He was not afraid of death, and the British designs to break the will and determination by coercive acts miserably failed. On the contrary, the hardships of jail strengthened his convictions.

Dr. Nabi Bux Baloch in his article published in quarterly Sindhi magazine 'Mahran', of Sindhi Adabi Board in 1957 writes that Pir Sibghatullah Shah-II thor-

oroughly studied the Sindhi, Urdu and Persian books besides the teachings of his ancestor Pir Rashid during his incarceration at Ratnagiri and Midnapore jails. During that period he made collection of writings selected from those books along with his own comments and notes. At page number 77 of the compilation of his notes, Pir Sahib says: "I wrote all this at Ratnagiri jail. I couldn't write even a single word at Midnapore central jail of Bengal. I have stopped writing, as the government does not send my books to you (the disciples)." That was the time when he tried to understand the Indian politics and most probably he decided to devise strategy for getting rid of the British. He had also exchanged views with leaders and workers of different political parties confined there.

He writes that it might be that British government sensed the revolutionary thinking of Pir Pagara, as it launched a drive to ascertain the trends of Hur community about one and half a year before the release of Pir Pagaro. All the Hur community people residing in the limits of different police stations were called for registration and produced them before the District Police Officer and the Collector.

Pir Sahib kept a close eye on political scenario of subcontinent during jail life. He minutely examined the role the Congress, All India Muslim League and nationalist organizations were playing at that time. While he kept on sending letters to Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto and Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, he also communicated to his disciples the messages through the trusted Khalifas, who would meet him in the jail after seeking permission of authorities. Some of the letters to the Hur community fell into the hands of British officers. The letters contained the instructions and other messages to raise the morale of his disciples. Some of the messages, as quoted by H. T. Lambrick in his book through the character Saen Rakhio, are:

"See how two or three lakhs of people are ruling over thirty crores of Indians. It is because the people of

India are cowardly. Sindh is part of India. These three lakhs are the Army of the English in India. This should be remembered.”

“To keep arms is proper for a brave man, for thus his heart becomes strengthened, and ready to undertake anything. An axe and a staff are also arms.”

“One has to leave this world after all, but the best way is to leave it as a true martyr. If a man hides himself in his house, still he must die; but if he is bold and fights with enemy and dies, then he is not dead, for his name will ring in the world till the Day of Judgement.”

The Hur community used different tactics to get the instructions from their Spiritual Head confined in jail on other side of India. In one of such instances, a brother of Mohabat Fakir, who was sent to Bijapur Settlement, got the pass in the name of another ordinary man of upper Sindh who happened to be of same name, and met the Pir Sahib in a jail of Bengal, and the officers didn't discover that the wrong man had been allowed the interview till it was too late to prevent.

The Hur community, his other disciples and people of Sindh saw a totally different Pir Pagaro on his release, who changing his living style, gave up luxurious life. He wore Khadi, the local hand-woven cloth and instructed the disciples to follow him wearing the same. He had also arranged a Charkha (Handloom) for weaving the cloth himself. According to Dr. Nabi Bux Baloch, Pir Sahib's directive of giving up wearing foreign clothes alerted the British.

Pir Sibghatullah performs Hajj, prohibits disciples from use of narcotics, harming innocent people

It was the same year when Pir Sahib was released from the jail and Sindh got separation from the Bombay Presidency and the preparations were underway to hold first-ever elections for provincial assembly. Pir Sahib however didn't show interest in politics, as he knew that the assembly would not be independent, being under the British control. Although, Pir Sahib didn't take part in politics, he had great influence in most of the constituencies of the province and the candidates, individually or through their respective political parties, wanted to seek his help. When the elections were about to be held on 7th February 1937, Pir Sahib left in a chartered plane to Mecca for performing Hajj. It was coincidence or a planned visit, as during his pilgrimage, he had an opportunity to meet revolutionary leader Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi. In fact, Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi became his host and arranged accommodation for him, where he stayed for ten days. During the stay, Maulana used to meet him daily and discuss the situation of subcontinent in general and Sindh in particular. Pir Sahib also held meetings with Sher Muhammad Sindhi of Hyderabad and Nawab Asadullah of Kalat. He also communicated with Mufti-e-Azam of Palestine and Rashid Ali, a revolutionary leader of Iraq. Pir Sahib

was greatly influenced and inspired by the revolutionary character of Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi, who had earned fame for his anti-imperialist struggle.

Al-Waheed, a leading Sindhi daily of Karachi at that time gave a detailed account of Pir Sahib's Hajj pilgrimage. On 31 January 1937, it reported that Pir Sahib arrived in Karachi in Lahore Mail on 26th January. He was received at Saddar (Cantonment) Station by his private secretary Sardar Muhammad Luqman son of Sardar Muhammad Yaqoob Khan, who took him to his bungalow located in Garden Quarters area. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and others came to see the Pir same day. Next day, Pir Sahib, accompanied by Sardar Luqman, boarded the chartered plane and after taking aerial round over the Karachi city at 9a.m. left for Hyderabad and proceeded to Nawabshah after 10 minute stay. After aerial view of the Nawabshah and surrounding areas, Pir Sahib directed the plane to his village Pir Jo Goth for aerial view and returned to Karachi at 2.20p.m.

On 28th January, Pir Sahib called on Governor of Sindh and held meeting for forty minutes. Pir Sahib had been issued a passport and visa for visiting Hijaz (Saudi Arabia), Iraq, Syria, Palastine, Egypt and Iran. He is scheduled to leave Karachi for Iskandria accompanied by Sardar Luqman on 02 February from where he will embark a special train for Suez and on return will leave for Jeddah by air. Pir Sahib had already assigned one Abdullah Mir Alam at Hijaz, partner of Shaikh Abdul Rehman of Karachi, to make arrangements for accommodation, performing the Hajj and other pilgrimages.

The same newspaper reported on 26th February that Pir Sahib's private secretary Sardar Luqman informed in a letter dated 10th February sent to the paper from a ship 'Zamzama' on the way to Jeddah that Pir Sahib visited Baghdad via Jasik Bushehr and after night stay left early in the morning (at 5a.m) for Gaza (Palastine), and then to

Iskandria (Egypt) after a journey of 120 miles. On 03 February he reached at Cairo, the capital of Egypt where during his 3-day stay, he held meetings with Consul of Sultan Ibn-e-Saud to get the visa. Pir Sahib then left for Jeddah in an Egyptian ship 'Zamzama' from nearest port Saeed on 07 February. Pir Sahib desired to charter any Egyptian plane for a visit to Madina and to perform Hajj on return.

On 25th February, the newspaper received a telegram that Pir Sahib performed the Hajj. The paper didn't mention Pir Sahib's meetings with Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi and other leaders.

Haji Fakir Abdullah Hingoro, who was also at Arabia to perform Hajj, told in interview that Pir Sahib lived in a tent at Minna and travelled back to Karachi in a ship.

On his return from Mecca, Pir Sahib launched a newspaper 'Pir Jo Goth Gazette' from his hometown with Kachhomal, a Hindu retired teacher, as its editor. The paper was very much popular among the disciples of Pir Sahib, who had instructed them to buy and read it for seeking policy guidelines.

Soon, Pir Sahib embarked on mass contact drive visiting the areas of his disciples aimed at reorganizing the community. He toured Jaisalmer, Jodhpur, Runn of Katchh, Gujarat and other areas also. The tour lasted for about seven months during which he also visited Jesalmir and other areas. Pir Sahib had his disciples in Karachi too and thus toured the city. A large number of people belonging to Salawat community called on Pir Sahib and embraced Islam. (Pir Sahib's rare group photo with Salawat community is included in this book).

Pir Sahib had called upon all the disciples to live a simple life, give up smoking, paying attention to education, developing solidarity among their ranks, resolving personal and inter-community disputes through mediation and avoiding lodging complaints against each other at po-

lice stations or any other government authority. Such instructions were also published in 'Pir Jo Goth Gazette', which developed impression among general masses and political circles that Pir and his newspaper had inclination towards Congress Party.

Again, the Al-Waheed reported on 30th April 1937 that Pir Sahib has prohibited use of any kind of narcotics including the smoking, hashish, Bhang (leaves of cannabis) etc. He warned his all the disciples of expelling them from the Jamaat (organization) in case of violation. Moreover, he directed the disciples not to cause any harm to the people – be it a Hindu or Muslim, and warned of expelling them from community in case any of his disciple killed, robbed or caused any harm to the innocent people. An advertisement with similar contention also appeared in the newspaper.

Al-Waheed reported on 24th June 1937 that certain Hindu businessmen of Pir Jo Goth received letters from unknown criminals directing them to pay Rs.300/- each or otherwise a series of robberies would take place in Pir Jo Goth. They were asked to put the money at Sadh Belo, Sukkur from where they (Criminals) would pick it. The letters created panic among Hindu community, who approached Pir Sahib. He assured of safeguarding them and ordered his men to intensify night watch in all the streets of village. The letters were handed over to the police.

Pir Sibghatullah Shah-II begins shapping plans for struggle

The Pir Pagaro's activities infused a fresh spirit in Hur community and raised its morale. It seems that Pir Sahib had systematically begun shapping his plans for launching struggle against the British imperialism. He, however, focused first on mitigating the miseries of Hur community, which it suffered at concentration camps under the Criminal Tribes Act imposed following the 1893 and 1915 Hur uprisings. For this purpose, Pir Sahib asked Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Premier of Sindh, to repeal the Criminal Tribes Act and release Hurs from the concentration camps. And, as mentioned in Lambrick's book, the concentration camps at Bhiri and elsewhere were abolished after some time. In same book, Pir is quoted as saying while addressing the Hurs at Keti that 'The Congress is a powerfull institution in Hindustan and Bombay, and their leaders in Sindh are well disposed towards me, even coming as far as this place to pay their respects. It was with the help of these Congressmen who are in the Sindh Assembly that I obtained the release of my principal Fakirs – fathers, uncles, brothers and cousins of some of you here – from settlements in the Deccan; and brought to an end the shameful restrictions of the hedged villages'.

It seems that Pir Sahib had planned to fight the British imperialism tactfully at different fronts, and for

that he not only began organizing the militant force but also used political front. He developed influence among political circles and assisted the Muslim members of Sindh who were supported even by the Congressmen. The Governor was also happy to oblige him and cooperate in abolition of concentration camps. (Practically some camps might have been closed).

For enrolling the militants, whom he named as Ghazis, Pir Sahib had called trusted men at 'Keti Pir Pagaro', where a large number of aspirants had gathered and camped under the trees. The Ghazis were enrolled in batches when a fair number of them had gathered inside an enclosure. One morning, wearing a green turban and a khaki shirt, Pir Sahib appeared at the platform and said: "You are our faithful followers, who have come from far to show your devotion to us. Very soon we shall have need of the services of such as you. Is each one of you now ready to take oath on the Holy Quran that he will always obey our call, and having come to us, will give even his head if we require it?" And, all the Ghazis took such oath on Holy Quran.

"You, my Ghazis, must always bear my words in mind: your leaders will show you the secret signs by which you will be able to recognize a fellow Ghazi. Finally it is your duty to wait for orders from myself or my duly appointed lieutenants, and when such orders come, to carry them out at all costs," he informed them that proves he was organizing a guerrilla force.

Probably it was the year 1939, when finalizing the groundwork after his release from the jail the Pir Sahib had begun to enroll the Ghazis from all sides. The World War had erupted, and the English were engaged in fighting a war against the Germans, their old enemies, and the Pir Sahib thought that this time they would be beaten. He was determined to be prepared for such a situation, and had taken up his abode in a camp in Keti, where he super-

vised the training of Ghazis. For the purpose, he had called the Bengali fighters to train the Hurs in modern guerrilla warfare.

The British officials of Sukkur, who had implicated Pir Sahib in fabricated cases in 1930, were afraid of him and often sent reports against him to the Governor. Pir Sahib remained vigilant and made contributions to the British War Fund and satisfied Governor Graham with his diplomatic flair.

Same year, in 1939, the unfortunate incident of Hindu-Muslim riots over Masjid Manzilgah issue took place in Sukkur in which 151 Hindus and 14 Muslim Sindhis lost their life. Sindh Premier Allah Bux Soomro tried to findout amicable solution but the Muslim League politicized the issue to weaken his government with the result that a number of people were killed and properties destroyed in riots. The biggest loss caused to Sindh was division of Sindhis on communal basis. The Muslim League was responsible for this irreparable loss. Pir Sahib, pursuing the mystic philosophy of Sindh, didn't support Muslim League, and instead took measures to extinguish the flames of communal hatred. In his newspaper 'Pir Jo Goth Gazette', he made passionate appeal for maintaining Hindu-Muslim unity in following words:

“My forefathers treated Hindus and Muslims alike as a sacred trust. The same is my principal. Allah is the same as Parmatma, though with different names. I will be happy when I see temples and mosques together with only a wall dividing them and everyone worships according to their right so that no one may have a grievance against the other.”

The Pir Sahib also hosted combined gatherings of Hindu and Muslims at Pir Jo Goth and invited the Congress leaders to promote inter-faith harmony. On such occasions, he also stressed on unity against the British. One of the Pir Sahib's relatives, Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi, a

hypocrite, who showed enthusiasm on release of Pir Sahib in 1936, felt dejected by the Pir Sahib's non-communal policy. Same was the feeling of Pir of Bharchudi. However, Collector of Sukkur Mr. Kotawala, a Gujarati, lauded the role of Pir Sahib and sent a gun and a sword as gift to him, which he returned saying: "Title of Pir Pagaro is good enough for our family. The weapons are already with us."

Al-Waheed newspaper carried a small item on 19th May 1939, based on biased comments, that a newspaper 'Pir Jo Goth Gazette' being published from Pir Jo Goth, is writing openly against the Islam and Muslims in general and Masjid Manzilgah affairs in particular. "Unfortunately, the known Muslims are patronizing it," the paper, which represented Muslims of the province, commented. Same newspaper, without ascertaining the facts and providing the details, reported a year later on 10 October 1940 that certain Muslim families were migrating to Sukkur and other areas leaving behind their homes and other properties. They had apprised the concerned officials but all in vain and nobody pays heed to their grievances.

When Pir Sahib was still at Pir Jo Goth, G. M. Syed met him and invited him to join the Muslim League but the former refused and told him that his mission was 'Freedom or Death'. G. M. Syed in his book 'The Case of Sindh' writes: "When I met the Pir before his arrest, I became convinced that he was totally opposed to communalism and regarded the Muslim League as dangerous to Muslim interests. Also he wanted an end to British rule over Sindh. In this regard, he thought that a struggle should be launched in collaboration with all the revolutionary forces in rest of the India."

G. M. Syed reproduced ad-verbatim dialogue he had with Pir Sahib when the former invited the latter to join Muslim League, also quoted by Muhammad Usman

Deeplouee in his book 'Sanghar'. The conversation is as under:

"Why should I join?" the Pir asked smilingly.

"So that we should struggle for the independence of the country as laid in the 1940 (Lahore) Resolution," Syed Sahib replied.

The Pir laughed and said: "The Muslim League and Independence? Shah Sahib I thought you were a big politician but you don't know the basics of politics."

Syed Sahib, who had informal relations with Pir, smiled and said: "Since you have been kept in several jails and have had the opportunity of meeting political prisoners, you have politics on your finger-tips."

"I don't claim that I know everything about politics but a party which acts under British instructions, a party which has all the Sirs, Khan Bahadurs, Waderas (feudallords) and the money bags on its rolls, and which yet talks about independence, then there is nothing further I can say in the matter," the Pir said.

G. M. Syed became somber: "Sir, we shall soon have Sindh assembly pass a resolution demanding independence for Pakistan."

Smiling, the Pir said: "Yes, the moment you get the resolution through, the British will give you independence! Remember this Shah Sahib; In the first place, the British will not grant you independence. And even if the demand for Pakistan is conceded, the new country will be a tailored affair where the British will call the shots for years."

"We will not allow the British to have any say in the affairs of our independent country," Shah Sahib said heatedly.

The Pir smiled: "Where will you be then? Will you hold the reins then? You forget Shah Sahib that while you fight, when victory comes, only those will be in the saddle

who have been born British lackeys. You will be the fly in the ointment and you will be thrown out of the ointment. Not only thrown but possibly put in prison. If we live and if my predictions come true then we will know who is more adapt at politics between the two of us. I will, by the grace of God, either get my country or my coffin, but you will be nursing your wounds.”

At this moment G. M. Syed said a quiet goodbye to the Pir. The dialogue between the two shows that Pir Sahib was determined to wage a War of Freedom.

G. M. Syed, interviewed at his ancestral village Sunn on 21st December 1980, had also mentioned his meeting with Pir Pagaro along with Muhammad Ali Shah Jamote, Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi and his brother Pir Hisamuddin Rashdi at Pir Jo Goth in 1936-37 (He couldn't recall the exact time). G. M. Syed had delivered a letter from Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto requesting the Pir to support Muhammad Ali Shah Jamote contesting election against Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah however he didn't make any commitment.

“In 1938-39 I had sent some books to Pir Pagaro through Rasool Bux Shah of Ghotki whom Pir Sahib told he will not cooperate with Muslim League being a party slave to the British,” G. M. Syed said, who also had a meeting with Pir Pagaro at a bungalow in cantonment area of Hyderabad in 1937. Pir Sahib had desired G. M. Syed to meet and discuss supporting Sir Shahnawaz's election as the premier of Sindh.

Although the Pir Sahib didn't join Muslim League, he was not also satisfied with the politics of Congress. Fakir Muhammad Khan Nizamani, interviewed in 1992, told: “Some congressmen had come to meet Pir Sahib at Pir Jo Goth. I was present there but couldn't hear what they were told. Another delegation of Congressmen again came after a month and Pir Sahib told them ‘you observed hunger strike and faced jails, but you know British cannot

be made to quit India with it'. We have to fight to expel them."

As the Pir Sahib had refused joining the Muslim League, the leaders of that party started using rival Pirs and Mullahs against him, which transpired from a letter of Governor Dow dated 19th April 1941 to the Viceroy, in which he writes: "The position of my ministers is a difficult one because of the Pir's political associations. He is hostile to the Muslim League who is making use of rival Pirs and Mullahs in their propaganda in the districts. The Pir Pagaro has also been recently reported to be bidding for Congress sympathy, even to the extent of taking to the 'Charkha' (spinning wheel) himself, and enjoying its use on his followers."

Col. Phillip, British Intelligence Head in Sindh, in his letter to a Sindhi friend, had recounted how well informed the administration was about the meetings and communications of the Pir with politicians of Sindh and the subcontinent. According to him Pir Pagaro and G. M. Syed had held a few meetings but these were not harmful.

G. M. Syed in his interview said: "I was the minister in Mir Bunde Ali Khan Talpur's cabinet in 1940. The CID officials sent reports at that time that Pir Pagaro is imparting training to the Hurs at Keti. Reports were sent by DSP Abdul Ghani. I objected the CID reports when I went through it and put a note describing them incorrect and suggesting not submitting to the Indian government but the Governor Graham perhaps dispatched the reports to Delhi."

Sindhi daily Al-Waheed reported on 21 April 1940 that the Finance Minister of Sindh Shaikh Abdul Majeed visited the Pir Jo Goth on April 20 and held meeting with Pir Pagaro. The minister was accompanied by Deputy Collector and other officials. Pir Sahib hosted dinner in his honour.

The British officials continued sending reports to

the government about Pir's activities expecting imminent insurgency to be led by him. In July 1940, following such reports, Governor Graham had invited Pir Sibghatullah Shah-II for a meeting however he was satisfied with the impressive talk of the Pir. Governor Graham expressed such views in his letter to Viceroy Lord Linlithgow dated 25th July 1940 referring to his three meetings with Pir, in following words: "I had at least three long conversations with the Pir Pagaro and I am not satisfied that the police information against him is correct. I am not flattering myself that he has turned over an entirely new leaf since I took an interest in him. But I think there is good ground for believing that he realizes that it will pay him to cooperate with government. He enjoyed a hearty laugh with me at one of the allegations against him, which was to the effect that he was saying that I had promised him that he should succeed as Governor of the province. He had promised his cooperation in the search for murderers of the Pamnani and as the last news of them was they were heading towards Khairpur State in which Pir has considerable amount of land. It is possible that he may have a chance of helping us."

Pir Sahib had also donated Rs. 10, 000/- towards the British War Fund, not to please them, but as a diplomatic move and to quell whatever fears the government had about him. (Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah and his ancestors had been contributing a lot to help educational and other institutions. Pir Syed Hizbullah Shah had donated Rs. 5000/- each to Sindh Madresatul Islam Karachi and Mayhew Medical School Sukkur in 1890. Pir Ali Gohar Shah had been contributing to famine fund and a mosque. Pir Syed Shah Mardan Shah, father of Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II, too had been donating towards famine fund; repair of mosques, seminaries, schools, boarding houses, and also to the War Fund in cash and kind during World War-I from 1914 to 1919.

A little later, Governor of Sindh was changed and Hugh Dow, a sharp and cunning person, replaced the Graham in April 1941. Dow followed the reports about Pir Sahib sent by the Sukkur administration and took serious note of his activities. Hurs wanted to eliminate Collector Sidney Ridley but Pir Sahib refrained them saying: "In the conduct of great affairs there is always a right and wrong time for particular actions."

Realizing that British administration would notice his prolonged stay in Keti, and movement of disciples, Pir Sahib left for Gurang Bungalow located outside Sanghar town where brushwood shelters were erected for accommodation and congregation of disciples. One morning, he appeared on the terrace of bungalow and preached the beauty of brotherly love, and exhorted all his followers to preserve a firm union among them, and above all never to disclose any secret belonging to union to the outsiders, but on the contrary they were to stay away from them. In his address, he praised the Congressmen for their discipline and brotherly union, and said that it was wrong to despise them as Hindus, for many of their precepts, such as not wasting money and not slaughtering cows were really good for Muslims also, and he intended to issue edicts to all his disciples in this behalf.

Pir Sahib was of the view that as the Germans had destroyed several nations very quickly during the World war, it was necessary to be prepared for great changes in the world. For this reason more than ever, he was concerned for union among his followers, and was making new arrangements for their protection in times of stress, by giving authority to well tried men among them. Special meetings for Ghazis and important Fakirs were called at night inside high-walled compound in front of the Gurang bungalow. Pir Sahib had been closely watching the war situation and used to apprise of it to his disciples at the night sittings. Pir Sahib used to sit on the veranda with gas

lamps burning either side while the disciples on the ground below. During one of such sittings he told the disciples that London was under the rain of bombs from German aircrafts, and there was very little doubt that the English would soon sue for peace. This news he had from Germans speaking in Urdu language through the radio which he had setup in his Estate (Keti) and had brought also to Gurang in his motor car. He played radio also to remove doubts if the disciples had any. Those Hurs who had spent years of their life in Indian concentration camps knew Urdu well.

In one of their broadcast, the Germans told that in a few days their soldiers would take London, which was already in flames, and whereafter India and other countries wrongfully possessed by the English would be free; and the people everywhere should therefore be prepared. "It was necessary for us to remain ready," Pir Sahib had asked the Ghazis.

In 1941, Pir Sahib had again visited Gurang bungalow, this time with family, and again there was a large gathering of disciples. The Ghazis were called at night. In his address he told them: "In Iraq, a brave leader named Rashid Ali has arisen, and overthrew the administration, which had been under the control of the English. On this, the Government, in order to offer resistance to Rashid Ali (Rashid Ali's rebellion began in Iraq in April 1941), had to send to Iraq the English regiment belonging to Karachi."

Pir Sahib further informed the disciples: "English, though they still kept possession of their own country, were being beaten by the Germans everywhere else, and would soon be thrown out of Egypt, whereafter the Germans would be welcomed not only in Iraq, but in Iran and the Afghan country in which they had everything prepared through their spies and agents."

Pir Sahib, having such a farsightedness, planned to

bring to an end the British rule in Sindh with the help of Ghazis before the Germans reach. "You understand therefore that not a day must dawn to find you unprepared for summon which may come before the sun goes down. A man, at the moment when he starts on an ordinary journey, will bid farewell to his wife and family, but for such a journey as you will soon be called to make, it is proper to renounce this world and its life," he told them.

Fakir Muhammad Suleman, who was above 90 when interviewed in 1992, Fakir Manthar Nizamani, Fakir Muhammad Khan Nizamani, Fakir Jumo Rajar, Fakir Muhammad Ismail Hajam, Fakir Abdul Majeed Wasan and several other Hurs, who survived till 1990s, recalled how the Pir Sahib enrolled the Ghazis, allotted them numbers and codewords and issued directives for waging crusade against the British.

Pir Sahib had told the enrolled Ghazis that they would face hard times on the path they have chosen. "Colonial government would destroy your homes, arrest your women and children, burn your villages, and you will have no glass to even drink water and no utensil to eat food."

Pir Sahib directed the female disciples to stop wearing bangles being the un-Islamic tradition. On this, hundreds of women put off the bangles and threw them near southern gate where later the heap of bangles was set on fire. He also directed the disciples to arrange marriages of widows and those who have come to the age of puberty.

During his stay at Gurang, more Ghazis were enrolled. According to Dr. Hameeda Khuhro, a Hur force of around 8000 Ghazis was raised by that time. However a very small number of them came into action, she writes in book on her father Muhammad Ayub Khuhro.

In the meantime, Pir Sahib was called to Karachi for a meeting with new Governor Hugh Dow in the sec-

ond week of June 1941. Governor, in a letter dated 12th June 1941, addressed to the Viceroy Linlithgow, said: “He (Pir) is down here on a visit, actually staying with my Home Minister, who brought him to see me two days ago. He wore a long blue velvet coat encrusted with as much gold and jewels as your whole chamber of princes might wear on a gala night. He struck me as an extremely shrewed man, very quick in seizing and even anticipating the points I made, and I can’t for a moment accept Sir Ghulam Hussain’s (who was made the interpreter replacing Ayub Khuhro) contentions that he is a simple-minded person who is innocent center of other people’s intrigues.”

The biased Hugh Dow, who had made up his mind for restraining Pir Sahib from leaving Karachi, asked him to stay there but he didn’t pay heed. In July 1941 he forced Pir Sahib not to leave and stay in Karachi under a fresh order. Pir Sahib didn’t protest and stayed at the bungalow of Mir Khuda Bux located at Bundar road opposite to Young Women Christian Association’s hostel. After a couple of weeks, Pir Sahib asked Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, the then Home Minister, for permission to leave for hometown for a few days. The Home Minister referred the matter to the Governor.

Feeling uncomfortable with Pir Sahib’s intention to leave for hometown, Governor Dow wrote a letter to the Viceroy dated 8th August 1941 and suggested his arrest and deportation from Sindh. He said: “There had been no further developments in the Pir Pagaro case. Sir Ghulam Hussain assured that he would guarantee that Pir would come to Karachi to live the due date, but from the district officers come reports that Pir is doing nothing to produce his followers who are wanted or absconding. I returned to tell Sir Ghulam Hussain that I should consider the Pir a great nuisance in jail in Sindh than he would be even at liberty, and that there would therefore be no half-way house between his good behaviour in liberty and his

arrest and deportation outside the province. This will probably be passed on to the Pir and may have some effect. Such action would, I think, have to be taken under Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules, and would have to be taken by the Government of India. I should be grateful to have it this view confirmed by your Home Department.”

Offended by the Governor's reluctance to entertain his travel request, Pir Sahib left Karachi in the month of October and drove directly to Gurang bungalow in Sanghar. He knew the consequences and was prepared to face the action, what it may be. He met the Hur commanders and issued instructions. He confided trusted lieutenants that he might be arrested. He then left for Pir Jo Goth and issued instructions to his loyal men. He also visited Keti Pir Pagaro and divulged Hur strategy for the future. A researcher Allah Warayo Bihan writes in his article that when the Pir Sahib left Karachi for Gurang bungalow of Sanghar, he had plans to abscond to far off area in Indian Territory beyond the Achhro Thar desert but unfortunately his trusted man Nuro Wasan, who was assigned to make such arrangements, not only failed to do so but passed the information to a relative, after which Pir Sahib proceeded to Pir Jo Goth in car via Nara canal path.

Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II arrested again

During his detention in Karachi, Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II was implicated in murder of Maulvi Abdullah, Imam Bux Kori and Bahaudin Bango; two cases of assault on Maulvi Muhammad Hashim, and a case of dacoity in Pir Fateh Ali Shah's orchard. The case was registered at Civil Court in Rohri.

When the Pir Sahib left Karachi defying the detention orders, the Government approached Khairpur State authorities to arrest him, and consequently he was arrested on 24th December 1941 along with some of his followers by State Police Chief Ghulam Rasool Shah on the orders of State Vizier Aijaz Ali Khan, and sent to Seoni Jail of C.P. (Central Provinces of India), according to a researcher Prof. Dr. Laiq Zardari. However Khadim Hussain Soomro writes that following the Governor's order of Pir's immediate arrest and confining him at Karachi, Collector/District Magistrate of Sukkur Sidney Ridley and Police Superintendent J. J. Ray rushed to Pir Jo Goth with a police team but failing finding him there, they moved to riverine area, as they suspected Pir's presence in Keti. The British officers confronted Pir three kilometers from the Pir Jo Goth. They didn't tell him about his arrest to avoid reaction; and just asked him to accompany them to Karachi. They had a stopover at Khairpur where they lunched with State Vizier Aijaz Ali Khan and from there pro-

ceeded to Karachi, where Pir was confined in the bungalow of Mir Khuda Bux Talpur. The Government formally arrested Pir Sahib on 24th October 1941 under Regulation XXV of 1827. The British administration then making swift arrangements to shift Pir Sahib out of Karachi sent him to Lahore by Lahore Mail and to Nagpur from there by Central Indian Railways to lodge him in Seoni Jail. This account seems more authentic, as the Pir Jo Goth at that time fell in the limits of Rohri, where the case was already registered, and the area was under the British administrative control. The dates of Pir's arrest differ, as mentioned by two authors, but the date mentioned by Khadim Hussain Soomro is correct, as Governor Dow in a letter to Viceroy dated 25th October 1941 informs the arrest of Pir Sahib. Governor states in his letter that district magistrate Ridley met the Pir some three miles out of that town on his way to take up his residence in the jungle (Keti). The Pir was in car with one servant and a small armory of three guns and a revolver. "Ridley must have exercised considerable tact persuading him to return to Karachi, where he was served with an order under the Defence of India Act," he told adding that he (Governor) had also secured consent of Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah for this action.

Al-Waheed daily has also given the account of Pir's arrest and internment to Nagpur. It reported on 17th October 1941 quoting another newspaper 'The Hindu' that three Collectors of Sukkur, Nawabshah and Tharparkar accompanied by two superintendents of police, and three to four police trucks and horse-mounted policemen came to Pir Jo Goth all of sudden when Pir Sahib was on his way to Keti. He was stopped and informed that the Governor had ordered him to come to Karachi and stay there. Pir Sahib didn't resist and left with police officers in the car. He sent message to his disciples through his men accompanying him to remain peaceful, as the police

force has come to Pir Jo Goth for maintaining peace.

The newspaper report however said that it has not been confirmed if the Pir Sahib was arrested formally, and quoted the Chief Secretary as saying that Pir Sahib has come to Karachi on his own. (The Chief Secretary lied to the press). There are rumours that Pir Sahib, under the Defence of India Rules, has been restricted to move anywhere. The action has probably been taken in view of confidential reports, the paper reported.

On 21st October 1941, Al-Waheed reported that following taking the Pir Sahib in custody and shifting him to Karachi, a complete strike was observed in Pir Jo Goth. A joint delegation of Hindu and Muslim notables from Pir Jo Goth has also reached Karachi to meet the officials and demand removal of restrictions on Pir Sahib's movement.

Al-Waheed reported on 29 October 1941 that 'according to a report from Jabalpur, the Pir Pagaro, who was arrested under Defence of India Rules after a few days detention in Karachi, had been brought to Jabalpur under police guard and then sent to Nagpur in a motor car where he will be confined for indefinite period. His identity was kept secret till he left for Nagpur. A day earlier, the newspaper reported quoting official circles that Pir Sahib has been detained somewhere in Central Provinces of India. Lahore's Urdu daily 'Inqalab' reported on 29th October 1941 that there were rumours among the people of Jabalpur that former king of Iran had come there. The rumours spread as the Pir pagaro, with 6ft height and wearing traditional costume and crown-like cap, had a very robust personality.

Following the formal arrest of Pir, it seems that the situation deteriorated as the protest continued in Pir Jo Goth, as according to Al-Waheed report dated 01 November 1941, Collector of Sukkur Mr. Ridley had issued orders for imposition of curfew in Pir Jo Goth and the people were restricted to remain inside homes from 9p.m to

6a.m. According to Urdu daily 'Inqalab' of Lahore the curfew was imposed for a month but the report was not confirmed officially. Meanwhile, the police arrested one Osta Allah Bux and Kacho Mal, the editor of 'Pir Jo Goth Gazette' and some other notables. Arrest orders were also issued for those who had gone to Karachi in connection with Pir Sahib's release.

According to official documents, Pir Sahib, at Seoni jail, was not allowed any direct correspondence. All the letters written by him were to be sent to the Government of Sindh in original, and none of them were forwarded to any address. No interview was allowed except with the visitors chosen by the government of Central Provinces (C.P) where the jail was located. The Pir was allowed to buy certain newspapers but no paper published in Sindh had to be given. The provision of books was also subjected to approval of Sindh government. All newspapers and books were to be destroyed after Pir Sahib finished them. No newspaper of Sindh and outside servant was allowed although Pir Sahib asked for a Sindhi cook and Sindhi newspaper. He was not allowed to handle any money or valuables, which could be used to corrupt the jail personnel. The jail authorities had deployed a special guard for Pir Sahib.

The Pir Sahib had probably observed hunger strike in Seoni jail like he did during incarceration in 1930. Governor Hugh Dow's letter dated 6th May 1942 addressed to Viceroy at the end saying that 'There have been no recent moves from the C. P. Government as to the progress of the Pir's hunger strike, but nobody here believes that he will persist in it.'

At the time of taking into custody near Pir Jo Goth, the Pir Sahib was accompanied by eight Hur militants namely Muhammad Kasim Behan of Moro taluka, Ismail Hajam of Sinjhoru, Ramzan Hingoro of Sinjhoru, Lal Bux Khaskheli of Sinjhoru, Mohib Wasan of Sinjhoru,

Mohbat Behan of Sinjhor, Haji Mirbahar of Sukkur and Khamiso Wasan of Sanghar.

Khalifo Muhammad Bux Rajar, interviewed on 1st October 1982, told that Pir Sahib had told Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and some British officials that he wanted to go for hunting at Pir's Keti, and after their consent, he left Karachi for Gurang bungalow Sanghar where same night he proceeded to Pir Jo Goth. Pir Sahib was preparing to leave for Keti in the afternoon when he was informed that police squads are seen outside the Pir Kot. He directed the disciples not to allow the police enter into Pir Kot. Next morning when Pir Sahib left for Keti, the British officers intercepted him and showing the government orders, took him to Khairpur and then to Karachi.

As the Hurs received information about arrest of the Pir Sahib, they got infuriated and planned to send fighters to Karachi for freeing him but some sanner persons among them advised not to take any action in haste and instead wait for the orders from Pir Sahib.

The Governor and other officers were content with arrest of Pir Sahib and expected no or very light resistance by the Hurs, as happened back in 1930 when the Pir was arrested first time. The officials were confident that in case of any reaction by the Hurs, they would put it down. But they miscalculated the retaliation, as the situation this time was quite different from what it was over a decade back, as by now the disciples were prepared to give tough time to the British imperialism.

Hurs launch calculated attacks, British plans to exile Pir

Even before the formal arrest of Pir Sahib, the enraged Hur militants had launched the calculated attacks targeting those who played role against their Spiritual leader and didn't spare Pir's cousin Fateh Ali Shah, who was in police protection, one of his servants and a policeman. Fateh Ali Shah was murdered on October 19, 1941 although two police guards were deployed at his residence in Sukkur. District Magistrate Ridley informed the Governor that sudden attack was made at 10a.m on Fateh Ali Shah and his guard in the porch of his house by three Hurs armed with heavy hatchets. One assailant was captured, the other was identified and the third one escaped.

A news report appeared in Al-Waheed daily on 21st October 1941 that deceased Fateh Ali Shah routinely was sitting at the main gate of Pir Jeal Shah's 'Kot' (a fortified house) with Hakeem Abdul Ghafoor when three assailants appeared suddenly and axed the Shah, his son Ilyas and a police guard Ghazi Khan to death. Syed Hussain Ali Shah, the son of late Syed Jeal Shah, and Hakeem Abdul Ghafoor also sustained injuries. One of the assailants was caught on the spot while two others managed to escape. On 29th October, the same newspaper reported names of the assailants. The arrested man was identified as Talib Marri of Sanghar. One of the two absconding assailants was identified by Hussain Ali Shah as Ahmed son

of Hussain Mahar. The third one was Noabat Jatoi of Pano Aqil area, as reported on 01 November, and was arrested later. The case was registered and the hearing had started on 28th October under strict security at the court of city magistrate. Al-Waheed reported on 23rd November 1941 that the court sentenced Talib Marri to death and exonerated Noabat Jatoi but was re-arrested soon as he was released. According to court statement of Hussain Ali Shah, they belonged to Pir Jo Goth but shifted to Sukkur ten years back after the murder of Pir Jeal Shah.

After the arrest of Pir Sahib, the Hur militants started damaging the telegraph poles and lines to destroy communication system and paralyze the government. This in fact was a preliminary warning to the British administration. Governor Dow in his letter dated 24th November 1941 to Viceroy says: "It is practically certain that the recent sabotage of telegraph poles and wires is the work of his (Pir's) followers and was probably arranged by him as part of the demonstration, which was to follow on his arrest."

The Hurs' reaction had compelled Governor Dow to embark on visit of Tharparkar and other areas, hold meetings with Zamindars, members of local councils and notables to gain their support, as the Ministry (Sindh Cabinet) was not satisfied with his action. He informed the Viceroy in a letter dated 12th December 1941 that Zamindars and others were so frightened of Pir and his followers. There is an interesting part of his letter in which he says: "My ministry is still half-frightened of the man, and it is interesting to reflect that while in other matters they are apt to resent any exercise of my own powers as unconstitutional, they are perfectly willing to have it believed that the incarceration of the Pir was due to the exercise of my special responsibility. They are, for example, most unwilling to go to the Legislative Assembly for a supplementary grant to meet the C. P. Government bill

from special police to guard the Pir.”

He believed that series of wire cutting and railway track offences, which followed the Pir's arrest, was mainly a demonstration pre-arranged by the Pir. (Details of wire cutting, railway track offences, breaches in canals discussed separately in 'Guerrilla War Tactics chapter). Governor and his officers kept on sending letters to the Viceroy and Indian Home Department on the guerrilla activities of the Hurs. The Sindh Government, headed by Premier Allah Bux Soomro, was not happy with the Governor's actions, as appeared from his (Governor's) own letter, because he performed as parallel authority to the civilian setup. In the meantime, he sought Special powers for himself and for that he was seen as Civil Martial Law Administrator undermining the elected parliament. Premier Soomro and several members of parliament openly disagreed with him and issued a statement to the press on 19th December 1941 expressing their resentment. In a detailed statement, Allah Bux Soomro had strongly criticized Governor Dow for interfering in the affairs of administration and disclosed that he also had complained this to the Viceroy during his meeting in Delhi.

The differences between the Cabinet and the Governor existed yet, as the Viceroy didn't resolve the issue. In the meantime, Governor sent another letter to the Viceroy dated 22 December 1941 informing him that within last few days, after receiving the DIG report, necessary measures had been at once sanctioned almost without comment by the ministers. The measures include the putting of large rewards on the heads of the principal desperados and the recruitment of the special police forces both for intelligence work and for actually rounding up the Hurs.

The Governor's indulgence in administration was to such an extent that he ordered transfer and postings of the officer. Referring to series of murderous dacoities

committed by Pir's followers, as he alleged in his letter dated 7th January 1942 to the Viceroy, he stated that his ministers had been trying to bring pressure on him to transfer to the district (Nawabshah) a 'listed officer' quite incapable to coping with the situation; or else putting upon him the responsibility of ruling them in his 'individual judgment'.

Amidst the differences among Governor and the Cabinet over administrative powers for handling the situation, the Hurs continued their struggle baffling the British and making it to consider the idea of sending the Pir into exile to the Indian Ocean Islands of Andaman to cut him off from his followers. Governor Dow in a communiqué dated 7th February 1942 suggesting the Viceroy such move, told: "The Pir Pagaro's followers still continue to give trouble. About this I have written to you separately. On the most recent outrage we have not full report but at present it looks that neither of the concerned District Magistrates are fully satisfied with morale and courage of the police force. My Minister (Home Minister) is giving full support in the measures taken against the Hurs, and has told me that he thinks it would assist if the Pir himself is removed from India. There would be less chance of establishing some underground means of communication with his followers, and it would indicate more clearly the unlikelihood of his return."

The last part of his letter indicates that he had in an earlier communiqué put such suggestion to the Viceroy, who had in reply mentioned certain difficulties in sending the Pir to the Andaman Islands. His letter also gives impression that the Cabinet was divided as the Home Minister of Sindh was fully supporting the Governor.

It was the same time when the All India Congress had launched Quit India Movement in August 1942 and the British authorities were considering measures against Congress leaders including that of deporting them to East

Africa and other far off countries under its control. However the authorities had to work out a legal procedure for banishing the Congress leaders and Pir Sahib from their homeland. There was also a proposal to deport the Pir to Uganda or any other African country.

While the Governor Dow further suggested the Viceroy in a letter dated 7th March 1942 for giving wide powers to the local officers for taking action against the Hurs by legislation, he admitted that Hur troubles remained the major pre-occupation. He proposed legislation for punishing those who were sheltering the Hurs. He was of the view that disorders could not be stamped out without resort to use of military force.

Exactly after a week, the Hurs eliminated police chief of Khairpur State Ghulam Rasool Shah on March 14 at Khenwari that rocked the British administration. Five personnel of Khairpur State police including its chief were slain in the incident known as 'Battle of Khenwari'. The Hur guerrillas adopted a series of successful 'hit and run' operations against the government forces.

Sindh Assembly passes Hur Suppression Bill

Governor Dow was sure that the Hurs could not be cotained by the police force, and the only way was to call the army, but at the same time he feared the Hurs could change their tactics and spread their activities in other parts of province in case the Army was called. He however decided to deploy Army in troubled districts of Sindh.

At the same time, Sindh assembly passed the Hur Act in an incamera session. The Act was passed under the pressure of British rulers and in fact the draft of the Act was got prepared by the British authorities. But even then the Governor was not content as he alleged that the Act passed by the assembly was the deviation of one envisaged by the British administration and proposed the Viceroy promulgation of an Ordinance even after passage of Bill. He admitted that the members were not inclined to pass the Bill.

A day after the passage of Hur Act by Sindh assembly, Governor Dow wrote to Viceroy that the Hur troubles are extremely serious threat. "My Chief Secretary has just returned from Delhi where he explained the situation as fully as possible to officers of the Home and Defence Departments. There have been further outrages during the last week by larger bands. Here in Karachi I have had several conferences with Gen. Norton, G. O. C. of the

western district and some of his officers. There is no doubt that the trouble will not be put down without the use of considerable military force, but we are agreed that we are not justified in recourse to martial law. But the use of large military forces in support of the police when these have to be dispensed over large areas of the country raises the very difficult administrative problems, quite different in kind from those that arises when military can act, with a magistrate present to suppress riots within town.”

Stating that the problem in fact was a ‘police problem’; he told Viceroy that a decision was taken to clear the Makhi Dhand area in cooperation with police and military force. “In the meantime, the Legislative Assembly yesterday in somewhat extraordinary circumstances passed the Act in a secret session, and I understand that even the official reporters were excluded. A note of the proceedings is being kept by the Secretary of the assembly. I have not yet received full account of what happened but there were several amendments carried, some of which my Chief Secretary is apprehensive may make it impossible for you to give assent to the Bill. Perhaps the solution will be an Ordinance on the lines of the Bill in the form of which you would be prepared to accept it. The assembly was prorogued by me immediately after passage of the Bill.”

He further informed that ‘the most disgraceful incident of all was a letter he received on the afternoon, when the Bill came up, from Khan Bahadur Khuhro, purporting to be written on behalf of the Muslim League party of which he is leader, and announcing that he and his party, even with the protection of the secret session, would abstain from voting for the Bill considering that this party has consistently denounced the weakness of Allah Bux Soomro ministry in securing law and order.’

Sindh assembly held a session on 20th March 1942 at 11 a.m with Deputy Speaker Miss Jethi Sipahimalani in the chair. (Sindh Assembly proceedings Vol. XVI No:

14). In all 44 members were present in the house. Their names are: Abdul Majeed Shaikh, Abdul Sattar Pirzada, Akhji Ratan Singh Sodho, Allah Bux Khudadad Khan Gabol, Khan Bahadur Allah Bux Muhammad Umar, Allahdad Khan Imam Bux Khan Talpur, Arbab Togachi Mir Muhammad, Dr. Choithram P. Gidwani, Dialmal Daulatram,

Daulatram Mohandas, J. Fraser, Ghanumal Tarachand, Ghulam Ali Bandeh Ali Khan Talpur, Ghulamullah Khan Mir Haji Hussain Bux Khan Talpur, Ghulam Haider Makhdoom Zahir-ud-din, Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Pir Ghulam Hyder Shah Sahibdino Shah, Khan Bahadur Ghulam Muhammad Abdullah Khan Asran, Khan Bahadur Haji Ghulam Nabi Shah Mouj Ali Shah, Mukhi Gobindram Pritamdas, Gokaldas Mewaldas, Dr. Hemandas Rupchand Wadhvani, Lt. Col. W. B. Hosack, Pir Illahi Bux Nawaz Ali, Issardas Varindmal, Mrs. Jenubai Ghulam Ali Allana, Lala Menghraj Bherumal, Col. H. J. Mohan, Syed Muhammad Ali Shah Allahindo Shah, Muhammad Amin Khoso, Khan Bahadur Muhammad Ayub Shah Muhammad Khuhro, Muhammad Hashim Faiz Muhammad alias Fabji Gazdar, Mir Muhammad Khan Nawab Ghaibi Khan Chandio, Muhammad Usman Muhammad Khan Soomro, Muhammad Yousuf Khan Bahadur Khair Muhammad Chandio, Naraindas Anand Bechar, Syed Noor Muhammad Shah Murad Ali Shah, Partabrai Khaisukhdas, Dr. Popat Lal A. Bhooptakar, Rustomji Khurshidji Sidhwa, Shamsuddin Khan Abdul kabir Khan, Sitaldas Perumal, Sohrab Khan Sahibdino Khan Sarki and C. T. Valecha.

After the morning session, the assembly again met secretly at 3.30p.m wherein Bill No: IV of 1942 (The Suppression of Hurs' Outrages Bill) was passed by 5p.m. The Governor General of India gave assent to the Bill on April 10, 1942. (As the Hur Movement continued even after the martyrdom of Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II, Sindh Gov-

ernment again made certain amendments in the Hur Suppression Act 1942 by passing amendment bills in 1944 and 1945).

Following the passage of Bill, the British Government appointed H. T. Lambrick as the in-charge of the Hur Operation who toured the Makhi Dhand area, the stronghold of Hurs, devised the strategy and created an intelligence network. He had a tip off that a large number of Hurs are to attend a wedding ceremony of Fakir Adil Rajar sometime in May 1942 at village Rablao of Thar Desert. He planned to launch a surprise attack on them but the Hurs had also an effective intelligence network and received the forewarning of the attack. Adil Fakir, being prepared for encounter, deployed over a hundred Hur militants for the defence. The battle of Rablao was fought on the night of May 20 and 21, as confirmed by Lambrick in his book. The report of this encounter also appeared in Delhi newspaper 'The Statesman' on June 15, 1942 according to which several soldiers were killed and wounded.

Mounting the attacks on British government, the Hur guerrillas derailed the Lahore Mail on 16th May besides derailing other trains, breaching the canals, ambushing the military convoys, attacking police stations and killing the traitors etc. As a result of this, the British Government proclaimed martial law on 01 June 1942 (Details discussed separately in next chapter). Sindh government had requested the Governor for issuing arms licences to the citizens for self defence but he was worried that the licenced weapons would be used against government, as the weapons would fall in the hands of Hurs.

Sindh becomes Firstever State put under Martial Law

Pakistan had been experiencing martial laws and military rules soon after its inception but Sindh was the only State of the occupied Indian subcontinent where the British imposed first martial law in 1893 to crush the Hur insurgency. A vast area where the Hur militants had launched guerrilla war was put under martial law. The martial law continued till 1898. The first Martial Law was imposed in some parts of Jaisalmir area of India, Thar & Parkar district, Makhi area of Sanghar and Nara Desert area of Khairpur, where the disciples of Pir Pagaro hailing from Mahar, Mangrio, Rajar, Kalar and other communities used to live. This shows that the Hur warriors' guerrilla war continued even after the demise of Pir Syed Ali Gohar Shah-II and Pir Syed Shah Mardan Shah-I succeeded him as 5th Pir Pagara.

Again on June 01, 1942, the British authorities proclaimed martial law in eastern parts of Sindh when situation went out of its control during last phase of Hur Movement. Major General R. Richardson, GOC of Upper Sindh Force was appointed Martial Law Administrator while H. T. Lambrick was assigned to work as Special Advisor to Martial Law Administrator and Special Commissioner in-charge of operation against the Hurs. According to Saen G. M. Syed whole of Sindh except Dadu (areas on right bank of Indus) was put under martial law

however Dr. Hamida Khuhro in a book on political life of her father Muhammad Ayub Khuhro writes that the martial was imposed in eastern districts, certain areas of Sukkur, entire Nawabshah district, Khairpur state, certain parts of Hyderabad and Tharparkar districts. As the British authorities failed to crush the Hur uprising despite imposition of martial law, it considered a proposal to extend the martial law upto Rajputana but instead they brought upper Sindh areas including entire Sukkur district and Larkana on the right bank of Indus under the martial law, as the Hurs reportedly used to cross the Indus to their hideouts in forests where the disciples of Pir Pagaro belonging to Mangneja and Nareja communities had their villages in Ratodero Taluka.

Syed Shabbir Hussain, a journalist, who was railway guard during British, in a chapter on Hur uprising and Pir Sibghatullah Shah-II of his autobiography writes: "The atrocities committed on the Hurs by the British seem to have no parallel. In spite of aerial bombardment, indiscriminate arrests, shooting every suspect to death, the valiance and discipline displayed during their encounter with death by Hurs was what turned the British mad. Martial law was imposed and to make it effective, the Chief Martial Law Administrator Maj. Gen. Richardson ordered chopping of all trees for miles along the railway track."

The martial law was imposed after the Hurs derailed the train between Tando Adam and Udero Lal railway stations. The British authorities put 16000 square miles area under the martial law and called troops from India for land operation and using the war planes, meant for Second World War, to destroy Hur community villages as well as the hideouts of guerrillas in Makhi forest. It was the time when the British dropped parachute troops in the area, said to be firstever operational use of that arm in India. During this offensive, launched on July 01, 1941 several villages were indiscriminately set ablaze, hundreds

of innocent villagers including men, women and children were shot dead besides hanging them to death while thousands of villagers arrested along with their families to lodge them in concentration camps.

It transpires from the correspondence between Sindh Governor Hugh Dow (A sharp and cunning person who gained notoriety for his administrative misconduct. Dow had already worked as a young officer in Sindh with another infamous official William Henry Lucas, a police officer known for his brutality) and Lord Linlithgow, Viceroy of India that the British authorities, baffled by the Hur guerrilla acts, were considering options including calling out military force or imposition of martial law much before derailment of Lahore Mail. Governor Dow in a letter dated 7th March 1942 to the Viceroy writes: "The Hur troubles remain a major pre-occupation, and about these I have written to you separately. It is now proposed during the present session to pass legislation, which will give wide powers to the local officers to require security from those who are aiding and sheltering the miscreants, and in default to imprison them for a period up to three years. There is still, however, the possibility that the disorders may not be stamped out without resort to use of military force." Again on 21st March, referring to his meeting with General Norton, GOC of Western District and some of his officers, he writes to the Viceroy: "There is no doubt that the trouble will not be put down without the use of considerable military force, but we are agreed that we are not yet justified in recourse to martial law. But use of military forces in support of the police when these have to be dispersed over large areas of the country raises very difficult administrative problems, quite different in kind from those that raise when the military can act, with a magistrate present, to suppress riots within town." He informed that the decision arrived at was that the local police officers should work out on the spot a detailed plan

for clearing the Makhi Dhand area, which is the main lurking place of the 'gang', and that this should then be put into operation at once by the police with military force. His letter proves that even if they hadn't declared martial law, the military action was to be taken.

In a letter thereafter to the Viceroy on 23rd May 1942, he writes: "I think it likely that with declaration of martial law, we shall get fuller information as to the extent to which prominent members of the Congress Party here had been dealing with Hurs. Soon after the Pir's incarceration, Sidhwa tried to put himself at the head of agitation for the Pir's release, and it is now known that Sidhwa met here one of Pir's principal Khalifa, who brought with him a considerable sum of money."

In yet another letter to Lord Linlithgow on 6th June 1942, five days after the proclamation of martial law, Governor Hugh Dow opines: "Martial law is an extreme measure, and could not be justified to deal with a situation which was not extreme, however clearly we might see that it might become so. There would certainly not have been general approbation if martial law had been declared at an earlier stage, and I do not think that troops acting in support of the civil power, but without martial law, would have been able to cope with the disorders."

The Muslim League leaders of Sindh didn't react to expansion of areas under the martial law. As a political party, the Muslim League had no sympathies with Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II because his close links with Congress were no secret. Even Abdullah Haroon, the then president of Sindh Muslim League, favored the martial law, but when the military actions created problems that caused rift in the party and the opposition to martial developed in party ranks, the Muslim League started showing its reaction, although less strong than Congress.

In view of grim situation, All Parties' Conference was convened on June 08, 1942, mostly attended by

Hindu leadership besides Saeen G. M. Syed and some other Muslim leaders. Saeen G. M. Syed, who represented Muslim League, was opposed to martial law and the civil advisors of military. He condemned the act of imposition of martial law. The All Parties Conference severely criticized H. T. Lambrick being responsible for countless killings of innocent people. The conference decided to launch campaign against the army and police. Saeen G. M. Syed had also prepared a 6-page report on atrocities of martial law authorities perpetrated on masses.

The Sindh Muslim League leaders were not in favor of condemning the martial law so hastily but some of the working committee members exerted pressure to pass a resolution in support of imprisoned Pir Sibghatullah. However, the working committee, highest decision-making body at provincial level restricted itself to taking actions under the law and considered challenging the imposition of military rule several months later. The Working Committee met on September 14, 1942 at the residence of Muhammad Ayub Khuhro to discuss the situation that developed after proclamation of martial law. Addressing the session, Khuro, who was provincial minister for revenue at that time, said: "The martial law has unnecessarily been prolonged. It has failed utterly despite numerous sacrifices of civil rights by the masses. The Khairpur police superintendent told me the other day that performance of military was not satisfactory. They do not move out without truck loads of ration while the Hurs keep on moving from one place to other. The military is busy killing the innocent people while the police are involved in robbing the common man. The martial law authorities have decreased the discharge of water in the canals after incidents of breaches caused by Hurs. Hundreds of thousands acre land couldn't be cultivated due to shortage of water incurring huge economic losses to the Zamindars. This is what the Hurs wanted."

It transpires from Dr. Hamida Khuhro's book that Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, known as a best administrator, was himself bewildered over the issue of martial law. He was well aware of the complications of military rule parallel to the civilian setup in the province and wanted to resolve it effectively, but at the same time was saddened on murder of Khairpur police chief and other officers. Moreover, there were rumours that his name was also among hit list of Hurs, and that Pir Sahib wanted him to be removed from scene considering him an obstacle in his becoming the ruler of Sindh in future. "Owing to these reasons, Muhammad Ayub Khuhro supported the government actions against the Hurs and did not oppose the martial law," Dr. Khuhro viewed and added that although her father's mind agitated against proclamation of martial law and he often expressed such views in party meetings but being a practical man and an experienced administrator, he felt that stern measures are needed direly to suppress the uprising.

However, since majority of Muslim population was at stake, it was not possible for Sindh Muslim League to remain as silent spectator, thus declared the strict measures taken by the government as 'injustice to Pir Pagaro'. It said Gandhi, who launched country-wide rebellion was staying at the Aga Khan's palace with all the facilities and relaxations, but Pir Pagaro was languishing in a remote prison of India and all the preparations are underway to hang him. Muhammad Ayub Khuhro and G. M. Syed also called on Muhammad Ali Jinnah to seek his opinion on challenging the imposition of martial law in the court but Jinnah advised them against moving the court. "We should first meet the Governor and demand lifting the martial law," he said. "In case the Governor did not agree, I will write to Viceroy of India and Secretary of State, and also raise the issue in meeting with Viceroy," Jinnah had been quoted as saying. He was of the view to prepare a

comprehensive and strong case before challenging the proclamation of martial law.

G. M. Syed also mentions in his book "The Case of Sindh" that the martial law was enforced on both sides of the Indus. "I had plans to challenge the imposition of military rule in the court of law but Mr. Jinnah directed us sternly not to do so."

According to G. M. Syed, the military rule had a negative impact both on the Hur uprising and the Quit India Movement in Sindh.

Mr. Khuhro had also a meeting with Hugh Dow, Governor of Sindh to discuss the issue. In party meetings, he told: "He considers proclamation of martial law as a legal measure, agreed upon by Viceroy and the member of law department." He said Governor was unwilling to summon the assembly session, as he fears that taking benefit of freedom of expression, the members will criticize and expose the martial law authorities. "The Governor has delegated powers to the Martial Law Administrator, who even can demote senior officers like Mr. Holt from the post of Collector to Assistant Collector, and put him under a junior officer, and all his actions are unquestionable."

A letter from Dow to the Viceroy dated 20th June 1942 fully supported the Martial Law Administrator for 'dealing with utmost severity with all excesses on the part of his own troops', however sheds light on Sindh Muslim League's politics on martial law. He writes: "Muslim League has no thought except how best to exploit the situation against the Ministry (of Allah Bux Soomro). Khan Bahadur Khuhro led a deputation to me last Monday to urge the dismissal of the Ministry on the ground of their responsibility for martial law 'excesses'. The deputationists all resided outside the martial law area and had no facts to go on, and a suggestion from me that perhaps I ought to serve an order on K. B. Khuhro to live in the area in order that he might gain firsthand information of condi-

tions was by no means received with enthusiasm.”

His letter to Viceroy dated 21st September 1942 also exposes Muslim League's role in imposition of martial law in Sindh. Dow writes: “I learn that the local branch of the Muslim League, who from last February was demanding martial law and hailed its imposition with delight, is now likely to lead agitation for its removal. This is not of course because the Hurs have been suppressed, but rather because the less reputable connections of leading members of the own party, and particularly those of G. M. Syed and K. B. Khuhro are coming under too close scrutiny by the martial law authorities. The agitation may be dangerous, because there is some reason for thinking that many Muslim Leaguers, who have been particularly opposed to the Pir's party, are seeking to make their peace with the Hurs by directing the latter's crimes more exclusively against Hindus. Also the Muslim Leaguers are quite unscrupulous in the methods by which they seek to discredit Allah Bux (Soomro), and all the unpleasant results of martial law are put down to his account.”

On 25th October 1942, Governor Dow informed the Viceroy in a letter that there is no obvious change in Hur situation. “Undoubtedly martial law cramps the style of the civil disobedience movement outside Karachi, and the Premier (Allah Bux Soomro) has also lent his support to the agitation to exclude Hyderabad and Sukkur towns from the martial law area. There is however no reason for thinking that the bulk of the population of these towns finds the martial law regulations unduly restrictive of their liberties.”

The martial law authorities had established military courts to punish the Hur community people through summary trial. The martial law authorities however required magistrates to be inducted as members in such military court. They had sent several requisitions to the government for putting more magistrates at their disposal.

Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II was also sentenced to death by a military court, as suggested by H. T. Lambrick who in a confidential note to the government had opined that 'death sentence to Pir Pagaro is the only way to restore peace in Sindh. The Hur movement cannot be crushed till Pir Pagaro is alive'.

In April 1943, while addressing the members of Karachi Chamber of Commerce & Industry, Governor Dow had hinted that martial law would be withdrawn however its regulations will be duplicated by notifications under the Defence of India Rules, and a Special Commissioner will be placed in charge of law and order and all matters relating to the Hurs. On 7th April he communicated extract of his speech regarding martial law to the Viceroy who in response through a letter dated 15th April appreciated his idea.

Governor Dow, in a letter to Viceroy dated 3rd June 1943, four months after the martyrdom of Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II, conveyed that withdrawal of martial law has been taken quietly. He also informed that 'the Hindu press is urging an immediate review and scaling down sentences that have been inflicted.' "But the Minister is well aware that this is not due to any sympathy with the 'wretched' Hurs, but to a hope that the few Congress Firebrands whom the martial law authorities extinguished, may be re-lit."

Viceroy of India Lord Linlithgow, through a letter dated 15th June 1943, commended Dow in these words: "It is good to hear that the martial law has been taken quietly and that Gazdar (Home Minister) is behaving so well."

The Urdu daily 'Inqalab' of Lahore reported on 3rd June 1943 that in view of improving law and order situation, the authorities lifted the martial law in Sindh between the night of May 31 and June 01. It however had reported a day earlier that the curfew would remain enforced in one hundred mile area of North Western Rail-

way and Jodhpur Railway falling in the territory affected by the Hur activities. The police and the military would continue patrolling and no person would be allowed to carry arms without special permission. The law enforcing agencies have been directed to shoot at sight in case of violence and damage to government property.

G. M. Syed in his interview at Sunn in December 1980 told that the Muslim League in its Delhi session in 1943, presided over by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, passed two resolutions demanding lifting of martial law from Sindh and restoring the properties of Pir Pagaro to his heirs. "I had moved the resolution seconded by Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali."

Pir Pagaro's family taken into custody, sons deported

A press note issued by Sindh Government said that Syed Sikandar Shah, elder son of pir Pagaro, has submitted an application to Additional District Magistrate of Nawabshah and Tharparkar requesting for permission to deploy at least 200 Hurs for protection of Gurang bungalow where the Pir's family was residing. The Hurs could be deployed under the supervision of police. According to Sikandar Shah the Pir's family faced threat from the enemies. Daily Al-Waheed reported quoting the press note on 2nd May 1942 that after the preliminary investigation, the government was satisfied that Pir's family was under threat in view of the unprecedented law and order situation in Sanghar and surrounding areas. Thus the Government of Sindh decided that there was no other way but to shift the Pir's family to Karachi where they would live safely. It further decided to make suitable arrangements for the Pir's family for stay in Karachi with honor and dignity. This way the Pir's family could be protected from the enemies involved in creating law and order in Sanghar area, press note said according to newspaper.

“For shifting of the Pir's family to Karachi from Gurang bungalow in an honourable way, the Government has assigned a notable woman, who will accompany the women of Pir's family during their travel to Karachi,” press note said.

Al-Waheed also reported quoting another newspaper 'Hindu' that Pir's family was sent to Karachi in first class of Sindh Express train under strict police guard. They were brought in a vehicle from Sanghar to the railway crossing near Shahdadpur where they were guarded by military till the train arrived. The train was halted at railway crossing especially for the Pir's family. Newspaper reported from Shahdadpur that Lambrick, accompanied by a police force of 250, arrived at Gurang bungalow near Sanghar and sent some European women inside who took four wives of Pir and two sons out and drove them in a covered motor car to Shahdadpur.

There is no evidence if the Pir Sikandar Shah had submitted an application, but it appears even from the press note that he had asked for permission of deploying 200 Hurs at the Gurang bungalow, and no request was made to shift them to Karachi.

Khalifo Muhammad Bux Rajar told that British officers had directed the disciples to leave all of them except ten persons who would guard the Pir's family and take them to Pir Jo Goth from there. We accordingly provided ten disciples to the authorities and in the meantime conveyed message to the Raja of Jaisalmir to take responsibility of two sons of Pir Sahib, as he had offered his help previously in case of such a situation, but he replied: "They may come and live here but I will not take any responsibility."

In fact the British authorities had decided to deport Pir's sons and apprehending the reaction from the Hurs, it staged the drama of application and protection. Police Officer Aftab Nabi in his thesis writes that Home office of the Commissioner in Sindh issued an order on 8th May 1942 for detention of the Pir's family that included his wives, a concubine, two sons, two sisters and four housemaids. The order was signed by the Chief Secretary C. B. B. Clee. The order stated: "Under the powers vested in me

by Section D of 1 of 26, I hereby order to detain the family of Pir Pagaro considering them a threat to the public order at the bungalow of Mir Khuda Bux opposite to YMCA, Bundar Road till further orders.”

The British authorities confined the Pir’s family in Karachi, but it planned to deport them from Sindh and discussions were held in meetings as well as through the confidential correspondence. The Viceroy in a telegram dated 11th January 1943 to Governor Dow had stated: “As regards disposal of family of Pir what exactly have you in mind? Though an African colony was prepared to take the Pir himself for detention in prison, this would not be suitable. An arrangement is likely to last for years for the two boys and a necessary companion. It is bound to take a long time to make any other arrangements outside India, which may not be possible. I suggest further consideration of removal to some remote place in India if they must be moved from Sindh.”

He further said: “Deportation or removal of the family would not, I suppose necessarily settle the question of succession, which I understand Richardson would be glad to have settled before the trial. You no doubt have to consider steps to be taken to prevent an untoward development in this respect.”

As all the moveable and non-moveable property of Pir Pagaro, worth over one billion of rupees, had been seized by the British government, the questions were raised as to how the Pir’s family would arrange their living. According to Al-Waheed daily of 23rd April 1943 (After the martyrdom of Pir Pagaro), Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan had put up the question in Indian Parliament. Responding to him, Mr. Trivedi, the Secretary of Defence Department, had stated that the government was considering a proposal to auction the Pir’s property however the decision would be taken only after the martial law is withdrawn from Sindh. Secretary told that it would have to be

ascertained before the auction if the seized property was his personal or granted to him for shrine and welfare of general public. He informed that government had been bearing the expenses of Pir's family as per their status.

An Urdu daily 'Inqalab' of Lahore reported on 1st June 1943 that the British authorities released two of the four widows of Pir Sahib and sent them to their parents. Same newspaper again reported on 23rd June 1943 that four widows were released and sent to their parents. However the authorities continued custody of two sons of Pir Pagaro and fixed Rs.1700 monthly stipend for their education and other expenditures.

When the British authorities hanged the Pir Pagaro at Hyderabad jail on 20th March 1943, it also abolished the Gadi (seat or spiritual office of Pagaro). His eldest son Syed Shah Mardan Shah-II (Syed Sikandar Shah) was hardly of 15 years of age. Soon the authorities shifted two sons of Pir Pagaro to India. Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, who was at that time Vice Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University, took him and his brother to Aligarh, where both the brothers stayed at 'English House', a hostel established especially to house the sons of Nawabs and Rajas of the sub-continent. In 1946 again Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, following the directives of British authorities, arranged for their education in England. Dr. Qayyum Pasha, son-in-law of Dr. Ziauddin, went to England with Pir's sons through a ship from Bombay, and stayed with them as their guardian.

Syed Shabbir Hussain writes that Pir Sahib's two sons – Sikandar Shah Alias Shah Mardan Shah and Nadir Shah were taken from the confinement at a house in Karachi to Delhi and onward to Aligarh still under detention. After about two years' stay at Aligarh, they were sent in a steamer to Liverpool, England to be handed over to Maj. Davis, the owner of a private school at Pinner.

Late Syed Hashim Raza, an ICS officer and Deputy Commissioner of Tharparkar district in 1946, in an

interview told that prior to his posting in Sindh, he was secretary to Governor of Bombay Sir Francis Modi, who had asked Dr. Ziauddin, VC, Aligarh University, to send two sons of Pir Pagaro for education to England where the Maths Teacher was classfellow of the Governor.

Pir Sahib was aware that his family too was under the custody of British authorities. And perhaps he was sure that his entire family or at least two sons would be deported. He however wished his sons to be educated well. His desire transpires from a report submitted by Police Commissioner Fredrick Young to the authorities, in which referring to his meeting with Pir Sahib at the Hyderabad jail on 18th March 1943, he writes: "He (Pir) is very insistant that they (two sons) should be taught Persian, Urdu and English, and not too much religion, just the amount of religion that a decent fellow ought to have." The Police Commissioner's report contains a sentence, attributed to Pir Sahib that 'too much Quran is waste of time' seems sheer lie, as the Pir Sahib spent most of his time praying during his years long confinement. A letter of Pir Sahib to the Governor of Sindh also contradicts Police Commissioner's contention (Regarding Pir's alleged views about Quran), in which Pir says: "I have been asked who should be placed on my Gadi. In this connection my wish is that everything should be done in accordance to Sharia, so that my sons become my heirs, and that an arrangement may be made to have my sons educated."

According to Police Commissioner's report Pir Sahib wished his son Pir Sikandar to be appointed in his place, but after he has been properly educated, and not for eight or ten years.

A telegram of Viceroy to the Governor of Sindh is on record, which says: "As regards succession, I agree that immediate deportation of the elder son would be best arrangement provided you are satisfied that his removal from Sindh would not leave the field vacant for pretenders."

Although, there were several aspirants to occupy the Gadi of Pir Pagaro, especially Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi (the book contains a separate and detailed chapter on Pir Ali Muhammad and his treacherous role against Pir Pagara) but the authorities did what it suited to them and abolished the spiritual office so that it could be revived with crowning the Pir Syed Sikandar Shah for controlling the Hurs.

Pir Pagara's property forfeited

The British government had confiscated all his property, personal as well as that belonging to the Dargah. Pir Sahib had asked the Police Commissioner in his last meeting with him on 18th March 1943 that if the government has not confiscated it, three portions of it belong to him as Pir, and not as a private citizen, therefore they go to the Dargah. These properties include the Keti, three or four orchards in Pir Jo Goth and certain amount of land in Pir Jo Goth where the house is built. Rest of the property was his own.

“Pir Pagaro had stated that he would like his wives to be reasonably arranged for. He has four wives, three of them from Syed families and one, a Hur woman, the mother of his two children. Under Muslim custom they should get one-eighth share amongst them,” Commissioner F. Young said in a report.

Chief Secretary of Sindh C. B. B. Clee had also disclosed in a report to Secretary, Home Department, Bombay, that on 1st April 1943, the Zamindars handed over to Chief Administrator of Martial Law the sum of four lacs of rupees in notes. This property had been entrusted them by the Pir Pagaro for safe custody.

In the meantime, the government had started considering pension for the widows of Pir Sahib. Governor Dow had sent a letter to the new Viceroy of India Lord Wavell on 12th October 1944 seeking approval for the pension. The Viceroy in reply on 30th October stated that

he is waiting for advice on his letter about the pension for the widows. Dow had again sent a letter on the subject on 18th November but received reply from Lord Wavell only on 27th January 1945. Lord Wavell told him that he has received advice on his letter No: 353/87(b) about the pension for widows. "An official letter by War Department to your government is being sent according to which the Government of India will retain the immoveable property of Pir as a set off against the education of the late Pir's dependents, liability for which has already been accepted by them. The proposal is that the Provincial Government should meet the extra expenditures on the operation against the Hurs (about 26.5 lacs) and against this should set off the amount realized from the sale of the moveable property (about 10.50 lacs)," Viceroy told.

The Urdu daily 'Inqalab' of Lahore reported on 2nd June 1943 that the British authorities were planning to constitute a Committee to look after the matters of the shrine at Pir jo Goth.

British destroy Gurang bungalow and Pir Kot

Incensed by the retaliation from the Hurs, the British planned to destroy Pir's Gurang bungalow of Sanghar and the fort-like residence in Pir Jo Goth. They had devised the strategy to enrage the Hurs by such actions, and then crush them if they gathered at two places. Under this plan, they first sent team to undertake search operation at Pir Jo Goth residence. The search at Gurang bungalow was already carried out soon after Pir's arrest in October 1941.

Al-Waheed daily had reported on 1st November that year that the police raided at Gurang bungalow, as the authorities had intelligence reports that a large number of kerosene oil drums, chemicals for preparing ammunition and the weapons were hidden there. The report however does not mention if all such things were seized. It reported that the DSP, Deputy Collector and other officials have setup their camp and the police have surrounded the area. The police had also arrested 120 Hurs including four Zamindars. Around fifty Hurs were also arrested from Sanghar town. Khalifo Muhammad Bux Rajar told that police and military set ablaze Landhis and hedges despite the fact they couldn't find any thing objectionable except some petrol canisters.

The search of Pir Jo Goth residence was carried on 31st July 1942. The officer concerned reported to Lambrick in his letter dated 5th August that during the search it was also ascertained how much explosive would be needed to destroy the Pir's citadel. He told Lambrick that it will take a week to destroy the citadel, as the walls are thick. There are number of arches and windows to let out the blast. Also the mosque and tombs are not away. At one part there is only six-foot passage and does not seem to be built as strongly as the Kot, so the considerable care will have to be taken.

The officer didn't expect any resistance but said 'even then some troops would be needed and no special arrangements could be made after the job is finished'. But added: "The repercussions then could be in the form of retaliatory outrages, which might take place anywhere. I think the destruction would have a very good effect."

The British officer shamelessly reports: "There is lot of stuff in the Kot – wheat, radios, old motor cars (and one 1940-41 Austin), brand new airguns, even a double barreled one, a sort of assault boat, a great deal of piping, and big water tanks, and lots of stuff, suitcases, razais (quilts), slippers, bought from big stores. The Pir seems to have been ashamed to buy less than a dozen of anything. The stuff has been listed by the police, but it should be gone through carefully; it is possible that interesting evidence might come to light. Some of the stuff should be sold, as it is deteriorating where it is, and some could be used by the military." The report proves that no objectionable thing was found from the Kot, and it was nothing but meanness of the British officers and other authorities to destroy it.

The Khairpur State authorities were very much concerned on the rumours that the mosque and the tombs are to be demolished, as it feared further deterioration of the law and order situation. In a letter dated 23rd August

1942 addressed to the Lambrick, the State Minister expressed the apprehensions in these words: "Now that the troops have moved to Pir Jo Goth, the public will know what is going to take place, and in my opinion there is great likelihood of the rumour spreading that all the buildings and mosques and tombs are going to be demolished. This will antagonize Muslim opinion in Sindh and even outside. At this stage, I would suggest that a communiqué be issued making it clear that the mosques and tombs will not be touched and will remain as they are."

And soon after the war planes started bombing the Pir's citadel turning it into debris. Same was done with Gurang bungalow where even the hedges put around it were set ablaze. The Pir Jo Goth residence was destroyed on August 22 1942 raining the bombs on it besides using the dynamites.

Rumours of Pir's trial in absentia, Pir flown into Sindh

While the Pir Sahib was languishing in Seoni jail, reports appeared in newspapers in Sindh that he might be tried in absentia. English daily 'Sindh Observer' carried the story first on 24th November 1942, which was lifted by Al-Waheed on 26th November. Examining the legal aspects of such a reported move of the government, the newspaper said 'no accused could be tried in absentia, but the Martial Law Administrator has promulgated an especial law (Ordinance) number 48 to try the accused in absentia. Under this law, no accused is required to be produced in the court for trial. The Ordinance number 49 had also been promulgated that provides for death sentence to the accused if he is proved guilty under Section 6 or 16 of Indian Penal Code.'

Sindh Observer said the martial law authorities have confiscated all the moveable and non-moveable property of Pir Pagaro, and now these especial laws have been imposed that confirm the rumours that he will be tried in absentia in a military court and the trial may begin soon.

However, it seems that the plan to put the Pir on trial in absentia couldn't materialize due to certain reasons, and Pir was flown from Nagpur to Sindh on 5th January 1943. He was confined in Hyderabad Central Prison. Wasal Muhammad Khan, then Colonel in British Army,

hailing from former North West Frontier Province (Present Khyber Pakhtoonkhaw), who was an eye witness, writes in his autobiography:

“One day I was asked to meet the Deputy Force Commander at 2.30p.m at Hyderabad landing ground. This order was rather queer; therefore I started wondering as to what the game was. However, on arrival at the destination, I found that Brig. Langlands and Fredrick Young were already there to receive the Pir Pagaro who was being flown from the Central Jail, Nagpur. After a few minutes the dignitary arrived, and was moved to Hyderabad (Central Jail) in a covered wagon, heavily escorted by the military.”

The landing ground, as mentioned by Wasal Muhammad Khan, was located at Bolhari, presently a Union Council, located near Kotri between Hyderabad and Karachi. The British authorities selected this remote hilly area to avoid any ambush by the Hurs. Pir's arrival was not announced and its schedule was a top secret.

Prof. Laiq Zardari writes that Pir Sahib was brought back to Sindh from Central Provinces by air on 14th January. The plane landed at Bolhari Aerodrome, 13 miles from Hyderabad at 08.30p.m. The shifting of Pir from C. P to Hyderabad jail was made public only on 16th January 1943 when a press communiqué appeared in the newspapers. Another researcher Mushtaque Nizamani says it was 12th January when the Pir Sahib was brought to Bolhari airbase.

Mock Trial to condemn Pir Sibghatullah Shah-II to death

The British had already decided to eliminate Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II but to show the world that he was provided justice, it staged a mock trial. Police Officer Aftab Nabi writes that certain letters are available in official correspondence of Lambrick, which show that some of the high ranking persons of Sindh government were in full alliance with British to hang Pir after a summary trial. The secretary of Sindh government in a letter to Lambrick had told him that certain circles have advised to hang the Pir and the matter needs serious consideration. The Secretary opined that the Pir should be brought back by air and be sentenced to death after a summary trial. He was of the view that Pir should be hanged publicly near Gurang bungalow after making a public announcement to attract large number of Hurs there who could be arrested on the spot.

The officer had further advised the Lambrick to exert pressure on Pir for surrendering the arsenal, and in case he declines, he could be hanged any how.

Another official letter also proves that the British administration was unanimous on hanging the Pir. A letter dated 5th December 1942 sent by Mr. Bernard Bud to Mr. Peter Kargil says that the Hur uprising will not come to an end unless Pir Pagaro is hanged. Bernard opined that hanging of Pir would infuriate the Hurs but soon they will realize that Pir is now eliminated, and now no use to fight.

Lambrick himself was of firm view that Hur uprising cannot be crushed unless the Pir Pagaro is hanged. By that time, no date had been fixed for mock trial but the British had made up its mind to hang Pir Sahib.

Sara F. D. Ansari in her book also writes that not only the district and provincial officers in Sindh wanted to hang the Pir, but the matter was also discussed in a meeting held at Viceroy House in Delhi on 8th August 1942. The meeting had discussed to frame such a case that Pir could get not less than death sentence. An officer namely R. N. Gilchrist had submitted a report to the Viceroy, bearing a note by Sir Gilbert Wills, which indicates how the British were excited to hang the Pir.

Similarly, Edward Horland Holt (E. h. Holt), who was posted District Magistrate of Sukkur in 1942, and some officers of other districts too desired to see Pir hanged, which appears from a confidential note written by E. H. Holt to Chief Secretary of Sindh C. B. B. Clee on 23rd May 1942. The letter is available in the Lambrick documents at India Office Library. He was the man who had suggested putting a curtain in front of Pir Sahib at the time of producing prosecution witness in the military court. Holt had even suggested hanging of Pir's elder son, who was to be crowned after his father as Pir Pagaro. It appears from a letter of Lambrick that the Indian Civil Service and British officials has same point of view on Pir's execution. E. H. Holt had again exhorted on 30th May in a letter to implement what he suggested in his earlier letter of 23rd May. He however asked the authorities to increase the number of troops in Sindh before execution. "There had been no improvement in the situation even after the Army was called out, therefore the poisonous plant (Pir Sahib) must be rooted out for ever," he had remarked.

Col. Tomkins had enquired from Sukkur administration if it was capable to use heavy or light machine guns against the Hurs. The Holt had replied that since the

Hurs were fighting a guerrilla war with hit and run actions, it would be impossible to use such weapons against them. The machine guns would prove beneficial only if the Hurs gather at one place and it could be when the Pir is publicly hanged at Pir Jo Goth.

Viceroy of India's letter to Sindh Governor Hugh Dow dated 30th December 1942 is much clearer that the British had decided to hang Pir Sahib but the only issue that remained to be resolved was disposing of Pir's body. He writes: "It is not clear to me whether you have arranged or are arranging disposal of body of Pir Pagaro. I should be grateful for early intimation of the decision as to disposal and any other outstanding points or difficulties."

In a telegraphic message to the Viceroy dated 4th January 1943, Governor Dow replied: "We think burial at sea is much the best method of disposal, provided the Government of India is satisfied that this is not repugnant to Muslim sentiment. Pending decision on this, I have not opened discussion regarding burial in the C. P (Central Provinces) so far. As regards his family we think deportation from India for at least some years should be arranged."

Again on 11th January 1943, Viceroy, through a telegram to the Governor of Sindh, inquired about the disposal arrangements of body and the family of the Pir. The telegram says: "According to such information as available to me, disposal of the body at sea would be repugnant to Muslim sentiments even if normal ceremonies were performed. But if, I assume from the wording of your telegram, you would have now taken the ministers into confidence, you must have obtained reliable guidance on this matter. It is one to be settled in the light of such guidance with regard to immediate needs of the martial law administration and needs of the later administration of the province, and decision should be made without delay. Possibility of removing body for land burial in place such as Aden outside India is being examined but cannot be reckoned

on at present.”

The Lambrick documents contain several letters, including a private letter written by A. J. Wales, District Judge of Sukkur in April 1941. Wales, who had visited Karachi, and met the then Governor thrice in 1940-41, was informed that when the administration failed arresting the Pir, he was implicated in illegal weapons case under the Arms Act.

It also transpires from the official correspondence that the prosecution witnesses were confined at a place under the strict guard of police so that they couldn't move freely and accept the influence of Hurs. According to Lieutenant Molsworth, the names of prosecution witnesses were kept secret and they were provided food as if they were in jail custody. The Deputy Martial Law Administrator of Hyderabad had hinted on 25th February 1943 that the prosecution witnesses would be rewarded with cash and lands. E. H. Holt had also recommended on 2nd March 1943 granting plots to the prosecution witnesses at the discounted rates in the cities.

Certain official files were of highly sensitive nature, and the civil advisor of the Martial Law Administrator Lambrick was directed that none of such files should be produced in the military court in case Pir Pagaro demands under the law.

Col. Wasal Muhammad Khan in his autobiography also writes: “During the preparatory phase of the trial, the prosecution witnesses were lodged in a barrack and tutored by Samuel Ghani, D. S. P. On receiving such information I took the law in my own hand and paid an unauthorized surprise visit to the prohibited area and caught the culprit red handed in the performance of the shameful act. Being young and inexperienced, I couldn't imagine any one stooping so low hence I reported the matter to Brig. Langsland, the Deputy Force Commander. I was horrified to realize that the report fell on deaf ears.”

Military Court constituted, Pir fights legal battle

On the suggestion of Sindh government, the Viceroy of India decided that a Military Court be constituted headed by Richardson that will hold the trial in Hyderabad jail where Pir Sahib was confined in a Cell specified for condemned prisoners. "The authorities had fitted the bugging equipment in the death cell to record whatever he speaks to anyone," Dr. Hameeda Khuhro writes in her book 'Muhammad Ayub Khuhro'.

Since the civil authorities were scared of repercussions of Pir's trial, and that too in Sindh, extra security measures were taken not only at Hyderabad Central Jail but also at the concentration camp located near the jail wherein 3000 Hurs and their families were lodged. A British officer was especially deputed to supervise the security at the concentration camp while two platoons of 13th Frontier Force Rifles under another British officer were deployed at the jail. In order to control the situation in case of trouble inside the jail, a special armed police detachment together with the tear gas squad of Sindh Additional Police Reserve were also deployed.

The trial began on 29th January 1943 but the Pir Sahib had no money to engage any counsel for his defence. He wanted to meet Premier Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah whom he considered his friend and always

sought his advice on different matters. Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah had also been his lawyer in the past receiving huge fee from him. Pir Sahib requested the authorities to arrange his meeting with Premier but perhaps he received a very cold response, after which he desired to have meeting with Muhammad Ayub Khuhro. When the Pir Sahib had landed at Bolhari airbase, a military officer had inquired if he needed anything, and Pir Sahib had asked for arranging meeting with Mr. Khuhro. "I was told about this by the Governor Dow, who also advised me to avoid meeting the Pir Sahib, as the case under the martial law regulations was to start and that might affect me too," Khuhro was quoted as saying by his daughter Dr. Hameeda Khuhro in her book.

In view of the Governor's advice, it was not possible for Mr. Khuhro to meet Pir Sahib however he sent message to him through a police officer, and in response Pir Sahib conveyed that he wanted to engage Muhammad Ali Jinnah as his defence counsel. Pir Sahib had also sent him a hand-written letter requesting Mr. Khuhro to help him in this regard. Mr. Khuhro immediately telephoned a friend of him in Bombay and conveyed Pir Sahib's desire but he refused saying he cannot trust a person (Pir) who is political opponent of Muslim League, and who, after the release from jail (in 1936) maintained close relations with Congress. Dr. Hameeda Khuhro writes that Pir Sahib had also sent his men to Jinnah who offered him paying the fee whatever he demanded but he didn't accept the offer.

In an article, Prof. Allah Warayo Bihan writes that Pir Sahib through a letter dated 17th January 1943 requested Jinnah to plead his case. In his letter, written in Urdu, Pir Sahib informed him that the trial is to begin on 29th January, and he hopes that he (Jinnah) will accept his request and will make efforts to get him exonerated from the case. When Pir Sahib didn't receive any response to his letter, he selected advocate Deel Mal Lalwani of Hyderabad, a former public prosecutor, among the list of lawyers provided

to him by the government, and asked him to send Jinnah a telegram requesting him to plead the case as senior counsel. Deel Mal sent a telegram and assured the Jinnah of paying fee. Again on 18th Jauary through another telegram the lawyer informed Jinnah of serious charges framed against Pir Sahib but what the Jinnah responded in his telegram dated 20th January is as under:

YOUR WIRE REGRET. UNABLE
TO ACCEPT BRIEF PIR PAGARO OW-
ING PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT PRO-
GRAM ALREADY FIXED.

Deel Mal sent another telegram to Jinnah on 22nd January:

PIR PAGARO REQUESTS YOUR PRES-
ENCE EVEN FOR FEW DAYS. YOUR TERMS

And the Jinnah's reply was:

YOUR WIRE EXTREMELY SORRY IM-
POSSIBLE MY ENGAGEMENT AS ALREADY
FIXED

The desperate Pir at last had written a letter to Mr. Khuhro to urge the Jinnah, says Allah Warayo Bihan.

According to Pir Sahib's letters, available with Lambrick's document, he had started correspondence with the authorities since 15th January 1943 but none of his letters was delivered to the person he had addressed. In his 15th January letter, Pir Sahib had requested Chief Martial Law Administrator to allow his meeting with Wadero Din Muhammad Junejo of Sindhri, district Tharparkar as soon as possible so that money could be arranged for the lawyers. He also requested for engaging Barrister Muhammad Aslam as his counsel and also Mr. Jinnah, and assured of paying their fee.

The authorities never delivered this letter to Wadero Din Muhammad Junejo and instead started har-

assing him. In another letter to Maj. General/Martial Law Administrator, Hyderabad, dated 17th January, Pir Sahib again requested for meeting with disciples to arrange money and told that he could get the money only when he would ask them in person. But the authorities withheld this letter too.

In his third letter dated 18th January to Maj. General, Pir Sahib said 'How can I engage a lawyer without having funds? I may be allowed to call Jinnah, as allowed by you earlier. In case you don't permit me, at least you should meet me and assure me of justice. I have attached three other letters, which may be dispatched to concerned persons. And unfortunately this letter was also thrown in cold storage.

Same day, Pir Sahib sent a letter to Muhammad Ayub Khuhro informing him that the authorities have allowed to engage Jinnah as defence counsel, and urged him to convince Jinnah for pleading the case. It was the letter, after which Mr. Khuhro had contacted Jinnah through a friend in Bombay.

As the funds for lawyers were to be arranged, the very same day Pir Sahib wrote a letter to Mir Khuda Bux Khan of Tando Bago, a trusted disciple, asking him to pay him some money as tribute and also ask other disciples for the same. He suggested them to send the amount through money order care of jail superintendent. This letter too was not sent to Mir Khuda Bux Khan.

In yet another letter to the authorities, Pir Sahib gave names of ten persons (seven of his disciples and three politician friends) for allowing meeting him. They include Deen Muhammad Junejo of Sindhri, Banko Junejo and Muhammad Hayat Junejo of Baqar village, Mir Khuda Bux of Tando Bago, Ali Haider Shah of Pir Jo Goth, Mukhi Nebhan Das of Pir Jo Goth, Malook Pahor, Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, Mir Bundeh Ali and Qaisar Khan Bozdar.

The British authorities didn't allow any of these

persons to meet Pir Sahib. The Maj. General and the Chief Martial Law Administrator replied the Pir Sahib in a letter on 20th January that he cannot be allowed to demand money for his defence writing letters to different men on his hown, and therefore his three letters dated 18th January cannot be dispatched. "However, your lawyer Mr. Deel Mal would be allowed to meet those persons or write them for money," they told adding that the money so collected would be deposited at Imperial Bank of India in an account in his name. (The images of Pir Sahib's hand-written letters annexed).

In the meantime, a delegation of students from Aligarh University called on Muslim League leader Liaquat Ali Khan in Delhi and requested him to raise voice for saving the life of Pir Pagaro. After listening to them, Liaquat Ali Khan said: "We want to do a lot for Pir Sahib, but cannot do, as unfortunately, the Muslim League leaders of Sindh have no courage."

Finally the trial began in special military court headed by GOC and Martial Law Administrator. It is said that Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, the premier, had conveyed the Pir Sahib to trust advocate Deel Mal, and finally he did so. But the government didn't allow Pir Pagaro to frequently meet his lawyer, defence witnesses and family members. On the contrary, the authorities, through their most loyal servant Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi, exerted pressure on Pir's disciples belonging to elite class using different tactics, to support them against the Pir Sahib.

On 26th January, advocate Deel Mal submitted his legal opinion in the court in defence of the Pir, copy of which was sent to Lambrick. The authorities had earlier rejected the pleas of Pir Pagaro made on 22nd and 20th January through the lawyer Deel Mal. In his submission, the lawyer said: "In the defence of Pir one of the strings to the law is that he is no way responsible for the misdeeds alleged to have been done by the Hurs. The Hurs, assum-

ing for the sake of argument, that they have done anything, because the government officers disrespected the Pir's family, made a search of Gurang bungalow, burnt its hedge, removed the ladies from a sequestered place to the Bundar Road Karachi (never in the history of the Pir have these ladies been lodged in such fashion) and destroyed the Gurang bungalow and blew up the Pir's Head Quarters in his village. In other words it will be urged by me that the Hurs became rebels not because the Pir wanted to be a King but only because acts of sacrilege were committed by government servants; the acts that according to the notions, ideas and beliefs of the Hurs were such that their religious allegiance to the Pir and to their God demanded of them to do, if they ever would attend salvation."

The lawyer further stated on behalf of Pir Pagaro that Nawabshah police had registered a number of false cases against the disciples of Pir. This is another reason, which contributed to the rising of the Hurs. The accused persons had been surrendered by the Pir and the Crown Prosecutor made a report that the cases were false, and had proposed withdrawal of these cases. The judicial and police record of these cases will be relevant for the purpose of showing that the Hurs were being unbearably harassed by the police round about Gurang bungalow, which was subsequently desecrated. About the enrolment of Ghazis, the lawyer termed it a 'fictitious propaganda' brought into vogue by these persons: Pir of Bharchundi, because Pir Pagaro was responsible for conviction of Janu Jalbani on account of murder of Bhagat Kanwar (the great singer). Pir Pagaro's Khalifa Mohabat Wasan was a witness against Janu. The Pir Pagaro had also written a letter to the Governor for arresting the Pir of Bharchundi, as the Muslim League government would not incarcerate him. Pir Sahib had also accused him of murder of Pamnani; the Muslim League, because Pir Pagaro refused to join them in the Masjid Mazilgah agitation, and he got Ahmed Shah, Fateh Ali Shah and others exterred from Pir Jo Goth

where no Hindu was molested; Ghulam Rasool Shah and his friend Ahsan Ali, because Ahsan Ali had a land dispute with Pir Pagaro, and the government had decided in his favour; Ali Ahmed Rashdi, the Muslim Leaguer and the editor of 'Muslim Voice', because Pir Pagaro held decrees against him. His father and he (Rashdi) were Pir Pagaro's debtors, and the execution proceedings were pending against him. The debt extended to thousands of rupees.

On 6th February, advocate Deel Mal submitted a list of defence witnesses in the case. Their names were: Syed Ghulam Nabi Shah, MLA, Mirpur Khas, Mian Wadal Shah alias Imam Bux Shah, Mirpur Khas, K. S. Rakhial Khan Marri (Collector of Tharparkar or Nawabshah), Rasool Bux Unnar, Zamindar, Larkana, Ghous Ali Shah son of Manzoor Shah, Hafiz Wahid Bux Narejo, Fazal Rahujo, Yaqoob son of Haji Mangnejo, Moor Shah Jhibar (all residents of Pir Ji Ket), Cheto Mal, Pir Jo Goth, Taro Mal, and some others who maintained the accounts of Pir Sahib at Pir Jo Goth.

Besides, he submitted list of another persons to be called as defence witnesses. They were Deen Muhammad Junejo, Sindhri, Banko Junejo, Baqar, Muhammad Hayat Jenejo, Baqar, Mir Khuda Bux, Tando Bago, Ali Hyder Shah, Pir Jo Goth, Mukhi Nebhandas, Pir Jo Goth, Malook Pahor, Khan Bahadur Muhammad Ayub Khuhro MLA, Mir Bundeh Ali Khan MLA and Qaisar Khan Bozdar MLA.

Pir Sahib had also requested the authorities to call former Governor Lancelot Graham to the court, who appeared in the court for an hour. Governor Dow in his letter to Viceroy dated 22nd February informed him that Graham was staying with him (Dow) for last one week, having been summoned by the Pir as defence witness, and his evidence was over in an hour. "I gather that Pir's examination of my Premier (Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah) and two ministers (Ayub Khuhro and Hashim Gazdar) as de-

fence witnesses was almost perfunctory,” Dow writes.

Muhammad Ayub Khuhro in his notes, quoted by her daughter Dr. Hameeda Khuhro, writes: “I appeared in the tribunal consisting of two military officers. There was a glass curtain from my right side and apparently the Pir was sitting beyond it. He listened to each word whatever I spoke. I recorded two statements in the tribunal, which were almost in the favour of Pir Sahib.”

Col. Wasal Muhammad Khan, who had seen the prosecution-witnesses being tutored by an official a few days back, writes in his biography that it had created considerable confusion in his mind and therefore out of curiosity he attended the proceedings of military court on the first day for a couple of hours. “I soon got fed up with mock trial and stayed away, as the trial was beyond my jurisdiction. The little information I gained during my stay in the court is that curtains were put in front of Pir Sahib so that the witnesses and the Pir Sahib could not see each other. The charges framed against Pir Sahib were ‘conspiring and preparing to wage war against the British crown’ and ‘abetment of waging the war’.

“As it was generally believed that the witnesses were likely to turn hostile if they either saw the Pir or heard his voice, therefore adequate measures were taken to ensure that nothing goes wrong. All the time Pir Sahib passed written instructions to the defence counsel and never spoke to him. The proceedings of court started in the usual manner and the Pir raised the following objections through the counsel:

Is there not a single Muslim Army Officer in India to sit as a member of this court? I expect no justice from an all-British court. If the intention is to hang me, then do so without a mock trial.

Why thrust a Hindu advocate on me? Isn’t there a single Muslim advocate in India for my defence?

The President of the military court overruled the

objections on the plea that the members of court are impartial and would therefore render full justice in the case; and the best local advocate has been engaged for the defence, so as to ensure the best-available legal assistance for the accused.

The Pir Sahib was cut up with court ruling and stated through his counsel that obvious intention of the government is to execute him therefore it should be done without going through the tyranny of mock trial. The objection was overruled again. When questioned by the court whether he pleaded guilty to the charges framed against him or not, Pir stated that as he was not in a position either to conspire or make preparation for waging the war against government, the charges are malignant and fabricated.

The Presiding Officer of the court then ordered the Prosecutor to proceed with the case.

“At this stage, I was somewhat perplexed as certain questions were intriguing in my mind. It was due to this state of my mind that most of the time I concentrated on the observation of the Pir who appeared to me just like a lion in the cage. To state frankly, I have come across quite a few Pirs but none of his caliber. He was extremely intelligent with dominating personality and had a good knowledge of the criminal procedure code. To the best of my knowledge, throughout the trial, he had been issuing written instructions to his defence counsel. However, as anticipated by him, all his efforts to save him failed to have any effect, and the finding of the court was guilty and the sentence to death by hanging.”

“On 20th March 1943, at the age of 34 years, Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II was executed and buried at an island of the Persian Gulf. Just before his execution, the only statement he is said to have made is that he was sorry for having committed the sin of indulgence in heavy smoking. The statement clearly indicates that the Pir Sahib considered himself innocent,” Wasal Muhammad Khan concludes.

The military court held its proceedings in a hall, which was locked from outside. The court proceedings lasted for three days. The court verdict was announced in first week of March. Fakir Muhammad Hassan Wasan, resident of village Kadero Wasan near Sanghar, who travelled by foot to Ratnagiri to meet Pir Sahib during his confinement there, in an interview in 1993 told that he, Fakir Imam Bux Sanjrani, Dodo Fakir Kori and some others had planned to break the jail and get the Pir Sahib freed but unfortunately the plan couldn't materialize and the Pir Sahib was executed.

Hur Fakir Muhammad Suleman Wasan, who was also awarded death sentence in pre-partition cases by a court after creation of Pakistan, told that a Christian jailer Sethna used to visit him in death cell. "One day, Sethna said I have executed lots of Hurs so far. But I was very much impressed by the valliant Wariyam Khaskheli. Wariyam, son of Bachu Badshah, and Nooro Wasan were asked to appear as prosecution witnesses against Pir Sahib. Nooro thought that perhaps he will save his life by betraying Pir Sahib. When he spoke against the Pir Sahib, he (Pir) stood up and said removing the curtain 'I don't care such evidences'. (Nooro was then hanged to death). Next was the Wariyam, who asked the presiding officer of court that he will record his statement only if the curtain is removed. I removed the curtain after the presiding officer gave nod. Soon as I removed the curtain; Wariyam saluted the Pir Sahib in their traditional style and asked the presiding officer 'I had just come for this. This is my evidence. Now I am prepared to be hanged'. The presiding officer ordered him to be taken away for execution. When he was being taken away, Pir Sahib lowered his head and prayed for him."

When the Pir Sahib was put on galows, the family members were not allowed last meeting with him nor were they permitted to view his corpse, however a few disciples, allegedly in good books with the authorities, were brought to a room where the corpse of martyred Pir

was put at a chair in sitting style, and showed them to assure that their spiritual leader is no more in this world.

Late Syed Hashim Raza also narrated this in an interview. "During my posting as Deputy Commissioner of Tharparkar in 1946, I used to visit Hedged Villages (Concentration Camps). One day during visit to a camp I met a Hur Khalifo who knew much about the Pir Pagaro. On my insistence, that person came to my office where I inquired about the hanging of Pir Pagaro. He told some of Khalifas, including him, were called to a room before sunrise on March 20, 1943 where they saw Pir Sahib lying on a chair, but the Khalifas didn't believe he was dead, as according to their belief the sun wouldn't rise if the Pir Sahib is martyred."

It was widely believed that the British had put the Pir Sahib on gallows in haste many days before it actually was to be carried out. Governor Dow admits this fact in his own letter dated 23rd March 1943 addressed to Viceroy in these words: "Pir Pagaro's trial has been concluded; he has been condemned to death and was executed on 20th March. So far there have been no unfavourable reactions; the public seems to have taken it for granted that Pir ought to be executed, and it was widely believed that the sentence had been carried into effect many days before it actually was." The Viceroy too was surprised over the silence of Hurs. In his letter dated 1st April to Governor Dow, he said: "I am most agreeably surprised at the apparent absence of any reaction that matters to the death of Pir Pagaro. I had always feared that his execution would be followed by local disturbances or by his displays of tense feeling in interested areas in Sindh. But there seems to have been none of that, and your minister Mr. Wadhvani with whom I had a talk a few days ago, told me that even on the morning of the execution there was no sign of any particular excitement."

Syed Shabbir Hussain commenting on execution of hundreds of Hurs and their spiritual leader writes:

“What has been agitating me all these years is that during the same period the Congress indulged in almost same activities. The Congress volunteers did large scale arson, removed rails and damaged the track while raising the slogan of ‘Quit India’. But the British authorities handled the Congress volunteers in a different way; instead of shooting or hanging them, they were let off after brief periods of imprisonment. Their leader Gandhi was confined to jail with utmost regard and respect. Why this difference? Probably because Pir Sibghatullah Shah was a Muslim while Gandhi was a Hindu. Again, one was isolated from the Muslim people and in other parts of the country, while Gandhi had the entire Hindu jati behind him.”

It was a fact that Pir Syed Sibghatullah had been isolated by the British by massive and organized slanderous campaign, with the result that no else but only the Hur militants continued fighting for him and the motherland. Even those, whom the Pir Sahib considered his close and trusted friends including the politicians, betrayed him. Haji Fakir Abdullah Hingoro told that Pir Sahib’s counsel Deel Das (Mal) was a Sufi and disciple of Sufi Saint of Jhok Sharif, district Thatta. “Deel Das while crying told his spiritual leader of Jhok Sharif that the British authorities couldn’t prove the charges against Pir Pagaro but even then hanged him.”

Last days of Pir in Death Cell

Pir Sahib passed his last days of life in death cell with all dignity, and even at the time of execution, which the Viceroy of India Lord Linlithgow himself admitted in the last part of his 1st April letter. He had remarked: "I gather that the Pir behaved with dignity at the time of his execution."

During his confinement in death cell at Hyderabad, Pir Sahib would pray most of the time at night offering prayers, and would sleep in late hours. A British officer, probably Mr. Cooper, used to visit him and played Chess with Pir Sahib and always lost the game. On the night before the Pir was put to gallows; the same officer came intentionally to defeat the Pir Sahib, as he thought the Pir would be under severe stress due to death sentence, and would surely lose the game, but to his utter surprise, Pir Sahib played with complete peace of mind and defeated the officer. "Embracing the martyrdom following the path of truth and righteousness is the tradition of my ancestors; and therefore I will go to the gallows smilingly considering it our religious trait. We are not born to become slaves, and it is the goal of our life to break the chains of slavery," Pir Sahib told the stunned officer.

Muhammad Usman Deeployee too has narrated the account of 19th March night when Pir Sahib played Chess with British officer. He however mentions name of

that officer as Kargil, who was a little bit late.

My friend, why you are late today? Pir Sahib asked smilingly. There was no sign of any tension on his face. Observing his tranquil style, Kargil said: "You are still in a mood to play Chess on the last night of your life?"

"My friend, the life is not trustworthy. And you know every night is considered the last one in the journey, which I have chosen, so it makes no difference if we played the Chess," Pir Sahib replied with same calmness.

They played till midnight. Kargil thought that Pir Sahib's calmness was not the natural, but the way Pir Sahib played and defeated him, negated his opinion.

While leaving, Kargil felt very sad and taking a paper out of his pocket, requested Pir Sahib to sign it if he considered him a friend. Pir Sahib replied looking at the paper: "Keep it in your pocket my friend. The persons seeking mercy cannot launch such movements."

Kargil, not certain about such a peace of mind of Pir Pagaro, didn't leave the jail premises, and returned to watch secretly what Pir Sahib does. He was sure Pir Sahib couldn't sleep in tension, as after few hours, he was to be taken to the gallows, but to his surprise, Pir Sahib offered prayers and slept as usual, and exactly at 4a.m he woke up, took bath, offered prayers and while reciting Quran, the jail staff came to take him, and he left the death cell smilingly for the hanging platform.

Kargil, who watched the Pir Sahib all the time till he embraced martyrdom, felt great respect for him. "My honourable friend, a country that gives birth to such lions, cannot remain a slave for longer time," he said saluting the body of Pir Sahib.

Kargil remembered Pir Sahib's words, which he said during one of his daily sittings: "From the day one, I hated the imperialism that had enslaved us. I had refused to accept your rewards, titles and appreciation letters. I

marched forward slow and steady facing all the hardships, and organized the Ghazi Force. My ultimate goal was 'Freedom or Death' and 'Motherland or Coffin'.

The Khalifas and other selected disciples, who were called to see that their spiritual leader is dead now, didn't believe, as even after death, his face looked as if he was alive. They thought, the Pir Sahib, whose body was put on a chair with his traditional costume of a Pir, was intoxicated by the authorities. For several years, it was generally considered that Pir Sahib had been deported to some African country or at some island.

When, in January, the Pir Sahib was brought from Seoni jail of India to Hyderabad jail, Lambrick, accompanied by his assistant Kargil and some other officers, had come to the death cell where he saw him sitting without any strain and anxiety. Lambrick came close to Pir Sahib expecting that he will rise and shake hand, but Pir Sahib just extended hand sitting at the chair. "Pir Sahib, the visitors are always welcomed," Lambrick said with a smile on his face.

"But you are not the visitor. You are the man who has come to meet and impress a rebellion, confined with deception," Pir Sahib replied.

"Even then you must respect the visitors," Lambrick said.

"It will create a doubt on my being the Hussaini (descendent of Imam Hussain martyred at Karbala) if I developed a slight respect for an imperialist," Pir Sahib replied.

Feeling embarrassed, Lambrick then turned to other topic justifying the British actions but the Pir Sahib negated him with strong arguments. When the Lambrick said lamenting that Hurs derailed Lahore Mail to eliminate Allah Bux Soomro and Nahchaldas but several innocent passengers were killed, Pir Sahib replied in a serious tone: "Mr. Lambrick, your government had launched propa-

ganda to give such a wrong impression through the newspapers, but the fact is that the Hurs didn't intend it."

"Then what they had planned?" asked the Lambrick but didn't like to discuss those matters in presence of other people and changed the topic.

Same night, at around 10, Kargil, the Lambrick's assistant, came alone to see the Pir Sahib. He ordered the guard to unlock the Cell and move away. "Pir Sahib, would you allow me to come in considering me a friend?" Kargil sought permission. Pir Sahib rose smilingly and replied: "Friendship is a far off thing, but I would welcome if you have come with sense of humanity."

After hand shake, Kargil said: "I am anxious to know the actual plan of Hurs behind removing the fish-plates that derailed Lahore Mail."

Pir Sahib smiled: "Yes, derailment was the actual plan, but not for the Lahore Mail."

"Then which one," Kargil said.

"That one which was to transport troops and weaponry to the Makhi area to destroy it, but unfortunately its engine failed and ill-fated Lahore Mail departed earlier than it. The Hurs immediately boarded the train and warned the driver but by then the train had reached at that place," Pir Sahib told.

Kargil was taken aback. "And what about enrolling the Ghazis to wage a war against British?"

"Yes, we did it, and it was not a secret. We openly recruited the Ghazis to fight for the motherland. It was not a band of robbers."

After some time, Pir Sahib said: 'Now leave such serious issues. Do you like playing Chess?'

"Oh, it's my favourite game," he told and then they had been playing the Chess daily till the last night of his life.

But the British authorities under a plan spread rumours of Pir Sahib, the man of strong nerves, that he

might commit suicide after the military court announces its verdict. According to Special Branch record, the directives were issued on 23rd February to spread such rumours. After that, directives were issued on 27th February to deploy three special guards that would be performing round the clock in shifts to ensure that Pir Sahib doesn't commit suicide, and to prevent him in case of doing so. The special guards were Longman, Irvin and Corporal Haig. The plan of spreading such rumours was aimed to terrorise the Hurs by giving impression that their spiritual leader was so afraid that he might commit suicide any-time. The copies of these directives were also sent to Commissioner of Police, Inspector General of Jails, Martial Law Administrator, Brigade- Major of Upper Sindh Force and also to the Lambrick.

Pir Sahib had prohibited smoking for all his disciples but during his confinement at Hyderabad jail, he used to enjoy cigar. When he was taken to the gallows, Pir Sahib laughed and prayed to Allah "O my lord, forgive me for having committed the sin of smoking (Cigar)".

Final resting place of martyred Pir Pagaro remains a mystery

The British authorities were so scared that they didn't dare laying to rest the martyred Pir Pagaro Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II at any place in Sindh. Before the execution, he was asked 'where he wanted to be laid to rest', and his reply was: "At my ancestral graveyard Pir Jo Goth". But the British feared that his grave anywhere in Sindh would turn to be a sacred place for the pilgrimage and keep alive the Hurs to continue fighting the war. Their fear is evident from a telegraphic message of Viceroy of India to the Governor of Sindh on January 15, 1943 (Much before start of the trial). The telegram reads: I have now consulted the ministers on burial at sea. Their opinion is that Muslim sentiments are against it except in case of death at sea. Also, there is danger of disturbances or likelihood of the tomb becoming an object of pilgrimage or veneration if the burial takes place at Hyderabad. I will discuss this further with Richardson, who is coming here on 16th January and will then report final advice."

In the meantime, Governor Dow informed the Viceroy on 23rd February that the military authorities would, in a contingency, arrange for disposal outside Sindh without touching Karachi, and that the religious requirements would be duly observed.

An official confidential report submitted to Viceroy by F. Young, the Commissioner of Police under Mar-

tial Law, about his meeting with Pir Sahib on 18th March, says: "He was very anxious to know what would happen to his body. I assured him that it would be treated with all respect according to Muslim rites. He said that Pir felt he ought to be buried in the Pir's burying place in the Dargah even if some of his Mureeds were against it. He said he could be given a very small tomb and no ceremony, and there was plenty of room."

Colonel, and later Major General, Wasal Muhammad Khan writes in his autobiography, parts of which were published earlier in Sindh Quarterly magazine in 1980, that British considered dead Pir Pagaro more dangerous, and that's why he was buried at an island off Persian Gulf. Governor Dow in a brief letter to Viceroy on 21st November 1942 had suggested burying Pir Pagaro outside Sindh and keeping it secret for a long time and for that purpose a place should be selected where no local person is found.

The Viceroy had told the Governor Dow through telegram on 21st December 1942 that the government was also considering burial of Pir Pagaro somewhere in Madhya Pradesh. The correspondence continued between the Viceroy, Governor Dow and other high officials on the subject discussing different proposals. Viceroy in a letter to Governor Dow on 9th February apprehended if the Sindh ministers too were considering burial of Pir Pagaro. "This would be dangerous, as one of earlier Pagaro was thought to be a martyr and his tomb became the source of disturbances."

In 10th February telegram to the Viceroy the Governor suggested the burial at Jeewani or somewhere else outside Sindh and the former in his reply on 23rd February assured that the military authorities would arrange the burial outside Sindh. "Pir pagaro will not be buried in Karachi," he said.

The burial place of Pir Pagaro remained a secret

for decades. However Dr. H. T. Sorley in his book 'Diversion of Mnemosyne' (Volume: The Web of III Mnemosyne) disclosed that Pir Pagaro was buried at Charan Island, which had been under the British control.

Meanwhile, there were rumours that Pir Sahib was buried in the premises of Hyderabad Central Jail for time being under the supervision of Gen. Richardson, Lambrick and Ridley. All the signs of the grave were erased so that nobody could know about it. The two coats of limestone were put inside the grave. However, the Molsworth writes that the body of Pir Pagaro was shifted at night to the Indus Delta area from where it was sent in a war ship of Indian Royal Navy to far off coastal area of Mekran and then buried at Astola Island observing all Islamic rites. The signs of grave there were also erased. Molsworth quotes Naval Commander's memoirs according to which the wild creatures like snakes and other raptiles were found in abundance at the Island.

The documents pertaining to Pir Pagaro, available at British Library, also contain certain reports about burial of Pir Sahib at Astola Island. A report bearing the date of 23rd August 1943, prepared by Mr. Gilchrist, refers to 19th March 1943 telegram of Viceroy to the Secretary of State, India according to which he directs for burying Pir's body at Astola Island off Mekran Coast falling in the limits of Qalat State. "Only we will be aware of this burial place, and would be able to find it whenever needed."

Syed Shabbir Hussain writes in his autobiography that 'after hanging the Pir Sahib, his body was taken away in an army plane without letting anybody know what was being done with it. However, he refers to an article of his friend journalist Mian Muhammad Shafi, appearing in Urdu daily Nawa-e-Waqt, in which, he thinks, the true position was stated. "Shafi Sahib, who happened to be attached with GHQ at Shimla, somehow got a file of a lame Maj. General Molesworth, who handled the Hur Opera-

tion at GHQ. The file contained the narration of the entire Hur Operation including Pir Sahib's execution after court martial. Shafi says that he also saw a telegram from Maj. General Richardson, which said that while proceeding to the gallows, Pir Sahib bore a smile on his face. According to the file, his body was taken to a small island in Balochistan coast named Astola to be buried there, hidden from everybody's gaze."

Maj. Gen. Wasal Muhammad Khan, in his article (published in Sindh Quarterly 1982) and his autobiography, had also written on burial place of Pir Pagaro, as earlier mentioned, but a researcher Allah Warayo Bihan says Wasal Muhammad Khan had written a letter attached with his article to the ministry of defence, Rawalpindi seeking permission for its publication, but Gen. Rahim, in response, advised him to delete the parts relating to burial place, and after that Wasal Muhammad altered the article and mentioned mere 'an island of Persian Gulf'. The only sentence then appearing in his article was that 'The authorities kept the burial place highly secret as they apprehended that dead Pir would prove to be more dangerous than a live Pir. The burial place was also kept secret from me however I somehow managed to get a copy of memory sketch of burial place with the help of my section.'

A person of Hur community, who didn't want to be identified for being in government job, told that in 1980s, he had visited the village of Wasal Muhammad Khan and urged him to give details of actual burial place of Pir Sahib along with the map of that place he had, but he refused saying 'I will not, unless the GHQ allows'.

Late Syed Hashim Raza also told in an interview that according to his knowledge, Pir Sahib's body was secretly buried at an island near Balochistan about 40 miles from Karachi.

A researcher Gul Hassan Kalmati in his travelogue 'Kech Mekran Danh Safar' (A journey to Kech Mekran)

published in weekly magazine of Sindhi daily Kawish in 2014, writes that he visited Hipat Talar Island where the local fishermen took him to a heap of stones, which is said to be a grave. According to local people that grave dates back to the last period of British rule, and is said to be of a Saint hailing from Sindh. According to Kalmati's view, it might be the resting place of Pir Pagaro Surhia Badshah.

Another writer Nawaz Kunbhar's article, published in daily Kawish on 12th February 2014 discloses that Surhia Badshah was buried at 'Dajar Island' located three to four kilometers off Mekran Coast. The writer narrated his brief chat with Pir Ali Gohar Shah, the younger brother of present Pir Pagaro VIII Pir Syed Sibhatullah Shah-III at Choondko area of Khairpur district in January that year, and quoted him as saying that he had obtained a file from the British record in 1992 according to which their grand father Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II was buried at Dajar Island. Pir Ali Gohar had handed that file over to his father Pir Pagaro VII Shah Mardan Shah. The writer told Pir Ali Gohar about his visit to Astola Island, but he rejected that Surhia Badshah was buried there.

But few years back, a new research appeared with a different idea about the final resting place of Surhia Badshah. Researcher Nisar Shaikh in his article published by a Sindhi language fortnightly magazine 'Affair' claimed that Pir Sahib was laid to rest in Karachi. According to him the burial place is located at 'Kidney Hill', which currently is in the midst of city but at the time of burial, it was a deserted area far from the city. This area is close to Kingri House, the residence of Late Pir Pagaro-VII. "A shrine of a Saint known as 'Bismillah Shah Shaheed' exists at Kidney Hill, which most probably is the shrine of Surhia Badshah Pir Sibghatullah Shah-II," he claims citing the evidence in its support that late Pir Nadir Ali Shah, the younger son of Surhia Badshah, was the

caretaker of shrine, who carried out construction work at the shrine. The electricity bill also bears Pir Nadir Shah's name while his family continues taking care of the shrine. All the men working at the shrine are under them, and the locks of a box put there for the donations, are opened only after Ali Akbar Shah, the grand son of Pir Nadir, permits. Some persons who served at the shrine are Ghaloo Larik of Pir Jo Goth (He served for years), Nangar Fakir Barecho of Jhangara Bajara, Sehwan spent 25 years of his life at the shrine from 1965 to 2001 and after him his son Ali Nawaz Barecho took over responsibilities of his father and continues taking care of shrine till date. "Some family members of Pir Nadir and other senior Hurs used to visit the shrine for laying floral wreath," Nisar Shaikh said.

The researcher says Surhia Badshah was buried in the premises of Hyderabad jail after the execution, but after two days, his body was exhumed and shifted to Karachi for burial at Kidney Hill. He also raised a question about the Pir's dress, which he wore at the jail or at the time of arrest.

The author of this book, accompanied by Nisar Shaikh, visited the shrine to further get the details. The shrine is located at a hill called the 'Kidney Hill' with a 4ft high boundary wall. Some huts are built inside the premises, which is spread over two acres of land. In the rear, at one side of the shrine, a small shed with two steps is built. An Alam (A big wooden pole with a flag on its top) also could be seen erected behind the shrine. The Muhammad Ali Housing Society, located at the bottom in the east could be viewed from the hill. The shrine area is surrounded by a jungle over a vast area, which initially was owned by Federal government after inception of Pakistan, and later transferred to Karachi Metropolitan Corporation. The Overseas Pakistanis Foundation then claimed the land for launching the housing project but it was challenged in the court.

According to Nisar Shaikh, the Kidney Hill area fell in the limits of British cantonment and several Baloch insurgents were executed there by the imperialist forces.

A board inscribed with 'Dargah-e-Aalia Hazrat Syed Bismillah Shah Ghazi Shaheed' in Urdu hangs at the door of the shrine, which is in dilapidated condition, as its wooden tomb collapsed in heavy rains a couple of years back. No other board with history and background of the Saint buried there could be found here unlike other shrines. However, there are unconfirmed reports that a plaque used to be there, but was taken away in early 1950s by Pir Sikanadar Shah Alias Shah Mardan Shah Pir Pagaro VII. Nisar Shaikh himself once saw a piece of stone inscribed with a word 'Pir' but that stone too was now missing.

Late Pir Pagaro Shah Mardan Shah used to visit the shrine, offer prayers and lay floral wreath at the night time. His son, present Pir Pagaro VIII too used to visit the shrine before and after his installation as Pir Pagaro.

The men assigned to serve at the shrine are strictly prohibited from disclosing the fact that this was the final resting place of Surhia Badshah Shaheed Pir Sibghatullah Shah Rashdi-II. The Khalifas and other Hur Fakirs visiting the shrine were too overheard saying that they are bound by the orders not to disclose the fact. Nisar Shaikh claims he had written letters to the Late Pir Pagaro and former President Gen. Musharraf for declaring officially that this shrine was in fact the resting place of Surhia Badshah. He said there is no harm in it, as the Sindh Assembly, which had passed infamous Hur Act in 1942, had now declared the 20th March as public holiday to pay homage to Surhia Badshah during the PPP government a few years back. (The photographs of shrine and surroundings and electricity bill bearing the name of Pir Nadir Shah annexed).

British not yet out of woods

The Hur militants had continued their guerrilla acts during the martial law in Sindh and gave tough time to the British authorities. The authorities thought that the Hurs would end their activities after hanging of their spiritual leader, but their assessment proved wrong. For time being they might have slowed down the activities to reorganize themselves with new strategy, and also because a large number of their militants were either martyred or arrested and hanged. The general masses of Sindh also didn't support them being afraid of the barbaric actions of imperialist forces. The British authorities were happy to note that there was no reaction by the Hurs on the execution of their spiritual leader, as they received reports from district administration but in the meantime they got alarmed on receiving information from Pir of Bharchundi that Hurs were assembling in large number in Jaisalmir area. The other informers had reports that the Hurs were planning an attack on Rohri town, but the government didn't believe such reports. Governor Dow in a letter dated 7th February 1943 addressed to Viceroy Lord Linlithgow commented that 'this is unlikely to be true'.

Earlier, in his 1st April letter to the Dow, the Viceroy had said: "I am most agreeably surprised at apparent absence of reaction that matters to the death of Pir Pagaro. I had always rather feared that his execution would be followed by local disturbances." But his fears vanished when he was reported that the Hur resistance is definitely bro-

ken, and the program for the recall of remaining troops is being accelerated. In July 1943 he was informed about arrest of Hur absconder Mattu Khaskheli from the Makhi area. In August it was reported to him that Sindh Police Rifles was being raised to replace the troops.

And after few months, the Dow admitted that the Hur rebellion had not ended with execution of Pir Sahib. "The murder of Ali Muhammad Mahar (A zamindar who helped the British against Hurs) is a serious Hur outrage of the usual kind, and shows that we are not yet out of the wood. I understand that Lambrick has cancelled the bailbonds of some forty Hurs who had been released recently and recommitted them to jail, but none of the actual gangs has been traced," he writes on 6th October to the Viceroy.

On 16th November a patrolling party of Sindh Police Rifles encountered with 18 Hur guerrillas in the desert area east of Nara. Most of the Hurs were armed with guns or rifles. The fire was opened by both sides and continued for sometime. Four Hurs martyred in the encounter while the rest escaped using the guerrilla war tactics in the desert. The Hur leader Ali Sher was found to have received ten bullet wounds in a duel with a Lance Naik before he was killed by shot through the head. Just before the encounter, the police had found the body of an informer lying in the desert who had been murdered by the Hurs. A government report says that two or three gangs of Hur absconders were still in existence and several offences were recently committed by them.

When the Lord Wavell replaced the Lord Linlithgow, Governor Dow reported him on 19th April 1944 that serious Hur outrages were taking place. Referring to a report from the administration, he said it may be a long time before the few remaining 'desperadoes' are rounded up, during which time these occasional murders will take place. "The motive in all these murders is revenge on those who gave help to the authorities. The question of

giving them adequate protection is one of great difficulties, since the past experience shows that the murderers are prepared to wait even for years to catch their victim unprepared. They are desperate men who know that capture means hanging, and are fanatics careless of their lives in the sure help of paradise," he remarks.

Dow further comments: "The difficulties of hunting them down lie mainly in the nature of the country aided by their highly efficient intelligence system." informing the Viceroy about his discussion with Lambrick and General Hind about the situation, he said: "We are in agreement that the troops should be called as soon as possible. Gen. Hind has also agreed to postpone for a few months the impending transfer of the battalion from Hyderabad to Malir."

On 27th April 1944, the Viceroy showed concern on the Hur outrages in a letter to the Dow. "I agree that it may be some time before all the culprits are rounded up, but one could hardly expect that activities of the Hurs would be entirely closed down after long period of suppression they have been through," he commented.

In his subsequent letter dated 16th May to Governor Dow, the Viceroy noted that 'the Hurs seem to be a menace still'. In order to raise morale of baffled Sindh Police, the Viceroy and his Home Department suggested Governor Dow to increase the pay of police as has been proposed by Punjab.

As the Hur militants continued attacks to eliminate those who supported British against them, the British Government wanted to send the troops again to Sindh however Governor Dow opposed the idea of Lord Wavell. "We must expect these occasional attacks on those who have aided us, and it is impossible, given the nature of those whom we have to protect, to afford complete protection. Revenge and subsistence are the motives, which have led to all recent attacks by small Hur bands, and there is

no reason to apprehend a recurrence of trouble on any considerable scale,” Dow writes to Viceroy on 19th May, but not satisfied with Dow’s brief remarks, he directed him to send a detailed report on the situation saying that government will not take any risk. The Viceroy, also not happy over the disappointment of Sindh ministers, wrote to Dow on 15th September: “The problem certainly appears to be long term one, but I can understand the disappointment of your ministers at not having solved it after a year of martial law.”

The correspondence between Sindh government officers and the Indian government proves continuation of Hur insurgency even in 1945. In a report on law and order dated 20th September, G. W. McElhinny writes to Richard Tottenham that Sindh Police Rifles lost two men on 13th September. Miro Nizamani, a Hur outlaw with a price of Rs.6000 on his head, was located with two companions in a garden near Matli in Hyderabad district. A force of two platoons of Sindh Police Rifles under Captain Azamatullah was promptly dispatched from Hyderabad and arrived on the scene at 7.30p.m. One of the three Hurs was killed in the first encounter, but the other two took up a very strong position in a disused watercourse overgrown with jungle, where they held out until dark and then managed to escape during night, taking with them not only the gun of their dead comrade but also the stengun and rifle of two dead members of Sindh Police Rifles. The dead Hur proved to be Haji Gado, for whom a reward of Rs.1000 had been offered.

In the meantime, the Governor Dow approached Indian government for promulgation of an Ordinance seeking powers to detain any person to suppress the uprising. It also transpired that his own ministers were not happy with his decisions and the actions. In response to Dow’s letter seeking promulgation of such Ordinance, the Viceroy clearly stated on 25th September 1945 that Ordi-

nance 111 of 1944 cannot be enforced indefinitely, and if any province needs special powers of detention and restriction, there must be provincial legislation.

Governor Dow again on 10th October informed the Viceroy that the repeal of such ordinance was a problem with regard to Hur detenus. He first time admitted in his letter that the number of Hur militants operating still was 2000. He however said: "These two thousand desperadoes cannot be at once let loose to terrorise the countryside and some temporary measure to legalize their continued detention must be advised. I am in correspondence with Menon and the Home Department about this, and hope that they will soon pass on to me your decision. I have little doubt that I shall be able to carry my ministers with me in any measures, which are necessary."

The British government now started considering some other measures besides use of force to suppress the Hur uprising. Governor Dow proposed the Indian government of settlement of ex-servicemen in the Hur-dominated areas, especially in Makhi Dhand area of Sanghar. The Viceroy informed him on 11th October that an engineer officer of the Indian Army is being sent to make a preliminary reconnaissance after which there will be no avoidable delay.

While the British were preparing to clear the jungles of the Makhi Dhand to get this area ready for colonization of retired army personnel, and for that they sought the help of army engineers equipped with bulldozers, a group of Hur militants led by Rahim Hingoro launched attacks on the government installations including a train (in Bahawalpur area) and killing the personnel of British as well as Khairpur State police.

A government report dated 18th October 1945 says: "There has been some Hur activity on the Khairpur border recently. On the night of October 01 at Othlahu in Khairpur, about 12 miles from Sindh border, the Hingoro gang kidnapped and murdered a man who had helped the

Khairpur military police. After killing him, the Hurs retired as usual towards the Makhi Dhand, pursued by the Khairpur military police. On reaching a favourable place within British territory, they laid an ambush, killed a police Sepoy who was in advance of the main body and escaped, abandoning two horses but taking with them the dead Sepoy's rifle, ammunition and sword.

The British forces couldn't arrest Rahim Hingoro, known as Rahim Badshah, and who was the undisputed head of the Hur militants through the last couple of years of British rule that ended in 1947. "Even for a while afterwards a few of the Hur outlaws still kept the field and disturbed the region with violent crimes from time to time. Undisputed head of the Fakirs all through these years was Rahim Badshah," Lambrick writes in the end of his book adding that early in 1948 he (Rahim Badshah) reappeared at the head of a strong gang to raid two villages in Mirpur Khas district, massacring twenty two people including two policemen in the first of these; and in the other, which was completely looted, nineteen men and women, whose bodies were then burned.

The Rahim Badshah was arrested in 1952 when Pir Sikandar Shah Alias Shah Mardan Shah, the elder son of Surhia Badshah, was installed as Pir Pagaro VII.

"The circumstances of Rahim's eventual capture resemble curiously the closing stages of the first Hur rising in 1896," Lambrick writes quoting a report appearing in the Karachi's English newspaper 'Dawn' of 22nd October 1952, which was released by official news agency Associated Press of Pakistan: – 'Three other members of Rahim's gang had surrendered on 21st October on a personal appeal sent by Pir Pagaro through one of his Khalifa. The Sindh I. G. of Police Shareef Khan on information about Rahim's hiding in village Bakhoro had ordered a strict police cordon of the whole area. The bearded 38-year Rahim was sleeping in a small hut in the outskirts of the village when the police

raided the hut. Two revolvers and a large number of cartridges were recovered from Rahim. A large number of rifles and a large quantity of ammunition were reported to have been recovered from the possession of his associates who were arrested from a nearby hut. Rahim, who is reputed to be the son of an Amil Hindu, recently escaped the net of the Sindh Police when one of the biggest manhunt was launched by the provincial government. Rahim, apart from the price of Rs.25000 also carried a reward of 25 acres of land. Recent reports from Khairpur said that Rahim had committed a number of dacies in the State and had later re-entered Sindh. Rahim was the only proclaimed outlaw who was still absconding and had been committing murders, loot and cases of kidnapping for over a decade. He had been described as the virtual ruler of the Makhi Dhand area of Sindh where even the land revenue couldn't be collected by the government. He is reported to have imposed his own taxes and death was the penalty of those who defied him. According to reliable information, Rahim has committed nearly 200 murders, over 1000 dacoities, nearly 100 cases of kidnapping and loss of lacs of rupees to the crops which were burnt down."

Lambrick says 'this notorious desperado' was duly tried for murder, convicted, and sentenced to death. "About eighteen months after being captured he was awaiting execution in Hyderabad Central Jail. For what followed, I quote again from the press, this time from the London 'Sunday Times' of 11th April 1954," he says.

RAID ON GOAL LED BY OUTLAW WIFE THREE HOUR BATTLE

Karachi, Sunday

Led by a woman, 100 desert raiders of the outlawed Hur tribe attacked the prison at Hyderabad, Sindh early today in a vain attempt to rescue the woman's husband Mohammad Rahim Hingoro, who is under sentence of death for two murders. Shoots were exchanged for three hours. Hingoro climbed a wall by means of a rope which had been left for him – only to be badly shocked by an electrified wire at the top of the wall. He hid in the prison but was recaptured. (Associated Press)

End of uprising

The year of 1952 witnessed the climax of Hur Guerrilla War as the Pakistan Government restored the Gadi of Pir Pagaro and installed Syed Sikandar Ali Shah Alias Shah Mardan Shah-II as Pir Pagaro VII. Prior to this, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan had visited the England and met the Sikandar Shah and Nadir Shah, two sons of Surhia Badshah, and later they were brought back home.

Sabhago Khaskheli, resident of village Bachal Wasan, district Sanghar, one of the last warriors interviewed at the age of 95, recalling those days, told: "Spiritual seat was restored on 04th February 1953 and Pir Shah Mardan Shah-II issued orders to all the Hurs to come out of hide-outs and see him at Pir Jo Goth. I was one of the fighters to surrender with arms to the government on the advice of spiritual leader. The government then released all the Hurs through a 'fair trial'."

Part Six

British atrocities

The history of British atrocities against the Hur community is as old as the conquest of Sindh by the former in 1843. As the Hurs were the only community considered to be a big threat to the colonial rule, the British started intimidating and victimizing them on one or the other pretext since beginning. And when the community people retaliated, the British authorities launched massive operation against them setting ablaze their homes, villages, crops and impounding the livestock, which was the only source of their livelihood. Since the Hur community people lived in small villages scattered in the area, they were made to abandon their ancestral villages and shift to bigger villages so that they could be put under strict vigil. The barbaric actions started especially when Lucas was posted as Collector of the Thar & Parkar district in 1895. Not only the villages were set on fire, but the Lucas ordered the people not to graze the cattle in Makhi Dhand area. The British deployed two battalions of military in Sanghar and Tharparkar areas, which didn't spare even the non-Hur population. It was the period when Bachu Badshah and Piru Vizier had waged war against alien rulers.

According to researchers, the merciless British military, led by Lucas, let the women and children burn alive in the homes during the operation and sprayed bullets on them when they tried to save their life. In one instance, when the villagers saw the military heading to their village, they took their women and children to escape

to the jungle. The military set ablaze the entire village reducing it to ashes along with cattle and grain. Some of the Sepoys chased the villagers who took refuge in jungle. A scared child was crying and since his mother feared to be caught by the military, she put a piece of cloth in the child's mouth. After sometime when she took the cloth out, the child had expired.

In another instance, the military besieged the Bhongar Marri village of Sanghar where they shot Bachu Marri, a lame person, in his leg, and then put him on a heap of firewood and set him on fire to die.

Another village – Kadero Wasan burnt by the military belonged to Syed Peeral Shah, Syed Muhsin Shah and Syed Imam Bux Shah (Uncle of Syed Mureed Shah who during the last phase of Hur Movement took part in killing Khairpur police Nazim Ghulam Rasool Shah, and was later arrested and hanged in Sukkur jail). When the village was set on fire, no male member of Syed family was present there. The women and the children couldn't escape and died. In all nine persons burnt alive including wives of Syed Ali Shah, Syed Muhsin Shah, Syed Peeral Shah, mother of Syed Pinjal Shah and children, according to Syed Imam Bux Shah, son of Syed Muhsin Shah, who expired at the age of 110 years.

One Ameer Fakir Wasan used to live in his home at some distance south of Kadero Wasan village. The military surrounded the house after a few days and put the house on fire when only the female members and a lame person Misri were there. The panicked women and children rushed out of home but the lame person's life was saved by a person of Raotiani village, who in fact was the informer of military. The military officer and Sepoys then mounted on horses and left the area laughing at the helpless women and children.

The British forces also reduced to ashes entire villages of Chotiyrion Sharif, Wadhan Jo Goth of Abupota

clan, Khehor Goth of Bhanbhro community located at Mirpur Khas Road, houses of Auladi Fakir Mughripoto near Raotiani, Bharri village and several other villages. When the Wadhan Jo Goth was set ablaze, a woman was coming back after buying ration from Sanghar. When she saw flames, she rushed to village where the villagers were crying looking at their abodes reducing to ashes. The woman ran to her family members putting the ration at one side but the military burnt that ration too.

There are hundreds of stories of British tyranny perpetrated on Hur and non-Hur communities during 107 years of their rule in Sindh, which they had turned into battlefield.

“The Hurs had staged peaceful demonstrations when the British took Pir Sibghatullah Shah-II to Karachi and formally arrested him. But since the foreign rulers wanted to crush the ‘Hur Jama’at’, they launched opperressive actions against them and in result the entire area from Sukkur to Sanghar, Saeedabad to Khadro, Hat-hoongo to Shahdadpur and from Jaisalmir to Chotiyarion turned into battlefield,” Wali Dad Wali, who served in British Army, writes in his memoirs. “On one hand, the British Army set ablaze the villages of Hur community and shot dead scores of innocent people, and on the other, the Hurs, in retaliation, eliminated the informers of government, derailed the trains and set ablaze police and military vehicles plunging them in trenches dug especially for the purpose under guerrilla war tactics,” he recalls.

Wali Dad Wali, who joined Sindh Police Rangers (Rifles) as Quarter Master in May 1942, writes that this paramilitary force, headed by Commanding Officer Col. H. P. Thomas, was raised to crush the Hurs. “Thousands of men from Brohi, Baloch and other tribes were recruited from Jacobabad, Gandawa, Noshki and Hazara. They were imparted extensive training for three months how to fight in desert, hilly areas and jungles.”

“The new force was dispatched to Sinjhor in July where the Punjab Regiment was already stationed. The military and policemen were seen everywhere in the town. I met a shopkeeper Muhammad Salih, who told that police have made miserable the life of innocent people, as they declare any person as ‘Hur’, who does not bribe them, and by this act a large number of non-Hur people have been arrested,” he writes.

“On 25th July, two peasants were arrested and sentenced to three year imprisonment without trial by court martial on a fake complaint of robbery by a Hindu. The fact was that the Hindu, doing the business of moneylending, had demanded returning full amount (Rs.200) they owed to him, but since they were poor and couldn’t pay, he lodged fake complaint of robbery at Company Commander’s office.

At least two to four military courts, consisting of four Army officers, were established in each taluka, where all kinds of cases including that of theft were tried with no right of engaging any defence counsel, and calling the defence witness.

“On 4th January 1943, we were ordered to proceed to Makhi forest. When we took a road leading to Sanghar from Shahdadpur, we saw the horrifying scenes of destruction – the burnt villages, trees and the crops reduced to ashes. No person could be seen anywhere. All the area gave a desert look,” Wali Dad says.

Writing about his memoirs about a concentration camp in Jhol, he says: “The camp with barbed wires all around it existed near Military’s Motor Transport Workshop. The old and young women, children were lodged in the camp guarded by the Pathan Sepoys. The women told me that the British Army destroyed their villages, killed and arrested their men and confined the women and children in this camp.” “I myself saw four Pathan Sepoys abusing and hitting ten young women who were going to

bring water from a nearby pond. Some of the women looked hailing from well off families from the clothes they wore.”

A Zamindar of Tharparkar was also lodged in a small room near the post office. “I am disciple of Pir Sahib but am not indulged in any violence, but even then they have lodged me here,” he told Wali Dad.

“I then visited the Gurang bungalow near Sanghar, where the entire residential buildings were destroyed in bombardment. The forces had also set all the buildings on fire.”

Wali Dad Wali gave details of British force used in operation against the Hurs as under:

Airforce: 12 Squadron, 24 planes, 150 men

Infantry: 3 Divisions, 60, 000 Sepoys. Headquarter Hyderabad and Sukkur

Motor Transport Section: 600 Vehicles. Headquarter Shahdadpur and Ketī.

Horse and Camel-mounted Army: 2400. Headquarter Jamrao Head and Hathongo

Retired Major General Wasal Muhammad Khan, who was posted as senior Intelligence Officer of the force in Sindh in June 1942, in his articles published in Sindh Quarterly and in his autobiography states that their General Officer Commanding was F. S. Young, who was notorious criminal of England, and the British government had failed to arrest him. He was granted amnesty by the King Emperor on the condition that he would help the government crush the ‘dacoits’ in India.

“First time, the British Army used the parachuters in subcontinent by sending Gurkha battalion to the Makhi Dhand area to destroy the hideouts of Hurs. In the meantime, Kohat Brigade set the villages and houses falling on the way on fire. This created panic among the people while the Hurs launched attacks on villages to eliminate the informers. The Hurs termed those people ‘traitors’.

In the meantime, British airforce launched air attacks on villages with fire bombs and sprayed bullets with machine guns on the Hurs found anywhere in open area. The people wandering for water from one well to other were also targeted by the machine guns. It was the same time when Hyderabad Brigade was ordered to destroy Pir Kot in Pir Jo Goth to create panic.

“The actions were taken under a well-planned strategy aimed to defame the Pir with propaganda; infuriate the Ghazis to come out of hideouts and take revenge by launching retaliatory actions, and the British forces could eliminate them,” Wasal Muhammad Khan writes.

“There were a mosque and seminary inside the Pir Kot, therefore some portion of palace was demolished first with the help of labourers to avoid any damage to the mosque, and then the palace was blown up with dynamites,” he says.

Fakir Muhammad Suleman Wasan of village Bachal Wasan, near Sanghar, also recalled the British atrocities in an interview. “Thousands of Dogras, Gurkhas, Sikhs and Pathans were deployed in Sanghar district, especially in Makhi Forest area and around Gurang bungalow. They set ablaze entire villages, arrested and killed innocent villagers who took refuge in jungle due to panic created by the forces. They even burnt the grain stocks of villagers and took away the Jand (stone-made traditional wheat grinding apparatus) so that the villagers couldn’t use them. In certain cases the Jands were thrown in the wells. When the British forces set our village on fire, a villager tried to save a wheat bag but the Sepoys snatched and threw it in the fire. As the villagers had no food left to eat, we used to collect burnt grain and put it in water making it eatable.”

Concentration Camps and Deportation

Despite imposition of martial law, mass arrests, killings, destruction of villages and a well-hatched conspiracy of disturbing demographic composition of the area by colonization of Bugti tribesmen of Balochistan, Punjabis, Pathans and retired military personnel, granting them thousands of acres of agriculture land in Sanghar and adjoining areas, and clearing a vast area of Makhi forest in a bid to make it unable for Hur militants to use as their hide-out, the British failed to suppress the Hur uprising. The then acting Deputy Commissioner Sardar Muhammad Yaqoob, an ill-natured and venomous person from Delhi, whose ancestors are said to be Jews and later converted to Islam, in a report to the Commissioner of Sindh on September 30, 1896 suggested inhuman actions against Hur community including establishing Concentration Camps generally known as 'Lorrha', the Hedged Villages, deporting the Hurs to remote Indian states and lodging them in concentration camps there. The term *concentration camp* refers to a camp in which people are detained or confined, usually under harsh conditions and without regard to legal norms of arrest and imprisonment that are acceptable in a constitutional democracy. One can have the idea what the Concentration Camp was from the following piece of the Lambrick's novel 'The Terrorist' and from account of those who passed long miserable years in those camps:

Saeen Rakhio, the main character of novel says: "It was a village called 'Bhiri', about six miles from Sanghar, and there was I born, within tall thorn hedge where policemen stood at the gate; so it is nothing strange that I should die inside a jail. You must have heard how at these places the inmates had to answer their names to the police at roll-call every morning and evening; in the daytime the men were allowed to go out on their work but at night all had to remain inside and the womenfolk might not go beyond the hedge even by day except at harvest time. Then indeed most of them and the children could go with the men for reaping the autumn crops round about Sanghar and along Dim canal, and in the spring season into Makhi, where many of us Hurs had ancient rights to cultivate, though the majority depended on grazing cattle there."

Saeen Rakhio mentions the deputy (Sardar Yaqoob) of Lucas (Commissioner of Sindh) during whose period the hedged villages were established on his recommendations.

Sindhi book 'Azadi Ja Aseer', published by Roza Dhani Chair of Shah Abdul Latif University Khairpur, which is in fact a list of 5525 Hur community people, male and female, lodged in two hedged villages in Nawabshah and Khipro, describes the concentration camps as 'a jail spread over 16 acres of land with eight feet high hedge around it and 50ft high watch towers at the four corners where the policement were deployed round the clock to keep check on movement of confined people. Each camp had a big wooden gate with iron bars and it was guarded by armed policemen. The office and the residential quarters for the officials were built outside the camp. All the inmates had to gather at the ground near the gate inside the camp at the dawn and dusk for roll call. Each of the inmate had to tie a badge on his/her arm inscribed with his/her and father's/husband's name. The gate would open in the morning only after the roll-call.

Initially, the womenfolk were also to appear for the roll-call but later as a result of protest they were exempted of appearance. The male inmates were allowed to go outside the camp for earning livelihood within five-mile periphery and fines and other punishments were imposed on them in case of violation. The camp administration, consisting of a Head Munishi of Revenue Department and police personnel, was not responsible for provision of food and medical facility to the inmates and often they had to starve. Several inmates including men, women and children died due to spread of diseases and starvation. The camp in-charge and policemen always forced the inmates to pay certain amount out of their daily earnings. No inmate was allowed to keep camel or horse and only donkeys were allowed for transportation.

Fakir Muhammad Suleman Wasan, who spent several years of his life in concentration camps of Wango and Gihlpur (Where the policeline exists now in Sanghar Town), told in an interview that a large number of men, women and children were lodged in the camp along with livestock. The ration, they provided, was substandard or poisonous, which caused outbreak of stomach diseases resulting in death of many villagers in a single day. "It was a normal day when less than ten villagers expired in the camp. We used to spend whole day digging the graves and burying the dead. One day we counted 32 deaths and it was difficult for us to dig such a large number of graves for burial. Not a single day ever dawned with wailing of women and children on death of their dear ones. We felt tired of burials but the Dogra Sepoys would abuse and hit us with kicks and clubs to dig the graves and bury the dead."

In his report mentioned above, justifying the establishment of concentration camps, Sardar Yaqoob writes: "Colonization of retired army personnel and other outsiders will not deliver anything. The only solution to the

problem could be compelling the Pir Pagara to order his disciples stop the activities. Moreover, since the Hur community is not in possession of agriculture land and their only source of livelihood is livestock, they should be crushed economically.”

He suggested the British authorities of deporting the Hur families, men, women and children, on massive scale to Punjab, NWFP (Khyber Pakhtoonkhaw) and remote Indian territories. “They should be kept in concentration camps there besides establishing such camps in Sindh. Rest of the people of Hur community should be ordered to live near the police stations and appear daily at the police stations,” he had suggested.

According to him the Pir Pagaro had two hundred thousands disciples in six districts of Sindh that included 70, 000 in Tharparkar, 2000 in Jacobabad, 1000 in Karachi, 17000 in Khairpur state, 75000 in Hyderabad and 25000 in Shikarpur. He thought that 5453 disciples were actively engaged in insurgency and were a big threat to British authority. As per his proposal, the Hur community people including men and women were to be put into concentration camps. Their numbers were as follows:

A total of 3513 men and women hailing from Taluka Sanghar, Khipro, Shahdadpur and Makhi area; 1366 men and women of Taluka Hala, Tando Allahyar, Sakrand, Mirpur Khas, Umarnot, Moro, Naushehro Feroze and Kandiyari; 40 men and women from Tharparkar; 75 men and women from Shikarpur; 20 from Jacobabad and 400 men and women from Khairpur state. No disciple from Karachi was put in concentration camps.

Sardar Yaqoob recommended enforcement of Article 2 of Criminal Tribes Act xxvii of 1871 with addition of certain clauses from Punjab Murderous Outrages Act xxiii 1867.

In his letter, Sardar Yaqoob suggested the British to promulgate Criminal Tribes Act for action against Hurs

settled in eleven Talukas of Tharparkar and Hyderabad districts. According to the data provided by him, the total number of male adults of Hur community in the two districts was 4879.

Sardar . Yaqoob proposed three concentration camps to be established in Sanghar Taluka – one each at Sanghar, Jhol and Bhiri; two concentration camps at Khipro and one in the limits of Khhaan police station for the Hur community of Mirpur Khas. He identified these locations for concentration camps in view of police stations as well as check posts already existing there with availability of sufficient police force. According to him 1060 male and 883 female members of Hur community belonging to Keerio, Bihan, Wasan, Rajar, Hingoro, Mochi, Junejo, Kori, Khaskheli, Chaang, Sanjrani, Gaho, Nizamani, Jokhia and Saand castes would be lodged at three concentration camps of Sanghar Taluka. For two concentration camps of Khipro Taluka, he proposed 369 male and 307 female members of Mangrio, Hingorjo, Bihan, Rajar, Hingora, Gujo, Kori, Sameja, Pahorr, Junejo, Keerio and some other castes. Since there were a few Hur families (13 adults and 9 children) in Umarmkot Taluka, all peasants, belonging to Mangrio, Bhanbhro, Rajar and Syed communities, he suggested to keep them at nearest concentration camp in Khipro Taluka. He identified 15 families of Mahar, Bihan and Junejo consisting of 28 male and 22 female members, of them 12 landholders, who were to be lodged at concentration camp to be established in the limits of Khhaan police station.

Four concentration camps were suggested for Hyderabad district, one at Shahdadpur, four in Sakrand Taluka, where Jalalani or Sakrand camp was the biggest one. Seven villages of Hur community people were identified in Hala Taluka, which were considered as dangerous, as a Hur warrior Wasand Kazak hailed from one of these villages, and thus a concentration camp and a police station

was suggested for them at Chharao. The Hurs residing in Chharao were found involved in derailing Lahore Express in 1942 during last phase of Hur guerrilla war.

For the Hur community people of Naushehro Feroze, mainly of Dahri caste, totaling 181 male and 135 female members, a concentration camp was proposed at Misir Ji Warri. Another camp for 220 male and 188 female members of Dahri, Khaskheli, Lohar (blacksmith), Hajam (Barbars), Keerio and Parhyar castes, was to be setup at Saawri village in riverine area of Moro town. The 15 male and 12 female members of Hur community people of Rajpar and Lohar castes from Kandiaro were to be shifted to

‘Misir Ji Waari’ camp of Naushehro Feroze. The reason for establishing concentration camps in Moro and Naushehro Feroze was the desert area of 30 mile distance between Sakrand and Moro, which according to Sardar Yaqoob, could be used by the Hurs as hiding place after committing ‘crimes’ in Sanghar and Sakrand areas.

The Newzealand-based Sindhi researcher Prof. Umar Chand in his book mentions setting up of firstever hedged village or concentration camp at ‘Janib Dhoro’ in 1895. The other concentration camps were established later, as according to correspondence between the officials of Sindh and the Bombay Government, Sardar Yaqoob submitted his detailed report to the Commissioner of Sindh on September 30, 1898 and after two months on November 23, 1898, the same report was forwarded to the Governor and President in Council, Bombay (Some researchers mention Lord Willingdon’s name as Governor of Bombay, which is incorrect, as Lord Sandhurst William Mansfield held this office from 1895 to 1900), by Robert Giles, the acting Commissioner of Sindh in place of Sir H. M. James who earlier on June 07, 1896 in a letter to the Bombay government had opposed imposing the Criminal Tribes Act on Hurs. “The Criminal Tribes Act contained no section under which, it could be extended to Sindh

nor would it suit the case for the Hurs as they are not the ordinary criminals. They differ from ordinary classes of criminals of India," he stated describing the Hurs as having a strong religious fanatic element in their character, and recalling their history compared them with rebellious Irish peasants who were protected by whole community in case of assassination of an unpopular landlord. However Robert Giles' in his memorandum number 2834 recommended imposition of Criminal Tribes Act 1871 but explained the reasons why it was not appropriate to deport Hurs outside Sindh. As per order number 2536 and 2537, dated May 25, 1899, issued by Governor from Bombay, the Criminal Tribes Act was enforced in Sindh to punish the Hurs for rebellion. The inhuman law was executed in eleven Talukas of Sindh, where according to Sardar Yaqoob's report there were 151 villages of Hurs, not very distant from vast jungles. He did not include certain areas of Shikarpur, Hyderabad and Tharparkar for enforcement of Criminal Tribes Act, as according to him there were hardly 36 male and 38 female adult Hurs in Rohri and Larkana while 40 adult Hurs were surveyed in Tando Bago Taluka of Hyderabad. A small village named 'Bhagi Sar' existed in Chhachhro Taluka where the Hurs of Halepota clan used to live. Being in small numbers and peasants by profession, they were easy to be controlled by police.

By the April 1900, the law was enacted to setup concentration camps to lodge entire Hur community in 15 such camps of which six were in Tharparkar district including Mirpur Khas, Sanghar, Jhol, Khipro, Shahdadpur and nine in Hyderabad district including Nawabshah, Sakrand, Hala, Moro and Naushehro Feroze. The total number of adult inmates including male and female of six hedged villages of tharparkar was 2870 while 2804 was that of nine hedged villages of Hyderabad. The number of children lodged in all the camps was equal to number of adult inmates.

The British administration took measures to deport Hurs to Punjab, North West Frontier Province (Present

day Khyber Pakhtoonkhaw) and United Provinces of India, but failed as Punjab and then NWFP refused to accept 'dangerous criminals'. Lucas, in a letter to Bombay Governor Lord Willingdon Freeman Thomas (1913-18) on June 1914, had questioned 'why the government didn't consider deporting the Hurs to Bombay Presidency when the Punjab and NWFP refused to accept them?' Elaborating the idea of deporting the Hurs outside Sindh, Lucas quoted Robert Giles' memorandum, he stated that 'in submitting the proposal, Mr. Giles had explained that one of the principal objects of declaring the Hurs as criminal tribe was to enable the authorities to deport some of the worst members of this fanatical sect, and had expressed the opinion that no measure short of removal from Sindh would be really effective.'

Dr. Nabi Bux Baloch writes in his paper that the British government had abolished the concentration camps when Pir Pagaro Shah Mardan Shah (Father of Pir Sibghatullah Shah-II) promised to arrange 500 militants and financial help during the First World War in 1914. Baloch Sahib's contention must be based on his own research, but the official correspondence available at Sindh Archives is a big proof that the concentration camps were never abolished. This chapter contains details of official correspondence.

The British authorities' record includes a list of inmates of concentration camps of Nawabshah and Khipro prepared in 1944-45. Each page of this file bears 'List of Registration Hur Criminal Tribe Members in Sindh Province'. The list contains the names of 5525 male and female Hurs lodged in camps from 1928 to 1944.

The total number of Hurs lodged in concentration camps exceeds the number mentioned in this list of 1944-45 or earlier in Sardar Yaqoob's report of 1896, as the record pertaining to this subject seems incomplete. The number of concentration camps, which is said to be 15, also looks doubtful, as at some places 21 such camps were

reported in Sindh alone. Moreover, several concentration camps were setup in Indian states where deported Hurs were lodged.

According to some Hurs Fakir Haji Nangar Hingorjo, Haji Fakir Abdullah Hingoro and several others, interviewed in 1980s, the number of Hurs and their families exceeded two hundred thousands, as five to ten thousand people were lodged in each concentration camp. Abdullah Hingoro told that ten thousand people were confined in each of the camp at Jhol, Sinjhor, Jarwar near Mirpur Mathelo, Shahdadpur, Mirpur Khas, Warah, Akri, Pithoro, Shadi Pali, Nawabshah, Johi, Khipro etc. One Sanwal Fkir Rajar told that he spent certain period at Shadi Pali and Johi concentration camp where 4500 and 5000 men, women and children were lodged respectively.

Concentration Camps in Indian States

At least thirteen concentration camps for deported Hurs were established in Indian States. These camps were as follows:

- 1) Chharanagar, a historical place near Ahmedabad, Gujarat. The people residing here are called as Bhantu. They were the freedom fighters and the British had bonded them in a jail, which still exist near this town. They were brave and fought against the colonial forces. The British authorities had branded them as criminals like the Hurs and scattered them to different provinces of India.
- 2) Dohad, which means two boundaries. It is located near Godhra, Baroda on the banks of river Dudhimati, and is a town in Dohad district within the State of Gujarat. Currently the city serves as District Headquarters for Dahod District. It is approximately 200 km away from Ahmedabad. It is known as *Dohad* as the States of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh border the town. It is the birthplace of the last great Mughal emperor Aurangzeb.
- 3) Ambarnath near Kalyan, Bombay that lies on Bombay to Pune railway route in Maharashtra State.
- 4) Dhule in Khandesh region of Maharashtra.
- 5) Mahad, Pandalpur/Pandharpur, Maharashtra.
- 6) Bijapur, Karnatka State. It's a city 384km West of

Hyderabad Deccan.

- 7) Solapur, Maharashtra. It lies on the border of Maharashtra and Karnatka.
- 8) Akole, Ahmed Nagar.
- 9) Visapur, Maharashtra
- 10) Essapur, Saharanpur district, Uttar Pradesh.
- 11) Shivrajpur, near Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh.
- 12) Dharwar, Karnatka State.
- 13) Nira Projects Settlement, a town of *Maharashtra* 80 km from Pune.

The old Commissioner Office record, now in possession of Sindh Archives Department, included a large number of files regarding Hur Movement, of which 350 were taken away by the federal government in 1970s to study and devise strategies for crushing the uprising in Balochistan. Unfortunately, these files never returned and are said to be in custody of National Documentation Center, Cabinet Divion Islamabad. Currently only three files are found at Sindh Archives that pertain to the Hurs deported to concentration camps of Indian states. The files contain correspondence between the Sindh and Bombay government officials. The record shows that the Hurs were detained at these camps since their deportation in early 20th century. The references in these official letters show that many of the Hurs were detained there since 1915 and even before it. One Jiando Wasan, the nephew of Piru Vizier, was deported in 1913. All the years the Sindh authorities and the Settlement Officers of Bombay Presidency exchanged letters discussing the conditional release of Hurs and transferring others from Sindh to concentration camps in Indian States. In certain cases, the Sindh officials raised objections on release of Hurs from India and allowing them to return home or for lodging them again at concentration camps here. Some of the letters of Sindh authorities manifest their scare on release or transfer of 20 Hurs at a time from India to Sindh. It transpired

from certain letters that in case of unrest among the Hurs, the authorities shifted 'dangerous Hurs' from one to other concentration camp in Indian states also. For example a group of Hurs was shifted to Visapur after unrest. Following letters manifest their scare.

District Superintendent of Police, Nawabshah R. T. Barker in a letter sent to District Magistrate Nawabshah on November 03, 1923, referring to latter's letter dated October 30, 1923, stated: "All questions regarding the release of Hurs in Visapur to Sindh or out of such settlements be held up till it is clear what effect the recent and numerous releases will have on the conduct of the Hurs generally. It has come to my notice that Variyam, the son of the notorious Bachu (Bachu Badshah), who returned from Visapur this year and is in the Jalalani settlement, goes about, when on a pass, with a crowd of 40 to 50 Hurs like a person of great importance. This has, it is reported, caused a revival of the old spirit among the Hurs, and apprehensions among the Zamindars. Variyam was questioned, and denied taking a large party of Hurs with him but I believe the report."

Same fears were expressed in a letter of District Superintendent of Police, Tharparkar, which was forwarded to Commissioner of Sindh by District Magistrate, Tharparkar in October 1923. The letter says: "It is too early, perhaps, to judge the effect on the Hurs of repatriation to Sindh of an increased number of their brethren from Visapur. The effect has not been, certainly, to calm the fears of those Zamindars who have loyally helped government against the Hurs – fears justified by the recent murders in Sanghar and Sinjhoru Talukas and the moral support given thereto by a large portion of the Hur community." The District Magistrate also stated in the letter that there can be no relaxation for the present in the matter of deporting some of the worst Hurs annually to Visapur.

The District Superintendent of Police, Mirpur

Khas also through a letter dated December 03, 1923, submitted to the authorities via District Magistrate, a list of Hurs of Sanghar recommending deporting them as according to him these Hurs were sheltering the absconders from Visapur and Sakrand and had been providing facilities for committing crimes. "I may mention here that during the current year 22 Hurs have been repatriated from Visapur to Sanghar. Along with these five, women and nine children were also repatriated. As a result of my efforts Suleman Wasan and Mitho Hingoro have been arrested. The remaining three Hurs are still at large and the police are on the look out for them," he informed.

Hardas Mal Uderno Mal, District Magistrate of Nawabshah also was afraid of Hurs. In a letter to Commissioner of Sindh on October 11, 1924, he writes: "It will not be advisable to freely issue passes to Hurs other than those whose repatriation is decided by the government. In a letter dated July 20, 1924 also I expressed my views on the general question of repatriation and I do not think any more Hurs need to be allowed to come home on passes except on urgent occasions of marriage or the like. The present rate of repatriation - 20 percent- is liberal enough for Hurs to prove themselves worthy of being allowed to return home."

In June 1926, the District Superintendent of Police, Tharparkar submitted to District Magistrate and higher authorities a list of Hurs lodged in Nira Project camp classifying them in dangerous class whose repatriation should be delayed until the last and those of middle class. In that letter the police officer opined that the deported Hurs should be kept at Nira camp at least for five years.

In his comments submitted to Commissioner of Sindh through District Magistrate, the District Superintendent of Police, Nawabshah Mohammad Shah stated on November 14, 1929 that "It is not clear from the letter of

the Criminal Tribes Settlement Officer as to how the Hurs after their release from the settlement (camp), will maintain themselves in the Bombay Presidency proper and will that prevent them from absconding and coming to Sindh. If they abscond and remain in hiding in Sindh, they will be much more dangerous than if they are repatriated to Sindh. If, however, it is not possible to detain them any longer in any of the settlements in the Presidency, it would be in my opinion preferable to repatriate them to Sindh at the rate of two or three a year." The District Magistrate also endorsed DSP's views. The Commissioner of Sindh had sought views of the district officials on release of Hurs on license vide letter dated October 10, 1929.

The authorities at district level in Sindh or even at Bombay Presidency had been showing such concerns and opposing repatriation and releasing temporarily of Hurs on passes.

The policy of British authorities regarding Hurs could more be judged from a letter of O. H. B. Starte, ICS, Criminal Tribes Settlement Officer of Bombay Presidency Bijapur written to Commissioner of Sindh on March 20, 1924. He says: "The only safe conditions are full jail restrictions and if it is desired to keep the Hurs away from Sindh until they die, and not run the risk of having them return as absconders, then they must be regularly interned in jails." It appears from his letter that a group of Hurs were shifted from Nira Projects camp to Visapur camp.

Starte, who was appointed Inquiry Officer for Hur unrest at Nira Project Settlement (Concentration Camp), in his letter mentioned above stated that he was very much impressed by the intense longing for home on the part of the Hurs. "I remember Col. J. Jackson a former Inspector General of Prisons telling me how much he was impressed also by their feeling in this regard, and how necessary it was to give them some hope of a return, sooner or later to their native land. This is of course natural. They are sur-

rounded by alien people; most of them cannot live a family life. If all hope of repatriation was abandoned I have little doubt that they would abscond. As those who return as absconders are much more dangerous than those who return by permission even in the interests of the districts, it is advisable to hold out to them some hope of repatriation. I would say frankly that no settlement condition and restrictions can keep them absolutely from absconding."

He however advocated alternative policy of permitting a gradual repatriation of the Hurs now in the Nira Projects Settlement together with a policy of expatriating other Hurs to the settlement. He suggested that the repatriating Hurs should be told that they are being repatriated on probation and it would be cancelled in case of any lawlessness.

The officer was of the view that those Hurs who had been away from their country for six years cannot justly be held responsible for lawlessness of the remaining Hurs. "At the same time I admit that those Hurs who are to be repatriated should be carefully chosen with regard to the history prior to their deportation," he stated saying that in many cases the reasons for deportation of Hurs are not clear as per records now in his possession. He suggested drawing up a confidential list dividing the Hurs lodged in Nira Project Settlement into three classes (a) The Hurs especially dangerous whose repatriation should be delayed until last. (b) Middle Class and (C) Not dangerous whose repatriation might be undertaken first.

Despite realizing the nature of problems of Hurs and soft corner to some extent, the British officer suggested that too many Hurs should not be repatriated and the 20 percent per annum rate of repatriation fixed by the government should be reduced. He called for taking good securities from the Hurs of Nira Project and other concentration camps before issuing them passes. "I think the deposits of Hurs amounting over Rs.18000 (earned by Hurs

through labor at the concentration camp) now with me form a valuable lever in ensuring that they will not play any mischief while on pass," he told Commissioner of Sindh.

A list of 61 Hurs was attached with the letter for confidential report on their character and cases. Their names, caste and home district are as follows:

Abu Bakar son of Valu Hingoro, Tharparkar; Ak son of Madatal Marri, Nawabshah; Alam son of Bahram Shar, Tharparkar; Alam son of Hundo Hingoro, Tharparkar; Alam son of Jani Jakhro, Nawabshah; Ali Shah son of Shershad Syed, Tharparkar; Allah Bux son of Kadu Hingoro, Tharparkar; Allanu son of Shadi Rajpar, Tharparkar; Allu son of Pariyo Mochi, Tharparkar; Alu son of Ismail Hajam, Nawabshah; Babu son of Nidar Khan Chang, Nawabshah; Bachal son of Ghallu Marri, Nawabshah; Bachal son of Piru Kiriyo, Tharparkar; Bachu Shah son of Jiwan Shah Syed, Nawabshah; Barocho son of Maluk Wasan, Nawabshah; Dhani Parto son of Allahyar Hingoro, Tharparkar; Fakiro Khan Kiriyo, Tharparkar; Ghulam Ali Khan Rind, Nawabshah; Hamal son of Alam Marri, Nawabshah; Imam Bux son of Saleh Behan, Tharparkar; Deen Muhammad Khan Nizamani, Tharparkar; Sono son of Gohram Chandiyo, Tharparkar; Jani Shah son of Wadal Shah Syed, Tharparkar; Karimdad son of Yatun Hingoro, Tharparkar; Name not readable son of Gul Mohammad Shar, Nawabshah; Name not readable son of Allahyar Hingoro, Tharparkar; Name not readable son of Kadu Hingoro, Tharparkar; Lala Khaskheli, Nawabshah; Name not readable, by caste Mangrio, Tharparkar; Mohammad son of Abdullah Mahar, Tharparkar; Manjhi son of Tindu Khaskheli, Nawabshah; Two names not readable, one of them Chang of Nawabshah; Mir Khan son of Madat Ali Marri, Nawabshah; Mitha son of Jada Pohar (It might be Panhwar), Tharparkar; Mitha son of Ghazi Khaskheli, Nawabshah; Mohammad Ali Nizamani,

Tharparkar; Mohammad Ali son of Shahmir Kiriyo, Tharparkar; Murid son of Saleh Behan, Tharparkar; Niazo son of Mulla Kiriyo, Tharparkar; Obaya son of Allah Bux Hingoro, Tharparkar; Name not readable son of Doso Mochi, Nawabshah; Pindal son of Sabu Dahri, Nawabshah; Punoo son of Khamiso Aradin, Nawabshah; Bachayo Kiriyo, Tharparkar; Ranjho Mangriyo, Tharparkar; Name not readable son of Mulla Hingoro, Tharparkar; 14 names not readable. They belonged to Hingoro, Chang, Wasan, Dahri, Khaskheli, Talpur, Bhanejo, Junejo, Aradin, Kiriyo, Chaniyo and Syed communities of Tharparkar and Nawabshah.

Starte, the same officer in another letter to Commissioner of Sindh on September 27, 1929, from Dharwar camp opposes repatriation of Hurs despite their exemplary conduct but suggests releasing them on license to live on their own in the limits of Bombay Presidency. He states: "There are a number of Hurs who have been in settlements in this presidency for very many years, and who according to our rules are qualified for discharge on license. Those who are on your 'A' list (Dangerous) I gather some cannot be permitted to return to Sindh for some years. The Hurs who would be released have been of exemplary conduct in the settlements, and I feel it is hard to detain them further. Their discharge on license to a place in the presidency proper would, I think, be safe."

On January 02, 1931, Starte in yet another letter to the Commissioner of Sindh refers to a letter No:766-A-III, dated January 23, 1930 from the Commissioner of Sindh, and proposes to release on license the five Hurs of Dohad Settlement under Section 18 of the Criminal Tribes Act 1924 (VI of 1924) and allow them to reside at the Free Colony attached to Dohad Settlement as they had no convictions during the last ten years and no departmental punishment of a serious nature during last three years. According to him their character was reported to be satisfac-

tory and they were earning their livelihood by honest means. The five Hurs were Mangan son of Layak of Tharparkar; Sanghar son of Medha of Nawabshah; Yaru Shah son of Layakdin Shah of Tharparkar; Nihalu son of Duru of Tharparkar and Dhaniparto son of Allahyar of Tharparkar. During the period of their license to reside at Free Colony, they will be giving weekly roll call and taking passes.

The British authorities released some eight Hurs from Dohad Settlement of Panchmahal district under Section 18 of Criminal Tribes Act along with their dependents in 1932. They were allowed to go back to their villages in Sindh on license. Backward Class Officer of Dharwar, Bombay Presidency D.Symington informed Commissioner of Sindh in a letter dated April 01, 1932 regarding release of Hurs. The released Hurs are Lughoo son of Dawood of Togajo village, Taluka Sanghar, district Tharparkar; Shahu son of Dinu of Kumbhari village, Taluka Sanghar, district Tharparkar; Kamal son of Abjan of Phogawan village, Taluka Sanghar, district Tharparkar; Hassu son of Jiwan of Guladaki village, Taluka Sinjhor, formerly of Nawabshah district; Khamisa son of Mira of Lutaka village, Taluka Sanghar, district Tharparkar; Mitha son of Walu of Toori village, Taluka Sanghar, district Tharparkar; Kamal son of Makhan of Gurang village, Taluka Sinjhor, district Nawabshah and Sathi son of Sabu of Jadi village, Taluka Sinjhor, district Nawabshah.

Earlier, in 1922, C. J. Butler, District Superintendent of Police, Nawabshah in a letter to the District Magistrate, Nawabshah had informed that he has no objection to the transfer of eight Hurs to Sindh namely Dadlo son of Jurio Nizamani, Jiando son of Sajan Wasan, Alim son of Bahram Shar, Jhuro son of Mangio Khaskheli, Lukman son of Ismail Shar, Suleman son of Ibrahim Khaskheli, Yaru Shah son of Laikdino Shah and Alu son of Pario Mochi. He informed that Jhuro and Lukman had already

arrived at Mirpur Khas as per letter No: 1064 -H, dated September 26, 1922.

Butler also attached a list of 10 Hurs for transfer from Jalalani concentration camp, Sakrand, district Nawabshah to Visapur concentration camp. The names of Hurs are Imam Bux son of Kehar Khan Jamali of Lal Khan Jamali village, Shahdadpur, Kamal son of Makan Hajam of Khairpur State, Valu son of Bhuro Khaskheli of village Timuho, Sinjhor, Wali Muhammad son of Mitho Sanjrani of Bero Marri village, Sinjhor, Dilu son of Pario Kirrio of Dhaniparto Rajar village, Sanghar, Gundrio son of Hot Khaskheli of Waghoo Ji Bhit village, Sanghar, Gulan son of Juman Wasan of Tajo Wasan village, Sinjhor, Mahomed son of Madad Ali Marri, Adul son of Mehar Wasan of Janib Dhoro, Sanghar and Sumar son of Sajan Machi of Sanghar.

Bachu Badshah's son and Piru Vizier's nephew in Indian Concentration Camp

The names of Wariyam son of Bachu Badshah and Jiando Wasan nephew of Piru Vizier appeared several times in the correspondence between the Sindh officials and Bombay Presidency. Bachal Alias Bachu Badshah had named his son after his father Wariyam, a warrior who also sacrificed life while fighting the British. His grandson Wariyam too followed the footprints of ancestors and during the resistance war was deported to India in 1915. Similarly, Jiando Wasan was deported two years earlier in 1913.

In 1923, when the Bombay Presidency desired to repatriate some Hurs to Sindh including Wariyam, R. E. Gibson, the then Commissioner of Sindh referring to a letter dated February 07, 1923 from Inspector General of Prisons, Bombay about repatriation of Hurs from Visapur Settlement, suggested vide a letter dated April 12, 1923 that there is no objection to the repatriation of Hurs to Sindh. He, however, suggested that all the Hurs except Wariyam son of Bachu and Mubarak son of Badal should be sent to Sanghar Settlement while these two should report to District Magistrate Nawabshah.

Wariyam was married and by that time he had a daughter. He and his family were to be repatriated. Among other Hurs Mohammad son of Gamu had a wife, two sons and two daughters, Kamil son of Mataro had a

wife and Lakhmir son of Bahram had a wife and a daughter while Haroon son of Bahram, Nabi Shah son of Shah Mardan, Dadlo son of Sajan and Durani son of Sumar were single.

Jiando Wasan son of Sajan, who served as schoolmaster at Visapur camp, had applied for repatriation to Sindh on the grounds that his daughter had become of marriageable age and that he was unable to support his family, which consisted of wife, two sons and two daughters out of the pay of Rs.15/- that he got as schoolmaster and Rs.4/-, which are paid to him as doles. His application was sent to Sindh officials for comments on which the then District Magistrate Nawabshah J. M. Sladen vide letter dated June 23, 1923 informed the Commissioner of Sindh that Jiando had satisfactory character since his admission in the Visapur Settlement. "The District Superintendent of Police Nawabshah has no objection to his repatriation to Sindh. Moreover, in view of the fact that Wariyam son of Bachu Badshah has recently been repatriated to Sindh, there should be no objection to the repatriation of Jiando Wasan who is only a nephew of Piru Vizier, especially since he bears a good character at Visapur and he will not be released outright here but kept in Jalalani Agricultural Settlement," he stated.

The repatriation of Jiando Wasan was in fact recommended by Settlement Officer, Visapur in 1922, as he was reported to be well behaved, but a letter from District Magistrate Nawabshah sent to Inspector General of Prisons, Bombay through Judicial Department of Commissioner of Sindh's office on July 19, 1923 shows that District Magistrate Tharparkar had objected Jiando Wasan's repatriation vide letter dated December 18, 1922. On same date the Commissioner of Sindh vide a letter No: 3140-H communicated to Home Department of Bombay the objection and endorsing it. The Assistant Commissioner in Sindh, on behalf of Commissioner, vide letter No:729-H dated May 26,

1923 again informed the Bombay Presidency that Commissioner of Sindh had not recommended the repatriation of Jiando Wasan to Sindh as the District Magistrate Tharparkar was opposed to it even in October 1922.

Hurs escape from Visapur Concentration Camp

The long detention at Visapur had resulted severe unrest among Hurs, who at last submitted a joint application of 100 persons to the Governor of Bombay through camp officer on July 02, 1922 requesting repatriation to Sindh. They stated: "For the past seven years we have been honestly doing hard work of cutting out rock. All this labor however has not resulted in improving our lot. We poor people are subjects and children of government and not its foes. An injustice such as we a hundred men have suffered from is unparalleled in the history of British rule in India. We have been transported along with our wives and children to a distant place and put on the hard labor of cutting out rock. It is a pity such a state of things has been possible under British rule, which is reputed to be so just and fair as to give equal protection to all. What is worse is that we are undergoing imprisonment for no definite period of time. An ordinary criminal who is sentenced to seven year imprisonment is relieved of his work and made a Mukadam after a year or two. The government is powerful but our lot has not been improved."

"Another grievance of ours is that it is not possible for us here to marry as required by our religion, from among our own kinsmen because of limited number of men and women here. Again, we have lost our lands and other property in consequence of our deportation to this

place,” the Hurs complained.

The Bombay government forwarded the petition to authorities in Sindh and subsequently sought comments through telegrams sent on August 27, 1922 and August 31, 1922. The Sindh Commissioner Office circulated the petition among District Magistrates of Tharparkar and Nawabshah vide letter September 15, 1922, which was responded in November 1922. W. P. Cowie, the then District Magistrate of Nawabshah in his letter dated November 08, 1922, stated that the Hurs on being sent to Visapur had arranged for care of their property by their relatives or others and that no complaints have yet been raised on this point. He however favored Visapur Hurs saying that their release is dependent not so much on their behavior but on the whim of some officer. “Those at Visapur are forced to do most uncongenial labor and are without hope of returning to Sindh,” he stated pointing out fault of the system of dealing with the Hurs. He suggested retaining Visapur camp as ‘threat’ and that sending certain number of Hurs there but more often exchanging them with others.

The District Magistrate of Tharparkar also gave same report about land and other property of Hurs saying that most of the Hurs had no lands and they had sold livestock at the time of deportation. Only three Hurs – Durani Hingoro, Ali Sher Shah Syed, Attal Bihan and Nabi Shah had land. Durani’s land is being looked after by his son, Ali Sher Sha’s land is given on sharing basis, Attal’s land is looked after by his brother while a respectable person Faiz Mohammad Junejo looks after the land of Nabi Shah.

About the issue of marriages, he stated that female Hurs of marriageable age are at present in the Visapur camp. If there are no suitable matches in their small community at Visapur, they must seek for alliance in Sindh. According to him the suggestion regarding increase in the number of repatriated Hurs is adopted, would solve the question of marriage.

On February 12, 1923, the Bombay Government in a memorandum to Sindh Commissioner said that: "Government is of opinion that the policy in regard to the treatment of Hurs in the settlement requires some reconsideration. It is desirable that the Hurs should have something to work for some hope that good behaviour will result in remission of their punishment and early return to Sindh. This will involve a more liberal arrangement for sending well-behaved Hurs to Sindh."

As the delay in consideration of petition was irritating and no desion was taken yet on the joint application of Hurs, an incident took place on June 02, 1922 in which some of the Hurs absconded on the day fixed for Hurs allowing them to visit the bazaar for buying ration.

C. H. Brierley, Settlement Officer, Visapur Camp, in a report to Inspector General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency, Poona on June 03, 1922 stated: "While on my way to the settlement to distribute doles shortly before 5 O' clock last evening, I received a message that five Hurs (single men) had escaped from the Pimpalgaon village where they had gone for purchasing food etc. from the weekly bazaar. This concession to selected bachelor Hurs was recommended by my predecessor Mr Hall on December 02, 1919 and sanctioned by Head Office on December 09, 1919. It was practice during my predecessor's time to send selected married Hurs out unescorted on a single pass. Although there was apparently nothing against this procedure, I didn't consider it quite satisfactory, and as safeguard, introduced the system of sending both married and single selected Hurs out on bazaar days in charge of Muccadums – each Muccadum being responsible for five Hurs only, their names being noted on a pass. On this occasion three separate batches (15 Hurs in all) were sent out, as usual, in charge of three Muccadums. Three Hurs appear to have broken away from one of the Muccadums and two from other. A policeman on horse was rushed to

the Pimpalgaon to make inquiries. He then proceeded to in the direction of Ghargaon and Belwandi, where it was ascertained from a villager that five Hurs had been making their way. Another horse-rider was dispatched to search the Hurs in entire area up to Belwandi. A policeman was sent to look at 5.30 evening train and to warn railway station authorities while two policemen were sent on foot in the direction of Ghargaon. Urgent telegrams were dispatched to the Railway Sub Inspectors of Police Dhond, Manmad and Poona; and subsequently to the District Superintendents of Police Ahmed Nagar, Nasik, Poona, Khandesh and Tharparkar. The policemen returned at late hour with no further news of the runaways.”

The report further says that three Muccadums sent in charge of the batches had nothing to offer in defence except that in the crowd their parties got broken up, and some time elapsed in searching the village for them. “I think, in place of keeping them together they allowed the Hurs in their respective charges to scatter on pretext of making purchases, and thus played into their hands. There was no connivance shown by any of the Muccadums but undoubtedly slackness,” he writes informing that he had suspended three Muccadums and kept them in Settlement.

On July 17, 1922, the Settlement Officer, Visapur Camp in a letter to Inspector General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency, Poona reported that he has stopped entirely the weekly bazaar leave of bachelor Hurs and none of them is kept open at night. However, it does not apply to married Hurs, who are allowed as usual a few hours leave to go in small parties under escort to the Pimpalgaon village for making purchases. But such leave is granted only on Sunday instead of Friday, which is not the weekly bazaar day. They are kept open at night. He informed that after the escape of five Hurs and suspension of three Muccadums, none of the inmates is willing to take up the vacant appointments.

Hurs observe strike in Visapur Concentration Camp

After the escape of five Hurs of Visapur Concentration Camp, the unrest had escalated in the meantime, as majority of unmarried Hurs supported by some married Hurs went on strike in June 1922 in protest against tough measures by the authorities. The strike continued for two months. During the strike, the Hurs refused to work. The detailed account of situation developed due to strike of Hurs was given in a report to Home Department, Bombay Government by Lt. Col. R. M. Dalziel, acting- Inspector General of Prisons Bombay on August 06, 1922.

Dalziel, who visited the Visapur camp on August 01 to 04, 1922, writes in his report: "There are 96 male Hurs, 30 of whom are married. Of the 32 women, 30 are wives of Hurs and remaining two are unmarried – one of them being a widow and one a maid servant. The number of children is 37. After the suspension of 'privileges' the majority of unmarried Hurs and ten of married Hurs went on strike and refused to work and became unruly and up-to-date have refused to work i.e. for two months. On July 28, 1922, five Hurs were prosecuted for refusing to obey orders and three of them were sentenced to 15 days rigorous imprisonment and two to 30 days rigorous imprisonment on July 29, 1922."

He stated that B. S. Sethna, the Settlement Inspector, was violently assaulted by one of the Hurs, thrown to

the ground, and severely bruised in several places. The assailant is to be prosecuted, he told adding that on July 31, 1922, the situation became serious and the Hurs showed symptoms of becoming entirely out of hand and assumed to say the least of it, a very threatening attitude and appeared to be certainly going to break away and escape. Settlement Officer Mr. Brierley promptly asked the help from Ahmed Nagar police to control the situation, he told.

As regards earning of Muccadums and the inmates of concentration camp, the acting-IG Prisons said that the Muccadums get 9 annas per day as pay and the others, when they work, or on piece work and may earn as much as 34 or as little as Rs.8 per month, according to their zeal. Their work is to dig and load earth. If an unmarried Hur earns more than Rs.15 per month and if a married Hur earns more than Rs.19, any excess over the above amount is not given to them but banked in their names. They are however allowed to withdraw money from their banking account if they desire so. "The strikers have now for two months been living on their savings, and it will therefore be easy to understand that their banking accounts are near the vanishing point. They however refuse to work and demand that government must ration them," he said.

"These men are not yet in distress and they possess a large flock of goats. It's possible that there is 'propaganda' behind the action of these men and wicked insinuations have already appeared in the press concerning the alleged unhappy plight of these misguided men," he remarked suggesting that in case the government decides to give them ration, it should be only Rs.3 per month to each of striker and Rs.2 to each dependent of a striker.

Commenting on the demands of striking Hurs, Dalziel said: "They have suddenly discovered that the earth-work is distasteful to them. No credence needs to be given to this. They really object to work of any kind. They also demand that a definite period should be stated, at the end

of which they should be released. They say that until the escape of five Hurs, they had hope of release but now they have no hope as the disciplinary action indicates that the heart of government has hardened and that they are made to suffer for the sins of others, and that they will die at the Settlement and never see Sindh again.”

Neglecting the grievances of striking Hurs, the acting IG Prisons reported that he has ordered that even if these strikers now consent to work, they should not be allowed to go out to work until the government has passed the orders on the subject. “If these men consent to go out to work, it is probable that it will only be a first step in an arranged escape,” he apprehended and recommended that 55 striking Hurs should be scattered and sent to the various other settlements in this Presidency, as it is inexpedient to keep these ‘truculent’ men in one camp. “After, but not before, this has been done, I recommend that the 41 men who did not strike, should be transferred to one of the settlements in Sindh, as an indication that government will show consideration to well-behaved men,” he stated.

According to him the non-striker 41 Hurs included 26 men who were still working on earthwork. They include two of three Muccadums, who were broken and still meekly going to work. Eight men are those who work on fixed wages inside the camp i.e. two sweepers, two on sick list, one schoolmaster, one sick attendant, one lamp lighter and one infirm man besides seven Muccadums.

“Unfortunately, one of seven Muccadums, who was sentenced to 30 days rigorous imprisonment, has died as the direct result of having been unmercifully hammered in Deccan Extra Mural Prison,” he disclosed in the report informing that for this crime one Sepoy and two convict officers will be prosecuted.

In his adverse remarks, Dalziel said: “Although these Hurs are not convicted criminals, they are abandoned ruffians whose hands are dripping with blood.”

He also questioned the selection of site of Visapur Settlement, as it's just at the dam where 1200 convicts had been working. "It is presumed that the Deccan Convict Gang will be removed from Visapur in 1925, so that the Hurs Settlement could not remain there after 1925," he concluded.

Hur Fakir Muhammad Siddique Bihan son of Karim Bux, resident of village Phhotto Khan Bhnbro, interviewed in November 1994, told that they shifted from Gurang bungalow locality to Jhol town to cultivate lands but were arrested by the military. They were first taken to Sinjhoru, then Nawabshah and later to Hyderabad. A magistrate Raghmal was posted there to sentence the Hurs. When the Hyderabad jail overcrowded, the Hurs were deported to Visapur, Essapur and other concentration camps of India. It was 1943 when 200 Hurs were deported to Indian territories. Siddique Bihan, Bolu Chang, Khuda Bux Chang and Abdullah Mughrepoto were among a group of 42 Hurs who was first transported to Mirpur Khas and then by train to Ahmedabad, India to lodge them at Visapur concentration camp. For some days, they were kept in chains. "There were several other Hurs languishing since 1918 including Manthar Hingoro, Ali Muhammad Wasan," he told.

Siddique Bihan and other new comers observed hunger strike for for two days at the concentration camp when they were served meals by a Bhangi (sanitation worker). "We told the camp officials that we are prepared to be shot dead but will not eat the food cooked and served by the Bhangi," he told adding: "We didn't end hunger strike till the IG Jails came and accepted our demand providing the ration and allowing us to cook on our own."

The Hurs were shifted to Sholapur hedged camp when the India faced shortage of grain due to famine. Later, they were shifted to Bejapur camp and allowed to work and earn livelihood on their own. "When we completed three-year sentence, 120 Hurs were repatriated to Hyderabad camp where seven to eight thousand Hurs were already lodged," he told.

Hurs continue languishing at Visapur Camp

As the 41 Hurs of Visapur camp didn't take part in strike, the British authorities began considering their repatriation to Sindh. The Inspector General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency in his letter dated August 26, 1922 had suggested repatriation of all the 41 Hurs (40 Hurs, as one of them – a Muccadum was hammered to death), however, as per policy and rules, the Bombay government sought the opinion of Sindh officials and again the Commissioner of Sindh sent a letter dated September 15, 1922 to Deputy Inspector General of Police, Sindh and also circulated it among the District Magistrates for soliciting their opinion. The D. I. G. Police, Sindh D. G. Ommanney vide a letter dated September 16, 1922 responded positively agreeing to the proposal of repatriating 41 non-striking Hurs from Visapur. He viewed that it can be considered locally where they should be placed. "It might be a good thing if at any rate some of them were not sent to a settlement but allowed to return to their villages and ordered to report to their police station once a week and to report any change of residence. He said the government might order that these 41 men should be sent back to their own districts, and in the meantime the District Magistrates and District Superintendents of Police concerned can be consulted as to their fate. DIG Police however apprehended that Settlement Officer will not agree to take any of the Hurs into his

ordinary settlements. He suggested allowing 20 percent of the Hurs to return to Sindh and advocated continuing the system of deporting the Hurs out of Sindh. He described giving up this system as a 'great mistake'.

Despite recommending repatriation of 41 Hurs from Visapur by the IG Prisons, Bombay Presidency and no objection by DIG Police Sindh, no decision could be made by the authorities for over a year, as the district authorities of Sindh were reluctant to receive Hurs in such a large number.

Lt. Col. R. M. Dalziel vide a letter dated October 28, 1922 submitted a list of ten Hurs to the Commissioner of Sindh requesting for issuing orders as to where these Hurs and their families should be sent. The ten Hurs included Alu son of Pariyo Mochi, Balu son of Piru Bhanojo, Alam (Alim) son of Bahram Shar, Suleman son of Ibrahim Khaskheli, Yaru Shah son of Laikdino Shah, Lukman son of Ismail Shar, Lallu son of Rakhio Sinhro, Dadlo son of Jurial (Jurio) Nizamani, Jiando son of Sajan Wasan and Jundo (Jhuro) son of Mangio Khaskheli. These names were circulated among District Magistrates and the response from Thar & Parkar was that Lukman and Jundo had already been repatriated to Sindh as a reward for abstaining from strike. The District Magistrate objected return of rest of Hurs except three namely Balu, Lalu and Dadlo.

The District Superintendent of Police, Nawabshah however in a letter through District Magistrate stated that eight Hurs Alu, Alim (Alam), Suleman, Yaru Shah, Lukman, Dadlo, Jiando and Jhuro had been deported to Visapur on December 12, 1915 and during the period of over six years they maintained a good record. They bear good character at present as will be seen from the roll forwarded by Settlement Officer Visapur. He did not object to return of these Hurs to Sindh informing that Lukman and Jhuro had already arrived at Mirpur Khas. He however suggested eight other names of Hurs from Jalalani

camp for deporting to Visapur in exchange that included Kamal son of Makhan Hajam, who was transferred from Sanghar camp in 1914.

A month earlier on September 28, 1922 the Settlement Officer of Visapur had sent the list of ten Hurs with their age, villages and family members. Four of the Hurs were married and were there since December 14, 1915. Seven names were same while three others – Mohammad son of Gamu Mahar, Arab son of Fakiro Kori and Atal son of Samano Bihan. No action was taken on this list.

On February 07, 1923, Dalziel wrote to Commissioner Sindh forwarding a list of Hurs and informed that eight names were there in the list however he added the name of Mohammad son of Gamu who bears good character and had influence at Visapur over the inmates. "Mohammad Gamu is a man who has had his lesson and has seen that it does not pay to kick against the pricks, and that if sent to Sindh, his influence would be good and will advise others not to commit any act which would result in deportation to Visapur."

The list he forwarded also included the name of Wariyam Khaskheli son of Bachu Badshah among Kamil son of Mataro Bihan, Mubarak son of Badal Mahar, Nabi Shah son of Shah Mardan Shah, Lakhmir son of Bahram Shar, Haroon son of Bahram Shar, Dadlo son of Sajan Nizamani, Durani son of Sumar.

The correspondence between the officials of Sindh and Bombay continued even in late 1923, when a short-listed names of 19 Hurs were sent to Commissioner of Sindh by Visapur Settlement Officer through a telegram dated September 21, 1923. The 19 Hurs, who according to telegram remained loyal during the strike, were: Alu son of Pariyo, Alam son of Bahram, Arab son of Fakiro, Suleman son of Ibrahim, Yaru Shah son of Laikdin Shah, Abdul Wahid son of Gul Mohammad, Barocho son of Maluk, Dinu son of Ramu, Hashim son of Umar, Imam son of Sawan,

Khair Shah son of Jiwan Shah, Kasam (Karam) son of Imam Bux, Manthar son of Kadu, Mangan son of Tamachi, Mohammad Esuf (it could be Yusif) son of Abdullah, Mangal Shah son of Bhopo Shah, Sanghar son of Mehro, Wahud (Wahid) son of Lall and Yakub son of Walidad.

This list was also circulated among District Magistrates and Superintendents of Police for seeking their opinion and objections soon as it was received. In response to it, Mahmud Shah, the District Superintendent of Police, Mirpur Khas, through a letter dated September 25, 1923 raised serious objection stating that all the Hurs mentioned in telegram had a very dark record in the Hur Settlement at Sanghar and were picked 'criminals' with exception of Mohammad Usif who was only a boy at the time of his deportation. Surprisingly, the police official contradicted his own words about Usif saying that 'Usif was deported because he was the local head of a most dangerous section of the Hurs and that section had to be disorganized. The police official submitted names of 11 Hurs for release describing them as 'less dangerous' than others. They were Arbab, Suleman, Abdul Wahid, Dinu, Hashim, Imam, Khair Shah, Karam, Mangal Shah, Wahid and Yakub. He opined that it would be most unsafe to release the other eight Hurs just at present.

After receiving such comments, the Sindh Commissioner office recommended repatriation of only 11 Hurs from Visapur and as a result, C. H. Brierley, Superintendent and Settlement Officer, Visapur informed the Home Secretary, Bombay Presidency that vide a letter dated October 09, 1923 that 11 Hurs along with wife of Arab, a wife, son and a daughter of Khair Shah and wife and a son of Kasam (Karam) were transferred to Sanghar Settlement of Thar & Parkar district under police escort.

In 1924, the Sindh Commissioner Office had sought report/comments about 37 Hurs of Tharparkar district that were lodged at Visapur Camp. The District Su-

perintendent of Police Mahmud Shah submitted report with comments on each Hur and sent through District Magistrate. He had classified the Hurs according to which 18 were dangerous whose repatriation was suggested to be delayed; 10 were of middle class and only nine were 'not dangerous' whose repatriation could be undertaken. The names appearing in the report were almost same discussed in this chapter.

The approval for release of some eight Hurs from Nira Projects Settlement was also given by the Bombay Presidency in 1925. In a letter dated January 14, 1925, J. A. Shillidy, Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bombay Home Department, informed the Criminal Tribes Settlement Officer, Dharwar that with reference to his letter dated December 17, 1924, the approval has been given for the release of eight Hurs from Nira Settlement on probation. Four other Hurs namely Shah Ali son of Rahim Khan, Obhayo son of Allah Bux, Allu son of Pariyo and Maji son of Landu were also allowed to return vide a letter dated April 01, 1925 issued from Sindh Commissioner office.

On March 30, 1926, Mr. J. B. Irwin, the Assistant Commissioner of Sindh, Karachi informed Criminal Tribes Settlement Officer, Dharwar that in his letter dated January 17, 1926, the Commissioner has approved return of released Hur Obhayo son of Dosu Mochi to his village on the condition that he will report himself twice a year to the Mukhtiarkar, Shahdadpur, who is probation officer. In a letter to Assistant Commissioner, the District Magistrate Nawabshah informed that out of five Hurs released on probation, one Obhayo son of Dosu Mochi belongs to his district and his residence is at village Nichayo Bhanujo, Taluka Shahdadpur, and he need not to be placed in a Settlement and be allowed to remain in his own village. He also showed no objection to release of Ak son of Madad Ali and Bachal son of Ghalu but endorsed the views of District Superintendent of Police who raised serious ob-

ject to release of Bachu Shah son of Jivan Shah saying that his physical weakness is not likely to debar him from tutoring other Hurs and teaching them modus-operandi of 'Hur Crimes'.

The Judicial Department of Sindh Commissioner Office, Karachi vide a letter dated June 09, 1927 conveyed the Criminal Tribes Settlement Officer, Bombay Presidency the approval of release of 16 Hurs whose names he had submitted vide a letter dated December 15, 1926. The names are Mir Khan son of Madad Ali Khan, Alam son of Jani, Hamal son of Alam, Lalloo son of Sobjo, Sathi son of Sabu, Sathi son of Pandhi, Tanwar son of Hafiz, Punhu son of Khamiso and Sartaj son of Abdullah, all of Nawabshah district, and Allahnu son of Shadi, Fakiro son of Khanu, Manthar son of Kadu, Mitha son of Jado, Mohammad Ali son of Dosan, Imamu son of Mohammad Khan and Jani Shah son of Wadal Shah, all of Tharparkar district. It was stated that the latter two Hurs are to be released after some time while the name of one more Hur will be communicated on receipt of reply from District Magistrate.

In some of the correspondence, the officials also discussed the Hurs who had escaped from Settlements at different times. Mr. J. B. Irwin, the then District Magistrate of Tharparkar in a letter sent to Criminal Tribes Settlement Officer, Bombay Presidency in June 1929 that two Hurs Gagan and Badal were deported to Visapur in the year 1913 from Sanghar and Khipro Talukas respectively. They escaped from the settlement in 1922 and were arrested in 1927. They were then deported again to Shivrajpur.

Probably, the above two Hurs are among those five Hurs of Visapur who escaped in 1922 from the weekly bazaar, and were arrested in Sindh. The escaped Hurs had created panic among Sindh administration after reaching here, while raised the morale of Hurs, which is evident from this report of District Magistrate of Tharparkar submitted in 1923: "None of the repatriated Hurs

has so far been found directly responsible for any serious crime but there are clear indications that the Hurs have begun to feel that their community is getting stronger and that they are no longer without leaders.”

“Suleman Wasan and four other ‘notorious’ Hurs who escaped from Visapur last year have been freely moving about among the members of their fraternity in Sinjhoru and Sakrand Talukas of Nawabshah district and in Sanghar Taluka of Tharparkar district. The efforts of police to capture them have been baffled by the attitude of the Hurs who have been fearlessly sheltering the absconding Hurs inspite of repeated warnings from the police,” the report says adding that several Zamindars (loyal to British government) have become nervous and eight of them have applied for protection.

A letter from District Magistrate, Mirpur Khas dated April 17, 1924 reveals that Suleman Wasan and Mitho Hingoro were arrested and deported again.

Hurs deported to Kala Pani (Andaman Islands)

Several Hurs were expelled from Sindh after their arrest and shipped to Andaman Islands where they had been languishing for years or for whole of life. However, their exact number couldn't be ascertained. It is said that at least 733 prisoners were shipped to Andaman Islands from Karachi in 1868 and it might be that the Hurs also were among them. Thousands of other prisoners were sent there from Calcutta and Mumbai. According to Fakir Mir Muhammad Nizamani, one Muhammad Khan Rind of Shahpur Chakar, district Sanghar, had been sentenced to be shipped to Kala Pani (Andaman Islands) for committing a number of dacoities. He was not the Hur but Darya Khan Nizamani, Wasand Qazaq and Rano Wasan, three Hur militants were confined there with him. Muhammad Khan Rind had somehow escaped from the Islands covered with thick forests. The three Hurs too had escaped later and returned to Sindh. Another three Hurs Owais Fakir Wasan and his two companions were also shipped to Andaman Islands in 1895 and nobody knows whether they returned or not.

During the 1940s, the Lambrick had floated the idea of shipping the Hurs to Andaman, as according to him (his correspondence between December 1944 to 1946 File No:MSS/Eur 208/88) he wished Hurs to be thrown to Andaman Islands like the Russians did to the people of occupied countries by sending them to Siberia and the England used to deport its criminals to Australia. On 12th April 1945, an Indian high ranking official Colville informed Governor Dow that he agrees his proposal for deporting Hurs to Andamans however the Home Department of Bombay has to decide the matter.

Mass executions and killings in Sindh

The British colonial forces killed tens of thousands of Hurs and other people of their community. Scores of Hurs were hanged at different jails while others shot dead and beheaded. There is no record available of the names of martyred Hurs and their community members, however, the British brutality could be judged from a letter of Col. Phillip, the head of military intelligence during the operation against Hurs in Sindh, written to one of his Sindhi friends from England after partition of subcontinent, who admits that the British forces killed forty thousand Hurs against the loss of only ten thousand of their personnel. "You will be surprised on such figure, as generally the government forces suffer ten times more losses in guerrilla war. But here the position was contrary, as we killed every person, which we suspected to be the Hur or their supporter. We set ablaze Makhi Forest along with the people living there. Not a single day went without killing them, as the sound of machine gun bursts could be heard daily in the morning and at the time of sunset at the hedged villages," he told his friend.

The letter of the English intelligence officer itself speaks a lot. The original letter is not available but according to a Sindhi writer Mansoor Qadir Junejo, it was in possession of one Khalid Shaikh, a writer and editor of Sindhi magazine, who published translated letter in his

magazine in 1970. Same translated letter was reproduced by Mansoor Qadir Junejo later in his own magazine and now the Sindhi version is part of articles compiled in book form titled 'Hur Guerrilla Tahreek' published by Sindhica Academy, Karachi.

Prof. Dr. Muhammad Laiq Zardari however in his book 'History of Sindh' writes that only 81 Hurs were killed by military and police up to January 1943; 79 were hanged; 924 convicted by martial law tribunals; 70 wounded in conflict and 2500, including women and children, were placed in settlements (concentration camps).

The above figures are definitely inaccurate, and may be of certain period, as the number of Hurs executed and killed in encounters, the villagers including women and children killed in bombardment on villages, is much higher than quoted by Mr. Zardari. Similarly, the number of male Hurs and their families lodged in concentration camps, as quoted by him, is wrong if taken into consideration official list produced by Roza Dhani Chair in its book 'Azadi Ja Aseer'.

Great peasant leader Haider Bux Jatoi, who had resigned after he was appointed as Special Magistrate under the Hur Act, testifies the mass executions. According to Rasool Bux Unnar (His article Jesalmir Ji Gadi, Hur aeen Haider Bux Jatoi) in a meeting with him, Mr. Jatoi had said: "In 1945, the courts were established in even jungles to sentence the Hurs on the spot. I was posted at Preetamabad where my court consisted of a table and a chair. The chained Hurs were brought in trucks or on foot and a vield person, acting as witness, used to identify Hurs putting a stick on their shoulder. After identifying ten persons, they would be separated from others and executed with rifle bursts. On such occasion the other 50 to 60 Hurs would ask for shooting them too to death. This made me to tender resignation, as I thought the vield witness might

have old enmity with these persons.”

Unfortunately, no data including names and places of Hurs and their villages is available however some writers from Hur community interviewed the surviving old Hurs and collected names of some Hurs who were executed or hanged to death after summary trials at different jails. The names of martyred Hurs are as under:

- 1) Muhabat Fakir Bihan: active since 1930, took part in several missions, arrested from Rajasthan, hanged at Sukkur jail.
- 2) Fakir Waryam Khaskheli (son of Bachu Badshah): arrested from Barmir area of Rajasthan, hanged at Hyderabad jail.
- 3) Khalifo Ahmed son of Khalifo Hussain Dars: arrested from Nara, Taluka Khairpur and hanged at Hyderabad jail.
- 4) Imam Bux Fakir Sanjrani: arrested after he sustained multiple injuries in encounter with military near Mirpur Khas and hanged at Hyderabad jail.
- 5) Fakir Muhammad Yousif Mahar alias Mast Fakir, Dodo Kori, Mubarak Kori and other Hur accompanying Imam Bux Sanjrani embraced martyrdom in encounter.
- 6) Obhayo Hingoro: A trader of Ghee, residing in a village near Makhi, was arrested for no sin and hanged at Hyderabad jail.
- 7) Hoat son of Jaman Junejo: Resident of a village near Chotiarion; arrested in encounter with military and hanged at Hyderabad jail.
- 8) Rasool Bux alias Rasoolo Khaskheli: A herdsman; arrested while grazing the cattle outside village near Sinjhorro and was hanged at Hyderabad jail.
- 9) Molla Bux alias Molu Marri son of Daleel Marri: Arrested from village Mangio Wasan and hanged at Hyderabad jail.
- 10) Shah Muhammad alias Shahoo Khaskheli: Ar-

- rested from Ghindan village and was hanged.
- 11) Fakir Muhammad Yousif Rajar: Resident of Achhro Thar was hanged in Hyderabad jail.
 - 12) Fakir Mannan Gaho: Resident of Mehar Bhatt; hanged in Hyderabad jail.
 - 13) Ghulam Nabi Katpar: Arrested from Achhro Thar; hanged at Sukkur jail.
 - 14) Misri Fakir Rajar: belonged to Achhro Thar; hanged in Hyderabad jail.
 - 15) Allah Bachayo Sanjrani: Hanged at Hyderabad jail.
 - 16) Fakir Umar Mangrio: Belonged to Dhoro Naro; hanged at Hyderabad jail.
 - 17) Urs Fakir Rajar: Resident of Chotiarion area; hanged at Hyderabad jail.
 - 18) Kando Fakir Chang: resident of Sinjhor area; hanged at Hyderabad jail.
 - 19) Haji Fakir Khaskheli of Sanghar: One of the Hurs who derailed Lahore Mail; hanged at Hyderabad jail.
 - 20) Muhammad Khan Rajar: Resident of Sanghar Taluka; hanged at Hyderabad jail.
 - 21) Thako Fakir Khaskheli Mastano: A herdsman from a village located near Makhi; arrested while grazing cattle and hanged at Hyderabad. It is said Thako was asked by military court officer if he is a Dakoo? Thako misunderstood it as Thako and affirmed, and the military court ordered him to be hanged.
 - 22) Bux Ali son of Sobho Gabol: The 32-year young man was hanged at Hyderabad jail while his wife was languishing in Khipro hedged village.
 - 23) Luqman son of Abdullah Rajar: Resident of Sanghar Taluka near Chotiarion; hanged at Hyderabad jail.
 - 24) Haji Manan Rajar: Resident of village Dabhro, Taluka Sanghar; hanged at Hyderabad jail.
 - 25) Ibrahim Fakir Magripoto: Resident of Ranwti village near Sinjhor; hanged at Hyderabad jail.

- 26) Fakir Khair Muhammad Rajar: Resident of village Dabhro; hanged at Hyderabad jail.
- 27) Urs Rajar: Resident of Chotiarion; hanged at Hyderabad.
- 28) Yar Muhammad alias Yaroo: Resident of village Pirano Kando, Sanghar; a peasant; arrested in a fake case by a Hindu trader and hanged him labling him as Hur at Hyderabad jail.
- 29) Miroo Machhi: Killed in India by British forces.
- 30) Allah Warayo Marri son of Mahrab Marri: Resident of village Mangio Wasan; hanged at Hyderabad jail.

Al-Waheed daily reported on 4th August 1942 that 12 Hurs were hanged in Hyderabad central jail after they were convicted in a dacoity case in Shahdadpur. Same newspaper reported on 3rd December 1943 that Assistant Sessions Judge of Hyderabad Mr. Pemaster sentenced four Hurs to death. They were accused of killing two persons and a dacoity at village Fakir Muhammad in April 1942.

An English daily Bristol of Englan reported on 10th September 1942 that nine Hurs were hanged in Karachi where the number of hangings by that time rose to 69. No researcher had reported till today the hanging of Hurs in Karachi and generally it had been reported that the Hurs were executed only in Hyderabad and other areas of Sindh.

Fakir Jaffar Khan Sanjrani, son of famous Ghazi Umar Khan Sanjrani, who spent his childhood hiding from the British forces, was at last nabbed by the British along with other boys and lodged at Ghihlpur and other camps and jails. In an interview, Jaffar khan told he was confined in concentration camp at village Wango Khaskheli where several boys died due to poisonous food during six months. Jaffar was also confined for six months at juvenile section of Hyderabad jail where a woman teacher used to inform them about the execution of Hurs taking place daily.

Another Hur Fakir Saeed Khan Wasan, interviewed in 1992, told that military arrested all the members of their four families while shifting from Gurang bungalow area to Bajar Wah. They kept us first at Jhol police station and then shifted to Ghilpur concentration camp after ten to fifteen days. All the inmates were treated like animals. They provided poisonous food that resulted in deaths of several people. "Only two brothers (I and my brother) survived out of thirteen members of our four families in that camp," he said.

Fakir Ahmed Khan Sanjrani, resident of Gurnag bungalow locality, interviewed in 1993, told some of the Hurs were sitting at the house of Sabhago Khaskheli in a small village of Machhis when the military surrounded them. Four Hurs Rano Fakir Marri, Sobdar Fakir Sanjrani, Wali Muhammad Fakir Sanjrani and Qadir Bux Sanjrani died in firing by the military.

Fakir Muhammad Khan Nizamani, in an interview, told that Yaroo Mochi and two persons of Hingoro community of Chhare village were hanged by the British in train derailment case although they did not take part in it. Moreover, Fakir Ismail Rajar and some others were shot dead by the military in a Thar Desert village.

A Pathan policeman Muzaffar Hussain, who lives in Sanghar after retirement, told in an interview that the four Hurs shot and injured in encounter by the British military were brought to Shahdadpur and buried alive near police station. The Hurs were identified as Jalalu Marri, Ali Muhammad Rajpar of Padidan, Bhooro son of Abu Bakar and Ahmed son of Khanan, both of Keerio clan.

Fakir Abdul Majeed Nizamani also told in an interview that Hoat Nizamani and Suleman Khaskheli were shot dead by the military and brought to Sanghar.

Moreover, the military set village Bux Katpar on fire and after arresting eight persons namely Ali Muhammad son

of Ali alias Ezzo Katpar, Arbelo son of Raza Muhammad Katpar, Jan Muhammad son of Fateh Ali Katpar, Wariyam son of Fateh Ali Katpar, Sanwal son of Shams Katpar, Karam Ali son of Muhammad Khan Katpar, Waris Dino son of Noor Muhammad Katpar and Sardaro son of Noor Muhammad Katpar, and hanged all of them at Sukkur jail.

Similarly, Molla Bux son of Ramzan Gaho, Muhammad Khan son of Abdul Hakim Gaho, two brothers Jado and Mir Khan, sons of Phullo Gaho, Ahmed son of Usman Gaho and Man Mirbahar were also martyred by the military.

The military in yet another barbaric action set village Baqar on fire from where Muhammad Khan son of Kirar Mallah escaped and stayed for a while at village Mehar Bhitt. He was about to leave when the villagers engaged voluntarily in desiltation of a canal offered him to have lunch with them. In the meantime, the military, which had an early morning encounter with another group of Hurs near Perumal, reached there and arrested Muhammad Khan and 19 other innocent villagers having no link with Hurs. The disciples of Makhdoom of Hala were also among them. They all were hanged at Hyderabad jail. The names of some of those martyrs were Imam Bux son of Gul Machhi, Lal Bux son of Lalu Machhi, Pandhi Abro, Chutto Abro, and five others of Khaskheli community. Budho son of Muhammad Khan, Umeed Ali son of Ishaq Rajar, Yousif Rajar and Ishaq Rajar of Achhro Thar were also hanged at Hyderabad.

Haji Fakir Abdullah Hingoro in an interview told that his brother-in-law Piyaro son of Yousif Hingoro, Waloo son of Kando, Sabu Hingoro, Umar Khaskheli and his son, Sanjar Khaskheli, three other persons of Hingora community and three of Khaskheli community were hanged in Hyderabad jail without any charges.

Fakir Muhammad Bux Rajar told that a military squad headed by Lambrick shot dead Ishaque Rajar and four

others for providing drinking water to the Hurs. He said Shaikhu Rajar was killed in encounter at Jenhar wherein two war planes and huge military squads and police took part. Two other Hurs – Lal Bux and Umar Rajar were killed in encounter at Tar Rablaho in 1939 in which five policemen were killed. Lambrick himself headed the encounter.

Haji Nangar Fakir Hingorjo, interviewed in January 1981, told that his father Allah Obhayo Hingorjo and Edooson Obhayo Rajar were hanged in Karachi jail and buried at an unknown place. Moreover, five other Hurs Kamil, Wasayo (both sons of Obhayo Rajar) resident of Jafraho, their cousins Jhando and Luqman sons of Lakho Rajar and Umar son of Muhammad Siddique Mangrio Gagnani were hanged same day in Hyderabad jail. Their bodies were taken out of jail to bury at unknown place.

Sanwal Fakir Rajar, interviewed in April 1984, told that Luqman son of Abdullah Rajar, Deeno son of Shamul Rajar, Muhammad son of Khair Muhammad Rajar, Hajo Manan son of Darya Khan and Urs Rajar were hanged to death at a time at Hyderabad central jail. He also mentioned the names of Imam Bux Sanjrani, Muhammad Yousif Mahar, Budho Fakir Rajar and Piyaro Rajar who were also hanged.

Fakir Dur Muhammad son of Muhammad Sharif Hingorjo, interviewed in January 1985, told that Ahmed Fakir Dars of Pano Aqil, Umeed Ali Rajar son of Ishaque Rajar and Tahir Rajar were also hanged.

A large number of Hurs were also executed during the first insurgency that included Bachu Badshah and Issa Dahri, who were publicly hanged to death in Sanghar. Wariyam Fakir Khaskheli, the father of Bachu was poisoned to death in Hyderabad jail when he was arrested in a murder case. Wariyam was head of Hur militants when Pir Syed Hizbullah Shah held the spiritual office.

Graveyards and mass burials of Hurs

As earlier stated, the British authorities hanged hundreds of Hurs and shot dead thousands of others, but none of the bodies of martyred Hurs were handed over to their relatives. The Hurs hanged in Hyderabad prison were buried without religious formalities at Hur Camp located near the prison and similar was the case with those hanged in Sukkur jail. In most cases, the authorities buried the martyred Hurs en mass in ditches dug for the purpose. Even the injured Hurs were buried alive in such ditches. The Hur community however later identified such places and took the bodies to their graveyards for burial. These cemeteries are known as "Hur martyrs' Graveyards".

Following are some of the burial places of Hurs martyred since 1880 to 1945, documented by some writers of Hur community.

Burial place of Bachu Badshah and Issa Dahri: Both the Hur leaders were hanged publicly at an intersection of Sanghar town where currently the National Bank of Pakistan's branch exists. Their bodies were buried at a place where a mosque was built west of Sanghar Municipal Committee office. The Hur community people secretly erected some signs to identify the place for constructing graves later. According to Fakir Muhammad Bachal Wasan, the widow of Bachu Badshah used to visit and offer prayers at the burial place of his husband. She died in con-

centration camp established at Wango during second martial law in 1942. The British officials had razed those signs, as they feared congregations of Hur community people at this place.

In 1896, when the then Pir Pagara ordered Pir Bux Wasan Alias Piru Vizier to fight unto death, he along with Gulu Mochi and Tagio Chang, clashed the British forces two kilometers west of Sanghar town at Nawabshah road near a tamarisk tree locally known as 'Jhoro Fakir's Lae tree' named after Jhoro Fakir Bhanbhro. All the three embraced martyrdom and were buried without coffin in a ditch at Bahawal Fakir's graveyard near present police line of Sanghar. Later, the Hur community people took out the bodies at the night and laid to rest at 'Six Tomb Graveyard' of Nizamani community and after passage of some time the names of three martyrs were inscribed at their graves.

Three other Hurs – Bhalo Fakir Gaho, Usman Hingoro and Misri Gaho were martyred in an encounter just few days after 'Jhoro Fakir's tree' incident. The encounter took place at same road three kilometers from Sanghar near "Chakar Waro Kunb" and the bodies were buried in a ditch at Bahawal Fakir Graveyard. These bodies were also taken out by the community people and laid to rest near Piru Vizier's grave in Nizamani's graveyard.

A Hur community man Allah Dino Fakir Hingoro, resident of Makhi area, was martyred near village Golarki and his body was brought to government hospital at Sanghar. Another villager Babar Fakir Gaho, who along with his minor daughter, had come from Achhro Thar for buying some ration from Sanghar, was shot dead on the way for creating terror, and dumped his body first at Sanghar hospital and later hanged bodies of both the martyrs on a camel and marched through the town before throwing them in an abandoned nullah locally called 'Hurli' located in front of present day city police station.

In 1942, six Hurs martyred in Khenwari encounter in which police chief of Khairpur state Ghulam Rasool Shah was axed to death. The police chief had challenged the Hurs for this encounter for which a group of Hurs hailing from Sanghar and surrounding areas had reached there. The Khenwari bungalow, the remains of which are still there, is located 20km north-west of Head Jamrao. The martyred Hurs identified as Jewan Laghari, Tayab Laghari, Babar Janwri, Umar Kar'ro, Ghuhram Alias Misri Chang and Allahdad Abupoto were buried in a mass grave. Their grave is visited by the Hur community.

Four Hur militants namely Buxal Mochi, Khanan Wasan, Misri Wasan and Qadan Chang embraced martyrdom at "Waseengan Jo Daro" located near Bachani Fakir Rind village at Jhol-Tando Adam Road. Their bodies were brought by the military in a truck and buried in mass grave at Bahawal Fakir Graveyard in Sanghar.

Another two Hurs - Allah Bachayo Khaskheli and Fakir Achar Nizamani were shot dead in encounter near village "Pasan Gaho". Their bodies were buried in a ditch north of Sinjhora police station.

Ali Sher Fakir Khaskheli of Nara Taluka, Ahmed Mochi of Sanghar, Soomar Gaho of Makhi, Chano Khaskheli and some other Hurs were killed in encounter with military in Achhro Thar area north of Head Jamrao. After beheading them, the military buried their bodies in mass grave in sand and brought the heads to Sanghar.

Jalalu Marri of Makhi, Ali Muhammad Rajpar of Padidan, and two other Hurs Bhooro son of Abu Bakar and his cousin Ahmed son of Khanan of Keerio tribe hailing from Gago, sustained serious injuries in encounter with military. They were buried alive near residence of DSP adjacent to Shahdadpur police station.

The British troops shot dead two Hurs Suleman Khaskheli and Hoat Nizamani, hailing from Sanghar, at Chandan Patti near village Gul Hassan Sariwal. Their bod-

ies were chained and dragged from the place of encounter to Sanghar and buried in a mass grave at the bank of Sangro watercourse west of Sanghar town. The area is now part of Sanghar town and their grave exists in a house.

Two more militants – Fakir Ghulam Ali Chang of Mithrao village and Isso Khaskheli of Peso village, were killed in encounter near village Berchhan and were buried in mass grave at Berchhan graveyard of Shahpur Chakar.

Some six teenage herdsmen identified as Kanbhoo Hingoro, Sajan Hingoro, Sobho Hingoro, Mewo Hingoro, Ameen Hingoro and Wali Muhammad Hingoro, were shot dead for committing no sin. They were grazing the cattle near Kahkari Gher north of Kahkari Lake when the military opened fires on them. All the herdsmen jumped into Nara canal but the military did not spare them and sprayed bullets. The canal water washed away their bodies. Some other herdsmen were shot dead by the military near Wadhan Jo Goth. One Muhammad Bihan, a mentally retarded person, was shot and burnt alive in jungle near village Meharki Dadar. The British troops in yet another barbaric action tortured to death a seven year boy Hussain Marri near village Rasheed Khan Marri south of Sinjhor. The boy was tortured to get information about absconding militants.

Mahmood Fakir Laghari of Takan Waro Daro near Makhi and his two companions were shot dead in Sinjhor and buried in mass grave there.

At a winter night when Ameer Bux Nizamani, his wife and a friend Datar Dino Kar'ro were sitting at open place in front of their home lighting the fire, the military opened direct fires on them killing Datar Dino and the wife of Ameer Bux and when the Ameer Bux abused the troops for their brutality, he was put bionets in his eyes and killed. The troops took three bodies along and nobody knows where they were buried. Ameer Bux's son was the eye witness to this brutality, as he was hiding nearby.

A disabled person Bachu son of Mithu Marri was

shot and burnt alive near Bhongar Marri village while one Matto Hingoro was shot dead near Ghindan village during encounter. His body was chained and dragged to Sanghar and buried in mass grave along with Babar Gaho.

According to Dr. Noor Muhammad Burdi, hailing from village Nawab Akbar Bugti, who was Medical Superintendent in British Army and conducted postmortem of a number of Hurs, the troops used to kill people of area and brought their bodies in greed of reawards after getting them identified as Hurs. "One day they beheaded five persons in Makhi area and brought their heads to the hospital but nobody identified heads for several days, and they had to put the heads in a gunny bag and bury at Samti Fakir Zardari's graveyard," he told.

A Hur writer Malhar Fakir Khaskheli quoted Dr. Burdi as saying that the truckloads of dead bodies' used to come from Makhi to Bakhoro area. Sometimes the dead bodies were brought on bullockcarts, camels and horses to get identified any 'notorious Hur' for the prize money.

The mass graves were also found in Sukkur Jail, where a courtyard adjacent to execution site was specified for mass burial of Hurs. Fakir Faiz Muhammad son of Jan Muhammad Kori, who was jailed in a murder case in 1968-69, told in an interview to Fakir Abdul Rasool Shar (Published in Jhoongar Magazine issue of winter 2002) that Sukkur Jail Superintendent had directed him to open the gate of courtyard on the occasion of visit of IG Prisons Mir Manzoor Hussain Panhwar. "It was an old rusted gate and the lock was opened only after oiling it. There were wild bushes all around the courtyard spread in two acres of land," he told and added: "Hawaldar Abdul Ghafoor, an Urdu speaking aged person, who supervised me, told that the courtyard was in fact the burial place of Hurs hanged in the jail. As the British authorities feared reaction, they didn't dare take the bodies out of the jail and buried them at the courtyard."

According to Abdul Ghafoor, the execution site had capacity to hang three persons at a time. The hanging of Hurs took place daily and a four to five feet wide trench in length of courtyard was to be dug and the bodies thrown in it till it was filled, and then a new trench would be dug. This way the entire two acre courtyard turned into mass graves.

The then IG Prisons Mir Manzoor Panhwar had specially visited the mass grave and offered Fateha saying that these were the martyred Hurs and described it "Martyrs' Graveyard."

Another graveyard exists outside Sukkur Jail but according to Fakir Faiz Muhammad, it was not of Hurs but the other criminals whose relatives could not be traced.

Khalqdad Mahar, 90-years old when interviewed by Mola Bux Mahar in October 2002, told that he was arrested along with six other Hurs from Gurang Bungalow where they were performing security duty. All of them were taken along from one to other city and jail including Sukkur Jail where Sajan Fakir and Fakir Yousif Mahar were tortured to death and buried in mass grave inside the jail.

Haji Fakir Abdullah Hingoro told that his brother-in-law Piyaro son of Yousif Hingoro, Waloo son of Kando, Sabu Hingoro, Umar Khaskheli and his son, Sanjar Khaskheli's son and three other persons of Hingoro and three of Khaskheli communities hanged at Hyderabad jail were buried at southern bank of Phuleli canal where a large number of other Hurs are also buried. The graveyard is known as the 'Makaan of Shaheed Hurs'.

Sanwal Fakir Rajar in an interview told that the Hurs hanged in Hyderabad jail were buried at a ground west of the jail.

Part Seven

Sindhi soldiers desert British Army, join Hur Guerrillas

The East India Company and British Government had recruited a large number of mercenaries in its Army in India including Gurkhas, Marathas, Dogras, Bengalis, and Muslims from United Provinces (UP), Sikhs, Punjabis and Pathans for conquering and maintaining its rule in the entire subcontinent. However, their recruitment policy had been changing in view of certain factors including ethnicity, religion, performance and reliability. The British authorities brought about drastic changes in recruitment policy especially after the 1857 Mutiny in Bengal Army. Such policy changes were based on recommendations submitted by the Commissions constituted at different times. The Peel Commission in its findings of 1859 had suggested adopting 'divide & rule' policy recruiting different people from different areas. According to the Eden Commission Report of 1879, the UP Muslims were too dangerous for recruitment in the Army, as the lower stratum of the Muhammadan urban population, the dispossessed landholders (Many of whom were Muslims), the predatory classes, and perhaps the cadets of old Muhammadan families were the only sections of the people who disliked British.

The recommendations of this report were not agreed to by the British policy makers, as the composition of Bengal Army remained unchanged till 1885 when Gen-

eral Roberts became the Commander-in-Chief of Bengal Army and translated the recommendations into practice. The major casualty of Gen. Roberts' bias was Hindustani/Ranghar Muslim and the Hindus whose numbers were rapidly reduced to minority in favour of Punjabis by 1911. Roberts admired the Punjabi and Pathan Muslims for their loyalty to the British during the rebellion. According to researchers, the regiments from Punjab remained loyal throughout the crisis in Punjab and United Provinces. With Punjab Irregular Force and the new regiments, there were more than 50, 000 men under arms in Punjab who were loyal to the British suppression of the mutinous Bengal Army regiment in northern India. Recruitment of high class Brahmans and Rajputs was decreased in response to their perceived involvement in the Mutiny. The changes however took a long period of 25 years.

The anti-Hindustani bias of Gen. Roberts had a deep connection with the issue of political loyalty to the British than with any martial superiority of the races. Thus the recruitment policy changes led to the phenomena called Punjabization of Indian Army. Besides Gen. Roberts, who remained C in C of Bengal Army till 1893, the other Generals like Kitchener (1902-1909) and Sir O Moore Creagh, C in C of India (1909-1914) also played a role in recruitment policy changes. There was a general preference for the wild over the half-educated native as being less eddicted to unwholesome political thinking. Under this policy they had started gradual purging of Brahmans from the Bengal Army.

I failed to get the exact account of Sindhis in British Army but Khan Bahadur Khuda Dad Khan in his book 'Lub-e-Tareekh-e-Sindh' writes that around 1849, the British created 1st and 2nd Baluchi and Sindhi platoons in their Army. In view of his information, it is believed that there were Sindhis in British Indian Army and also there are lots of evidences that Sindhi soldiers rebelled against British

Raj during 1857 Mutiny of Royal Bengal Army. The British forces had shot dead and hanged the rebellions in Karachi and buried them at the place where Empress Market is built. According to Khan Bahadur Khuda Dad Khan, who served the British for about 45 years in different positions and was most loyal to them, in Royal Bengal Army Mutiny of 1857, the officers and soldiers took active part and Karachi, Hyderabad, Shikarpur and Jacobabad witnessed the rebellion of military personnel of different platoons. Similarly, the Sindhis in Royal Navy rebelled in 1946, and were executed. Chakar Khan Junejo in his book 'Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto – A Memoir' writes that 1500 men took part in Royal Naval Mutiny in Karachi and other parts of Sindh. Hashim Gazdar, being a chairman of Muslim League Sindh Committee, was asked to meet the mutineers. After holding the talks, he issued a statement against the official policy of his party. The statement said: "The unrest in the navy was due to unjust attitude of the authorities towards Indians, towards officers, men, and citizens, which has provoked ordinary sailors into rising for freedom of the country." According to Junejo a large number of sailors were shot dead and hundreds arrested and put behind the bars when the government of Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah called military, which opened fires on the mutineers. Earlier during the World War, the Sindhi soldiers had refused to destroy sacred places in Iraq.

Retired Brig. Noor A Hussain in his research paper 'Role of Muslim Martial Races of today's Pakistan in British-Indian Army in World war II' writes that during the World War, which began in September 1939, there were 34000 Punjabi Muslims, 116000 Sikhs, 109000 Gurkhas and 274000 other Muslims from UP, Deccan, Madras and Bengal in the Army. According to him 70 percent recruitment was done from undivided Punjab, 19.5 percent from former NWFP, only 2.2 percent from Sindh and 0.06 from Balochistan area. He says the troops from this region were

already stationed in Middle Eastern countries.

The British authorities, in view of rebellious character of Sindhis, had devised the policy to discourage recruiting them in their Army. For evidence of this policy, I produce the paragraph of a letter written by Governor Hugh Dow to the Viceroy of India Lord Linlithgow on 6th June 1942. He writes: "It would seem that our recruitment policy must be very thoroughly overhauled. Sindhis should seldom, if ever, be recruited in the armed branch, and the taking of semi educated Sindhi Hindus for general work in the districts must be put an end to. Such men have been found to be useless in time of distress."

British intelligence head in Sindh during 1942 martial law, Col. Phillip's letter to a Sindhi friend after the partition of subcontinent makes the British policy very clear regarding recruitment of Sindhis in the Army. He disclosed in his letter that a number of Sindhi soldiers deserted the British Army and joined the Hur guerrillas to fight for freedom. He writes: "We had requisitioned two divisions of Army to crush the Hur uprising, but the Government of India faced problem, as the Germans had launched offense on one hand and Japan had been attacking Burma and other East Asian countries on the other. The British had dispatched Sikhs, Dogras and Gurkhas to Burmese border and Singapore. The Punjab, Frontier Corps and Baloch Corps were sent to Middle East countries. The recruitment had been started to further strengthen our forces in Singapore. But recruiting people from Sindh to suppress Hur uprising was like causing deliberate damage to ourselves, as we had the 1914 experience (of World War-I) that Sindhis always act according to their own thinking instead of obeying orders; and you know, in Army, one has to comply the orders, not to think, being the fundamental principle. So, when the Hur uprising began in Sindh, Sindhi soldiers deserted British Army and joined the Hurs like that of 1914.

Thank God Sindhis were not in large numbers in Army, and therefore it didn't make any big impact. In view of the 1914 incidents, we had decided in written that 'Sindhis do not qualify to be recruited in the Army, and they should never be recruited. And, I think, this military Code is followed till date (in Pakistan).'

According to Col. Phillip, two divisions of Army were called from Punjab after the recruitment besides some troops were sought from Frontier Corps and Nizam of Decan. "Punjabis, for us, were like the sword in hand," he had remarked to praise the Punjabis' loyalty to British.

The researchers, in their works on Bachu Badshah and Piru Vizier who established a parallel government in Sanghar area in 1890s, have also mentioned one Khan Muhammad Brohvi, hailing from Balochistan, who had deserted British Army and joined the militant force of Bachu Badshah.

Hur Guerrilla War Strategy

The Hurs fought guerrilla war with British government and its military composed of mercenaries like Indians, Bengalis, Gurkhas, Punjabis and Pathans. Since the Hurs were in small in numbers with no or very few locally made weapons, they adopted guerrilla war tactics. Before discussing the guerrilla tactics of Hurs, let us go through the definition of Guerrilla War and also the views of an American black lady guerrilla fighter.

Encyclopedia Britannica says: "The broad strategy underlying successful guerrilla warfare is that of protracted harassment accomplished by extremely subtle, flexible tactics designed to wear down the enemy. The time gained is necessary either to develop sufficient military strength to defeat the enemy forces in orthodox battle (as did Mao in China) or to subject the enemy to internal and external military and political pressures sufficient to cause him to seek peace favorable to the guerrillas (as the Algerian guerrillas did to France, the Angolan and Mozambican guerrillas to Portugal, and the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong to the United States). This strategy embodies political, social, economic, and psychological factors to which the military element is often subordinated—without, however, lessening the ultimate importance of the military role."

Assata Shakur, a female warrior of Black Panther Party and Black Liberation Army of America says:

“The fundamental tactics of Guerrilla warfare are completely different from that of conventional military warfare, but that doesn't mean that it is any less effective. In military language, tactics are the practical methods of achieving the grand strategic objectives - winning the war. The tactics of Guerrilla warfare does not require soldiers willing to die in every battle nor does it require that every attack should result in enemy kills. That may sound completely backwards to a conventional soldier, but the successfulness of Guerrilla warfare become clear when its characteristics are closely examined. She further states that Guerrilla warfare is a repeated "Hit and Run" style of combat designed to confuse and disrupt enemy operations. The enemy soldier in a zone of operations should not to be allowed to sleep and rest or organize. The enemy should always feel that they are surrounded. Continued disruptions can be very demoralizing to an enemy force. Five or six well-trained guerrilla soldiers can cause enemy units ten times larger to retreat in haste.

Guerrilla Tactics:

- An effective guerrilla fighter must have a good knowledge of the surrounding countryside; the paths of entry and escape, the possibilities of speedy maneuver, and good hiding places.
- A fundamental characteristic of a guerrilla is mobility. How fast and effectively can teams move from point A to point B and then back again.
- Guerrillas never engage in frontal head-to-head confrontations against enemy forces.
- Guerrilla actions are designed to keep enemy leaders confused so that they must constantly rethink strategies and change plans.
- Aggressive actions cannot endure for long, but must be rapid; there must be of a high degree of effectiveness,

lasting only a few minutes, and be followed by an immediate withdrawal.

- Nighttime attacks can be more aggressive and can be more direct.
- Attack and fall back to safety. The enemy believing that the attacker has departed will begin to relax, when suddenly a new attack bursts forth in another place, with the same characteristics, while the main body of the guerrillas lies in wait to intercept reinforcements.
- One of the weakest points of the enemy is their transportation line. Guerrilla fighters make it virtually impossible for a military force to maintain a steady transport line: road or railroad. Explosive charges can be planted on bridges or railways to make them impassable. Guerrillas can directly attack vehicles by lying in wait to ambush them at the moment of passing and annihilating any survivors. These guerrilla tactics forces the enemy to find new transportation routes making it harder to get fresh supplies and reinforcements to their men in the field.

Keeping in view the definition and tactics of guerrilla warfare quoted above, this chapter will discuss the guerrilla war strategy adopted by the Hurs during their struggle against the British imperialism.

The Hurs had no formal military training nor had they sophisticated weapons the British forces had. They possessed only the axes, sticks and a few locally made guns. Fortunately, the valliant Hurs were living in such a part of Sindh that had a web of lakes, dense forest and desrt area, which best suited to wage guerrilla war. The tactics they applied were the same that had been used by the freedom fighters through the centuries around the world although they had no knowledge of history and especially that of war history.

There is a general perception that the Hurs fought guerrilla war only after Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II or-

ganized a militant force consisting of his disciples on returning home in 1936 from India where he passed six years of his life in different prisons. In fact the guerrilla war began in 1880s when their persecution at the hands of British touched its height. Pir Sibghatullah Shah-II reorganized Hurs and waged anew the war against British Imperialism with fresh zeal. The British authorities, some of their officials who authored books on Hur uprising and certain local writers on British pay roll labled Hurs as 'hardened criminals' and dacoits, but their confidential reports contradicted their own propaganda. The unbiased and independent historians would question the British contention, as throughout the rule of Kalhora and Talpur dynasties in Sindh, the Hur community remained peaceful and no such activities were ever reported. It was after 1843 that the coercive policies and persecution made Hurs to take arms and their struggle turned into war of freedom.

As discussed above, guerrilla warfare is a repeated "Hit and Run" style of combat designed to confuse and disrupt enemy operations, which the Hur guerrillas did besides fighting valiantly frontal head-to-head war when at times they were surrounded by enemy forces. As the black US female warrior says that five or six well-trained guerrilla soldiers can cause enemy units loss ten times larger to retreat in haste, the Hurs also operated in small groups of five to six men, although they were not trained. However at sometimes their group enlarged to 50 or 60 in view of the situation. They were well aware of the area and had developed an effective network of informers to keep abreast with movement of enemy forces. The Hur guerrillas had the practice of consulting thoroughly before taking any action making it more effective resulting huge losses to enemy forces. Such actions proved great source of acquiring weapons and demoralizing the enemy forces.

A Hur Fakir Manthar Nizamani, who was 100-years old when interviewed on 7th May 1992 at Sanghar,

told: "Pir Sahib had ordered to go in hiding and launch a movement against the British, who is the real enemy. It was his clear instructions not to harm any innocent, but eliminate those supporting the English. Pir Sahib had formed different groups of Hurs and each was assigned different tasks. The codeword of the Hur guerrillas was 'Jhang Ja Manhoo' (The Junglemen) to identify them as Ghazi. We had no weapons except axes and sticks. We snatched guns and rifles from others. We used to take away weapons of police and military personnel killed in encounter. We breached the canal banks to block the way of British forces."

The Hur militants, as discussed earlier, had made Makhi Forest as their headquarter being the dense and difficult one to enter for the British mercenaries from other regions. After the attacks on British installations, troops, police stations and the informers of the government, they always took shelter in the dense forest, where the British forces never dared to enter even during the daytime. According to surviving Hurs, whose interviews were compiled in book form, stated that they used to ambush and snatch guns from military, police and the Zamindars loyal to the government. Sindh Governor Hugh Dow in a report dated 11 April 1942 submitted to the Viceroy of India Lord Linlithgow confirms that 'Hur outrages have been carried out for the purpose of obtaining guns from license holders. In many cases, these weapons, with ammunition, have been handed over to the Hurs at once. Where there has been a show of resistance, the handling of those weapons has been so inexpert as to be an added source of danger to the victims rather than to the Hurs.'

The Hurs killed a number of Zamindars and officials since 1893 however the fresh launch of attacks in 1940s baffled the British administration. On March 14, 1942 the Hurs assassinated Ghulam Rasool Shah, the Nazim (chief) of Khairpur police who had played key role

in arrest and other actions against the Hurs. Same year on May 16 they derailed Lahore Mail train between Tando Adam and Udero Lal railway stations killing at least 30 people including the son of then Chief Minister of Sindh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah. Col. Wasal Muhammad Khan, who was eye witness to the incident of derailing the Lahore Mail, writes in his autobiography: "After the completion of the army Intelligence Course at Karachi, I decided to return to Lahore by the ill-fated train, which was derailed in the area Charao north of Hyderabad at about 9p.m., by removing railway fishplates. The Hurs had apparently divided themselves into two parties - the raiding and covering parties. The former under the effective covering firing from the latter entered the compartments and started looting and eliminating the passengers by the use of axes, guns and rifles."

Fakir Manthar Nizamani, a Hur militant who was among the group, which derailed the Lahore Mail, in an interview on 7th May 1992 at the age of 100 plus, rejects the Wasal Muhammad's contention that the Hurs robbed or shot dead the passengers. Manthar narrates the account of incident in these words: "We were camped at Chharao village of Hingora community near Tando Adam when the two of our informers reported that a military train is scheduled to pass on its way to Sanghar. We consulted and confirmed the exact time according to which it was to arrive at 11p.m. We were 15 in the group including Rano Mochi, Gulu Nizamani, Matu Khaskheli, Suleman Chang, Kando Chang, Adal Naich, Naju Nizamani, Miro Nizamani and others. We learnt that the railway employees working on the track lived in a village near Udero Lal. We took one of the employees to remove fishplates, which he did with equipment. We had selected a portion of track near Udero Lal that had a big gap between the land and it so as to cause big damage in derailment. We had taken positions on the sides of track and soon as the train arrived

at around 10.45p.m we opened fires on it. The reason for taking position was that we expected retaliation from the military. The train derailed and one of us destroyed the headlights of engine but there was no retaliation and instead we heard the cries of men, women and children. Taken aback by the situation, we entered the train compartments to see what had been the situation. Unfortunately it was a passenger train, which had arrived earlier, as the military train was halted at Hyderabad. We then didn't kill or rob any passenger except one who was crying that he was the son of Minister Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah."

"We then left the scene and proceeded to Makhi Forest but on the way after Tando Adam, we encountered the military several times but they failed to nab us," he told.

The Hurs also attacked Down Bombay Mail near Rajputana border on September 08; some other police officers were shot dead while a DSP was shot at in Tharparkar district where he was staying at an inspection bungalow. Their activities spread from Head Jamrao Canal to both banks of Dhoro Naro. They created panic among the administration especially in Sanghar, Sinjhor and Shahdadpur areas. In July 1946, the Hurs removed fish-plates in Bahawalpur State to derail Lahore Mail, but since it was two hours late, a goods train derailed.

Besides such attacks, the Hurs cutt of telegraph lines and breached the embankments to stop supply of water to the agricultural lands of Zamindars loyal to the government. Such incidents started from Rohri. The Executive Engineer of Mithrao Canal in a report to the higher authorities stated that his staff was so scared that they cannot move out for field visits. "I have the reports that the Hurs want to paralyze the government system so that the government brings Pir Pagara Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II back to Sindh," he said in the report.

Governor of Sindh Hugh Dow also sent a letter to Lord Linlithgow on 6th May 1942 and informed him about cutting of canal banks and described it 'most dangerous manifestation'. His wording in the letter however shows that he wanted such more incidents by the Hurs so that hatred among the Zamindars against the formers would spread on the one hand and the Zamindars, who were inactive, would extend support to the government, on the other.

In yet another letter dated 23rd May 1942 to Lord Linlithgow, he informs: "Deliberate breaches on the canals are becoming very numerous, as there have been no less than 50 in the first eleven miles of Khipro canal."

Another letter of Charles Beopry Bell Clee (C.B. B. Clee), a British ICS officer appointed in Sindh as Cief Secretary, to Conran Smith, the Secretary to Home Department of British India on 6th June 1942 also contains details of guerrilla actions of Hur militants. According to that letter, the month of May had seen a very definitely worsening of the situation, as the number of 'crimes' committed by the Hurs steadily increased including those resulting from the derailment of trains. At least 58 persons were killed and 72 injured in a month. "The worst crime except the derailment of Lahore Mail was an attack on a passenger bus in Tharparkar district in which the bus was held up and burnt and 13 persons, one being an Inspector of Police, were killed. Other offences, such as the cutting of telegraph and telephone wires, the derailment of the patrol engine, in which the driver was killed, and the breaching of canals and damaging the canal regulators also occurred," he writes.

Late Syed Hashim Raza, an ICS officer, also reported some incidents that were part of guerrilla tactics used by Hur militants. In a letter dated 19th September 1942 addressed to Conran Smith, Hashim Raza writes: "During the fortnight, there have been two attacks on the

railway. The first was a minor incident in which their shots were fired at a rail motor between Ghotki and Sarhad railway station on September 2. No casualties occurred and no damage was done. The second was an attack, which might easily have had very serious results, on the Jodhpur Mail in the Mirpurkhas district in the early morning of 6th September. On rounding a bend the driver of the Mail noticed an obstruction on the line. He at once accelerated and pushed through the obstruction but while doing so shots were fired and he and three Muslim ladies on the train received slight pellet wounds. Around 150 Hurs from the desert area, mounted on camels, appeared there and there is no doubt that if the train had been forced to stop or had been derailed, a tragedy similar to that of the derailment of Lahore Mail in May last, might have ensued.”

C. B. B. Clee in another letter to Conran Smith sent on 18th December 1941 had informed him that on the 29th of November that year some rails were removed from the line near Madeji station in Sukkur district near the Pir's village. In this incident a goods train was derailed and two wagons loaded with firewood caught fire. He suspected that the rails must have been taken up by the followers of the Pir who are railway employees.

As a result of incidents of derauling, the authorities had stopped operating trains and later police guards were appointed for security. Similar security measures were adopted for canals.

The tactics used by Hur guerrillas are also mentioned in H. T. Lambricks' book 'The Terrorist'. Saeen Rakhio, the character of the novel, writes: "Makhi Fakirs meanwhile gave proof that they accepted the government's challenge. They had breached the irrigation canals round about Sanghar on many occasions and were constantly breaking the telephone wires and instruments, sinking the engineer's boats, burning the stores of oil and the like."

Saeen Rakhiyo, who was among the group of Hurs who killed Syed Ghulam Rasool Shah, police chief of Khairpur at Khenwari Bungalow, narrates the story: "We took the precaution of cutting the canal telephone wire before we reached Jamrao Head, and after passing it cut it again. It was still dark when our guides warned us to move off the inspection path of the Nara into the jungle to the westward, and shortly afterwards the order to halt was given. Our leaders consulted together, and we were made to take up roughly the position from which the attack would be launched. Gul Khan Nizamani, with Lotu, was given the command of the right wing; Waryam Fakir (son of Piru Vizier of 1890s) with my father was in center, and my own chief Hassan took the left. We had in all thirty or forty guns with plenty of ammunition, most of it supplied by Samejos, and two or three rifles. Our plan was to form our line like the crescent moon, men with fire arms at each tip, while Ghazis selected for reckless courage should muster in the center with their axes. It had been given out that anyone who shot the Nazim, once we had come to close quarters, should himself be shot: for it was fitting that this villain should perish by the edge of Ghazi's axe." And they did it as they had decided. The old and dilapidated structure of Khenwari Bungalow has still the signs of axe attack at its doors and windows.

The battle of Khenwari was fought on March 14, 1942. The Khairpur State Police casualties were five killed including Nazim, and ten wounded. Nine Hurs were reportedly killed, Lambrick writes in a note in his book. Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi in his book "Uhe Deenh, Uhe Sheenh" writes that Khansahib (title given by British) Ghulam Rasool Shah, originally hailing from Nawabshah, joined the British police as Jamaadar and then was promoted to the rank of Inspector. He was so cruel and most loyal to British and in case any person complained against him, the British officials would implicate the complainant

in fake cases instead of taking action against Ghulam Rasool Shah. He started targeting the Hurs and was at Khenwari bungalow along with one hundred policemen when he was attacked by the Hurs in the wee hours.

Same year when the martial law was imposed and the operation against the Hurs launched, the Hurs covered several wells with sand or destroyed them leaving only few wells, so that the British forces couldn't get water in the desert. Unfortunately, rest of the wells, were destroyed in military action. As the Hurs were used to desert area, they would escape speedily, the British forces had to arrange camels to chase them, retired Maj. Gen. Wasal Muhammad Khan writes.

Fakir Muhammad Suleman Wasan in an interview in 1990s at the age of above 90-years, told that the Makhi Forest was the big hideout of Hurs, where they dug up deep trenches in large numbers, covered it with logs, tree branches and leaves, and hide there. The British forces could never find the trenches until the traitors informed them about these hideouts.

Wali Dad Wali, who served British Army as Quarter Master writes in his memoirs that on several occasions the Hurs ambushed the forces or encountered bravely. Their groups consisted of ten to hundred and fifty men. Sometimes they opened fires on forces from dense jungle. "It looked as if they were fully trained in guerrilla warfare. They were the best sharpshooters and never missed the target," he said.

About the guerrilla tactics used by Hurs, Wali Dad Wali writes: "There were thousands of Hur militants in Makhi Dhand forests and groups of them used to appear suddenly and disappear after the ambush again in the dense jungle. Even the sand dunes proved to be in their favour from where they attacked the British forces causing them heavy losses. At times I saw them digging the sand and taking positions there."

He has narrated several accounts of ambush and encounters in his memoirs. Narrating some accounts, Wali Dad said: "On 19th September 1943, we received information about presence of 30 Hurs. The 300 troops including 60 Sikhs of (two squads) of Sikh Company under the command of Company Captain G. H. Could Well left the Paksir Mori area of Makhi at around 8.a.m along the left bank of Nara. After four mile distance the troops entered into dense jungle. The Sikh squads were in command of Lt. Longworth. As the troops moved ahead, the path between the trees narrowed down further, and we had to march in a single line for about nine miles when the informer signaled to stop. The Captain accompanied by the informer moved further and returned after half an hour, reporting that the Hurs were busy cooking the food at a small sandhill. He divided the troops in four parts to surround the Hurs. After an hour, as the Captain fired in the air, the Hurs, who were unaware of troops till that time, raised their turbaned heads and probably were watching the situation. Hardly after half an hour, the Hurs opened fires on troops from the altitude of 30ft. The troops also retaliated but as the Hurs were at sandhill, their fires proved useless. After exchange of fires for two hours, the Captain of Sikh squad, a Scot, got the mortar gun to fire but it caused death of two and injuries to five of its own soldiers due to short range of gun. Our company commander had planned to wait till the Hurs are short of ammunition or call the war planes for bombardment, but the Longworth didn't agree. The Company Commander then deployed soldiers in the rear of Sikh squad and requisitioned the war planes by wireless message. Our troops continued intermittent firing but in the meantime the Longworth hastily started climbing over the sandhill along with Sikh squad resulting in killing of some Sikh soldiers and injuries to several others. The Sikh squad commander Longworth also died when a bullet hit him on his fore-

head. In such a situation, our Captain ordered other Sikh soldiers to move back. As there was no sign of war planes, and hardly an hour had left to dawn, the company commander decided to encamp there with searchlights. By 7a.m the Captain ordered surrounding the sandhill and fired in the air to launch the attack on Hurs but there was complete silence from Hurs' side. The Captain climbed over a tree to watch, and saw none of the Hurs at the sandhill. At around 10a.m the war plane hovered around the sandhill and sent wireless message that nobody is seen there. The Captain, accompanied by 50 soldiers, ascended the sandhill only to find that there existed a tunnel, covered with sand and tree branches, to escape. The Hurs, under the guerrilla strategy, had escaped through the tunnel during nighttime. It was the band of Allah Bachayo Khaskheli.”

Wali Dad writes that Pir Pagaro had arranged guerrilla war training for the Hurs and had engaged the revolutionaries of Subhas Chandra Bose for the purpose. They had established arms factories and dug a web of tunnels in the Makhi Dhand forest.

Another account says: “On 12th November 1943, our company was stationed at an inspection bungalow built at ‘Gujhri Bhatt’ (Hidden Sandhill), about 50ft high and surrounded by trees near Nara. It was about 10.a.m when the Sepoy from Watch Tower of bungalow gave signal that the company has been besieged by the Hurs, and all the soldiers rushed to the trenches protected by the sand-filled gunny bags. The Captain took view of the area with binocular and confirmed the signal but said the Hurs were still far from them. I took refuge between iron boxes inside a tent and watched the movement of Hurs from tent-holes. They wore Khaki uniforms, as I saw them coming closer. The troops were at 50ft altitude and the Hurs were down moving ahead in guerrilla style under the cover of green tree-branches and leaves. Soon they opened fire and

the exchange of fire lasted for three hours. We later learnt that their actual target was a big Sikh Company encamped at desert area about six miles from our company on the other side of Nara canal, but same time we too were besieged by them. The Hur militants, under the retreat-strategy, moved away after three hours but their war skill, guerrilla tactics and fearless style baffled the troops. The Hurs disappeared in dense jungle raising the slogans leaving behind five dead and 12 wounded soldiers. Any Hur might have been killed or wounded but there was no such sign at that place except empty cartridges.”

How valiantly the Hurs fought with British forces, could be imagined by following account of battle between a group of 150 Hurs and 1500 troops on 23rd December 1943 in a desert area beyond Jamrao Head, as Wali Dad writes:

“We received information on morning of 22nd December that a group of 150 Hurs led by Ali Sher Chang was present in desert area. Within an hour the company began the march towards desert on camels. By sunset, we reached near a big sandhill where the company dug a big trench for the camp. Early next morning, the Hur band appeared on sandhill and their leader was watching the company with binocular. At that time the Punjab Regiment also reached behind the Hurs beyond the sandhill. The Hurs were surrounded by the troops. We received a wireless message that Hurs had occupied a village located at the sandhill slope. In the meantime, the Punjab regiment opened fires on the Hurs making them to move to the top of the sandhill. Our company also came under fire as the Hurs descended from the sandhill moving towards us. Our Captain ordered retreat and the soldiers took position in the trenches retaliating the fires. The Hurs had now no way to escape as the army of Raja of Jodhpur also had come for the support of British troops. The Hurs dug the sand without delay and took positions in fox-holes.”

“After a long encounter, only twenty Hurs survived

with no ammunition. The surviving Hurs, except their commander Ali Sher, moved ahead holding the axes and empty guns to fight the troops but were killed before reaching to us. Now there was Ali Sher in the field with two options – either to surrender or to be killed. He headed towards us raising the gun as he had some bullets. The Captain ordered Karim Bux Baloch to open fire on Ali Sher and the dual began between them. When the Ali Sher's ammunition finished, he took out the sword and ran towards troops raising the slogan of 'Allah Akbar' (God is great) but he received 12 bullets in the chest before coming closer. Even then, he didn't fall down till the thirteenth bullet hit him directly in the head. Ali Sher then lying straight on the sand raised the slogan 'Ya Ali Maddad' (O' Ali, I seek your help) before taking last breath."

The Hurs had attacked several police stations during freedom war fought in 25000 sq miles of Sindh, snatched official arms and shot dead policemen for their atrocities and betrayal to motherland; and also to create panic among colonial rulers. Sometimes the Hurs took the policemen to Makhi Forest to hold the Hur Court and sentence them to death. Hur Fakir Muhammad Suleman Wasan told one of such instance. "One day Fakir Matoo Khaskheli accompanied by some of other Hurs appeared at Bobi police station where two Jamadars and two Sepoys were sitting. They took them to Makhi Forest to hold the court. Matoo, before announcing the death sentence, told them that 'you are traitors of motherland. You took birth here but you are loyal to British, and daily you kill a large number of innocent people'. Then the policemen were hanged to death leaving their bodies hanging on the trees," Suleman Wasan told quoting another Hur Meero Fakir.

Press under pressure

The local press remained under pressure during the entire British rule in general and after proclamation of martial law in Sindh in particular. The British authorities had virtually imposed censorship on the newspapers. The newspapers were to publish only the official handouts about the so-called ongoing operation against the Hurs. They were not allowed independent reporting so as to hide the facts from general public. The restrictions on the press were imposed, as the administration feared criticism from the political circles as well as at world level. (The images of some foreign newspapers annexed. The wording shows that the news reports were based on handouts).

Aftab Nabi in his research paper writes that District Magistrate of Sukkur E. H. Holt, who had been suggesting execution of Pir Sahib, was of the view that foreign press was giving more coverage to the anti-Hur operation as compared to local press, which kept mum due to strict censorship imposed on them.

The press remained silent over the restrictions for a few days after imposition of martial law but later started complaining. A letter by the Governor Dow dated 20th June 1942 to the Viceroy speaks itself: "Local politics is much concerned with the way in which the situation created by martial law can be exploited. Its actual declaration was welcomed by all parties and enthusiastically received by the press, but as was expected, this uncritical attitude

did not last long, and as the restrictions and inconvenience which such a regime inevitably imposes on the civil population come to be realized, enthusiasm naturally dies down. Two of the complaints made against the martial law administration are themselves symptoms of returning confidence. The press is beginning to complain that it gets insufficient information about the Hur outrages and the means taken for their suppression. In the earlier stages of the troubles there was almost 'conspiracy of silence' on the part of press regarding any crimes of which now the Hurs were suspected."

Governor Dow alleged that 'the press was either bought or terrified. Now they are confident that the Hurs are going to be suppressed and are anxious to publish all the news they can get.' His thinking about the local press could also be judged from this remark, which he made in a letter to the Viceroy dated 21st January 1943 when the press took up the issue of death sentence to young Sindh boy Hemo Kalani, who was arrested while damaging a railway track. Dow had remarked: "Undoubtedly, there has been a tendency in the press to treat serious crimes of sabotages, if committed by young educated Hindus, as little more than peccadilloes due to high spirits."

On the contrary, the files of Al-Waheed newspaper are a big proof of its critical attitude towards Hur community. Same outlook was of other dailies like 'Sindh Muslim, 'Muslim Voice', who published editorials and the reports, full of negative comments, against the Pir Sahib and the Hur militants. The pages of Al-Waheed could be seen full of reports against the Hurs while in editorials, the newspaper openly held Pir Sahib responsible for the killings and other crimes. The paper also criticized Hindu political leaders because of its biased policy towards Hindu community of Sindh. The only criticism against the authorities was that of their failure in restoration of peace. But even then the Governor Dow was not happy with the press.

Al-Waheed, in its editorial titled 'Bloodshed of innocent people in Sindh' on 21st November 1941, quoting the list of murders, published by 'Sindh Muslim' newspaper, writes that the incidents taking place from the day when Pir Sahib left Pir Jo Goth to live in reverine forest area (Keti), unjustified enrolment of Ghazis, reorganizing the Hur force, shifting to Sanghar after pressure put by the State authorities, leaving Karachi for Sanghar in haphazard way during the night time in hired cars and again rushing to Pir Jo Goth and the jungle from where he was taken into custody and subsequent murder of Fateh Ali Shah in Sukkur testify that Pir Sahib and the Hurs were directly responsible for it.

In yet another editorial titled 'Hindu leaders responsible for killings and dacoities' on 16th April 1942, Al-Waheed writes: "There had been bloodshed of innocent men, women and children in Sindh since last six months, and the provincial cabinet, continuing with the help of Hindu leaders, is responsible for the law and order situation. The ministers, who are close to the leader of Hurs, are known to everyone. It's the present ministry during whose tenure Pir Pagaro was arrested and the bloodshed started. Pir Pagaro was arrested without taking preemptive measures that plunged the country into bloodshed and lawlessness. One may ask question how the present ministry (of Allah Bux Soomro) continues to exist. It's only due to patronage by the Congress and non-Congress Hindu leaders and assembly members including Congress leader Rustam Sidhwa, who had received a donation of Rs.200/- from Pir Pagaro for buying Khadi cloth.

The editorial note also mentions a Hindu retired teacher Kacho Mal, the editor of Pir's newspaper 'Pir Jo Goth Gazette' and lashing at Pir Pagaro it said he had prohibited his disciples from slaughtering the cows just to appease Hindus.

The newspaper alleged that outside world is being

kept unaware of lawlessness in Sindh and the Congress leaders are silent over the killings.

Sometimes the newspapers criticized the British officials including the Lambrick for their failure in controlling the situation. however soft words were used for them. In an editorial titled 'Internal Situation of Sindh', daily Al-Waheed writes on 1st May 1942 that Lambrick has given assurance several times of improving the situation, but there seems no progress despite making huge arrangements.

In a news report from Shahdadpur, the same newspaper quoted Lambrick as saying that every possible efforts were being taken to control the situation in the districts affected by the Hur uprising. According to report, Lambrick didn't divulge any details but assured that the peace would soon be restored.

Treacherous role of Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi

There were several aspirants of being the new Pagaro, as perhaps they were informed and assured, being the most loyal to their Masters, that Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah -II will be hanged at any cost. Governor Dow in a letter dated 22nd February 1943 addressed to Viceroy Lord Linlithgow had informed: "A good deal of activity is being shown by various candidates for the 'Pag' should it come vacant, and this matter will want swift and careful handling." There were two contenders on the forefront – one Rahim Shah and the other one Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi.

Dow's concluding sentence is important, which shows that they had decided to crown Pir's elder son Syed Sikandar Shah. He says: "I have again reviewed this matter with Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah (Premier) and the Home Minister as the result of representation received from Richardson, and as a result of this we hold to the decision that 'Pag' should go to the Pir's eldest son."

Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi had several times approached the British authorities to get him crowned as Pir Pagaro. He also had a meeting with Governor Dow in this regard, but as the British knew his dirty role, being most loyal to them, they didn't hold any good opinion about him, which could be judged from Dow's remarks about him in a letter to Viceroy dated 5th March 1943: "The fact that the succession of the 'Gadi' of the Pir Pagaro is being

'much canvassed may be taken to show a general appreciation and acceptance of what is expected to be the present Pir's fate. The principal intriguer is one of the Pir's relations who were himself more responsible than any other individuals for the agitation, which led to the Sukkur riots (Masjid Manzilgah) of a few years ago, and is a needy adventurer hoping to get some thing out of the wreck for himself. I am giving him an interview tomorrow and hope to be able to bring him to a proper realization of the danger of the situation.'

G. M. Syed's remarks about Ali Muhammad Rashdi too are noteworthy, which he made in his Sindhi book 'Janab Guzariam Jin Seen', a compilation of profiles of different personalities. Syed writes: "Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi was a combination of activism and idealism in politics. He doesn't care what the procedure he adopts for realization of his objectives." Syed has given a detailed account of Rashdi's life that makes one to think that he was not the trustworthy person.

Rashdi proved the observations of G. M. Syed about him when wrote against the Syed for his soft attitude towards Pir Sahib and the Hurs. Dr. Hameeda Khuhro in her book 'Muhammad Ayub Khuhro' writes in footnote quoting the record of Muslim League Working Committee session 14th September 1942 that 'Rashdi was apparently close to G. M. Syed but he criticised the Syed for opposing martial law. He said G. M. Syed had also opposed a draft statement of a Committee formed on Hur issue and deleted certain remarks about Pir Pagaro. Rashdi had alleged that G. M. Syed had links with Hurs through some of his relatives and Khosa tribesmen settled in villages located near his village Sunn on Indus River bank.'

Fakir Muhammad Wasan, a Hur surviving till 1990s, in an interview told that Faizu Waryah and Haji Khaskheli were arrested from the annual Urs (anniversary celebration) of Sufi Saint Poet Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai where a

Hindu shopkeeper identified them and informed the military. Haji Khaskheli fought valiantly killing several soldiers but at last both were arrested. Faizu was sentenced to 25 year imprisonment and Haji was awarded death sentence. "In Hyderabad jail we decided to break the jail and escaped in the night at around 2.30a.m scaling the wall. Two Hurs couldn't climb over and remained there while I, Faizu, Haji and another one first went to Matiari town and then to Sunn where G. M. Syed's maternal nephew Satabo Shah was friend of Faizu. Faizu, who himself was a Zamindar, sent a message to Satabo Shah who came with horses and guns to receive us. We stayed for seven days at Sunn as guest of Satabo Shah."

Syed Jalal Shah, the grand son of G. M. Syed however told this author that latter's family had strained relations with the family of Satabo Shah, who lived not in Sunn but a nearby village. Satabo Shah's father was allegedly involved in murder of G. M. Syed's father Syed Muhammad Shah.

Syed Jalal Shah told that G. M. Syed sometimes recalling the old days of Pir Sahib Pagaro, narrated an incident according to which the Hurs were reportedly planning to murder peple of Soomro community, as they suspected that the then Premier of Sindh Allah Bux Soomro was behind the arrest of Pir Sahib and imposition of martial law. "G. M. Syed had learnt that a group of Hurs had come to revirine forest near Sunn to kill the Soomro community people. After receiving this information, he went to the Hurs and told them that he had good relations with Pir Sahib and for sake of friendship, they should give up such plans, which they did oblidging him," Jalal Shah told.

Former railway guard and journalist late Syed Shabbir Hussain also noted in his autobiography that Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi was on the forefront to trap the Pir Sahib, and himself to be installed as the Pir Pagaro. He

writes that the British, after having been frustrated, used Pir Sahib's relatives to implicate him in a murder case.

Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi not only wrote several letters to the British authorities- first to submit schemes for crushing the Hurs and then requesting them to install him as Pir Pagaro, but also published editorials in his newspaper 'Muslim Voice'. In a confidential letter dated 1st May 1942, addressed to Lambrick, Rashdi himself disclosed that he had submitted earlier a 'scheme' to him. He wondered whether that scheme, accompanied by a letter, had fallen in wrong hands.

"I have been receiving information that the outlaws have of late been migrating to other centers on the bank of Indus in Larkana, Sukkur and Khairpur. I wish you had an efficient intelligence service such as I have proposed in my scheme," Rashdi writes.

The hypocrite Rashdi was even opposed to shifting of Pir Pagaro's family to Karachi. On same date he wrote a separate letter to Lambrick in this regard. "I have just read the announcement of the government regarding the proposed removal of Pir Pagaro's family members to Karachi. In my humble opinion it is highly descreable to bring this nuisance to Karachi and extend the contagion to the very capital of the province. Their stay in Karachi will induce and enable the Hurs to visit this place secretly or openly on one or the other pretext under one garb or the other, and watch the movements to start their operations here," he said.

Rashdi also published a short editorial note in his newspaper 'Muslim Voice' suggesting that the Hurs sentenced to death should be hanged in public, at open selected spots, as was done in 1895, and the Pir of Bharchundi should be taken into confidence and his men should be sent out for reconnaissance.

Pir of Bharchundi had also played his role against the Pir Pagaro, as evident from a CID Confidential Report

dated 15th April 1942. The report says: "Pir of Bharchundi has offered his services to help clean up the mess. Though it is hardly possible to let him do it his own way, a very good use could be made of his offer by using his disciples to form a spy system and obtain information regarding the movement of Hurs and their secret hideouts."

On 23rd September 1942, Rashdi again wrote a letter to the Lambrick. He said: "I do not know what is going to happen about Pir Pagaro. I hear strong rumours here. Unless that fellow is hanged, there is going to be no peace. Of evidence against him, there is no dearth if you can only take people like us into confidence. Then you will require some very able officers to sift the the evidence and arrange it properly. I am sure you are not oblivious of these facts."

Dr. Hameeda Khuhro in her book has given detailed account of Rashdi's anti-Pir Pagaro activities. She quoted his lengthy letter of 22 October 1941 written from his 'Muslim Voice' office to Governor Dow claiming the title of Pir Pagaro. He continued writing such letters till the Governor told him that his claim cannot be accepted.

Dr. Khuhro writes that Rashdi drew attention of the British government when he started filing complaints against the Hurs in 1941. Governor Dow had apprised the Viceroy about him. Rashdi in a letter to the Dow had informed him that 'he is cousin of Pir Pagaro but his name is included in black list of Hurs.' He had requested for police guard to be deployed at his residence.

Rashdi, who had been emitting venom against Pir Pagaro all the time, stands exposed when Lambrick, commending his services to the British, wrote a letter to the high ups for honoring him with a title: "Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi played a key role in hanging of Pir Pagaro. Mr. Kargil (Deputy Martial La Administrator) would testify more than me, as Mr. Rashdi spent several weeks working with him to prepare the case against Pir Pagaro.

The Martial Law Administrator had also lauded the services of Rashdi.” In fact, Rashdi, after failing in getting him installed as Pir Pagaro, had requested the British authorities, including Mr. Kargil and the Lambrick through letters for a title as reward for his services. Lambrick had recommended the government to pay him Rs.20, 000/- cash reward so that he could buy at least hundred acres of land. All his letters are available in Lambricks documents.

Rashdi, in a last bid, had sent two letters to the Governor Dow claiming the title of Pir Pagaro. A letter was written on 22nd January and the other one on 31st January 1943. In response to his first letter, the Secretary of Governor informed Lambrick in an official communiqué: “This is for your information that Ali Muhammad Rashdi has been told in clear terms that the government will not support any of his attempt aimed at getting him installed as Pir Pagaro.”

Some excerpts from Rashdi’s very lengthy confidential letter of 31st January 1943 are re-produced here. The letter bears his office address of ‘Muslim Voice, Ram Bagh Road, Karachi’. He says: In continuation of my humble representation of the 22nd January, I submit that I have since looked into ruling relating to the Declaratory Suit regarding the ‘Gadi’ of Pir Pagaro, between the father of present Pir and his brother. I beg to submit herewith a note thereon, which deals with the legal and customary aspects of the matter. Next, there are a few points which I feel compelled to touch here hoping, as I do, that they would receive sympathetic consideration at your Excellency’s hands.”

“My submission is that the question of succession does not deserve to be tackled on any footing other than the one on which the question of removal of the present Pir has been tackled. I mean, it should be tackled on political footings and looked at from the standpoint of Administration and high public policy. The Pir’s matter,

which had great significance both from War, Military and High Imperial standpoint, has been dealt with as such. It has been regarded as an open rebellion against King Emperor. There has been martial law for eight months and a large number of troops have been engaged in suppressing it. To try the Pir, special regulations have been promulgated. Now, having disposed of the question of present occupant of the 'Gadi' in that manner, it would, in my humble judgment, not be advisable to get back, abruptly, into the day to day civil and local mood while deciding the question of the next occupant of the 'Gadi'. The removal of an undesirable Pir and his substitution by a desirable one constitute but one single question and it does seem to me desirable or wise that there should be any change of mood or policy, of method or procedure, till both the parts of that one single problem are satisfactorily dealt with."

"I submit that after removal of the present Pir, the government should play the major role in the selection and installation of his successor and all possible assistance should be extended to the person whom they consider fit to have the 'Gadi'. Of course, before that step is taken, the government can naturally take steps to satisfy themselves that the man is eligible for it and possess the requisite qualifications including the ability to command substantial following from among the 'Jamaat' and Brotherhood. But once that is done the government should help that man fully and firmly to enable him to come into his own, particularly because he is being put into that position under abnormal conditions in the creation of which he has had no hand. While I say so, I naturally presume that the government choice will not fall on persons who have been a party to the present Pir's activities, in one form or the other, or at one time or the other."

"While I put forth this claim, I do not mean to suggest that so far as I am concerned, minus this proce-

ture, I have no other chances or qualifications to occupy the Gadi. I think I have already made it sufficiently clear in my last representation that if the Pir and his two sons are excluded I stand better chances of securing a reasonable measure of support from the Jamaat, brotherhood and the Muslim community, in the first instance, and of enlisting and commanding complete support and following in due course of time. This state of affairs will not constitute anything unique in the annals of this 'Dargah'; almost on every previous occasion of succession also, one or the other section of the Jamaat – that helped the defeated candidate, has stood apart but later on, when the things have returned to normal, it has gone back to the successful Pir.”

Rashdi, in his letter, submitted two points in support of 'elligibility' to be installed as Pir Pagaro. The points are: Loyalty to the King and no part in any anti-British or subversive movement. “In provincial politics, indeed, I have on occasions played a certain part, sometimes even vital part, and while so doing, I did, I admit, make many mistakes. Notwithstanding all this, I might assure Your Excellency that if I am selected I shall be completely out of political picture unless I am desired by His Majesty's government to fill the gap. After all, a Pir Pagaro of my experience and vision will never stoop so low as to interfere in dirty provincial politics of which I have already had a bitter dose.”

Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi utterly failed to get him installed as Pir Pagaro, because Governor Dow during a visit to Hyderabad to inspect Sindh Police Rifles parade, announced publicly addressing the Darbar on 17th November 1943 that Government of Sindh has decided to abolish the Gadi of Pir Pagaro and would not permit anyone to occupy it. This announcement conveyed the decision which seems to have generally been expected.

Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi is the discendent of Syed Ali Muhammad Shah, son of Syed Sibghatullah

Shah-I and the elder brother of Pir Ali Gohar Shah-I, who had withdrawn from 'Gadi' in favor of his younger brother. Syed Ali Muhammad Shah had five sons including Syed Pir Shah who had a son Syed Muhammad Hamid Shah. Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi is one of the three sons of Pir Hamid Shah.

The dispute over the 'Gadi' had also emerged when Syed Shah Mardan Shah-I (Father of Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II) was installed as Pir Pagaro by his brother Pir Ali Gohar Shah-II, who had no child. Pir Ali Muzaffar Shah, elder brother of Shah Mardan Shah-I had challenged the installation of Shah Mardan Shah and finally the court had to decide in favor of Shah Mardan Shah in 1899 rejecting the claim of Pir Muzaffar Shah.

Conclusion

Sometime before his arrival in Sindh, Charles Napier had written: "We have no right to seize Sindh, yet we shall do so; and very advantageous, useful and humane piece of rascality it will be." And soon after the subjugation, Governor General of British India Lord Ellenborough in a proclamation issued on 12th March 1843 shamelessly stated: "Ameers (Talpurs) are charged with breaking the treaty (forced upon them). They were foreigners in Sindh, with no claim to hereditary affection or obedience." Similar statement was issued by Charles Napier a few days later claiming that the English had the right to conquer Sindh like the Talpurs had.

The British claim bringing Sindh out of isolation, modernizing it with construction of canals, bridges, barrages, laying railway lines, introducing modern printing, postal and telegraph system, opening schools, establishing separate departments for running affairs of the government etc. Yet they were aliens and did all this not for the welfare of the people of Sindh but for their own interests. For example the railway, postal as well as telegraph systems were introduced for the swift movement of their troops and better communication among the forces, which they conceded in books published later.

The British plundered the resources of Sindh, institutionalized the corruption in society and granted Jagirs to

feudal lords to rule the country with tyranny. And in such a situation, the natives, the sons of soil had the right to fight for the freedom of their motherland but the British dubbed them as traitors and terrorists; and resorted to massacre of the people of Sindh. They barefacedly claimed to rule Sindh despite being the aliens and invaders but hanged Pir Pagaro Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II for waging the war against the King.

Summing up the book, I would reproduce here the views of Saen G. M. Syed and a letter of Col. Phillip to one of his Sindhi friend that shed the light on Hur Guerilla War and the designs and policies of British rulers.

Pir Sahib was true nationalist and anti-imperialist: G. M. Syed

Recalling his dialogue with Surhia Badshah in 1941, several years later, G. M. Syed in his book 'The case of Sindh' wrote: "Anyhow, most of the Pir's bitter predictions have turned out to be true. He was a true nationalist, a staunch anti-imperialist and a great votary of communal harmony. He did not reveal the plan he had in his mind for the attainment of a new Sindh nor did he live long enough to do so. But in my view he never accepted alien domination over Sindh."

"After Pir Sibghatullah Shah's martyrdom, there was no moral force which could have given direction to the Hur Movement. As a result, rudderless as they had become, the Hurs fell into inexperienced hands and became a band of terrorists. They were treated with bestial brutality by the British. The hundreds of these intrepid patriotic Sindhis were sent to the gallows, shot dead or tortured because of their love for their spiritual mentor. Women were dishonoured and their lands and other property were confiscated without due process of the law. Punitive fines

were imposed. Special tribunals and military courts handed out heavy sentences. Many people were expelled from Sindh and kept in special camps and jails or exiled to the Andaman Island. When jails began to overflow, thousands of men and women, both young and old, and even children, were put in concentration camps where there were no provision of medical treatment or educational facilities for them. This was their plight; and the State repression continued till 1951," Syed commented on the situation.

Earlier, in January 1946, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nahru during his visit to Sindh from Delhi made several speeches in Hyderabad praising Hurs for the amazing strength they showed in struggle and denounced the oppressive law of concentration camps. It was after his visit and speeches that the Congressmen of Sindh as well as the press plucked up courage to assert that the government was perpetrating disgraceful tyranny on inoffensive people.

British Military Officer admits Pir Pagaro and Hurs fought for freedom of Sindh

Col. Phillip, the Head of Military Intelligence in Sindh, in his letter to one of a Sindhi friend sent from England after the partition, recalls the events that took place during his stay in Sindh:

"Do you remember Captain Smith, same person who was made to dance like a monkey by the Hurs in Makhi Forest? His wife and of Col. Stone have come to our home to see my wife. Captain Smith was much junior to us but his experience in Sindh was more than us. Stone and I had come to Sindh in the last phase and it was our first travel to India. Stone took part in operation against the Hurs while I was in intelligence with same rank.

Hardly after a few weeks of our arrival, I received instructions from London to get the details of Pir Pagaro-Sabhas Chandra Bose meeting held in Makhi Forest. You know their first meeting took place in India and then several meetings were held, but this one was more important. By that time, I had not yet developed acquaintance with local people. Col. Stone didn't like to mix up with locals and rather hated them, like all other Englishmen officers did. Moreover Stone never wanted to come to India. He had not a good reputation in England and for that he was chosen to be sent here, as under a policy only the officers having bad reputation were promoted and posted in India, but unfortunately he couldn't get any promotion despite tall promises. He wanted to fight Germans, as he hated them too, which got him the chance. He didn't like the civil officers too.

I had rushed to Nawabshah but couldn't get any information. I called the local informers but all in vain. Meanwhile the Sabhas Chandra Bose had disappeared and there was no information about his whereabouts. Even the Scotland Yard was in his search all around the world. I then went to Sanghar for collecting the details but failed.

During few months stay in Sindh, I developed contacts with Sindhi Waderas especially for whom we used to call prostitutes from Lahore and Multan. The special parties were arranged at a place west of Drigh Road Cantonment and a large number of Waderas and the Seths used to come over there.

We also came into contact with Sindhi politicians. Seth Lachmandas, Ghulam Murtaza Syed (G. M. Syed) and Allah Bux Soomro were staunch Sindhis and dreamt of independent Sindh (Soomro later became the premier of Sindh) and therefore were kept under vigil so that they do not meet the Pir Pagaro. But even then Syed had some meetings with Pagaro, although harmless.

It was a good omen that Muslim League got

strength in Bengal and Sindh causing the Hindu-Muslim divide and sabotaging the independence movements of Bengal and Sindh. The leaders believing in independent Sindh parted ways and joined either the Congress or the Muslim League. Same was the situation in Bengal. The movement for independent Sindh was sabotaged to the extent that no political party could take stand about Hur Movement. The high command of both the parties (Congress and Muslim League) had rejected them as 'dacoits' and the British had also decided that they will even quit the India but not the Sindh and Bengal at any cost. The reason was that Karachi was the strongest port of the world. Secondly, it would be end of British Empire in the Asia if the Japan captured the Calcutta port with the help of Sabhas Chndra Bose. We could maintain subjugation of Asia merely because of these ports, as otherwise the Japan would have captured the entire south-west Asia in 1945.

As I stated earlier, I developed contacts with Sindhi Waderas due to parties near Drigh Road, but couldn't get details of Pagaro-Bose meeting, as no big Wadera of Sanghar had been in touch by that time. We then formulated a policy to seek secret information from Sanghar. The policy was: Using the psychological methods to make Sindhi Waderas and Seths divulge the secret information; making them to exchange information by showing the record of their misdeeds and cruelties (blackmailing); and getting secrets by torturing the Hurs.

My friend! The third method (torturing the Hurs) proved unfruitful, and we could get certain information through first one, but the second one proved highly successful (blackmailing) to the stunning level and helped get the details of said meeting. "That information was given by a big Wadera, whose name we later recommended for the title of 'Khan Bahadur'," Col. Phillip writes. The decisions taken at the Pagaro-Bose meeting were: Launching

of guerrilla war for freedom of Sindh; the guerrilla fighters of Japan and Germany would train the Hurs at Makhi Forest; The Germany would supply the weapons via Afghanistan and would be received by the Hurs at Sibi; the big landlords, businessmen, informers, police stations, vehicles and the military would be attacked; and the Pir Pagaro would be the King of Sindh and a government would be run by the parliament like the England.

We obtained the information a little bit late, and before that a team of guerrilla trainers and two consignments of weapons had already been sent by Bose of which one consignment was dispatched to India. Receiving such information, we kept strict watch on supply routes and caught one consignment. In Lahore, we shot dead Japanese soldiers, staying in the disguise of Sikhs at Nankana at the home of Sikh friend of Bose and had plans to come to Sindh. Within few days the Hurs had started making attacks in Sindh while war between England and Germany broke out. The Hur attacks were so severe that one day the Wadera, who was recommended for title of 'Khan Bahadur', came for protection, but the problem was that war had broke out and the Germany and Japan had launched attacks on Burma and south Asian countries. We had demanded two divisions of Army for crushing the rebellion in Sindh, the Central government of India faced hardships, as Dogras and Gurkhas were dispatched to the Burmese border and Singapore. The Punjab, Frontier Corps and Baloch Corps were already deployed in Middle Eastern countries and more recruitment was being done to send the troops to Singapore.

Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-I strengthened and activated the Hur Movement on religious grounds but the Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II organized it in a different way. The first one was based on the idea of independence for Muslims and the second one on the concept of 'Freedom of Sindh', which was more dangerous than the first one.

“We therefore kicked off slanderous propaganda against Pir Pagaro. Since it was not religious movement, we propagated that Pir Pagaro wanted to settle the old enmities with British, Hindu businessmen and Waderas of Sindh. And the Sindhis, being very simple-minded, got influenced by propaganda aimed at character assassination of Pir. It was a great success of ours.”

We declared Hurs as ‘dacoits’ but when they derailed a train near Udero Lal, the Indian leaders questioned the Viceroy ‘Do the dacoits derail the trains and do not rob the passengers? The Gandhi had remarked: ‘We think you are trying to suppress any movement.’ Thank God the Sabhas Chandra Bose had developed differences with Congress at that time and was absconding from India otherwise he would have exerted pressure on British government through the Congress.

My friend! We had trusted Punjab since very first day and it helped us in all odd hours. We never depended on others, but we considered Punjab as our strength in India. The people of Punjab never betrayed us. It was the Punjab that helped us to face the rebellion in Sindh when the entire Army was engaged in war at Burma and other fronts. We also sought some help from Frontier Corps and Nizam of Deccan. We had promised the troops of granting Jagirs in Sindh, but since Jagirs were already in possession of Sindhi Waderas, the Punjabi troops were granted lands in Sukkur barrage area and that of Deccan were colonized in Khairpur and Karachi. The Deccan troops easily adopted Sindhi language and within no time it was hard to identify them as non-Sindhi.

The Sindhi Waderas and Seths extended great cooperation in anti-Hur operation. They didn’t raise voice in Sindh assembly and rather kept us informed of movement of Hurs. They did all this for their benefit. Certain Waderas and Seths took revenge from innocent people labelling them as Hur. A number of such incidents took

place, which sparked reaction from other Sindhis.

“Had we not succeeded in crushing the Hur Movement, Sindh would have got freedom and there would have been end of Empire in Asia and with freedom of Sindh, the Bengal too would have been freed. We are thankful to that ‘informer’ who helped us to arrest Pir Sahib and crush the movement. We compensated that ‘Informer’ with arranging properties for him in other countries because we didn’t want to see him in difficulty after us. In case, he is exposed, we wanted him to flee abroad and stay there. He too was wise enough not to demand any title of Khan Bahadur, Rai Bahadur etc because he knew that people would suspect him.”

Annexures

Commissioner in Sindh H. M. James' report to Governor General

H. M. James, Commissioner in Sindh, in his report to the Governor General of India submitted on 7th June 1896, writes:

“Our government had successfully been tackling the situation in Sanghar area of Thar & Parkar district, Hyderabad, Shahdadpur and Sakrand taluka, but the Hurs killed our three Sepoys in Kathiawar during my tenure. The violence had erupted in Hyderabad but our Police Superintendent and the District Magistrate, who took over on March 24, 1890, controlled it tactfully and deported several leaders of Hur gangs. However, recently some gangs of Hurs were seen active in Thar & Parkar district. Their actions are unique in nature and do not look like that of dacoits and robbers. They seem full of religious element, hatred against the English and the revenge. They attack the government forces in lightning style without fear of death. They are followers of a Pir Pagaro who lives in Rohri area (Pir Jo Goth fell in Rohri at that time). The Zamindars consider the militants as the brave persons fighting for the freedom of their country. They are committed to act on the orders of their Pir. The general public openly support them providing shelter and other material help. They even try to help them escape the arrest. The Hurs became more violent after the government imposed strict laws. The acting Deputy Commissioner Mr. Lucas tried to crush them with the help of military and extra police in 1895 but he failed.

We have observed that law and order depends on only one person – the Pir Pagaro, who does not represent the government. We attempted to influence him through Sir Charles Olivant but there was no progress.

One Bachu, son of Wariyam, the Khalifa of Pir Pagaro, has declared himself as 'Badshah' and does not care about the British government. Piru Wasan and some other warriors are his companions. They rule the area since last eight years establishing the 'Sanghar Sarkar'. Bachu and his companions had been openly parading in Shahdadpur and surrounding areas, displaying weapons, and challenging the government. The government forces chased them on 5th and 13th May of 1895 but they escaped easily.

District Magistrate Mr. Woodburn and Assistant Collector Mount Ford are active against the Hurs. They have arrested several Zamindars for harboring the Hurs and confiscated their properties. More police posts have also been established.

On 23rd March 1895, on a tip off, Collector of Thar & Parkar Mr. Steele himself led the force to chase the Hurs in Makhi Forest area but they escaped injuring a horse-mounted Sepoy. Earlier, in July 1894, I sent 15 Pathan Sepoys along with SP of Upper Sindh Frontier Force for capturing the Hurs but they too had failed and returned with no result. In 1895, the Hurs also killed Naik Jhola Singh. Mr. Steele has admitted that it was difficult to control the Hurs and their Pir.

On 24th February 1895, the Hurs encountered Upper Sindh Frontier Force and killed three and wounded five Sepoys. The force however arrested four persons for helping the Hurs and later they were deported to Andaman Island. The Bachu and Piru were declared proclaimed offenders but again on 8th and 26th September 1905 the Hurs killed a police officer and an informer. In the meantime, Hugh Dow was replaced with Marton who was a notorious dacoit of England and released from jail on the condition to crush the Hurs in Sindh, but he too failed to achieve the results. Mr. Lucas was then posted there on 31st October 1895 for the help of Mr. Steele.

Text of proclamation of Governor General of India issued against Mir Ali Murad Talpur

PROCLAMATION

The Governor General of India had long seen cause to believe that His Highness Meer Ali Moorad Khan of Khyrpoor, by acts of forgery and fraud, had deprived the British Government of territory in Sindh, to which it was lawfully entitled.

Reluctant to condemn the Ameer unless upon the clearest proof of his personal guilt the Government of India directed that a full and public inquiry should be made into the charges that had been brought against him.

His Highness attended the inquiry in person; every opportunity was afforded of eliciting the truth, and of establishing His Highness' innocence of the crime of which he had been accused.

His Highness Meer Ali Moorad Khan entirely failed to rebut the charges. On clear and complete evidence, he was convicted of having destroyed a leaf of the Koran in which the Treaty of Nownahur was written, and of having substituted for it another leaf of a different tenor, whereby His Highness fraudulently obtained possession of several large districts, instead of villages, of the same name, greatly to the prejudice of the British Govern-

ment, to which the said districts lawfully belonged, and in gross violation of good faith and honour.

The Government of India sought no pretext to interfere with the possessions of His Highness Meer Ali Moorad Khan. It desired that His Highness should continue to rule the territories he held, in peace and security, and it was slow to entertain, and to urge against His Highness, accusations which placed in jeopardy his reputation and authority.

But the Ameer's guilt has been proved. The Government of India will not permit His Highness Meer Ali Moorad Khan to escape with impunity, and a great public crime to remain unpunished.

Wherefore, the Government of India has resolved, and hereby declare, that Meer Ali Moorad Khan of Khyrpoor is degraded from the rank of Rais; and that his lands and

territories, excepting those hereditary possessions only, which were allotted to him by his father, Meer Sohrab Khan, shall henceforth be a portion of the British Empire in India.

The inhabitants of those territories are hereby called upon to submit themselves peacefully to the dominion under which they have passed, in full reliance that they will be defended against their enemies, and protected from harm; and that, unmolested in their persons, in their property, and their homes, they will be governed with just and mild authority.

(Signed)

By order of the Most Noble
the Governor of India,
H. B. E. Frere
Commissioner
21st January 1852

A letter of H. Dow, Governor of Sindh, to Lord Linlithgow about the incidents of making breaches in the canal banks

Government House Karachi
6th May 1942

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

Operations against the Hurs continue. The most dangerous manifestation recently has been the cutting of irrigation Bunds. Sindh is extremely vulnerable against sabotage of this kind, which could easily ruin the cultivation of vast areas and put communication out of order. So far the damage done has not been great, and has been directed against ruining the crops of particular enemies rather than paralyzing the administration. But if such sabotage is carried out on a wider scale, it may be necessary to cut off irrigation of whole canal systems, involving enormous losses both to the revenue and to the law-abiding Zamindars. If that should become necessary, one might hope that one result would be more active interest of the local Zamindars in the suppression of the Hurs, in place of the passive support, which is the most source, we secure at present.

The deportation of the Pir Pagaro from India, never to return; with power to impose a like fate on any of his family or followers who shows any disposition to step in his shoes, is most manifestly necessary. There have been no recent moves from the C. P. Government as to this progress of the Pir's hunger strike, but nobody here believes that he will persist in it.

Yours Sincerely
H. Dow

**A letter from Sindh Government's
officer C. B. B. Clee to Conran Smith,
Secretary, Home department, British India**

Government of Sindh
6th June 1942

Dear Conran Smith,

The number of crimes committed by the Hurs steadily increased and the month of the May has seen a very definitely worsening of the situation, including those resulting from the derailment of trains described in my last report. The total casualties for the month resulting from Hur outrages and operations against them are 58 killed and 72 injured. The worst crime except the derailment of the Lahore Mail was an attack on a passenger bus in Thar Parkar district in which the bus was held up and burnt and 13 persons, one being an Inspector of Police, were killed. Other offences such as cutting of the telegraph and telephone wires, the derailment of patrol engine, in which the driver was killed, and the breaching of canals and damaging of canal regulators, also occurred. Of the latter, the most serious was the cutting of the bank of Jamrao canal on 20th May, which resulted in the flooding of the Khadro town with much damage to property and to the breaching of the railway. And this has been in spite of the vigorous measures taken by the Additional District Magistrate, Nawabshah and Thar Parkar, and the reinforcing of Sindh Police under his control by 6 platoon of North West Frontier Province Constabulary of Zhoob Malitia and 100 armed police from the Punjab.

**Yours sincerely
C. B. B. Clee**



No. 21, Queen Elizabeth, Honolulu

Date: _____

No. _____

No: _____

جناب صاحب کورٹ ہائوس ہونولولو

جناب صاحب کورٹ ہائوس ہونولولو کے لیے
میں نے ایک خط لکھا ہے جس میں میں نے
اپنی درخواست پیش کی ہے کہ میں
اپنی موجودہ جگہ چھوڑ کر
ایک اور جگہ پر منتقل ہوں۔
میں نے یہ درخواست کی ہے کہ
میں اپنی موجودہ جگہ چھوڑ کر
ایک اور جگہ پر منتقل ہوں۔

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ایک اور جگہ پر منتقل ہوں۔

MAHMOUD & SUDHANI
RAJIB
ADVOCATE
DISTRICT GOVT. PLEADER
&
PUBLIC PROSECUTOR
KAWRAHAT

No. 12, Canal Bazar, Sialkot

Date: _____

To: _____

Re: _____

*List of persons
 whom to file
 Petition under
 Sec 151*

(1) رتب محمد عزیز علیم ولد سید محمد شہباز وینڈل سنڈریس

(2) بانسکو شو شہباز ولد سید محمد شہباز وینڈل سنڈریس

(3) محمد فہیمہ ولد سید محمد شہباز وینڈل سنڈریس

(4) میر خیرا بخش ولد سید محمد شہباز وینڈل سنڈریس

(5) علیہ خیر شاہ ولد سید محمد شہباز وینڈل سنڈریس

(6) ان ملکین ~~محمد~~ راسد وینڈل سنڈریس

(7) ملوک محمد ~~محمد~~ ولد سید محمد شہباز وینڈل سنڈریس

(8) محمد ~~محمد~~ ولد سید محمد شہباز وینڈل سنڈریس

(9) میر ~~محمد~~ ولد سید محمد شہباز وینڈل سنڈریس

(10) قیصر خان ~~محمد~~ ولد سید محمد شہباز وینڈل سنڈریس

Forwarded with Compliments

Thru G.O.C. Upper Sind Force

for favour of disposal

16/11/51
 M. S. H. W. S.
 Sub. H. C.



Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II



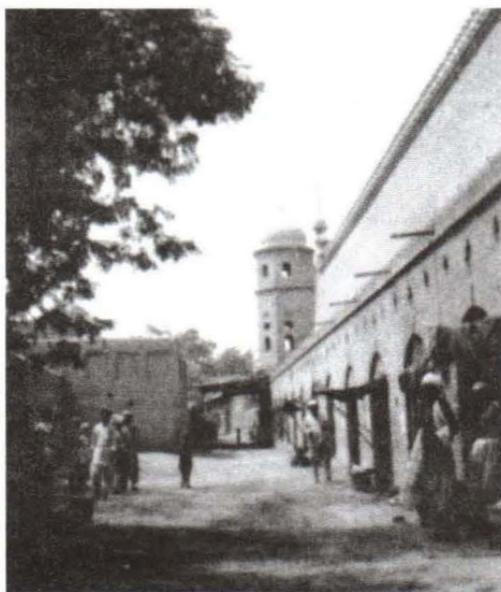
Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II



Surihia Badshah at the
age of nine



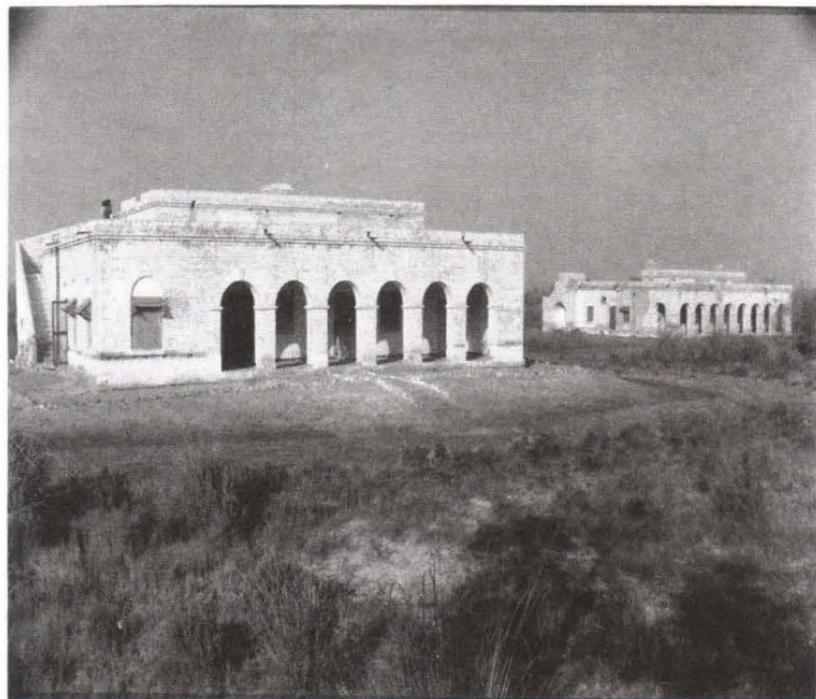
Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah-II with Salawat Community in Karachi



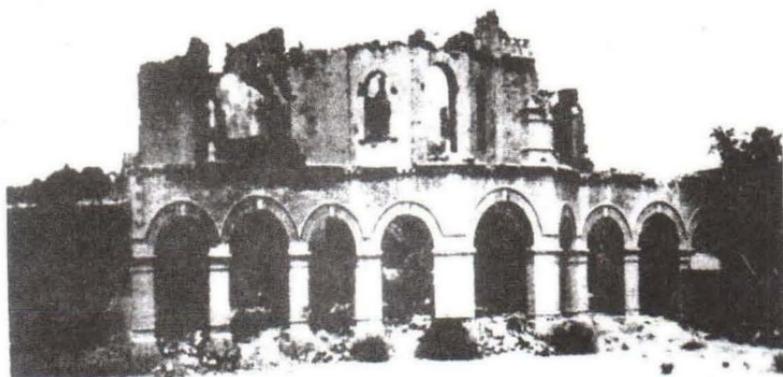
Rare photo of inner view of Pir Kot



Aerial photo of Pir Kot



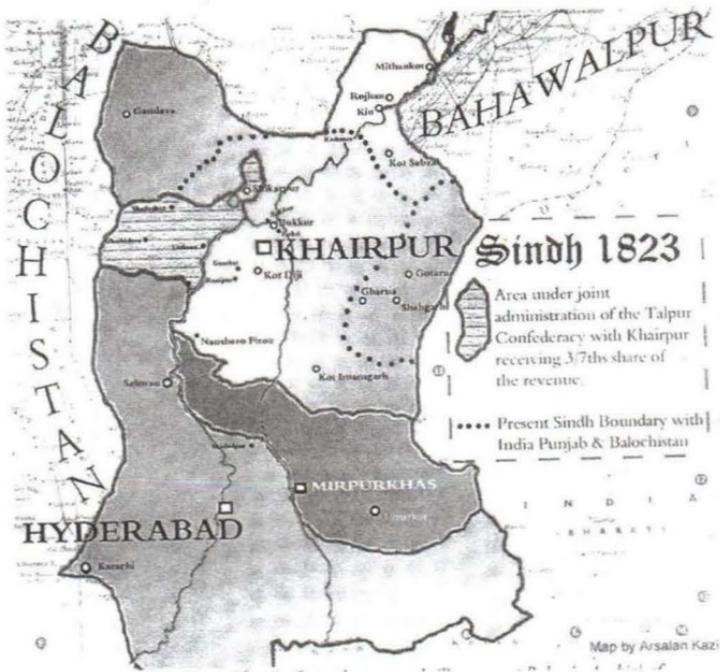
Khenwari bungalow near Khairpur



Gurang bungalow near Sanghar



Makhi Lake



Martial Law in Sind Withdrawn

NEW DELHI, Tuesday.—Martial law which was imposed just a year ago has been withdrawn in the Hyderabad district of Northern India. It was instituted because the civil authorities were unable to cope with a campaign of wholesale murder, sabotage and arson sponsored by the Hur, the fanatical followers of the Fir Piar or Turbaned Pir, or holy man.

The Fir's fortress, palace in the heart of a swampy jungle covering 12 square miles, was captured and demolished by Indian paratroopers in September. The Fir, who had been detained as a state prisoner since the previous October, was tried by court martial in January and February of this year and found guilty of abetting the waging of war against the King-Emperor and of conspiracy. He was executed on March 20 and his principal lieutenant a month later.

Mirror (Perth, WA : 1921 - 1956).

Saturday 4 December 1943, page 13

Examiner (Launceston, Tas. : 1900 - 1954),
Thursday 3 June 1943, page 6

Put Fir in Sir And Declared War On His Hurs

Fierce-fighting Hurs of Sind, with the most hatred of the British in India, indicated their hate in murderous rampages.

The audacious, lecherous chief, the post-martial Fir of Feroze, raised them from a fortress town called the "Golden Kot." There, behind walls 40 feet high and 12 feet thick, the Fir indulged his perverted whims with pain, harrow, lurry bats, torture chambers, a gold-and-marble throne.

But the British put the Fir in Sir and declared war on his Hurs.

Ferret, tank, cannon and paratrooper invaded the gaudy, jungle and marble of Sind. Hurs had hot chots and blender-banana. Some of them escaped by lying under water and breathing through straws, but the British wiped out most of the ringleaders, and finally battered down the walls of the Golden Kot.

Recently, after a 30-day court martial, the physical Fir of Feroze was shot for "abetting, conspiring and preparing to wage war against the King-Emperor."

INDIAN SENSATION

CRIMINAL ORGANISATION BROKEN UP

The Leader Arrested

CALCUTTA, Saturday

A great sensation has been caused by the district police at Sukkur, in Punjab. Accompanied by a dozen officers and 150 armed constables, at the dead of night they carried out the arrest of Fir Fagaro Sahib Rauri, the most influential Fir in India. His followers, comprising several hundreds of thousands, spread over Hind and the Punjab, mainly belong to the criminal tribes called "Hura."

The charges against those arrested include murder, theft, house trespass, and unlawful assembly.

The captures of the police include a large quantity of opium and heroin, over 60,000 rounds of ammunition, 25 guns, and two revolvers, while a young boy who had been kidnapped was found locked up in a wooden box which the Fir refused to open.

The police informer was the Fir's brother.

The Fir was so taken by surprise that he surrendered without making any resistance.

Sunday Times (Perth, WA : 1902 - 1954),

Sunday 30 March 1930, page 5

PRISONERS MUTINY

CALCUTTA, September 2.—Twenty-nine prisoners and one warden were killed and 130 injured at Dacca Jail on August 31 when a number of security prisoners were being transferred from Calcutta. They mutinied and refused to work. The prisoners became violent and the wardens were forced to fire on them.

NEW DELHI, September 2.—The Government has decided to demolish the headquarters of the Hur organisation of Fagaro Holyman, whose fanatical followers are terrorising a large area in the Hind.

Morning Bulletin (Rockhampton, Qld. : 1878 - 1954)

Saturday 5 September 1942, page 4

Curbing Terror In India

LONDON, Tues.—“Owing to the situation in the Hur country having improved it has been found possible to withdraw martial law from midnight on May 31,” says a communique from Army H.Q. in India...

“On this date responsibility for law and order in those districts where martial law has been enforced reverts to the Hind Government, by whom appropriate measures have been prepared.”

Martial law was proclaimed in a small area of the Sind Province just one year ago. It was instituted because the civil authorities were unable to cope with the campaign of wholesale murder, sabotage and brigandage carried on by the Hurs, followers of the Pir Fiqaro (turbaned Pir or holy man).

POLICE HELPLESS

For years the Hurs had been responsible for many murders, but for six months before the proclamation of martial law they had terrorised whole districts and the police were unable to deal with the situation because victims and witnesses were too cowed to testify.

The H.Q. of the Hurs—the Pir's fortress palace—was in the heart of dense swamp jungle covering some 125 square miles.

Indian paratroops gained their first experience of operations under war conditions in an attack on the Hurs' stronghold, which was captured and demolished last September.

Several hundred Hurs were killed or captured. Several thousands more were arrested and tried.

The Pir Fiqaro himself, who had been detained as a State prisoner since October, 1941, was tried by a martial law court in January and February this year and found guilty of abetment to wage war against the King Emperor and of conspiracy. He was executed on March 20 and his principal lieutenant was executed a month later.

Fremantle C.I.B. received a report yesterday that on Sunday afternoon boys aged 10 and 14 were victims of a serious crime. The offence is alleged to have occurred on a bench at North Fremantle. Det.-Sgt. Cannon made inquiries throughout yesterday and interrogated two sailors. It is expected that action will be taken against them.

Death Sentence For Indian Terrorist

12/20/43
A courtmartial at Karachi today passed sentence of death on the Pir of Pirago, leader of the Hur sect of terrorists in the Sind, whose headquarters the British authorities demolished last October.

The Pir was convicted of conspiring to wage war against the King Emperor. His followers have committed scores of murders and acts of terrorism, pillage and sabotage.

The Advertiser (Adelaide, SA : 1931 - 1954),

Saturday 20 March 1943, page 6

BRISTOL, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1942

Nine Hurs, rebel tribesmen of Sind, sentenced to death for various offences, have been hanged at Karachi making a total of 69 hanged since the Government proclaimed martial law against their organisation.—Reuter.

DUNDEE, MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1942.

3000 HURS CAPTURED

New Delhi, Monday.

The Council of State opened its session to-day by passing a resolution of sympathy with the Royal Family on the death of the Duke of Kent.

A debate on the political situation is expected to-morrow, on an official motion similar to that moved in the Assembly last week.

About 45 members of the Hur terrorists have been killed, 50 hanged, and 30 wounded in mopping up operations in the Province of Sind, stated Sir Alan Hartley, Deputy Commander-in-Chief, at question time to-day.

In addition, 3000 Hurs have been captured. Operations under martial law against the bandits are still in progress.

BOY KEPT PRISONER IN A BOX FOR FOUR YEARS.

Story of Midnight Raid on Harem of Indian Religious Leader.

A sequel to police scaling the walls of an Indian fortress to rescue the women of the harem of Pir Pagaro, the 24-year-old leader of a large religious sect, has been his sentence at Sukkur to a total period of ten years' imprisonment.

The charges against him (says Reuter) were contravening the Arms Act and having wrongfully kept a human being in confinement.

The story of the arrest and trial of the Pir Pagaro reads like a page from the Arabian Nights.

The first hint that something was wrong in the Pir's high-walled fortress South of Sukkur was a midnight expedition last

January by the police in response to an urgent appeal for help from several women of the Pir's household.

Pushing their ear by hand up under the walls so that no sound from the motor might be heard, they rescued several members of the Pir's harem.

Arsenal Discovered.

In March the second episode was enacted. The police searched the castle, and found beneath a pile of carpets a pit containing 40,000 rounds of ammunition, 25 rifles, and revolvers.

A still more startling discovery was made, that of a youth, named Ibrahim, who was shut up in a box. He declared that he had incurred the Pir's wrath for some trifling offence, and had been chained up for nearly four years.

The Pir was accused of having murdered the boy's mother as well as two other persons, but was acquitted of the murder charges in May. In all, 27 charges were preferred against him.

The Pir Pagaro is an influential Moslem chief, and is looked up to as a saint by many thousands of persons in the Sukkur district.



Dadlo Mahkani



Jurio Khaskheli



Umeed Ali Nizamani



Phuto Chang



Shahbazi Mari



Maheri Kori



Aalisher Khaskheli



Ali Khan Gaho



Pandho Gaho



Allah Bux Sanjirani



Muharam Dahri



Khaskheli Rano



Obhahiyo Mangrio



Alio Rajpar



Gulu Wasan



Mevo Khaskheli



Sabhago Khaskheli

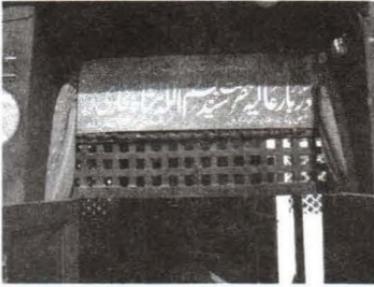


Miro

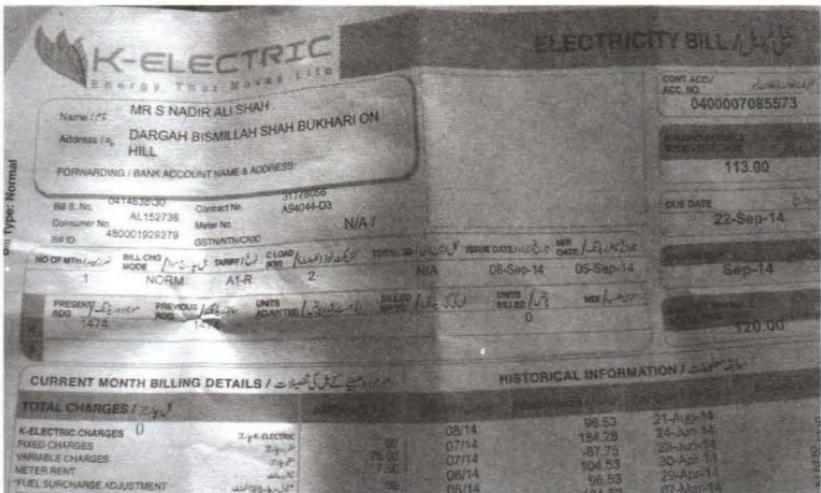


Bachu Badishah





Shrine of Bismillah Shah said to be the resting place of Surhia Badshah Pir Syed Sibghatullah Shah



Electricity bill bearing the name of Pir Nadir Ali Shah

Glossary

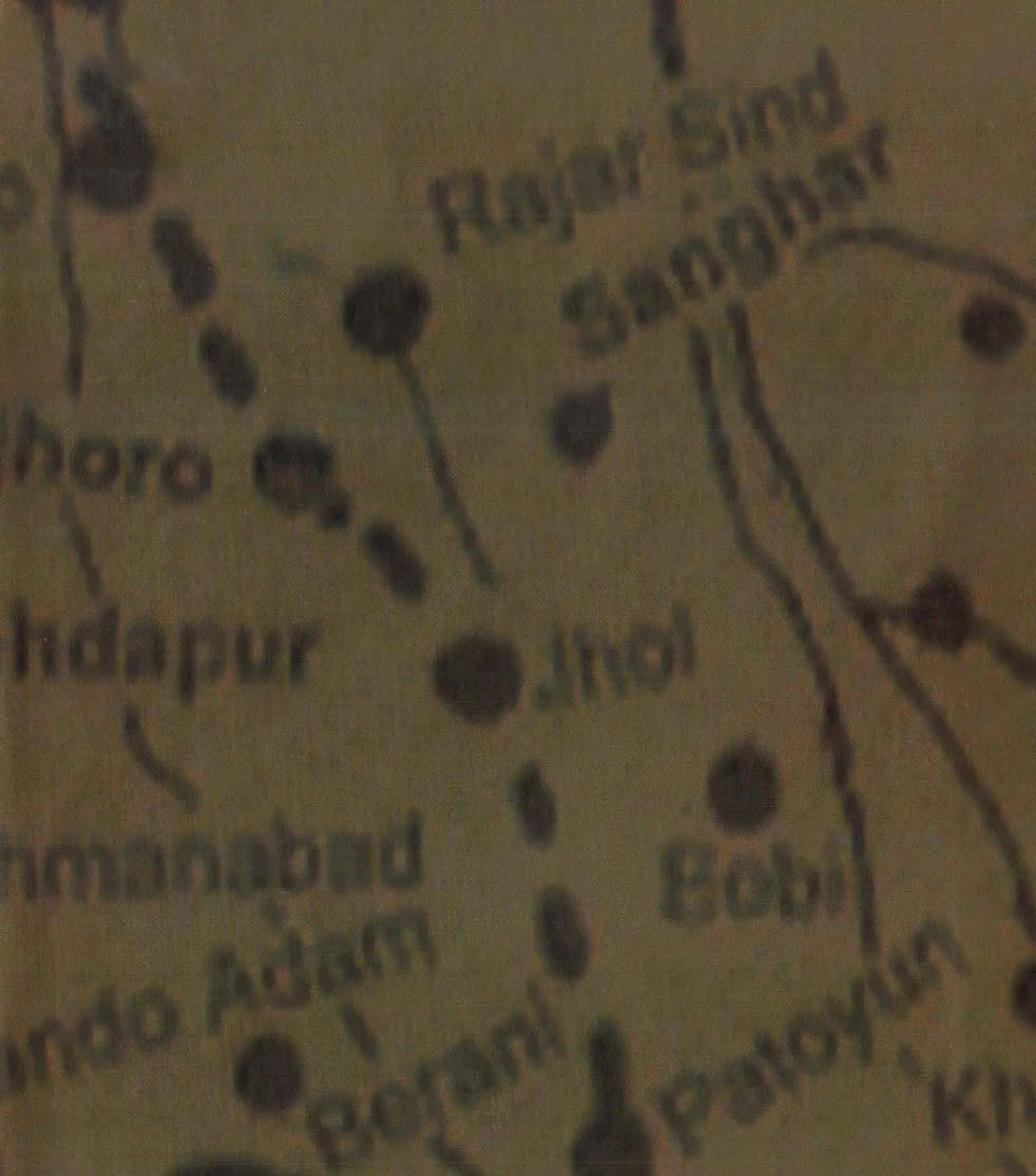
Pir/Murshid	Spiritual Leader/Mentor
Mureed	Disciple
Syed	Descendent of 4 th Caliph Hazrat Ali
Goth	Village
Pir Pagaro	Turbaned Pir
Hijra	Islamic Calendar
Roza Dhani	Master/Lord of Shrine
Jhando	Flag
Tafseer	Interpretation
Jama'at	Organization
Maafo	Wooden seat carried by men
Dhani	Lord/Owner
Jihad	Crusade
Lac/Lakh	One hundred thousands
Mujahids	Crusaders
Riasat	State
Rais	Chief
Kot	Fort
Pargana	Province
Landhi	Brushwood shelter or cottage
Dhand	Lake
Darbar	Royal Court
Salam	Salutation
Sanad	Certificate
Parwana	Permission/Authority Letter
Jagir	Feudatory
Khairat	Charity
Patta	Contract
Ghazi	A valiant person
Dargah	Shrine
Pag	Turban
Gadi	Spiritual Seat
Shaheed	Martyred
Badshah	King
Vizier	Minister
Masjid	Mosque
Zamindar	Landlord
Khalifa	Assistant or Sectional Head
Nazim	Chief
Dacoity	Robbery
Jand	Stone-made wheat grinder

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**Culture & Tourism Department
Government of Sindh**