Bungalows Of The British Raj In Shikarpur, Sindh, Pakistan

¹Ifqut Shaheen, ²Sirat Gohar, ³Syeda Aysha, ⁴Ausima Sultan

¹ Assistant Professor, Department of Archaeology, University of the Punjab, Lahore. Email: <u>ifqut.arch@pu.edu.pk</u> ² Member, Speaking Archaeologically. Email: <u>siratgohar@gmail.com</u>

³Assistant Professor, Department of Humanities & Sciences, Institute of Space Technology, Islamabad. Email: aysha.bokhari@ist.edu.pk

⁴Assistant Professor, Head of Department, Department of Humanities & Sciences, Institute of Space Technology, Islamabad. Email: <u>ausima.sultan@ist.edu.pk</u>

Abstract

British ruled over Sindh for a little more than a hundred years (1843-1947). During that period a new administrative setup was introduced and advancements were made in different areas such as health, education, transportation and communication, water management and heritage management. For administrative and other such purposes, buildings were erected in cities and along the major routes and water channels. These buildings as monumental symbols of the British Raj make an integral part of the built heritage of Sindh, and of South Asia at large. This study deals with the bungalows of the Raj located in the Shikarpur district of Sindh, Pakistan. A pamphlet entitled "List of bungalows intended for the use of touring officers and travelling public in Sind, with the rules for their occupation" was first published in 1922 by the British government (which was reprinted in 1955 by the Government of Pakistan). It aimed to facilitate the officers and common public. A total of 377 Raj's bungalows situated in the extent of Sindh are mentioned therein. Of these, nine sites namely Shikarpur, Garhi Yasin, Sahita, Gaheja, Ayo-jo-Goth, Ruk, Chak, Shahpur and Chiman are located in the present-day Shikarpur district. This paper presents the results of the fieldwork done in 2020 in District Shikarpur. Our general observations also relate to the present state and condition of the structures and buildings.

Keywords: Colonial archaeology, Pakistani archaeology, dak bungalow, British Raj.

Introduction

The purview of archaeology is nowadays quite open to cover sites, materials and issues relating to as recent times as the mid-twentieth century. Scholarly interest has even been attracted by sites of the two World Wars.¹ In Pakistan, the historical and cultural heritage of recent times very rarely attracts scholarly appreciation and attention. This is particularly true in the case of the British period monuments, roads and bridges, railway infrastructure, educational and administrative buildings and so on.² Only a few archaeology-oriented studies have so far been done on the Raj's heritage including students' research projects. Conservation and restoration of buildings in Sindh province by the Sindh Culture, Tourism and Antiquities Department and the Sindh Endowment Fund Trust for Preservation of the Heritage (EFT) is also an appreciable job.³ Most of the documented and preserved monuments of Sindh located in Ghotki, Karachi and Shikarpur have been labeled as 'protected heritage' by the government department. Still, a large number of the Raj's other buildings in Sindh need to be documented and surveyed. They are also not on the protected list of sites yet. Realising the importance of the cultural material of the recent or contemporary past and keeping in view the inherent historical and functional value of the monuments, there is a need to document and preserve the so far unexplored heritage sites of Pakistan, especially when then they are in a state of constant decay. Archaeologists studying heritage of modern period, or recent past, know and advance our knowledge about the process of decay,

materiality, memory and people's perception and attitude towards the (unburied) sites.

Archaeologically very little has been done so far in Pakistan on the heritage of modern era and the material symbols of recent past, particularly the Raj's monuments. The legacy of British Raj is represented in the material forms such as statues, artifacts, buildings, architecture, machinery, ammunition and battlefields, and also in public memory.⁴ This study is about the British Raj's bungalows located in District Shikarpur, Sindh. It presents the results of the survey of Shikarpur conducted in January 2020 with the aim to document these British period buildings. It documents the bungalows and highlights their current state. This research shows that except the building of the suites of the bungalows at Garhi Yasin and Chak which are almost well maintained, all other bungalows (and their buildings such as suites, servant quarters, kitchen and walls) are in a bad state of preservation, falling and disappearing. Some of them are presently used as schools and police stations; others are occupied by the refugees of flood affected areas.

This paper is organised into different parts. The first part contains a geographic profile and a brief history of District Shikarpur. The second part is about Raj's bungalows in Shikarpur. It is followed by a discussion which expands the results of our research to issues of broader concerns. The last part contains the final remarks.

The primary objective of the January 2020 campaign was to locate and document the Raj's bungalows, which are mentioned in a pamphlet entitled List of bungalows intended for the use of touring officers and travelling public in Sind, with the rules for their occupation. Soon it dawned upon us that the work would require much time and resources to be completed. Accordingly, it was decided to keep the preliminary survey limited to the Shikarpur district. A bungalows located in the area are total of nine mentioned in this pamphlet. A survey aiming at documenting these bungalows was conducted. The focus remained on recording and knowing the present condition of the buildings and their physical dimensions. Textual references and local guidance were used for the purpose. Moreover, photography and object analysis techniques of archaeological survey were also applied; however, the architectural drawings and plans of the structures were not prepared as the study does not approach the issue from pure

architectural point of view. The scope of the work was also expanded to some recent debates of political nature in the colonial projects of development and postcolonial heritage perspectives.

Geography and history of Shikarpur

Shikarpur is located on the right side of the Indus River in northern Sindh. When British conquered Sindh in 1843 Shikarpur was made a district headquarter of Upper Sindh. Other district headquarters of Sindh at that time were Karachi and Hyderabad. District Shikarpur had four subdivisions namely Rohri, Sukkur, Larkana and Mehar. In 1901, Larkana and Sukkur were given the status of districts and Shikarpur as a subdivision became part of Sukkur. Shikarpur remained a subdivision of Sukkur till 1977, when it gained back the status of district. Currently, Shikarpur is a district of Larkana Division. The total area of the district is 2640 square kilometers which is divided into four talukas (subdivisions): Khanpur, Shikarpur, Lakhi and Garhi Yasin (Fig. 1).⁵ It is surrounded by Jacobabad in the north, Sukkur in the south, Kandhkot in the east and Larkana in the west.

The history of Shikarpur is interesting. The meaning of Shikarpur is hunting ground. Its city is four-hundred years old which was founded by the Daudpotras in 1617.⁶ Before that, the area where the city is located was a dense forest of the Mahar landlords of Lakhi and Khanpur. In the last decades of the sixteenth century, the Daudpotras entered the Mahar territory with the intentions to settle there permanently. The long conflicts which started between the two tribes ended up with a bloody battle in 1603 in which the head of Mahar tribe was killed.⁷ Sirat Gohar referring to a historical account, Gulshan-e-Abbasia, written by Molvi Noor Muhammad, according to which the battle was fought in 1602, writes that "the conflict between the two ethnic groups had arisen on account of chopping off of the tails and ears of the horses of Daudpotras' Ameers by the people of Karim Dino Mehar, the then chief of Mehars". Daudpotras, then, erected a monument in Lakhi as a symbol of victory, confirming their rule over the Mahar territory.⁸ The city flourished under their rule that later on became a major trade center due to the city's location which as a junction, connecting different trade routes, played a significant role in the history.9 Shikarpur became part of Mughal Empire during the governorship of Bakhtawar Khan over Bakhar (modern day Sukkur). It

was regained by Daudpotras. In the beginning of eighteenth century, Daudpotras lost it finally to the Kalhora rulers of Sindh.¹⁰ And, it also remained under Afghans' rule for some time until 1783 when the Talpurs conquered Sindh. Talpurs held sway over Sindh for about 60 years till 1843, when Sindh was annexed by the Raj, marking the new chapter of the history of the region.

The British conquest of Sindh took place in 1843 and remained in their possession till 1947. There were different economic and political interests of the British in Sindh.¹¹ It is believed that "[t]he prospect of trade with Punjab and North-West India through the Indus, possibility of Sindh being annexed by Ranjit Singh and fear of Russian invasion induced the English to annex Sindh".12 Other reasons for the occupation of Sindh also included: (1) Charles Napier's interest to gain recognition "among British authorities", (2) control over the natural resources, (3) stop exportation of Malwa opium to China via routes of Sindh and (4) "wage a war against Afghanistan", who defeated the British in 1842.¹³ All of these factors involved in the British invasion of Sindh show the economic and political importance of the region.

In this regard, Shikarpur and the area around it were of great importance due to its geographic position. It is located on the Indus River and on a route connecting the subcontinent with Central Asia via Bolan Pass. British were very well aware of the natural resources, trade potential and strategic location of this area. In line with the imperial policies of the Raj, steps were taken to control and develop the region in British interest. It is evident from the introduction of a new colonial administrative setup, establishment of forest institutions, construction of roads and railway and the irrigation system. All this meant to exploit the natural resources and to keep the colonial control in place.14 On the whole, for the British the control of Sindh was important in many ways; the area in turn also saw socio-cultural and economic changes alongside the political developments.

The Raj's bungalows in Shikarpur

One can find different archaeological remains and historical monuments in Shikarpur through an archaeological exploration. However, it is fortunate that we also have some textual sources which give a lot of information about the area's archaeological and cultural heritage. Foremost among them is above mentioned pamphlet of which specific details need to be given below.

Title: List of bungalows intended for the use of touring officers and travelling public in Sind, with the rules for their occupation. Publisher: Government of Pakistan. Printing: Karachi: Government Press. Year of publication: 1955. Edition: Fifth. Pages: 34. Distributor: Manager, Sind Government Book Depot, Karachi.

In colonial Sindh a number of bungalows, like in the rest of India, were constructed in the cities, towns, and rural areas. These bungalows, commonly known as dak or sarkari bangla in Pakistan, served as the government rest houses, open to both the officers of the British Raj and common tourists, as provided in the rules (see Annex-II). To facilitate colonial officials and other visitors to Sindh, a pamphlet listing the bungalows along with the hiring and accommodation rules was published by the British Indian Government (successively reprinted). In 1955 the government of Pakistan republished it. The introduction to the 1955 edition elaborates:

The pamphlet was first published in 1922 in order to meet the difficulties experienced by Inspecting Officers and the travelling public in arranging for accommodations in Government bungalows intended for their use. It shows those bungalows which are available for occupation, the accommodation contained in them, the extent to which they are furnished, the controlling officers whose permission is required for their occupation and whether they are temporarily reserved for the use of officers of a particular department. The pamphlet also contains a copy of the rules relating to the occupation of the bungalows in question.

Since the printing of the 4th Edition, in the year 1939, several additions and alterations have been sanctioned for the list and they have been incorporated in the revised (5th) Edition.¹⁵

The index of the pamphlet mentions the names of 377 government bungalows all over Sindh. As mentioned in the pamphlet, there are three kinds of bungalows: (1) District Bungalows, (2) Public Works Department (hereinafter PWD) Bungalows and (3) Forest Department Bungalows. The last two types of bungalows are also called the Inspection Bungalows. The Controlling Officer of the District Bungalows was Assistant or Deputy Collector, Executive Engineer for the PWD Bungalows and Divisional Forest Officer for the Forest Department Bungalows/Rest-houses. Moreover, the bungalows are of two classes: Class I, "for the use of Gazetted Officers", and Class II, intended for the use of "non-gazetted officers and clerks".16 However, according to the rules, nonofficials can occupy bungalows of both Classes (I and II) with the permission of Controlling Officer.¹⁷ Moreover, the out-houses were also constructed in the grounds of the bungalows, and the out-houses of Class I bungalow were available for occupation on the conditions prescribed in the rules (for more information on the occupation of bungalows, period for which occupation is allowed, fees and staff see Annex-II).

Catalogue of the Raj's bungalows in Shikarpur

The bungalows-cum-rest-houses of the British Raj have been documented in all four Talukas (subdivisions) of District Shikarpur. Out of 377 government bungalow sites in Sindh, nine places namely Garhi Yasin, Sahita, Gaheja, Shikarpur (city), Chiman, Shahpur, Ruk, Ayo-jo-Goth and Chak, as already said, are in present-day Shikarpur District (see Fig. 2 and Annex-I). In the following list of sites, the current status of the bungalows has been determined in the light of the detail of the bungalows provided in the pamphlet (see Annex-I).

I. Inspection Bungalow at Sahita (Fig. 3)

Location:	It is located in village Sahita near						
	Madeji along the route between						
	Larkana and Shikarpur (lat.						
	27°47'N, long. 68°29'E).						
Year of const.	1934						
Cond.	Very poor; the remains of the suite						
	and out-houses/quarters are visible						
	with few traces of iron and wood						
	work.						

Status: All structures at the site are presently occupied by the villagers who use the bungalow as stockyard. It has been not occupied for a long time, almost 40 years, and is under the control of Irrigation Department.

2. Inspection Bungalow at Garhi Yasin (Fig.

4)	
Location:	It is situated in Kot Abdullah near the Garhi Yasin city along the road connecting Sindh and Balochistan close to National Indus Highway (at. 27°54'N, long. 68°30'E).
Year of const.	1924
Cond.	Very poor; one suite and out-houses or quarters are partially renovated, with traces of original wood, glass and iron work and floor made of backed bricks.
Status:	It is in the custody of Irrigation Department. The structure of one suite gives a complete look with original doors, windows and decorations. One quarter is converted into Government High School and other two quarters are presently occupied by the flood affectees.

3. Inspection Bungalow at Ruk (Fig. 5)

	8							
Location:	It is situated in village Ruk on							
	Sukkur Airport Road (lat. 27°49'N,							
	long. 68°39'E).							
Year of const.	1925							
Cond.	Very poor; only the remains of three							
	quarters are visible.							
Status:	The existing buildings of bungalow							
	at Ruk are in a very bad state of							
	preservation. Two quarters are							
	currently occupied by the flood							
	affectees and one quarter is not in							
	use.							

4. Inspection Bungalow at Chak (Fig. 6)

Location:	It is located in village Bachal Bhayo
	near Chak on Sindh Flood Bund on
	the western bank of the Indus River
	(lat. 27°51'N, long. 68°49'E).

Year of const.	1915
Cond.	Very poor; the suite is decaying and the out-house and quarters have been renovated. Old wooden door and windows with glass decorations
Status:	and iron grills are extant. The suite and four other structures, including an out-house and quarters, are located in the area of the bungalow. The suite is under the use of officers particularly engineers of Irrigation Department and Works and Services Department whereas quarters are in the custody of Bachal Bhayo Police Station, Sindh Police. Out of four quarters, one has been converted into police station and the rest serves as the living quarters of policemen.
5. Inspection	Bungalow at Shahpur (Fig. 7)

Location: It is located on Sindh Flood Bund on the western bank of the Indus between Chiman Bungalow to the north and Chak Bungalow to the south (lat. 27°56'N, long. 68°52'E). Year of const.

Cond. Very poor; only the remains of the structures of one suite and one outhouse/quarter are visible, with traces of wooden frames and iron grills of doors and windows.

Status: Out of the three suites and several out-houses/quarters, crumbling structures of one suite and quarter are only visible constructions in the premises of the bungalow. It is deserted since last twenty years, and is under the control of Irrigation Department.

6. Inspection Bungalow at Chiman (Fig. 8)

Location: It is situated near village Rustam on Sindh Flood Bund on the western bank of the Indus to the north of Shahpur Bungalow (lat. 28°00'N, long. 68°55'E).

?

Year of const.

Cond.	

- Bund are visible. Status: British Raj era's structures of the bungalow does not exist except the brick-lined arches of a building, possibly suite, buried under Sindh Flood Bund that now serve as a superstructure of a recent building, which is constructed on the top of the earlier structure. It is under the control of Irrigation Department and Works and Services Department.

Very poor; only the remains of the suite buried under the Sindh Flood

7. Inspection Bungalow at Ayo-jo-Goth

•	o
Location:	It is situated in Ayo-jo-Goth along
	Ruk-Larkana Railway Line at a
	distance of few kilometers from
	village Mirzapur (at. 27°46'N, long.
	68°35'E).
Year of const.	?
Cond.	Very poor; only the structure of one
	quarter is visible.
Status:	The building has been used as a
	police check post by Sindh Police
	Department.

8. District Bungalow at Shikarpur (Fig. 9)

Location:	It is located on Foujdari Road in the Shikarpur city (lat. 27°56'N, long. 68°38'E).				
Year of const. Cond.	1917 (?) and 1939. Very poor; only S.M.S Quarters are				
visible.	very poor, only 5.14.5 Quarters are				
Status:	The surviving quarters of the bungalow serve as the Forest Office working under the Sindh Forest and Wildlife Department.				

9. Inspection Bungalow at Shikarpur (Fig.

10)	
Location:	It is located close to the Shikarpur
	Railway Station (lat. 27°57'N, long.
	68°38'E).
Year of const.	?
Cond.	Very poor; the remains of only two
	suites and quarters are visible.
Status:	It is under the control of Health
	Department and Works and Services

Department of the Government of Sindh. Nowadays, it serves as the office and residence of an officer and servants of the Sindh government.

The Raj's bungalows: A discussion

A huge number of bungalows of different types were built by the British in the width and breadth of Indo-Pakistani subcontinent. They are popularly known as dak or sarkari bangla (Urdu/Hindi) in India and Pakistan. The colonial bungalow is a developed form of "bangla", the Bengali peasant hut, which was used as the dwelling by British East India Company.¹⁸ It is argued that this "new house type" was developed by the British "for the [s]ubcontinent".¹⁹ In their work on the colonial bungalows in India, Miki and Madhavi Desai write that:

> The roots of the bungalow in India [and Pakistan] lie in the early attempts of British military engineers in the eighteenth century to design a standardised and permanent dwelling based on indigenous domestic structures for the East India Company when the British were still traders in the subcontinent. In its later version, the archetypal bungalow in the nineteenth century consisted of a low, one-storey, spacious building, internally divided, having a symmetrical layout with a veranda all around, situated in a large compound. This basic model was also adopted with modifications almost everywhere British rule existed at that time.²⁰

In British India, the two types of colonial bungalows, known as the sloping roofed and the flat-roofed, developed from above-mentioned model.²¹ According to Pieper, as cited in Desai and Desai, the bungalow is "European architecture modified to suit the Indian [and Pakistani] climate". Due to its setting in a compound, it is an environment-friendly house, allowing free circulation of air.²² In the context of Sindh, the flat-roofed bungalow style was adapted to face the extreme climate. All the colonial bungalows in Sindh are single-storey structures designed in a spacious compound with the exception of very few two-storey bungalows in the cities (like Sukkur), sharing some common features with bungalows of Calcutta such as 'white "chunum" paint; high and flat roof and ceiling; thick walls having ventilators close the ceiling; several windows and doors for natural lighting and cross-ventilation; verandah; and north-south orientation'.²³ In the Shikarpur district of Sindh all nine bungalows are flat-roofed type and are single-storeyed brick structures built in large compounds, which comprise the suite(s), kitchen, store(s), outhouses, quarters and a huge garden (Fig. 11). Overall, the above-mentioned model was adopted in the construction of bungalows all over Sindh except for a very few double-storey bungalows located in the cities (e.g. Sukkur, Hyderabad and Karachi).

And this model of the colonial bungalow offers insights into the living style of Raj's officers and their associates. Particularly important in this regard are the categories of the bungalows, the rules for their occupation, which among other things contain information about the structure and hierarchies of different organisations of Raj, and the size of the compound and the distribution of buildings and provision of facilities in it. As per rules, the bungalows were of two categories (Class I and II) and were available to both Raj's officials and non-officials for occupation with the permission of the controlling officer, however, accommodation was given to visiting and/or on-duty officers on priority (see Annex-II). Designed in the centre of the compound, the bungalow was surrounded by different not-veryprominent structures including a kitchen, store-rooms, servant quarters and out-houses, making the central building grand and superior. Most of the bungalows were furnished (either fully or partially) and were provided with daily-use objects (such as crockery, cutlery, glass, lamps, cooking utensils, mattresses and pillows) and the servants (e.g. sweeper, messman and khansaman). All these things point to the living style of the colonials and the status they held in society.

Moreover, keeping in view the spatial distribution of Raj's bungalows, Miki and Madhavi Desai argue that there were two types of bungalows: the urban and the rural. Both were used by the British officers as well as other people. The rural bungalows "included dak bungalows (government guest houses, usually in remote localities)" and other residential buildings which were built in every district of British India.²⁴ Contrary to the Indian use of the term dak bungalows, originally postal stations, only for government guest

houses located in rural areas, all of the Raj's bungalows whether located in the urban or rural context were used as the rest houses in the Sindh province of Pakistan.

Since the bungalows were the property of the British government, after the partition of India in 1947 their status remained the same as government bungalows both in India and Pakistan. In Pakistan, they are located in different areas. According to the pamphlet, the 377 bungalows in the Sindh province are located in cities and along the railways track, roads and water channels in all districts. The bungalows of the PWD also include those of the Lloyd Barrage and Canal Construction which are known to the locals as the irrigation bungalows, because of the fact that they now belong to the government's Irrigation Department. All these bungalows are now under the custody of concerned departments of the government of Sindh and the federal government of Pakistan.

Attention may be drawn to two points here. First, the bungalows were symbols of the socio-political supremacy of the British. However, the appropriation of this hybrid architectural style by local nobility and other established families added a local dimension to it. So, it is polemically debated in academia whether the British bungalows as a concept and practice aimed demonstrating the political and at colonial overlordship of the British or other functional considerations were also involved. A careful reading of the phenomenon enables us to maintain that the style has been inspired by the thought of superiority, the practical aspect of the buildings is clear from the fact that these works were related to the need of resource exploitation, control and communication. Second, we need to ponder upon the issue of speaking, Broadly preservation. the colonial bungalows make up part of British heritage, and the preservation of monuments having colonial ancestry has been a serious problem in the subcontinent since 1947. Keeping in view the calls for studying and preserving the modern-day archaeological and cultural heritage, as especially argued by Gabriel Moshenska, we have a moral and academic responsibility to make efforts in this direction. To relate the British heritage to a memory of colonial negativities is, though, not totally unjustified. However, such historical memory, marked by bitter feelings and a sense of victimization, should in no way be seen as able to provide ground for a neglect or annihilation of historical landscape. We

have sufficient examples of such acts of destruction or neglect.²⁵ The Ayodhya problem in India and the Buddhist heritage destruction in Afghanistan and Pakistan during the Taliban control are examples at hand.²⁶ So, we need to take care of the remains and heritage of the other in the best interest of what is called shared humanity. We also should appreciate the functional utility of such heritage as the British bungalow in the context of tourism and other good uses of the buildings. The dilapidated condition of the bungalows in Sindh goes against our moral, as well as historical and political, responsibility to the land and its built heritage.

The bungalows under discussion were constructed primarily to facilitate the officers and other staff of the British government and the common public as well. Beside administrative use and tourism, their political aspect cannot be ignored. As it is clear that the Britishers were interested in the local resources, and for that they had to control and exploit all the areas occupied by the Raj. The construction of a large number of bungalows in the whole territory especially for the Raj's officials, as the provision for the occupation of these bungalows for common tourists was very little, points to this contention. In this regard, particularly interesting is their location and their control by specific department of the government such as the PWD, Forest and Irrigation departments. For example, in Sindh, most of them are associated with irrigation: Lloyd Barrage (or Sukkur Barrage) and Canals, which shows the role they played in the development of irrigations system in British Sindh. We also know that the control and management of resources and land were subject to colonial politics of patronage of one or the other local group or family. The politics behind the use and control of local sources of production relate the very construction of the bungalows to the overall political landscape of the British India.²⁷ Thus, it can be said that the bungalows were meant to control the territory, exploit the resources and keep an eye on the movement of goods and raw material and to facilitate the Raj's administration.

Despite their present status as government property, a number of bungalows located all over the country have been reported in the crumbling state during the last few years.²⁸ At the same there are also many places where the bungalows are still maintained and utilised by the government departments. For instance, in Shikarpur

alone out of nine bungalows two are under the use of the custodian departments, although most of the structures and buildings located within the area of the bungalows are in a very bad state of preservation. Taking this fact into account, it can be said that the material, socio-cultural, economic and political value of the bungalows has not yet been fully recognised at government level in Pakistan.

Final remarks

In this study, it is highlighted that the British Raj bungalows located in the present-day Shikarpur district of Sindh province are in a bad state of preservation. In fact, most of the structures including suites and out-houses have fallen to the ground. However, the surviving buildings have been used by the custodian departments and other government institutions. Refugees have occupied the vacant, not in use, buildings, especially, those which are located in the villages. For instance, Ayo-jo-Goth bungalow and quarters at Chak bungalow are in the use of Sindh Police; one quarter of Garhi Yasin bungalow is converted into a school; Shikarpur district bungalow is occupied by the Forest Department; one suite of Shikarpur inspection bungalow is under the use of the Health Department; the bungalows at Shahpur and Sahita are occupied by the locals; and the quarters of the bungalows at Ruk and Garhi Yasin are home to flood affectees. Of all the bungalows located in the Shikarpur district only the suites of Garhi Yasin and Chak bungalows are under the use of the custodian departments.

Keeping in view their socio-economic and political value, it is recommended that the concerned departments especially which have the custodianship should take immediate measures in order to stop further deterioration of the structures and restore them so that the bungalows can be used, once again, as the resting places for visiting tourists. If properly planned in line with the administrative setup of the country, they can be very beneficial for the internal policies of the state, just like the British Raj. Moreover, the Department of Archaeology, Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Antiquities, Government of Sindh should document and survey all the bungalows, 377 in total as per the pamphlet, located in Sindh and label all the surviving buildings as 'protected heritage': as they fulfill the criteria of being in the list of protected heritage sites.

Acknowledgements

We are grateful to all the Shikarpuri friends for their help in the fieldwork. We also thank Dr. Rafiullah Khan for his intellectual feedback on the initial drafts of the paper.

Notes and References

- Moshenska, Gaberiel. (2006) "Scales of Memory in the Archaeology of the Second World War," Papers from the Institute of Archaeology 17, (2006): 58–68. https://doi.org/10.5334/pia.269, also idem. The Archaeology of the Second World War: Uncovering Britain's Wartime Heritage. Barnsley: Pen and Sword Archaeology, 2022.
- This neglect in South Asian context is generally seen with reference to the colonial heritage legacy which focuses on ancient, Hindu, Buddhist and Mughal sites and monuments.
- 3. Abbasi, Abdullah. "An Archaeological and Historical Study of Gora Kabristan, Ahatta Noor, Muree." MSc thes., Quaid-i-Azam University, 2018; Hameed, Muhammad, and Samia Tahir, "British Architecture of Lahore: An Introductory Note of their Religious and Educational Buildings," Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society 31, no. 1 (2018): 271-283; Mehmood Khan, Khanzada Bilal. "An Archaeological and Historical Study of Harley Street Cemetry Gora Qabristan, Rawalpindi." MSc thes., Quaid-i-Azam University, 2018; Shar, Aijaz Ali. "Historical and Archaeological Importance of Sukkur Barrage District Sukkur, Sindh, Pakistan." MSc thes., Quaidi-Azam University, 2019.
- Bullo, Momin. The Lloyd Barrage of 4. Pakistan. eni Pakistan, Kuwait Foreign Petrolium Exploration Co., Premier Oil Pakistan Kadanwari Limited, Oil & Gas Development Company Ltd. & Gothseengar Foundation, 2014; Hameed, and Tahir, "British Architecture of Lahore," 271-283; "The Mcgarr, Paul, Viceroys are Disappearing from the Roundabouts in Delhi': British Symbols of Power in Postcolonial India," Modern Asian Studies 49, 3 (2015): 787-831, no.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X1400008 0; Mesaria, S. and N. Jaiswal, (2014). 'A Study on the Colonial Monuments of British Era of Kolkata, India', Research Journal of Recent Sciences, 3, (2015): 99–107, http://www.isca.in/rjrs/archive/v3/iIVC-

2014/18.ISCA-IVC-2014-10FCCS-06.pdf; Naeem, Anila. Shikarpoor: Historic City, Sindh, Pakistan. Inventory and Mapping of Heritage Properties. Karachi: Sindh Endowment Fund Trust for Preservation of the Heritage of Sindh, 2014; Naseem, Mughal. Shikarpur Heritage. An Illustrated Journey Through History. Karachi: Sindh Archives, 2012; Scriver, Peter, and Vikramaditya Prakash. eds. Colonial Modernities: Building, Dwelling and Architecture in British India and Ceylon. London: Routledge, 2007.

- Board of Revenue. District Shikarpur base map [map]. Government of Sindh, Board of Revenue, 2014. https://sindhzameen.gos.pk/maps.aspx.
- Mangi, N.N. Shikarpur–Hik Ibhyas [Sindhi]. Kandiaro, Sindh: Roshni Publications, 2004; Naeem, Shikarpoor.
- Bhutto, H, "Sindh Jo Hik Taarekhi Shaher Shikarpur [in Sindhi]." Monthly Naeen Zindagi Karachi, 1970.
- Gohar, Sirat. (2019). "SA Site Cover: Pillar of Victory." Published February 2019 on Speaking Archaeologically. Blog. http://speakingarchaeologically.blogspot.co m/2019/02/sa-site-cover-pillar-of-victoryby.html
- Markovits, Claude. The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750–1947. Traders of Sind from Bukhara to Panama. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Bhutto, "Sindh Jo Hik Taarekhi Shaher Shikarpur"; Mangi, Shikarpur–Hik Ibhyas; Naeem, Shikarpoor.
- Ansari, Sarah. "The Sind Blue Books of 1843 and 1844: The Political 'Laundering' of Historical Evidence," The English Historical Review 120, no. 485 (2005): 35–65; Markovits, The Global World of Indian Merchants; Markovits, Claude. "The Political

Economy of Opium Smuggling in Early Nineteenth Century India: Leakage or Resistance?" Modern Asian Studies 43, no. 1 (2009): 89–111; Napier, Sir William. The History of General Sir Charles Napier's Conquest of Scinde. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001; Shaikh, Muhammad Ali. "History: The British Conquest of Sindh." Dawn. October 31. 2021. https://www.dawn.com/news/1655098; Sodhar, Muhammad Qasim, Ghulam Rashid Memon, and Ghulam A. Mahesar. "British Annexation of Sindh: The Opium Economy Factor." Grassroots 49, no. II (2015): 220-224; Wong, J.Y. "British Annexation of Sindh in 1843: An Economic Perspective." Modern Asian Studies 31, no. 2 (1997): 225-

- Sansarlochan. "Annexation of Sindh by the British – 1843." Accessed May 4, 2022. https://www.sansarlochan.in/en/annexationof-sindh-by-british.
- 13. Sodhar, Memon, and Mahesar, "Britsh Annexation of Sindh."
- 14. Gohar, Sirat, Conversation with Dr. Rafiullah Khan, January 19, 2022.
- 15. List of Bungalows Intended for the Use of Touring Officers and Travelling Public in Sind, with the Rules for their Occupation. Karachi: Sind Government, 1955.
- 16. see List of Bungalows, 1955.

244.

- 17. see List of Bungalows, 1955.
- Varghese, Paul. The Anglo-Indian Bungalow: A Colonial Architecture of the British Raj and its Social Impact. Technische Universiteit Delft, 2016.
- Desai, Miki, and Madhavi Desai. "The Adaptation and Growth of the Bungalow in India." Paper presented at International Workshop on the Architectural Heritage of Asia and Oceania, Rizvi College of Architecture, Bombay, December 1995.
- 20. Desai, and Desai, "The Adaptation and Growth of the Bungalow."
- 21. Varghese, The Anglo-Indian Bungalow.
- Desai, Miki, and Desai, Madhavi. "The Colonial Bungalow in India." The Newletter 57, Summer 2011.
- 23. Varghese, The Anglo-Indian Bungalow.

- 24. Desai, and Desai, "The Colonial Bungalow in India."
- Misztal, B. A. Theories of Social Remembering. Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2003.
- 26. Khan, Rafiullah. "From the Purge of History to Heritage Interpretation: Making Sense of the Taliban's Iconoclasm at the Buddhist Site of Shakhurai (Swat, Pakistan)," Ancient Pakistan 32, (2021): 57–75.
- 27. Haines, Timothy Daniel. "Building the Empire, Building the Nation: Water, Land, and the Politics of river-development in Sind, 1898-1969." PhD diss., Royal Holloway College, University of London, 2011.
- 28. Dhakku, N.A. (2016). "The Forgotten Dak Bungalows from the British Era." Dawn,

December 11, 2016. http://www.dawn.com/news/1301710;

Endowment Fund Trust. "Godee Bungalow, Kashmore." Accessed May 10, 2022. http://heritage.eftsindh.com/site/692/k ashmore/godee-bungalow; Fawaz, Abu. "Canal Rest Houses - A Journey from Dawn to Dusk." Herald Magazine, January 18, 2021. http://delveintopakistan.com/canalrest-houses-journey-dawn-dusk/; Tunio, Hafeez. "Neglected heritage: unless inspected, Sanghar's Inspection Bungalow will crumble to dust." The Express Tribune, April 16. 2021. https://tribune.com.pk/story/1086165/neglec ted-heritage-unless-inspected-sangharsinspection-bungalow-will-crumble-to-dust.

Figures

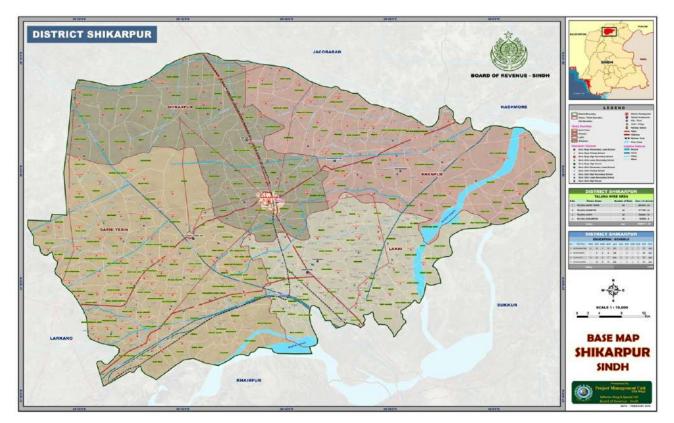


Fig. 1. Map of District Shikarpur (Board of Revenue, 2014).

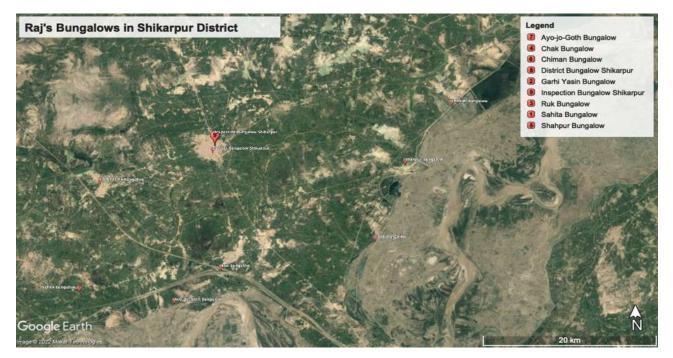


Fig. 2. Raj's bungalows in District Shikarpur (locations marked on Google Earth).



Fig. 3. Suite, Inspection Bungalow at Sahita.



Fig. 4. Suite, Inspection Bungalow at Garhi Yasin.



Fig. 5. Quarter, Inspection Bungalow at Ruk.



Fig. 6. Suite, Inspection Bungalow at Chak.



Fig. 7. Suite, Inspection Bungalow at Shahpur.



Fig. 8. Brick-lined arches of old structure, Inspection Bungalow at Chiman.

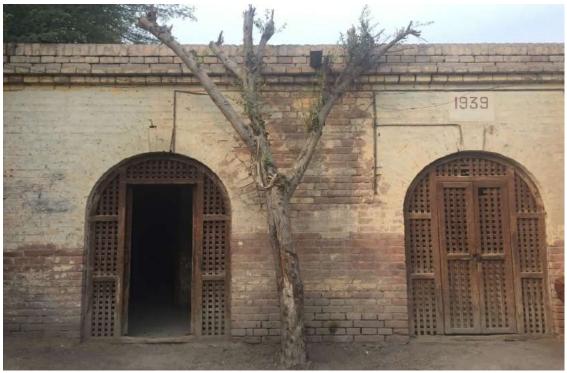


Fig. 9. Quarters, District Bungalow at Shikarpur.



Fig. 10. Quarters, Inspections Bungalow at Shikarpur.



Fig. 11. Aerial view of Ayo-jo-Goth Bungalow compound (in the centre) in Shikarpur.

Annex-I	
List of the Raj's bungalows in District Shikarpur, Sindh	I

	List of District Bungalows, Public Works Department Bungalows including those of the Lloyd Barrage and (Canal Construction), Forest Department Bungalows, etc., in Sind[h].							
Sr. No.	Name of the bungalow	Class of bungalow	Number of suites in the bungalow	Whether the bungalow is (1) unfurnished (2) partially furnished (i.e., provided with tables, chairs and bedsteads), (3) fully furnished	Whether provided with (a) crockery, cutlery and glass (b) lamps, (c) cooking utensils, (d) mattresses or pillows for beds	Whether the bungalow is provided with a sweeper and whether a messman, khansaman, etc., are available	Controlling Officer whose permission is required for the occupation of the bungalow	Remarks
1	District bungalow at Shikarpur.	Ι	1	Fully furnished.	Lamps only.	Sweeper only.	Assistant or Deputy Collector, Shikarpur.	
2	Inspection bungalow at Shikarpur.	I P.W.D.	3	Partially furnished.	Crockery and cutlery.	Sweeper only.	Executive Engineer Shikarpur Canal Division.	
3	Inspection bungalow at Chak	I P.W.D.	1	Partially furnished.	Crockery and cutlery.	No.	Executive Engineer Shikarpur canal Division Sukkur.	
4	Inspection bungalow at Chiman	II P.W.D.	1	Partially furnished.	Crockery only.	No.	Executive Engineer Shikarpur canal Division.	
5	Inspection bungalow at Shahpur	I P.W.D.	3	Partially furnished.	Crockery only.	No.	Executive Engineer Shikarpur canal Division.	
6	Inspection bungalow at Sahita	II P.W.D.	1	Partially furnished.	Crockery only.	No.	Executive Engineer Shikarpur canal Division.	
7	Inspection bungalow at Garhi Yasin	I L.B.	2	Partially furnished.	Crockery, cutlery, glass and lamps.	No.	Executive Engineer Khirt[h]ar Division, Sukkur.	
8	Inspection bungalow at Ruk	I P.W.D.	2	Partially furnished.	Crockery, cutlery (partial) and lamps.	No.	Executive Engineer Northern Dadu Division, Larkana.	

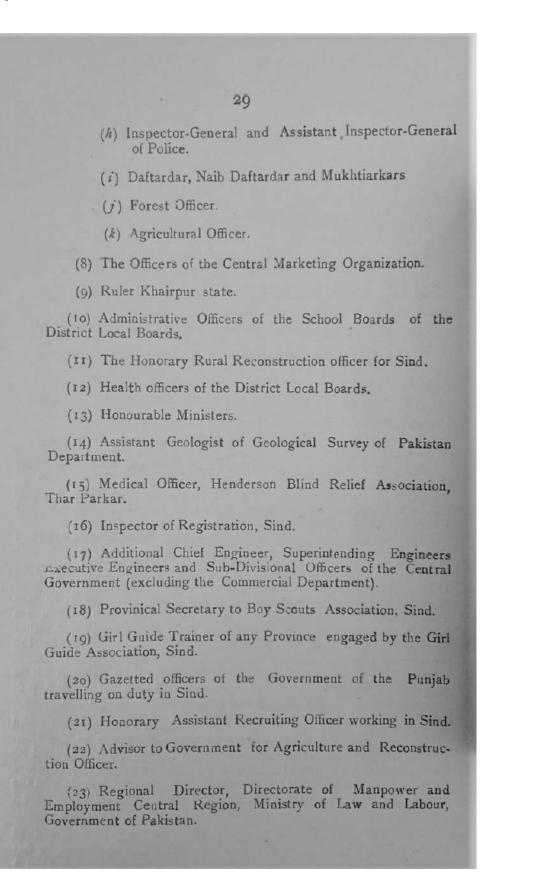
	Inspection						Executive Engineer	
9	bungalow	II P.W.D.	1	Partially	Nil.	No.	Northern Dadu	
	at Ayo-jo- Goth			furnished.			Division,	
	Goui						Larkana.	

Annex-II

Rules for the Occupation of the District and Inspection Bungalows in Sindh

27 RULES FOR THE OCCUPATION OF THE DISTRICT AND INSPECTION BUNGALOWS IN SIND, A .- Preliminary. 1. Bungalows are of two classes-1. Those intended for the use of Gazetted Officers; and II. Those primarily intended to be used by non-gazetted officers and clerks. The classification shall be fixed by the Collector for the District. Bungalows, by the Superintending Engineers for the Public Work Department Bungalows and by the Conservator of Forests for Fores, Department rest-houses. 2. Questions connected with the occupation of bungalows shall be referred to the Controlling Officer. The following shall be the Controlling Officers for the different kinds of bungalows :---Kind of bungalow. Controlling Officer. District Bungalows ... Assistant or Deputy Collector. Public Works Department Executive Engineer. Bungalows. al Receive and above for Forgst Department rest-houses. Divisional Forest Officer. B. -Persons eligible for the occupation of bungalows. 3. The Revenue Commissioner for Sind shall have the power to reserve either permanently or temporarily bungalows which are required for departmental purposes. The reservation of such bungalows will be indicated in the printed list of bungalows together with the name of the officer to whim reference should be made if an officer of another department desires to occupy any such bungalow. 4. (a) Gazetted Officers, travelling on duty, are entitled to use Class I Bungalows. (1) The District Bungalow at Makli Hill, Tatta, shall not be reserved for a Gazetted Officer below the rank or Collector of Head of a Department. A bus well. O eman (b) Non-gazetted officers, when travelling on duty, may occupy the out houses of these bungalows. These include subordinates of the Distcict Local Boards drawing salary of Rs. 100 and above. Note.—The Controlling Officer may give any individual non-gazetted officer general authority to use the Class I Bungalows under his control. Such individual non-gazetted officer should then be treated as an officer lower than a district official for purposes of rule II.

28
5. The following officers of Government are entitled when travelling on duty to occupy Class II Bungalows:
Boards drawing salary of Rs. foo har not occupy such bungalows officers on pay less than Rs. 50 may not occupy such bungalows without the permission of the Controllig Officer.
NoteThe Secretaries of the District Soldiers Board, Soldiers Welfare committee in Sind, should be treated as non-gazetted officers for the purpose of these rules.
6. For the purposes of rules 4 and 5 an officer transferred from one station to another should during the period of his transit and till he secures permanent accommodation be considered as "travelling on duty".
7 For the purposes of these rules the persons mentioned shall be regarded as Gazetted Officers:
 Military Officers, (2) Railway Officers of State owned and worked Railways. (3) Non-official Presidents of the District Local Boards;
(4) Chief Officers and Engineers of District Local Board on pay of Rs. 200 and above;
(5) Chairmen of the District Local Board School Boards;
(6) Divisional and District Honorary Organisers of Co- operative Societies;
 (7) The following officers of the Khairpur State : (a) Ruler. (b) President and members of the Council of Administration.
(c) Chief Engineer, Divisional Engineers and Sub-divi- sional Officers of the Public Works Department.
 (d) Chief Judge, Sessions Judge, District Judge, Registrar, High Court and Public Prosecutor. (e) Audit and Finance Officer and Assistant Audit and Finance Officer.
(f) Director of Public Instruction.(g) Principal Medical Officer.
harmong a contrafficient of the builded your and a contrast of the set for the set of th



0,30	
24. (i) Directors, (ti) Administrator.	
(iii) Secretary of the Pakistan Refugee Rehabilitation Finance Corporation, Karachi.	
25. Commissioner of Income Tax Karachi, Sind and Bulachistan Karachi.	
26. Regional Officer, Deputy Regional Officer and Investigation Officers.	
 27. Deputy Rehabilitation Commissioners of Hyderabad, Nawab- shah, Sukkur and Tharparkar. 28. Secretaries District Sailers, Soldiers and Airmen's Board. 	
 29. Chief Inspector of Explosives in Pakistan. 30. Inspectors of Explosive. 31. Assistant Inspector of Explosives. 	
32. The Consulting Engineer to Government of Pakistan.	
33. The Superintending Engineer to Government of Pakistan.	
Note.—(1) Nurses of the Red Cross Society are regarded as non-gazetted officers for the purposes of the rules and they are allowed to occupy Class II Bungalows only. Note.—(2) The Provincial Organizers of the Indian Red Cross Society and Lady Doctors on the staff of the Society and its Branches should be regarded as Gazetted Officers for the purpose of these rules.	
Note(3) The Missionaries of the Church of England, Zenana Mission, Hyderabad (Sind), should be regarded as Gazetted Officers for the purpose of these Rules.	
8. In the case of Class I and Class II Bungalows a Gazetted Officer and in the case of Class II Bungalows only any officer, whose Jurisdiction extends over two or more districts and who gives 10 days clear notice to the Controlling Officer of his intention to occupy a bungalow shall not be refused permission unless the bungalow is either occupied by a District Officer who is engaged on urgent duty in the immediate neighbourhood or has been specially reserved under rule 3 above. In particular, during the fair season a Gazett-d Officer whose jurisdiction extends over two or more districts shall be given a pre- ierence over a District Officer who ordinarily tours with tents.	
9 (a) A Presidency Officer or an Officer whose charge extend over the whole Province, who gives 10 days' clear notice to the Con- trolling Officer of his intention to occupy a bungalow shall not be refused permission unless the bungalow is either occupied with previous reservation by a District Officer, who is engaged on argent duty in the immediate neighbourhood or has been specially reserved under rule 3 and 13.	
(b) Reservation of a bungalow for District Officer on duty shall carry the right to occupy subject to (a) above but if a bungalow has already been reserved for any Gazetted Officer lower in rank than a	

31

District Officer, the District Officer requiring the bungalow must give the former 10 days' notice, if he wishes the former to move.

(c) For Officers lower in rank than District Officials the reservation carries no right if the bungalow is required by Officer mentioned in (a) or by an officer mentioned in (b) above, if he has given to days' notice.

(d) In case of a sudden emergency arising which necessitates the occupation of a bungalow by a District Officer, the Officer of a lower rank occupying it would be expected either to share the bungalow with the District Officer or to vacate it without notice.

(e) If a touring officer for whom Distt. or Insp Bugalowis reserved does not occupy it within 24 hours of the date of intended occupation the reservation shall be considred as cancelled.

Rule 9.A (I) When a bunglow which has already been reserved by an officer, is required by an Honourable Minister, such reservation should be cancelled and the officer who has reserved the bungalow should atonce be informed.

(II) If however the bungalow is already in occupation or is ater to be occupied by an officer who left his last camp before he could be informed of cancellation of his reservation it should be vacated at 24 hours notice.

ro. Persons other than Government officers may be permitted by Controlling Officers to occupy bungalows of both Classes-

(a) subject to the payment of fees mentioned in rules 17 and 18.

(b) on condition that the bungalow must be vacated within 24 hours if required by a Government officer entitled to use it and

(c) on such other conditions, if any, as the Controlling Officer may in each case prescribe.

Note.-Distinguished non-official visitors from outside Sind may be permitted to stay in the District Bungalow at Makli Hill subject to the orders of the Collectors of Tatta.

A fee of Rs. 8/-/- per suite per diem will be charged to such non-official for the occupation of this Bungalow.

C.—Period for which occupation is allowed.

11. Except when occupying a bungalow under rules 3 and 13 a Government officer who has been in occupation of a bungalow for to days or more shall vacate if at 24 hours' notice if the bungalow is required by any other Government officer on duty to whom permission to occupy has been given under rule 9. An officer lower than a 32 8

district official shall vacate in favour of a district official and the latter shall vacate in favour of a provincial officer or an officer whose charge extends over the whole Province.

Note.-Superintending Engineers of Circles are for the purposes of these rules regarded as officers whose charge extends over the whole Province,

12. Subject to the preferential claims set forth in rules 8, 9, 10 and 11 there is no time limit in respect of the occupation of bungalows.

D.-Fees.

13. (a) Officers of the Forest Department may occupy the bungalows of their department free of charge for an unlimited period.

(b) The Executive Engineers, Begari and Shikarpur Canals Divisions, and their Sub-Divisional Officers who have river bunds in their charge may occupy Public Works Department Inspection Bungalows on their bunds, free of charge, in excess of 10 days provided (i) the Controlling Officer certifies that such protracted occupation is in the direct interest of Government and (ii) the officers or subordinates maintain regular camp transport (ordinarily baggage camels) throughout the period of occupation during which the concession is claimed.

14. Except as provided in rule 13, Government officers and others, who are entitled under rules 4 to 7 to occupy bungalows or out-houses, may occupy them free of charge for 10 days. If during this period an officer is compelled owing to the exigencies of his work to move out, leaving his family or his kit in the bungalow, fees at the rates specified in the following rules are chargeable, if the absence extends over three consecutive night or longer.

15. "For any period in excess of ten days, the following fees shall be charged whether there is a sweeper or not.

 For the occupation of Class I Bungalow-Rs. 2/-/- per diem.

Note.-Non-gazetted officers occupying Class I Bungalows under the proviso to rule 4 shall be charged fees at half the foregoing rates.

(2) For the occupation of out-houses of Class I Bungalows by the officers mentioned in rule 4(b) annas four per diem.

(3) For the occupation of Class II Bunglows-

- (a) by Gazetted officers. Re. t/-/- per diem.
 - (b) by non-gazetted officers on pay of less than Rs. 50, annas twelve p-r diem.

Note.—Ten days is the maximum period of free occupation at one time and at a place where there is more than one bungalow' this period applies to the aggregate period of occupation of such bungalows and not to the occupation of each bungalow taken singly. If the bungalow is vacant all the rooms may be occupied by one officer on payment of a single fee. If it contains more than one set of rooms and they are separately occupied by different officers at the same time each occupant shall pay the full authorised fee and not a portion of it. 33

16. The period for which the occupation of a bunglow shall be allowed free of charge and the period for which fees shall be charged shall be determined by the number of nights passed in the bungalow. But Officers occupying the bungalow only between sunrise and sunset shall pay half the fees.

Note.—Concession of half fees is admissible for occupation between sunrise and sunset even though the occupation may be in continuation of a day or days for which full fees are charged.

For the purpose of occupation of the District and Inspection bungalows in Sind, the time of sunrise should be taken all the year round as 8 a.m. and that of sunset as 8 p.m.

17. Persons other than Government officers shall be charged Rs. 2-o--o per diem for occupation of Class I bungalows and Re. 1-o-o per diem for Class II Bungalows, whether the bungalow is or not provided with a sweeper. For passing the night at the bungalow the full fees shall be paid, but for occupying the bungalow only between sunrise and sunset half the fees shall be paid

18. Government officers and others occupying bungalows under rules 4, 5, 7 and 10 shall be charged, in addition to any fee for occupa tion, an extra fee of Re. 1--o-o per diem in summer per suit and annas o-12-o per diem per suite in winter from the date of occupation, if the bungalow is provided with an electric installation or sanitary fittings.

18-A. In addition to the fees fixed under the above rules Government officers and others occupying the Inspection Bungalow in the Barrage Township, Sukkur, shall be charged anna 1 for water-supply and anna 1 for conservancy arrangements per diem, from the date of occupation.

18-B. Where an inspection or District Bungalow is unauthorizedly occupied by an offirer, he should be made to vacate the Bungalow and pay rent at the rate of 10% of his pay or the economic rent of the Bungalow, which-ever is more.

18-C. Government officers and others occupying the Inspection or District Bungalow shall be charged Re, I per head a linen charges, provided the linen is actually used.

E.-General.

19. The chowkidar in charge is absolutely prohibited from living or sleeping in any room of the building. Officers and travellers are requested to bring any infringement of this rule to the notice of the Controlling Officer.

20. Persons occupying bungalows to which no sweepers are attached are required to make their own arrangements for service during their stay in them.

L (iv) 174-5

"The tollowing acts are Strictly prohibited in all bungalows :--

" "(1) Lighting fire in any room not provided with a fireplace br in a room so provided in any place but the fireplace;

(2) Using a bathroom or any other part of the bungalow for any purpose for which it is not intended, e.g., as a urinal or for cooking:

(3) Bringing horses or cattle or vehicles (except peda bicycles) on to the verandah;

(4) Spitting in the room;

(5) Using any of the sanitary furniture of a bathroom unless, in the case of bungalows not provided with a sweeper arrangements for a sweeper have been made prior to the use of such furniture.

22. It is the duty of the chowkidar to report any violation of the regulations laid down for the occupation of the bungalow.

23. Persons using a bungalow shall be responsible for any damage done by themselves, or their servants to the building or its furniture or fittings. The reservation officer's decision in this matter shall be final. They are required to leave the bungalow and its subsidiary buildings clean and tidy on their departure and to write their names, rank (if any), residence, dates of arrival and departure and the amounts paid in fees, if any, in the bungalow register. They should bring to the notice of the Controlling Officer any infringement of the rules or any abuse of the building or note the same in the remarks column of the bungalow register.

which We even construction or Distinct Renthments and the second rest in the second rest

a pal visui qui o redia for ses conto mis 2 6 1982 a pal visui qui o redia for ses conto mis 2 6 1982 a pal visui transfa conto for a palateri conto a palateri a

an Das of their in this of the second test of the live all the second test of test

KARACHI : PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS.