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L I F E

OF THE

HONOURABLE RAJAH

SIR DINKAR RAO, K.C.S.I.,

MUSHEER-I-KHAS MUNTAZIM BAHADUR

Prime Minister of Gwalior.

(1852 A.D. to 1859 A.D.)

BY

MUKUND WAMANRAO BURWAY, B.A.,

Judge, Nazim Adalat Court,

INDORE STATE.

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TO  
HIS HIGHNESS

Maharajah Madhav Rao Sahib Scindia,

ALJAH BAHADUR G. C. S. I., G. C. V. O.,

THE RULER OF THE GWALIOR STATE

AND

HIS HIGHNESS

Maharajah Tukoji Rao Sahib Holkar,

RAJ-RAJESHWAR BAHADUR,

THE RULER OF THE INDORE STATE.

THIS BOOK

IS

DEDICATED AS A TOKEN OF PROFOUND  
ESTEEM AND GRATITUDE

BY

THEIR HUMBLE SERVANT & WELL-WISHER,

M. W. BURWAY,

The Author.

111111

With kindest regards  
from the author

M. W. Burway  
District & Sessions Judge  
Mandleshwar  
Indore State

2/8/19

## PREFACE.

---

I intended to write a Life of Sir Dinkar Rao K. C. S. I. in 1894 and had even waited upon that eminent statesman at Allahabad with that object in view. But other occupations interrupted that intention which consequently never went beyond the stage of collecting materials for that life. In my "History of the House of Scindia," a work which engaged my time and energy at that time, I found a very suitable opportunity to say a good deal about Dinkar Rao's administrative ability and his sound work in Gwalior. To me this subject was more or less familiar, having heard much about the statesman from my earlier years when I had been in the Gwalior state with my father.

"The History of Gwalior" was completed in 1897 and several eminent persons like Colonel Martelli, Mr. A. M. T. Jackson and others spoke of the work well and in such a manner as to encourage the writer. But the work had grown to an enormous size, and eminent Native

scholars advised me to change the name of the book and call it a short History of the Mahrattas. Such a change naturally entailed a greater responsibility and labour, for a small History only of the Mahrattas, must contain a great deal more than even a large History of a single link, the Gwalior state, of the great chain of the Mahratta Empire. These considerations, while raising my ambition to some extent, served to induce me to defer the publication of the work for a few years, during which, perchance, the undertaking may, if it please God, be successfully completed. The "History of Gwalior" is now quite ready in the manuscript form, containing about one thousand pages. Illness, however, prevents me from publishing it for a year at least.

"Sir Dinkar Rao's Life" was again undertaken and nearly more than half was completed in the autumn of 1899. After coming to the end of the work, I had a desire to connect it with the name of my father, Waman Rao Tatyā Burway, some time Sir Soobha of Malwa and well known throughout the Gwalior dominions as one of the ablest and most high-minded officials of the Scindia's Durbar. It was this circumstance, as well as a sense of filial duty and affection, which led me to desire



to dedicate the work to the distinguished Sir Soobha, who, in ability and high-mindedness, ranks high in Gwalior's illustrious roll of able and eminent administrators during the latter half of the last century,—Sir Dinkar Rao being the 1st, Sir M. Filose the 2nd, Ram Rao Baji the 3rd, and Waman Rao Tatya Burway the 4th. This desire was not indeed in any way improper, for such illustrious personages as Maharajah Jayaji Rao Scindia and Maharajah Tukoji Rao Holkar had spoken in the highest terms about the Sir Soobha's administrative ability and high character. In a grand Durbar at Mandisore in 1882, Maharajah Tukoji Rao Holkar, the ablest of all the Princes of his time, spoke thus : "Wamanrao," said H. H., "was a most precious jewel in the court of Maharajah Scindia." H. H. had thrice invited my father to the Indore Durbar, but neither Maharajah Jayaji Rao nor Raja Sir Ganpat Rao Khadkay were prepared to accede to the proposal.

Ever since his retirement from service, my father had more or less ceased to take any active part in politics. He devoted most of his time to the study of the Vedant Philosophy, on which for the last forty years he had bestowed his best thought and attention. So

he did not approve of my intention to dedicate to him the work and advised me to dedicate it to some prominent politician of the day, saying at the same time that he would prefer his name to be connected with a philosophical rather than with a purely biographical work. He, however, made many valuable suggestions as to the manner in which the 'Life' should be written. Having had the opportunity of closely studying the career of Sir Dinkar Rao, for whom he had much admiration, he enlightened me on many points during the course of the short leisures which he devoted to worldly affairs, and I take this opportunity of gratefully and sincerely acknowledging that help and information, without which I could never have been able to do what little I have done in this matter. If there is anything in the present work worthy of note I must frankly say, the credit of it is entirely due to him, while I alone am responsible for the defects and errors that may have crept into the book, which has undoubtedly been written under many disadvantages. I entertain sanguine hopes that some able English or Native scholar will undertake to improve on this work in the near future, for the Life and career of Sir

Dinkar Rao is full of interest and instruction to Englishmen as well as to Natives. The present work, I humbly hope, may at least be of some service to the future scholar who might undertake to give his time and attention to such a subject.

I have always entertained a warm admiration alike for the moral and political grandeur of Sir Dinkar Rao's Life and career, and this circumstance has led me to present to the public this short account of the statesman's career. In 1894, much valuable information about Maharajah Jayaji Rao's and Sir Dinkar Rao's policy regarding the Mutiny was collected by me from persons living at Agra, Gwalior, Allahabad and Cawnpore, where there are still old Native gentlemen to whom the Mutiny is just like an occurrence of yesterday and who have a vivid recollection of all that then took place. To these men, the career of Dinkar Rao is perfectly known, as some of them have served under him.

Before concluding this preface I once more express most cordially my feelings of gratitude to my late beloved father,\* Waman Rao Tatya

\* Maharajah Ramsing of Jeypore had a high opinion about my father. Sir Richard Meade, Sir Henry Daly, Sir John Watson, Sir Montague Gerard and other eminent Political

Burway, who, in spite of his firm resolution not to meddle seriously with any political or worldly matters during his well-earned retirement, was kind enough to readily supply valuable information to me as well as to put before me a vivid and comprehensive view of the times when Sir Dinkar Rao was still in harness and busily engaged in his career of reform and retrenchment in Maharajah Scindia's dominions in Central India.

I take this opportunity of thanking those gentlemen who have taken an interest in the publication of this work. To the Hon'ble Mr. C. S. Bayley, Mr. B. P. Standen, C. I. E., Rai Bahadur Munshi Nanak Chand, C. I. E., Mr. H. J. Hoare, I. C. S., The Hon'ble Mr. O. V.

Officers have spoken in the highest terms officially about his administrative ability. My father wielded great influence in several other states in Central India and had intimate friends like Rai Bahadur Munshi Umedsing of Indore, Huzrut Nurkhan, C. S. I. of Jaora, the famous brothers Pandit Sarup Narayan C. S. I. and Pandit Dharam Narayan, C. I. E., Munshi Shahamat Ali, C. S. I. of Ratlam, and many others. The Bombay Government had consulted my father's opinion on the Khoti Bill in 1899 and he gave it in an elaborate Note which was admired by Native and European gentlemen like the Hon'ble Mr. D. A. Khare as well as the Hon'ble Mr. J. Nugent, Senior Member of Council, who asked my father to accept a seat in the Bombay Legislative Council. But in his old age, my father's inclinations lay in the direction of the study of Vedant and the service of the Supreme Being, and consequently he declined the kind offer with thanks.

Bosanquet, I. C. S., and Captain Luard, M. A., my best thanks are due for their reading the work in its manuscript form and making some useful suggestions. My special thanks are due to my friend Mr. Anant Ganesh. Sathaye, M. A. L. L. B., High Court Pleader, Bombay, under whose supervision the work has gone through the press and but for whose kindness in readily consenting to look after the printing of it, the "Life" would not have seen the light of the day. I have also to heartily thank my dear brother, Mr. Ganpat Rao Waman Burway, for his valuable help in this work.

I have borrowed several extracts from The Hon'ble Major Daly's "Memoirs of General Sir Henry Daly, G. C. B., C. I. E.," and I gratefully acknowledge the help that I have received from that work.

In conclusion, in the old Hindu style, I offer my sincere prayers to the Almighty God for giving me strength and energy to write this "Life" of a statesman, whose saintly purity and political grandeur extort admiration.

INDORE, }  
26 July 1907.

M. W. BURWAY.

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## APPENDIX A.

A few extracts from the works of eminent English authors would show what was the height of Sir Dinkar Rao's position, how commanding was his influence and reputation, and how lofty was the estimate of his life-work:—

(1). "That the Delhi Assemblage impressed the people as it was meant to impress them there were many striking proofs. Lord Lytton told the Queen that Scindia's Minister, Sir Dinkar Rao, remarked to a Member of the Government of India: "If any man wanted to understand why it was that the English are, and must necessarily remain, the Masters of India, he need only go up to the Flag staff Tower and look upon the marvellous Camp below. Let him notice the method, the order, the cleanliness, the discipline, the perfection of its whole organization, and he will recognize in it at once the epitome of every title to command and govern which one race can possess over others."—Lady Betty Balfour's Life of Lord Lytton.

(2). "The administration of the country (Gwalior state) is far superior to that of the other states of India. This superiority and the able government for the last few years are due to the first Minister Sir Dinkar Rao, a man of great capacity, to whom the country was entrusted during the minority of the Prince. It was he who prevented the young Maharajah from joining in the Revolt of 1857; and thus he not only preserved Scindia's independence but also saved the cause of the English; for, had Scindia chosen, he could have raised the whole of Rajawara, from Bombay to the Jumna. As a reward for these services Dinkar Rao was knighted by the Queen"—"Rousseler's India and its Native Princes," edited by Colonel Buckle.

(3). "It was the reverend Dr. Duff who introduced me to your father, who was in Calcutta when I landed in March 1857. We afterwards met in Duff's house in Cornwallis Square, where I was staying and it was then that your father, without assigning any reason, advised me eschew Sepoy Army, and apply to join a Company's European Regiment. Duff and others had given me just the opposite advice, and no doubt nothing induced your father to say to me what he did, save his

prescient knowledge of the awful storm that was coming. Dinkar Rao was in Calcutta at the time with Scindia, and him also I became acquainted with through Duff. I remember still the expression of Dinkar Rao's face, on my telling him one day in Duff's presence that your father had dissuaded me from becoming a sepoy-officer. Luckily for me, I took the advice; and immediately on my being posted to the Fourth Bengal Native Infantry applied for the transfer to a European Regiment. Humanly Speaking, this saved my life. I was at Benaras at the time. Had I set out for Kangra where the 4th Bengal Native Infantry then was, I would have formed one of a party of travelling "griffs" who were ruthlessly murdered while halting in a travellers' bungalow near Delhi." Sir H. M. Durand's life by his son Sir Mortimer Durand.

(4). Speech of H. E. Lord Canning, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, in the Durbar at Agra :

To Rao Rajah Dinkar Rao Raghunath, Dewan and First Minister of H. H. Maharajah Scindia, His Excellency the Viceroy addressed the following words:—

"Dewan Dinkar Rao,—with the concurrence

of your Sovereign and Master, the Maharajah of Gwalior, I take this opportunity of testifying the appreciation by the Government of India of the services which you have rendered to His Highness and to the Paramount Power. You will receive a confiscated estate in, or near to, the Benares Division free of revenue in perpetuity and yielding a rental of 5000 Rs. a year. I believe that seldom has a Ruler been served in troublous times by a more faithful, fearless, or able Minister than yourself."

There is a great deal that is good in Scindia, and I think had he been fairly handled in youth, the man would now be worthy of his position; his ability developed wonderfully between 1854 and 1858, showing that the stuff was in him. It was Sir Dinkar Rao's calm wisdom which saved Gwalior, but undoubtedly Scindia deserves much for being capable of being saved by *one* man, when all else were for rebellion... The prosperity of the state is due entirely to the settlements made by Dinkar Rao. It was he who carved out the paths, which, though now covered with briars, are still paths for use. *No body knows all this better than the Maharajah himself.*" General Sir Henry Daly, March 18, 1867.

(5). The following extract from the "Company and the Crown" may be of interest to our readers. After mentioning Sir Dinkar Rao's services to the Empire, Hon'ble Mr. Thurlow says:

"All comment on the above quotation is unnecessary; but it should be known by those who take an interest in Indian affairs what rewards the gratitude of England has meted out to this exemplary native statesman; and we think that most who read these pages will admit that these rewards compare somewhat strangely, and not much to the credit of our discernment, with the imperial extravagance of, for instance, the Mysore grant, by which a yearly income of £40,000 was secured in perpetuity to the already wealthy sons and grandchildren of a low-born usurper and oppressor of a peaceful people.

The magnanimity of the Company towards the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh does not rank in our opinion, as a case in point, for he was the representative of Runjeet Singh, the Lion of the Punjab, who gathered together by his force of character ten millions of the scattered tribes, once ruled by Tamerlane; and it should be remembered that nearest to the heart of every Hindoostanee proper in the appreciation

of hereditary honours, and the continuance of an historic name. Now Dinkar Rao was illustrious by descent; and when it is considered that, with the exception of some unimportant complimentary prefix, the only rank conferred upon him was that of Honourable, as a member of the Viceroy's council, and that the only solid token of our good will he has received is a small confiscated estate in the neighbourhood not of his home in Gwalior, but of Benaras in the Bengal, worth £ 500 per annum, on which, as a crowning proof of our generosity, some trifling taxes are remitted. One cannot help contrasting his services and their reward with those of white men, military and civilian, on whom pensions and estates have been showered in such profusion."

(6). One of Sir Dinkar Rao's letters written to an eminent Englishman in the December of 1865 is worthy of perusal. We give it *in extenso* below:

"The present general condition of affairs, combined with my thirty years' exertions, induce me to prefer devotion to the Almighty in seclusion to anything else. Still it affords me pleasure to give now this general abstract of my own opinion about the administration of India. The affection of the subjects and

attention to the prejudices of the people, regarding which the Queen of England spoke in her gracious Proclamation, the preservation of custom, appointment of selected and experienced officers, fixed laws and regulations, are essential to the well-being of a people. It must also be borne in mind that the system of constantly imposing or abolishing different taxes in order to maintain receipts and disbursements within a condition of equilibrium is not generally acceptable in India. It is a custom in almost all our native governments to leave sufficient balance from the income of one year to supply any probable excess of expenditure in the next; some such scheme is necessary to ensure the happiness of the Eastern subjects of the English crown. These unhappy subjects are at a long distance from the throne, and are of a different disposition, possess different prejudices, different habits and customs, and live within the influence of a different climate. The true principle of all good government consists in the affection of the subjects and the preservation of good faith. Since the Mutiny of 1857 many appear to think that it is difficult to gain the affection of the subjects; but I do not agree with them, because the subjects here

are poorer than anywere else. Their poverty and affection is self-evident from the fact that so vast a continent as India has come so speedily and easily beneath the rule of British Government. You say that the attention of the great statesmen in England is directed towards the real improvement of India; but you should bear in mind that it is but of little use to repair the upper storey of a building, the foundation of which has been damaged. After the Mutiny, when my friends and I suffered many difficulties which will never be forgotten, Lord Canning had the opportunity to bring the whole of the British India under the non-regulation system; and thereupon depend the fortunes of the subject."

(7).<sup>\*</sup> The following extract from General Sir Henry Daly's private letters would still further shed a light on this point :—

"It is a pretty thing to talk of 'a well-governed Native State.' Where is this to be found? In those States, small and dependent, which, but for our support, would be swallowed up— with them is much that suits the Native tastes. British ideas worked by themselves. Wherever this is the case you will find prosperity and population. This should have been the case here with Scindia ; but we wrecked our-



selves and Dinkar Rao, and so left Scindia with his own temper to guide him..... Good is to be attained by personal influence only; for few indeed are they who value principles. *There is but one Dinkar Rao.* If it should happen that he be restored to position here,—and stranger things have happened, Scindia would find immense relief and happiness, the country would rise in glee, even now, as Dinkar Rao passes through towns and hamlets, all run out with clasped hands to bless him for his settlements, and that it is to which Scindia owes the order now existing despite the laches. *The more I see of Dinkar Rao the more I esteem his rare purity.* What a Governor of a Province he would make? Calmly wise, honestly good. That man should be an Indian Councillor nobly paid. So should we recognise ability and service. We are beginning at the wrong end of the stick."

(8).\* "We have distributed Dinkar Rao's rules of Government as much as possible amongst the states of Central India and with excellent effect. Our system, carried out by a well-trained Chief or a Minister like Dinkar

\* These extracts have been borrowed from the "Memoirs of General Sir Henry Daly, G. C. B., C. I. E." by Major H. Daly, C. S. I., C. I. E.

Rao, would realise Edwarde's notion of a perfect Government in a new country that Sir Henry Lawrence should go through the land amongst the people saying what was to be done, and leave Sir John to do it."

(9). "My conscience is clear in this matter, and I hand over the Foreign Secretary's post with the satisfactory feeling that the thinking men like Dinkar Rao and others of the same stamp, deprecate a weak exercise of the supremacy of the crown, and look to a firm and just exercise of the sovereign functions of the British Government as the only safeguard for the prolonged existence of Native states incorporated in our dominions. Sir R. Palmer's and Sir Charles Wood's speeches I read with pleasure. They are timely, and will do good, and my friend Sir Dinkar Rao spoke before he had seen them." Extract from Sir Mortimer Durand's "Life of Major-General Sir Henry Durand."

(10). A writer in the Quarterly Review of April, 1878, quotes a remark made by Rajah Sir T. Madhav Rao to the same effect:—"If left to themselves, they will wipe themselves out" Persons, acquainted with the affairs of native states, cannot help coming to this conclusion, though ardent well-wishers of the

Native Rulers. The reader will be pained to understand that though in British India the march of civilisation is slowly going forward, yet the Native States possess almost a state of darkness excepting of course a few only. Small wonder then that Rajah Sir Dinkar Rao and Rajah Sir Madhav Rao expressed their views in the above-mentioned strain. Who is responsible for the bad administration or, to put things plainly, for no settled administration at all in the Native states of India? This is a question which covers a wider field and may better be discussed independently rather than in this place.

(11). Vide Dinkar Rao's emphatic and repeated warning to the Government not to interfere with the Hucks of the people. He defines Hucks, or rights, as "Rights of property in land or an office or employment, or any right in the largest sense of the English word." It has been said by two or three of our greatest living Anglo-Indian statesmen, that they had learnt more of India from Dinkar Rao's conversation than they ever knew before. I think most Englishmen who could see Dinkar Rao's "Memorandum on Indian Administration" would say as much of that—"Dhar not Restored" by John Dickinson, P. 7.

Sir Dinkar Rao was always a free, fair and fearless critic and it is a pleasure to find an eminent English writer endorsing the noble views of that great statesman in an ungrudging spirit.

(12). The Hon'ble Raja Dinkar Rao Raghunath Muntazim Bahadur, for many years Dewan of the Gwalior State, and subsequently a member of the Governor General's Legislative Council, has requested me to place on record, in the offices of the Agent Governor-General for Central India and the Gwalior Political Agency, for the information of the British Officers who may hereafter fill those situations, my opinion regarding him and his services to the British Government, as well as his own Chief and State, in the hope that he and his heirs may thereby be assured of the aid and support of those officers hereafter, and of their friendly advice to the Gwalior Government in his and their behalf, if such should appear to be at any time called for. Raja Dinkar Rao possesses a Memorandum from the late Sir R. Shakespeare, of date February, 1860, written with the same object, and of which a copy is appended hereto.

With such a testimony to his great services

and high character, and with the lamented Canning's public address to him at the *Darbar*, held at Agra on the 29th November, 1859, quoted therein, and which is recorded in the public archives of the Government of India, it would appear to be superfluous for me to add anything further on the subject; but, as the Hon'ble Raja desires this of me, I can have no hesitation in stating that I fully concur in, and can endorse every word of, the late Sir R. Shakespeare's Memorandum, and that it is simply impossible in my opinion, to do adequate justice to Raja Dinkar Rao's services and admirable character in such a document.

His administrative ability and thorough knowledge of the people generally of the Gwalior State (including his own class, which filled most of the offices of the Government, and the various tribes and clans making up the two millions odd, subject to the rule of Maharaja Scindia), and of the measures and policy which were best suited to their requirements, and the real interests of the State and its Chief, sided by his singular acquaintance with, and just appreciation of, the merits and defects of the system of British administration; enabled him from the date of his assumption

of the Dewanship to introduce improvements, order and organization in every branch and department of the State, and in a wonderfully brief time, under the circumstances, to establish a government such as had never before existed, in the territories of his Master, and which gave promise, if maintained in the spirit and on the principles on which it was conceived, to make the Gwalior State the first of native kingdoms. In all this the Hon'ble Raja had much to contend with, for his measures were necessarily opposed to the traditional policy of the governing classes of the country, and to the interests of the many influential persons who had fattened on the abuses they were especially intended to abolish; but his tact, calm temper and good judgment, aided by the example of unimpeachable integrity he set to all around him, enabled him to effect what to those acquainted with the circumstances of the State might well have appeared hopeless.

The people of the country were relieved from a system of oppression and misrule which had made some districts, as Tawarghar, a prey to the most lawless disorder, in which the Durbar possessed no real authority but such as was exercised under the guns of a large

military force; and the revenue was periodical-ly collected at the point of the bayonet; and others, as Esaughar, which had formerly been prosperous and flourishing, in many parts a desert and abandoned by its impoverished and ruined inhabitants; and a general feeling of contentment and satisfaction, and of love and respect for the Minister who had so changed their condition, prevailed amongst all classes.

To this feeling the safety of Maharaja Scindia and his government, during the troubles of 1857, may assuredly be fairly and justly ascribed.

The people generally, instead of taking advantage of the disruption of authority consequent on the mutiny and rebellion of the British native troops (including the local Contingents), on whose presence the peace of the territories of Central India had previously principally depended, and who were openly sympathised with by all and actively aided by many of the troops and armed police of the Native States, remained obedient to the local officials, and the presence at the capital of a large number of them, hastily collected and summoned by the Minister for the purpose, enabled Maharajah Scindia to overawe his

own disaffected troops, and to withstand the otherwise overpowering force of the Gwalior Contingent, which, confident of the full support of the Gwalior Army and of many influential people in the Lushkur and about the Chief, for upwards of three eventful months, endeavoured to cajole or compel His Highness to comply with their objects and demands.

The triumphant manner in which Scindia emerged from these difficulties was, thus viewed by the light of former times, the best proof of the wisdom of the measures of administration previously adopted by the Minister.

Throughout the trying events of 1857-58, Rajah Dinkar Rao's devotion and services to his Master were beyond all praise. He was in truth, the impersonation in his own territory of loyalty to his Chief, and of order amidst the wild anarchy then raging and which threatened to sweep away all before it; and his attachment for, and friendly good feeling towards, the British Government and its Officers, when the power of that Government was for a time at its lowest point of depression, can never be forgotten by those who experienced or benefited thereby, or were acquainted therewith.



With the complete suppression of the Mutiny, and amidst the changes in the administration of the Gwalior State which followed, the position of the Minister unavoidably became greatly altered.

The Maharajah desired to direct the Government himself, and to retain the business of administration wholly in his own hands; and after a time Raja Dinkar Rao withdrew, not without grief and disappointment, from the laborious post he had filled for eight years with immeasurable benefit to his Chief and the State, and with lasting credit and honour to himself.

In truth, his work for the time was done and it was but fitting that he should take some repose from the wearying fatigues of the business and struggles, incidental to the high position he had held for so long a period.

He was not, however, suffered to remain unnoticed, for, on the establishment of the Governor-General's Legislative Council in 1861, he was amongst the first Members selected to sit therein as Representative of the native community of the Empire.

His services and usefulness in the lofty and novel sphere to which he was thus transferred,

were such as might have been expected from his previous career and character, and are well known to have been much appreciated by the Viceroy of India.

At the date at which I am writing, the Hon'ble Rajah's term of service in the Council having expired, he is unemployed and living in retirement and there appears to be at present no prospect of his return to the business of public life in a fitting position.

It is a subject of the deepest regret to me that the services of one so experienced and gifted, by far and in every respect the ablest native administrator I have ever met, should be thus lost to the public, but there seems to be no help therefore at present.

Whatever the future may be, in this respect, in store for the Hon'ble Rajah Dinkar Rao, the time will sooner or later come when, if spared, he will re-occupy a public post suited to his great talents and high character. I have the fullest confidence he must, for the present, console himself with the proud and gratifying conviction that, as remarked by Sir R. Shakespeare in the annexure, he is respected and beloved by the rich and poor of his own country, in which his name will long be known as *par excellence* "the Dewan," and

that he enjoys the high consideration of the British Government, and the esteem and regard of such of its Officers as have had the pleasure of knowing him either privately or officially.

INDORE RESIDENCY. (Sd.) R. J. MEADE.  
*Agent Governor-General for Central India.*  
 1st April 1865.

(true copy).

FOREIGN DEPART- (Sd.) M. H. DURAND.  
 MENT. SIMLA. *Under-Secretary to the*  
 28th August, 1884. *Government of India.*

(13). Daly had been for several years personally known to Maharajah Jayaji Rao and his work in Western Malwa had brought him into constant communication with the officials of the Gwalior Durbar. He had also learnt to appreciate the work and character of that great statesman, Dinkar Rao (Raja Sir Dinkar Rao, K. C. S. I.), who had been Scindia's Minister during the Mutiny. "Dinkar Rao," wrote Daly, "is the one Native whose purity nobody of any creed or colour questions; all mention his name with deference, even reverence."

(14). "The Government of India considered that it was desirable to obtain the assist-

ance of the Natives of India of high rank and position as members of the Commission. Rajah Sir Dinkar Rao was summoned to Calcutta and he consented to serve."—Lord Northbrook's minute dated 29th April 1875.

## APPENDIX B.

The Baroda Commission was an event of very great political importance. It created an unusual interest throughout the Indian communities, and the name of the hero of this narrative is indissolubly connected with it. Some extracts are therefore given below to enable our readers to grasp the matter more effectively.

(a) Opinion of H. H. Maharajah Jayaji Rao Scindia, G. C. B., G. C. S. I.

As to the attempt at poisoning, from the whole case as it came before me, as far as my judgment and belief go, I am not convinced that the charge is proved against Malhar Rao. There appears to me no sufficient proof of the purchase of diamond, arsenic or copper, or of any document, signed by the Gaekwar, for the payment of money for the above purposes but Damodarant's statement. Nor indeed is there any paper whatsoever, signed by the Gaekwar involving him in this matter.

Out of a large number of persons connected with this case, only three witnesses,—Raoji,

Narsu and Damodar Pant,—have given their evidence in reference to the above charge. All these widely differ in their statements; the reasons are given in the proceedings. How could they be considered trustworthy? The evidence of Pedro, the butler and Abdulla, and the non-production of Salam, Yeshvant Rao, Khanvelkar, Gajjaba, Nuruddin Borah, and the Hakim, are in favour of the accused. Further, it is far from my belief, that the measures for poisoning should have continued so long a time and in so open a manner.

Such an act is performed by one or two confidentials, and not by such a large number of people.

Now, when a small quantity of poison, once administered, could put an end to a man's life, there appears to be no reason why it was given and drunk so repeatedly. I see no grounds to reject the chief arguments of the able gentleman Sergeant Ballantyne. It is a fact worthy of consideration that Malhar Rao made no hesitation whatsoever, in handing over Salam and Yeshwantrao at once to Sir Lewis Pelly, and expressed his desire to give him every assistance in his power. As regards the communication with servants, night

and day, this is no matter of importance. These visits, and requests for presents on marriage and other festive occasions, and the means to secure the favour of the Resident as well as the procuring of information regarding each other, are matters in accordance with the practice of other Native Princes and persons who have connection with the Residency.

In conclusion, I remark that the chief points for enquiry are—

1st—Attempt to poison.

2d—Tampering with the servants.

My opinion on the above subjects I place before you.

Bombay,  
27th March 1875.

Vernacular signature of  
H. H. the Maharajah of  
Gwalior.

(b). Opinion of H. H. Maharajah Ramsing of Jeypore G. C. S. I.

After carefully considering the nature of the evidence placed before the Commission in regard to the offences imputed against H. H. Malhar Rao Gaekwar of Baroda, I have the following remarks to submit. The statements made by Amina Ayah and several other Residency servants establish the fact

that sums of money had actually been given to the Ayah and to other servants of the Residency at different times, by order of H. H. the Gaekwar. These sums of money, however, do not appear to have been given out of any motives to tamper with the Residency servants for improper purposes, but simply as presents from the Gaekwar, and such as are generally given on occasions of marriage and national festivals.

With regard to the graver charge against the Gaekwar, Raoji Havildar states that he put poison into Colonel Phayre's tumbler of sherbet, as the Gaekwar had instigated him to do, and that a packet of poison had been handed over to him by Narsu. Narsu says he had received the packet from Salam, the Gaekwar's sowar and that he made it over to Raoji Havildar. On the other hand, Damodar Pant, the Gaekwar's so-called Private Secretary, states that the Maharajah had ordered him to procure arsenic and diamonds, and that he had directions from His Highness to give the arsenic to Salam and the diamonds to Yeshwant Rao, the Gaekwar's Jasud. Salam and Yeshwant Rao, who, according to Damodar Pant's statement, are to be regarded as the connecting links between himself and Narsu



in the above affair, were not produced before the Commission and there is no means of ascertaining whether they made any statements before the Bombay Police. Further there is no evidence as to their having conveyed packets of poison from Damodar Pant to Narsu excepting the bare assertions of the two accomplices—Damodar Pant and Narsu.

Damodar Pant's statement, as to his having procured arsenic and diamonds, is not confirmed by any corroborative evidence. He says the diamonds were procured through Nanaji Vithal, Darogah of the Gaekwar's jewel deptt. Nanaji, it is stated, purchased them from Hemchand Fatechand, the Jewellers; but Hemchand declared before the Commission that diamonds were not purchased of him, though he had submitted some for inspection. These, he says, were returned to him by Nanaji. Atmaram, who is a Karkoon in the Gaekwar's State jewel-room, also stated before the Commission that the diamonds tendered by Hemchand were not approved, and therefore returned to him.

Nurudin Borah, from whom arsenic is said to have been procured, was not brought before the Commission. It was however admitted by Akbar Ali of the Bombay Police in the

course of his cross-examination by Sergeant Ballantyne that the Borah was kept in confinement. It is therefore to be inferred that the Borah was far from confirming Damodar Pant's statement with regard to the purchase of arsenic.

The several yads, or official memoranda, produced before the Commission out of the records of the Private office under Damodar Pant, do not show any specific sums of money having been paid for diamonds, or for poison of any kind. The sums mentioned in the yads were for giving feasts to Brahmins and charitable and useful purposes. There is sufficient evidence also to prove that these sums were actually spent in such purposes.

Damodar Pant also mentions a bottle containing some poisonous liquid, prepared of "large ants, snakes, and the urine of a black horse". This poisonous liquid, according to Damodar Pant's statements, was prepared by a Hakim, and sent to Damodar Pant's house through one Gajaba, a servant of Khanvelkar, the Maharajah's brother-in-law. Neither the Hakim nor Gajaba was placed in the witness-box, so it is unknown what these men had to say. It appears from the above circumstances that there is hardly any statement of Damodar

Pant with regard to purchase of poisons that has any ground to stand upon, except Damodar Pant's own evidence.

Copper is also mentioned as having been one of the poisonous ingredients put into Colonel Phayre's sherbet, but no clue whatever can be obtained as to who introduced it into the tumbler of sherbet, nor it is detected by the analysis of Dr. Seward Gray.

The three witnesses, Damodar Pant, Raoji, and Narsu, whose testimony is considered to form the basis of this grave charge against the Gaekwar, are accomplices, and their evidence is not corroborated by a single respectable witness nor is their evidence altogether free from suspicion of false-hood. Moreover, two of these accomplices made their statements under promise of pardon. In consideration of all these circumstances, I know not what degree of importance to attach to their evidence.

No documentary evidence, or evidence of a convincing nature, was forthcoming from Damodar Pant, notwithstanding his position as Private Secretary to the Gaekwar, and the command he had over the records of the Maharajah's private office.

Raoji and Narsu, the other two accomplices,

who state they had direct intercourse with the Maharajah, and they were asked by His Highness to poison Col. Phayre, contradict each other in some important points. For instance, Raoji states that the Gaekwar had promised to give him, as well as to Narsu, a lac of Rupees each, for poisoning Colonel Phayre. Narsu, on the other hand, expresses utter ignorance of any such promise having been made by the Gaekwar. Another important statement of Raoji is strongly contradicted by Pedro. Raoji states that packets of poison were given to Pedro and others by the Maharajah; and, while Pedro denies stoutly what Raoji alleges, no clue can be obtained as to who the others were.

Besides the above circumstances, the facts elicited by Sergeant Ballantyne in the course of the cross-examination of the witnesses, as well as the features of the evidence pointed out by that gentleman, are, in my estimation, weighty and deserving of consideration.

For the reasons stated above, I cannot persuade myself to believe that the Gaekwar was in any way implicated in the charge, notwithstanding the fact of poison having been found in Colonel Phayre's tumbler of sherbat, and the uncorroborated evidence of

the three accomplices—Raoji, Narsu and Damodar Pant.

*Bombay 27th March 1875.* (Sd.) RAMSING,

(C) Opinion of Rajah Sir Dinkar Rao, K. C. S. I.

As to the attempt at poisoning, from the whole case as it came before me, I am not convinced, as far as my judgment and belief go, that the charge is proved against Maharajah Malhar Rao. No proof of the purchase of diamonds, arsenic or copper or of the preparations of the poisons, no use of money (even of a rupee) in regard thereto, and no document in the hand-writing of the Maharajah or other papers about the poisons, although his Private Secretary, Damodar Pant, became against him. Out of a large number of persons connected with the case, only three witnesses *viz.*, Raoji, Narsu and Damodar Pant have given their evidence in reference to the above charge. All these three differ in their statements. Damodar Pant's statement is disproved by the evidence of Hemchand and Atmaram as to the purchase of diamonds. He stated that he had not opened the packets to see the diamonds and arsenic. Damodar's name is not mentioned either by Raoji or

Narsu. It is stated by Damodar Pant himself that he made his statement owing to the trouble he suffered from his having remained in the custody of European soldiers for sixteen days, his object being to get himself rid by making statements of some kind. The statements of Raoji and Colonel Phayre differ with regard to the putting in of the poison on the alleged dates. Raoji states that he got the bottle from the Maharajah, while Damodar states that he gave it to Salam. Again Raoji says that he put the packets into his belt, while Damodar deposes that in order to burn the packets, Salam ran to Raoji's house, where Raoji also followed. Raoji further says that the Maharajah gave the packets to "Pedro, me and others." Pedro has entirely denied to have received any packets. Who and how many men were the "others"? Raoji states that the Maharajah promised to pay a lac of rupees each, while, Narsu denies this. From Raoji's statement it appears that he got the bottle about a month and a half before the 9th of November, whereas, from what Narsu has stated, it seems that the bottle was got only a few days before that date. Narsu says "all the other servants caused Faizu's name to be written down in the depositions, and I

did the same, though I knew it to be false." The three witnesses having become against their Master, and two of them having been granted a pardon, how could their statements be considered to be trustworthy? The evidence of Pedro, the butler, and Abdulla, the sherbet-maker (the Residency servants), and the non-production of Salam, Yeshwant Rao Khanwelkar, Gajaba, Nurudin Borah and the Hakim are in favour of the accused. Further, it is far from belief that the measures for poisoning should have continued for a long time, and in so open a manner. Such an act is done by one or two confidentials, and not by a multitude, and when a small quantity of poison, if once administered, would put an end to a man's life, there appears to be no reason why it was given and drunk so repeatedly. These, with other particulars, are developed in the proceedings, and the chief arguments of the able gentleman, Serjeant Ballantyne, are deserving of consideration. As regards the communication with servants at night or day, it is not an important matter. Their visits and requests for presents on festive marriage occasions &c. and the means used to secure the favour of the Resident, as well as the procuring of informations regarding each other (the

Prince and the President), are matters in accordance with the practice of the other Native Princes and persons, who have connection with the Residency.

In conclusion, I beg to submit that the chief points for enquiry being the attempt at poisoning and communication with servants I have expressed my opinion on them as above.

BOMBAY

(Sd.) DINKAR RAO.

26th March, 1875.

(d) "The Government of India, after some time had elapsed, became dissatisfied with the manner in which Colonel Phayre, the British Resident at Baroda, carried out the instructions which were given to him, and arrangements were therefore made, in the beginning of November last, to replace him by Sir Lewis Pelly, an officer of the highest rank in the Political service, in whom the Government placed the fullest confidence." Para, 5, of the minute by His Excellency the Viceroy (Lord Northbrook), dated 29th April, 1875.

(e) "Sir Richard Meade's Commission did not recommend Mulhar Rao's deposition, neither did the Government of Bombay, through whom their report was brought under



the consideration of the Government of India. The evidence was not considered by the Government of India to be sufficient in itself to justify the adoption of so extreme a measure."

Lord Northbrook's Minute, 29th April 1875.

## APPENDIX C.

Sir Dinkar Rao was occasionally a bold critic of men and measures. An instance of this was supplied during his visit to Indore, when taking up the administration of Dewas, S. B. Dinkar Rao was staying in Kibay Saheb's Garden in 1882. The "Bukshis" affair formed the subject of discussion one evening and Sir Dinkar Rao expressed himself exactly in the same way in which Mr. George Aberigh Mackay, the late lamented Principal of the Indore Daly College and General Sir Montague Gerard, K. C. B., K. C. S. I. have done.

Mr. Aberigh Mackay, in his "Twenty-one days" in India says :

"The red Chuprasi is ubiquitous...he is to the entire population of India the exponent of British rule; he is the mother-in-law of liars, the high priest of extortioners, and the Receiver-General of bribes...We ourselves could conduct corruption decently; but to be responsible for corruption over which we exercise no control is to lose the credit of a good name and the profits of a bad one."

On this subject, General Sir Montague Gerard makes the following pertinent observations in his book entitled "Leaves from the Diaries of a soldier and sportsman."

"One head Chuprasi at the Indore Residency, whose pay was ten rupees a month, was currently reported to have bought in house property in the Sadar Bazar, in one year, for between thirty and forty thousand rupees. It is said that tent-pitchers refuse to drive a single peg into the ground until they receive their dustoor, which was generally believed to be five rupees each. Any how, I remember a junior Native officer, on one occasion, bringing me up eight gold Mohurs (£12) which he said had been sent to him by the Rajah as the dusturi and asking what he was to do with it. What the head Munshis and other clerks received who really had influence to help the donor, goodness only knows." Sir Montague Gerard, K. C. S. I., K. C. B. 1903.

Sir Dinkar Rao's criticism almost tallied with the observations made by General Gerard and Mr. Aberigh Mackay. In some respects it was more trenchant than the above-mentioned remarks. More on this subject is unnecessary.

## APPENDIX D.

In March, 1862, Sir Dinkar Rao published his "Memorandum of observations on the Administration of India." It contains his views on forty-six subjects and it was written for the Viceroy's perusal and consideration. Some extracts would be interesting to the reader, as the great Dewan has expressed his opinions freely and fairly on every subject treated in the Memorandum, the object of which was to "point out where attention was due on the part of the Government of India to improve the resources and the administration of the country." Sir Dinkar Rao further expresses his reasons for presenting the Memorandum to the Viceroy as follows: "Now I will give an abstract of my opinions. No one should think that I am partial, because I advocate the cause of the people only. The effects of having a contented population are always good. It is proper, therefore, for Legislators to bear in mind the principle of improving the relations and increasing affection between the governors and the governed.

Contented subjects are indispensably required for the general maintenance of peace; they are the cause of economy in military expenditure, and of general stability of government. To every government the foundations of security are two-fold: 1st the strength of the army; 2nd the contentment of the subjects. Both these are essential.....As the Almighty has given the Kingdom of Hindustan to the English so they ought to take into consideration the wishes of the Indian people”.

It was in 1863 that the Hon'ble Mr. Mandlik, the Tribune of the Indian people, began his career. It would thus be seen that the “Memorandum of observations,” published in 1862, was a year before the beginning of the patriotic regime of the first batch of Indian patriots, because Mr. Mandlik was certainly the ornament of Indian patriotism. Taking this circumstance into view and considering at the same time that in the early sixties education had not made so much progress in India as it has done now, it must be freely and fearlessly repeated here that Sir Dinkar Rao's views do credit to him and his reputation for mastery of administrative details. Some of the observations are so boldly brought to the attention of the Viceroy that they

would be worthy of admiration for all time to come. Every one must be judged by the standard of the age in which he flourished. Sir Dinkar Rao belonged to the age when Indian patriotism had not come into existence and the idea of nationality was unknown. Yet the veteran statesman wrote in a way as would be entitled to applause. Most admirable are his views regarding the general disarming of the Indian people and the wholesale disregard of position, character and services of the individual who was subjected to the Arms Act. About taxes he wrote much that must be interesting. His views about the hereditary rights, Zamindari Hucks and the Codes of Laws are sound. Sir Dinkar Rao disliked the tendency of making any income from the sale of stamps required for civil suits. He freely advocated the Panchayat system. He recommended the increase of the period of limitation in civil suits. He strongly deprecated the "Beggar" system resorted to, when troops are on march from one place to another. It is worthy of note that even in 1862, he had been able to see that Calcutta was not a suitable place for being the Capital of the Indian Empire. It would be better to refer the reader to the Memorandum for further details. It is enough

to say it would repay a perusal as the observations of a statesman who flourished in the early fifties, when schools and colleges did not exist and yet who had such a grasp of administrative functions.

In short, we believe the "Memorandum of observations" are entitled to an influential place in the political literature of India as the production of a person, who flourished in the pre-mutiny period of the Indian History and exerted a conspicuous influence on the course of political events in all parts of Central India.

## MEMORANDUM.

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The Memorandum discusses the following 46 items :—

1. On the Administration of the Native Princes of Hindoostan.
2. Description of the British Administration.
3. Hucks or Rights.
4. On all Grants and Endowments.
5. On Taxes and duties.
6. About Arms.
7. About not selling the Zamindaree Hucks.
8. The Village settlements with Pateels (Village headmen) and preservation of Hucks.
9. About giving powers of Deputy Collectors to Tuhseeldars for hearing cases of disputes between Farmers and Zamindars.
10. About not altering Laws.
11. About the new Councils.



12. About not selling Hucks by Civil Courts.
13. On Panchayet.
14. About the Panchayet of Caste.
15. Abolition of Stamp Papers.
16. Of increasing the term of limitation to suits.
17. About Pleaders.
18. Appeal on the decision made in Small Cause Courts.
19. About not giving compulsory orders for Registry.
20. On Affidavits and Oaths.
21. About prisoners.
22. About releasing certain prisoners on payment of fine.
23. Magistrates should not send all the parties with cases to Judges.
24. About Witnesses.
25. On the system of restoring stolen property.
26. About the new Police settlements.
27. The Penal Code.
28. On not punishing all offences by whipping.

29. About arrangements of taking water from wells, &c., in cities and towns.
30. Arrangements for sweepers, &c., sitting in rail carriages.
31. About rules for not killing animals, particularly those which are held sacred by the people of Hindoostan.
32. About not taking forcibly carts and food for camels.
33. Injury to houses, &c., from making straight roads.
34. About the managements of schools.
35. Scholars should first learn business in Offices.
36. Giving Honorary Civil powers to Native gentlemen.
37. About hereditary service.
38. Seat of Government.
39. About Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners.
40. On frequent changes of Officers in one District.
41. About reducing the business of writing.
42. About writing in the Deonagree character.

43. About Europeans who buy land in India.
44. About Officers going to Native ceremonies.
45. About continuing the old system of charity.
46. Description of the Regulations of the Gwalior Government.

## **SOME OF THE OPINIONS ABOUT THIS WORK.**

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1. "I have read the work through with interest".

(Sd.) C. S. BAYLEY, C. S. I.,  
LATE A. G. G. IN C. I. AND  
now Resident at Hyderabad.

2. "The work is creditable to the author."

(Sd.) NANAK CHAND, C. I. E.,  
Minister, Indore State.

3. "It is most interesting".

(Sd.) C. E. LUARD, M. A.,  
Supdt. of Gazeteer in C. I.

4. "It is very interesting".

(Sd.) B. P. STANDEN, C. I. E.,  
Late S. O., Indore State,  
now Commr. of Agriculture, C. P.

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