

Dr. Muhammad Ali Shaikh

## Role of Hassanally Effendi as harbinger of change in Sindh

### Abstract:

*Hassanally Effendi is one of the most important reformers produced by Sindh during last several centuries. He employed education as a tool for reformation of society and established the first ever educational institution that imparted modern education primarily to the Muslims of Sindh but was open to everyone. Unfortunately, there is not much research carried out in Sindh or beyond about him and his role in reformation of Sindh's society. The purpose of this study was to fill that gap and highlight the role played by him for bringing change in Sindh's traditional society in the aftermath of British conquest. The methodology adopted for present study was the qualitative one, based on the content analysis of relevant archival material available at Sindh Madressatul Islam University, India Office Records at British Library, London, and other literature relating to the subject. The study highlights the circumstances that shaped Hassanally's vision, his struggle for preeminence, his participation in various social causes, his contributions towards establishment and nurturing SMI, his services towards Turkey and his legacy.*

### Introduction:

The Indian subcontinent witnessed a great transformation during the hundred years from 1757's War of Plassey to 1857's War of Independence. During that period various Indian territories and states, one by one, fell in the lap of British colonial forces, with Sindh's turn coming in 1843. With the advent of British rule, the old order was replaced with a new one.<sup>(Keay 2000)</sup>

One of the biggest changes happened in the field of education, where new schools replaced the traditional institutions. Almost all the communities except Muslims in the Subcontinent responded positively to the new realities of life. However, majority of Muslims in India including Sindh kept aloof from the new system of education, which resulted in their socio-economic disadvantages.<sup>(Qureshi 1988)</sup>

In these circumstances, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan emerged in the northern part of the subcontinent with the notion that the economic development and social reformation of Muslims was possible only through modern education. He considered educa-

tion as panacea for all the ills being confronted by the Muslim of India and advocated establishment of modern educational institutions, especially designed for Muslims. On his part he founded Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College (MAO) in 1877 at Aligarh, in the United Provinces, with the aim and objective of producing a "class of Muslims who might lead their people out of despair and ignorance, towards humanism and intelligent government"<sup>(Bolitho 1957)</sup>

Shortly after establishment of MAO in northern India, Hassanally Effendi, who had already achieved preeminence in Sindh because of his sheer struggle, also chose education to reform and bring transformation in highly backward society of Sindh. "Khan Bahadur Hassanally Effendi is one of the great Muslim reformers and educationists of South Asia who devoted his life to the cause of education. Like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan before him he believed that the path to emancipation and extricating youth from darkness lay in their acquiring quality education"<sup>(Zardari 2010)</sup>

Despite of numerous difficulties and disadvantages, Hassanally was able to sow the seed of socio-economic and political change not only in Sindh, but the entire subcontinent. "Effendi had started from a humble background. It is men like him who, from a humble start, leave abiding marks on the destinies of nations. Pioneer like him were the originators of Muslim renaissance in the entire subcontinent and it was their foresight, imagination and ceaseless effort which, in a long run, paved the way for the achievement of our independence."<sup>(Khan 1960)</sup>

### Early life and career:

Hassanally Effendi was born on 14th August 1830 at Hyderabad in Akhund family, which was known for scholarship and learning. At that time Sindh was under the Talpur rule. One of his ancestors, Mian Lal Mohammad, had served as Kazi of Hyderabad during the rule of Mir Fateh Ali Khan.<sup>(N. H. Effendi 1960)</sup> At the time of his birth, the family was not doing well financially, and he

was “born of comparatively poor parents at Hyderabad.”<sup>(Khawaja 1935)</sup> Hassanally lost his father, Mohammad Ihsan, in a very young age and was brought up by his elder brother.<sup>(N. H. Effendi 1960)</sup> According to the traditions of the family, he was enrolled in a local *maktab* to learn reading of Quran and other basic skills. “He joined no school save *Maktub* of his Mohalla to learn Sindhi. Neither did birth give him any advantage over other boys of his class.”<sup>(Khawaja 1935)</sup>

He was yet not thirteen years old when on 17<sup>th</sup> February 1843 the British forces under Sir Charles Napier defeated the Talpurs’ army at the Battle of Miani near Hyderabad.<sup>(Khuhro 1981)</sup> After another battle, finally in August 1843, when Hassanally turned exactly thirteen, Sindh was formally declared part of the British Indian empire. This completely replaced the old order with the new one. While Hassanally grew towards adulthood, there were very few employment opportunities for people with rudimentary education like him.

In those days the roads and railways had yet not been introduced in this region and the only means of communication was either through camel-caravans or Indus-based navigational system called the Indus Flotilla. The town called Jhirak on the right bank of River Indus, about fifty kilometers (thirty miles) from Hyderabad, served as the headquarters of the Indus Flotilla. Hassanally got an appointment as a clerk there. “Large quantities of firewood were stacked here for supplying fuel to the steamboats which plied on the river. To keep an account of the incoming and outgoing quantities of wood, some clerical staff called “*Dhak Munshees*” was employed. One of those *Munshees*, was a Muslim lad, handsome but poor. He was getting only Rs. 15/- per month. It was just enough to keep his body and soul together.”<sup>(Rehman 1960)</sup>

While working at Jhirak, Hassanally took up “studying English himself, with the help of a Christian clerk working on the Indus Flotilla.”<sup>(Rehman 1960)</sup> He devoted his leisure hours for learning English and with passage of time acquired proficiency in it. “He devoted all his spare hours after the office to the learning of

English. With a steadfast application, he soon acquired proficiency in reading, writing and speaking good English” (N. H. Effendi 1960). He “was among the first Sindhis to learn English and to realize its importance in the advancement of community.”<sup>(Khuhro 1978)</sup>

Around mid-1860s when Hassanally was about thirty-five years old, the destiny brought him in contact with judge Middleton of the Saddar Court of Karachi, who reached one evening to cross the river through ferry. “The Judge spent the night on the ferry board and was to cross the river next day. After dinner while on the deck he chanced to see this bright young man reading by an oil lamp. It was English he was reading and what was more surprising [for him that] he was a Muslim”. The judge needed a person at his court who knew local languages and was well versed with Muslim customs and practices, as his court faced immense difficulties in understanding the contents of applications filed by Muslims in Sindhi. “The Judge himself went up and questioned that youth. So deeply was he impressed by the keen brain and personality of this young man that he forthwith gave him an order of appointment as *Serishtadar* and Translator at the District Court Karachi on magnificent salary of sixty rupees a month.”<sup>(Rehman 1960)</sup>

Coming to Karachi proved to be challenging for Hassanally. Here he began to feel need of further polishing his language skills in English as well as developing a working knowledge of laws and legal procedures. “He bought some English books to begin with and with that energy and determination characteristic of him made some progress in the language. His duties in court work gave him some insight in procedure observed in the courts. After he had studied enough English to understand the language.... he set to study law.”<sup>(Khawaja 1935)</sup> As to improve his spoken English, he became a “constant companion of Mr. Jeffris, the editor of an English paper ‘Sindhi News’ to polish up his English.”<sup>(N. H. Effendi 1960)</sup>

In those days it was the discretion of the district magistrate to award ‘*sanad*’ or permission to practice law to the indi-

viduals whom he considered competent enough. When Hassanally acquired reasonable command over the subject, "he applied to the District Judge, Karachi, to grant him a permit to practice as lawyer."<sup>(Khawaja 1935)</sup> His request was granted, making him the first ever Muslim lawyer in Sindh. Grant of permission to practice law brought him in professional competition with some of the most established lawyers in Sindh. "He had to hold his own against such well known lawyers as Mr. Dayaram Jethalal and Mr. Udham Mulchand. But, he spared no pains to prepare his cases through ceaseless efforts and thus never lost a case"<sup>(N. H. Effendi 1960)</sup> Soon he emerged as one of the preeminent lawyers in Sindh, because of which the government offered him the position of judge in the Small Causes Court, which he declined to accept. In the course of time "Effendi rose to distinction in government service and was appointed Public Prosecutor" (Kuhro 1978). His distinction was that he was appointed to the post, which "till then had never been given to a non-European."<sup>(Rehman 1960)</sup>

### Participation in social causes:

While in government service, Hassanally witnessed firsthand the plight of the Sindhi Muslims due to lack of education. When he retired from the position of public prosecutor, he diverted his attention to social uplift of his people. One of his earliest endeavors was in the field of journalism when he started a weekly magazine to bring awareness amongst the masses. "In order to propagate his ideals, he established the first ever weekly paper in Sind. He gave it a very interesting name. It was called "Moawane Majma-e-Mohammadi."<sup>(Alvi 1960)</sup> However, his greatest service for social cause remains in the field of education. While Muslims as a community in entire India were far behind other communities in realm of education, in Sindh their position was abysmal. "At that time the number of Mussalmans in the Province educated in English could be counted on fingers. Whereas Mussalmans having received University education were only 4 or 5. Of these graduates were only two viz. the late Mirza Sadikali

and my elder brother the late Khan Bahadur Ali Mohamed Hassanally."<sup>(W. M. Effendi 1925)</sup>

The things started taking a shape in his mind when he undertook a visit of Calcutta, Aligarh and Hyderabad Deccan. "In about the year 1882 my father took a trip to Calcutta for the exhibition and made a tour in Upper India as well as to Hyderabad Deccan. He visited Aligarh College at the same time because for some time before he had an idea of starting an institution for the education of Mussalmans of Sind" (W. M. Effendi 1925). During his meeting with Amir Ali Syed, it was suggested that a branch of "National Mohammedan Association, which he (the Syed) had started at Calcutta, should be established in Sind."<sup>(Khawaja 1935)</sup> Hassanally liked this idea and "after retirement he started the Sind Mahommedan Association and worked to establish the Madressah-tul-Islam."<sup>(Kuhro 1978)</sup>

On his return from his visit to the eastern and northern India, Hassanally started working on formation of the association. "To bring this body into existence, K.B. Hassanally had to make a tour in Sind, see prominent and well-to-do Mohammedans and correspond with a number of influential men and enroll these and other representative men (big Zamindar, Mirs, and Pirs) as members, and at last succeed in forming the Association. For the purpose he addressed the public meeting in different parts of the Province and in those meetings rules and regulations for conducting the business of the Association were discussed and passed."<sup>(Khawaja 1935)</sup> Finally, with these endeavors, "in 1884 the Sind Mohammedan Association, with the late K.B Hassanally Bey as its able President was established in Sind."<sup>(Khawaja 1935)</sup>

In the beginning of 1885, he went to Aligarh again where he met Sir Syed Ahmed Khan as well as witnessed the functioning of the institution established by him. "There he met the master spirit Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and discussed with him the Mohammedan situation in Sind. He also had talks on the subject with the late principal of the Aligarh College, Theodore Beck, and his able assistant Theodore Morrison."<sup>(Khawaja 1935)</sup> He was highly impressed with the Aligarh model and decided to replicate it in

Sindh. "At Aligarh he was fired by enthusiasm and began collecting subscription before he returned home. He collected a small nucleus and so far, as I recollect he got about Rs. 4,000 from Hyderabad and a goodly sum from Calcutta and other places... After his return he set to work in earnest, toured all over Sind and within a short time he gathered a decent sum." (W. M. Effendi 1925)

By that time, Hassanally was aiming to establish a school only, as Sir Syed had initially done in 1875. But, Sir Syed had already raised his school to college level in 1877, which was destined to become a university in 1920, several years after the death of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. During this meeting Sir Syed advised Hassanally "not to think of a school only: aim at a college to expand into a university." (Rehman 1960)

### Establishment of SMI:

Once he set his objective of establishing a modern educational institution in Sindh, he was ready to face the challenges associated with it. One of the biggest challenges was to face the opposition from traditional religious lobbies who were against modern education. "The greatest enemies were the Muslims themselves. Anyone who advocated the starting of a school where English was taught was an object of contempt and hatred. Many wrote to Hassanally verses to this effect." (Rehman 1960) To counter them he and his friends used their weekly journal, in which articles were published "to carry on propaganda in favour of education and to silence opposition." (Khawaja 1935) Initially answers to adverse pieces of criticism were published in this publication. However, after some time, Hassanally adopted a policy of altogether ignoring what was said or written against him. "Having no time to waste in opposing his unkind critics, K. B. Hassanally wisely adopted the policy of altogether ignoring what they said or wrote. They sent him letters full of censure and abuse. Hassanally simply threw them in the waste paper basket and thought no more about them." (Khawaja 1935)

Another great challenge was to acquire a suitable piece

of land where the institution could be established. Fortunately, a suitable place was found in the form of two adjacent government plots serving as Qafila-e-Sirai and camel-camping ground. Both the plots "originally belonged to Government, and were subsequently given away to the Karachi Municipality to be used or disposed of as it thought fit." (Khawaja 1935) The plots had a compound built over them, inside of which were solid structures based on stone pillar and covered with tiled roofs in the form of a quadrangle. The place served to accommodate visiting trade caravans from Afghanistan, Iran and other places. "This was a place where before the starting of the Pishin Railway, traders used to bring their merchandise from Khandar, Chaman and other places on camel-back." (Rehman 1960)

However, after the inception of railway service, the Qafila-e-Sirai had lost its importance as most of the traders preferred transporting their merchandise to Karachi through rail. With this background, Hassanally applied to the municipality initially for allowing the use of the place as boarding house for students on rental basis. After a lot of persuasion, the municipality agreed to rent out the premises on a monthly rent of seventy-five rupees, and eventually allotted it for SMI while retaining its proprietorship with the government. Once residential issue for upcountry students resolved, the next was to acquire a place where classes could be held. For that purpose, a two-storied warehouse building opposite Bolton Market was identified, which had two halls on the first floor and a few small rooms on the ground floor. This place was chosen because of its central location in the town as well as its nearness to the boarding house. "He hired premises near Boulton Market (where now the Princess Hotel is situated) and started the Sind Madrassah in 1885." (Rehman 1960)

Yet another challenge for Hassanally was to find teachers for his school as there were only few well qualified persons for teaching jobs in Sindh. It was then decided to bring qualified Muslim teachers from other parts of India as well as to appoint non-Muslim teachers from Sindh. The funds were also to be generated for running the institution. For this purpose, he took dele-

gations to rich people inside and outside Sindh and convinced them to contribute generously towards the institution (Khawaja 1935). But, the most formidable task proved to be finding students for the school in wake of prejudice amongst the people against modern education. He and his friends took up a tour of the province to convince the parents to let their sons get education at his school. Despite of their active persuasion, most of the people only agreed to send their children to vernacular classes, "such was a dislike to English Education and to such an extent had Mullas and other religious guides succeeded in prejudicing Mussalmans all over the Province that for a long time the English classes were very meagerly attended." (W. M. Effendi 1925)

Being from humble background himself, Hassanally devised ways and means to provide ample opportunities of free education to poor students. "From the very outset, it has been educating, feeding and clothing a large number of deserving Muslim boys who but for its support could not have educated themselves at all". Under another scheme, the institution was to sponsor "one promising lad from each of the 52 talukas of Sind, feed and educate him free, and on his passing out to take another boy in his place." (Khawaja 1935) The adoption of such measures helped a great deal in balanced socio-economic development of Sindh's youth. It "awakened the deprived youth of Sindh and inspired them to lofty aims in life." (Zardari 2010)

With all these endeavors, finally the day came when Sindh Madressatul Islam was formally opened on 1<sup>st</sup> September 1885. In this regard a ceremony was arranged the account of which was published in Daily Sindh Gazette on 4<sup>th</sup> September 1885. "People began to gather at about 1 p.m. and by 3 p.m. there was a concourse of some thousands, so that those who came late had to stand outside in the verandahs. The building was most tastefully decorated with flags, evergreens etc. The proceedings were opened by the President, Mr. Hassanally, with a long and impressive speech extending over nearly two hours, in which he dwelt upon several points, explaining the aims and objectives with which the association was started, the work and

success it had achieved during the brief existence of two years and the support he had received from the members. Speaking about the education of the Mohammedan of the country he pointed out the great disparity which existed between the educational status of his co-religionists as compared with that of the members of other communities in Sind, although they outnumbered the latter in population, as much as was 6 to 1." (Daily Sind Gazette 1885)

After Hassanally had spoken, his other friends-in-cause spoke. "Mirza Mohamed Jaffer, of the Mueen-ul-Islam, rose up and read a written address in Urdu dwelling upon the necessity of education and the benefits therefore, and implored parents to send their children to the Madrassah, which was that day inaugurated. Mr. Ali Ahmed Hassanally then followed and gave a vivid description of his experience of a half-year's residence at the Aligarh College explaining all its working details... Moulvi Taj Mohammad rose next and delivered a very able speech on education and in support of his views, quoted several passages from the Koran, and supported Mr. Hassanally... The Madrassah having been thus opened the assembly repaired downstairs and followed Hassanally in a procession with the band playing in front while religious hymns were chanted... Khan Bahadur Najmadin and Kadirdad Khan stepping forward then put a beautiful garland of flowers round the neck of the President, Mr. Hassanally, on behalf of the assembly." (Daily Sind Gazette 1885)

With this the institution came into being which "can rightly be regarded as a watershed mark and a dividing line between deprivation and development of the Muslims of Sindh." (Zardari 2010) During the next ten years, Hassanally directly supervised the institution in the capacity of the president of its management board. One of the grandest events during that time was the foundation stone laying ceremony of the Main Building, which was held on 14<sup>th</sup> November 1887. The chief guest of the program was Viceroy and Governor General of India, Lord Dufferin, who came from Calcutta to attend the program: "Almost the whole of Karachi attended the function, the like of

which I have never seen again in the city.” (W. M. Effendi 1925) The building thus erected emerged as one of the most beautiful building of not only Sindh but entire Bombay Presidency. Few years later, the then Governor of Bombay Presidency during a visit of the institution remarked: “I have not seen such a beautiful building as Mr. Hassanally and his colleagues have been able to erect, in the whole Bombay Presidency. I congratulate the students on their having got such a beautiful building to live and to receive education in... I congratulate Mr. Hassanally and his colleague in this work, through whose efforts the Mohammedans have been able to acquire education.” (Harris 1891-92)

Within three years of the establishment of the institution, in 1888, the first student passed the matriculation examination of Bombay University. (H. Effendi 1892-93) This was start of a stream of young educated Sindhi Muslims coming out of the portals of his institution. Sometime later, he reported: “We might here mention that of the students who have left the institution during the past years, 12 have been able to secure employment under Government in various departments, and the Local Bodies, while one has joined the Medical School at Hyderabad” (H. Effendi 1890-91) Through his efforts, the institution maintained high quality and standards. “No visit that I have ever paid to an Educational Institution, has given me more unqualified pleasure [than visiting SMI] ... The arrangements are capital, especially the boarding house; and as evidence of the energy of the Mohammedan community for the advancement of the rising generation, it is especially gratifying. May it bring them well to the front! I cordially congratulate K. B. Hassanally Effendi and the committee, on the fruit of their labour” were the remarks made by the then Commissioner in Sindh. (James 1891-92)

### Services towards Turkey:

Hassanally served social causes even beyond Sindh. One of his remarkable contribution was towards the people of Turkey during their war with Russia. He organized a campaign all over Sindh to collect funds and other items, which he sent to Turkey.

The ruling caliph of that time, Sultan Abdul Hamid, was so impressed with the contributions made by him as well as his services for the cause of education in Sindh that he conferred two Turkish titles on him: Bey Majidi and Effendi. “The meritorious services rendered by my beloved father in the Kremian War was the main reason of the conferment of the highest Turkish title of Bey, Effendi and Majidy upon him by Sultan Abdul Hamid.” (A. M. Effendi 1960) The Government of Turkey also appointed him as Turkish Counsel in Karachi, a position that he held till his death.

Another title conferred upon him was that of Khan Bahadur by the Viceroy of India. “The title of Khan Bahadur was conferred upon him in 1888 for the valuable services, he had rendered.” (N. H. Effendi 1960) Five years later, in 1893, the Queen of United Kingdom, on recommendation of the Governor of Bombay, appointed him a member of the Governor’s Council. In a letter dated 26<sup>th</sup> July 1893, the Governor nominated “Khan Bahadur A.D. Hassan Ali Bey Effendi to be an Additional Member of his Council for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations only.” (Governor of Bomabay 1893) Introducing him to the queen, the Governor stated: “The Honourable Khan Bahadur A.D. Hassan Ali is a Pleader in Karachi, is President of the Sind Branch of the Mohammedan Association, President of the Madressatul Islam Board, and Turkish Consul at Karachi.” (Governor of Bomabay 1893) After his appointment as member of the Council, Hassanally did his best to serve the cause of Muslims of Bombay Presidency in realm of framing laws and regulations.

### Legacy:

Though Hassanally Effendi died on 20<sup>th</sup> August 1895, ten years after founding SMI, his proudest legacy continues in the form of the institution he founded. “This ancient institution is the product of the vision and selfless endeavours of one man – the late Khan Bahadur Hassanally Effendi. No tribute could be great to the memory of the late Khan Bahadur than the high traditions which this institution has set up and maintained” (Khan

1960). It is also a great honor for the institution founded by him that the founder of Pakistan not only studied there during the formative phase of his life, but considered it so close to his heart that he bequeathed one-third of his entire property to SMI through his last will. <sup>(Wolpert 1984)</sup> "The institute he founded has produced great luminaries, most notably Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah who spent the longest spell of his academic life in this institute. It can rightly be said that the basic education, training and personality development of the leader who gave the Muslims of the sub-continent a separate homeland, took place in this Institute. Several other leading figures of the Pakistan movement also learnt their lessons at Sindh Madressatul Islam. Some of the luminaries who were educated in this institute included Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, Sir Abdullah Haroon, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to name only a few." <sup>(Zardari 2010)</sup>

### Conclusion:

Khan Bahadur Hassanally Effendi played most significant and pioneering role for reformation of the society in Sindh during the latter half of nineteenth century. He employed education as key to the reformation and socio-economic change. Coming basically from a humble and a disadvantageous background, he achieved remarkable successes in his life through his sheer struggle and qualities of head and heart. Once established, he worked untiringly to salvage the people of Sindh from ignorance, superstition and poverty. His primary focus was on Muslims who though were in majority in the province but were in abysmal conditions both socially and economically. The educational institution that he established has not only produced succeeding generations of educated Sindhi Muslims since its inception in 1885 but has produced such towering leaders that changed the destiny of the people of this region. In a way Pakistan could be stated as his lasting legacy, a country which was founded by his institution's most distinguished alumnus, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, with active help and participation of several other alumni of the institution founded by him.

### References:

1. Alvi, Hatim A. 1960. 'Inauguration Day Speech' *Platinum Jubilee Book*, 19.
2. Bolitho, Hector. 1957. *Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan*. London: John Murray (Publishers) Ltd.
3. Daily Sind Gazette. 1885. 'News item regarding opening of SMI' *Daily Sind Gazette, Karachi*, September 4th.
4. Effendi, Abdul Majid Hassanally. 1960. 'Message from the Founder's Son' *Platinum Jubilee Book*, 16 of Section I.
5. Effendi, Hassanally. 1892-93. *Appendix A of the seventh annual report of Sindh Madressatul Islam*. Karachi: Sind Madressatul Islam.
6. Effendi, Hassanally. 1890-91. *Fifth Annual Report of the Sind Madressatul Islam, Karachi*. Karachi: Sind Madressatul Islam, 11.
7. Effendi, Nisar Hassanally. 1960. 'Life Sketch of K.B. Hassanally Effendi Bey Majidi' *The Platinum Jubilee Book*, 24-28, Section II.
8. Effendi, Wali Mohammad H. 1925. 'Reminiscences' *Sindh Madressah Chronicle*, November.
9. Governor of Bombay. 1893. 'Letter to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India in Council, London' *India Office Records File 1536 (IOR/L/PJ/6/354)*. Bombay: British Library, London, UK, July 26.
10. Harris, Lord, Governor of Bombay. 1891-92. 'Appendix D: A short resume of his excellency's reply' *Sixth Annual Report of Sindh Madressatul Islam*.
11. James, H.E.M. Commissioner in Sind. 1891-92. *Sixth Annual Report of the Sind Madressatul Islam, Karachi*. Karachi: Sind Madressatul Islam, 18.
12. Keay, John. 2000. *India: A History*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press.
13. Khan, Mohammad Ayub. 1960. 'Speech by Field Martial Mohammad Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan' *The Platinum Jubilee Book (PJB)*, 5-6 of Section II.
14. Khawaja, Ali Mohammad. 1935. 'History of Sind Madressatul Islam' *Sindh Madressah Chronicle Golden Jubilee (SMCGB)*, 19.
15. Khuhro, Hamida. 1981. 'Muslim Political Organization in Sind: 1843-1938' In *Sind Through the Centuries: Proceedings of An International Seminar*, 170-179. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
16. Khuhro, Hamida. 1978. *The Making of Modern Sindh: British Policy and Social Change in the Nineteenth Century*. Karachi: Indus publications, Karachi.
17. Qureshi, I.H. 1988. *A Short History of Pakistan: Books one to Four*. Karachi: University of Karachi.
18. Rehman, Hassanally Abdur. 1960. 'Hassanally Bey Effendi: Founder of Sindh Madressah' *Platinum Jubilee Book*, 7-9 of Section II.
19. Wolpert, Stanley. 1984. *Jinnah of Pakistan*. New York: Oxford University Press.
20. Zardari, Asif Ali. 2010. 'Preface by the President of Pakistan' In *Hassanally Effendi: The Founder of Sindh Madressatul Islam*, 7. Karachi: Sindh Madressatul Islam College.