

DR. BABASAHEB AMBEDKAR
WRITINGS AND SPEECHES
VOL. 21
CORRESPONDENCE

Edited By
HARI NARKE



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FOREWORD

It gives me immense pleasure to write foreword to this 21st volume of Writings and Speeches of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. I consider it my privilege to see that Government of Maharashtra have undertaken the task to publish the Writings and Speeches of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. To publish these volumes means to boost up the renaissance and the Government of Maharashtra has every reason to take pride in carrying out this noble task.

Dr. Ambedkar was determined to bring revolutionary changes in the national life of India. We all know that, in India there existed a traditional social set up which was held under the tentacles of caste-ridden graded inequality for centuries together.

He believed that democracy was not only a form of Government, but it was essentially a form of society. He wanted a society based on democratic values. He gave a gallant fight against orthodoxy to obtain these rights. He is the pioneer of democracy in India.

This volume envisages his vital role in nation building. He was associated with all the historical events like South Borough Commission, Simon Commission, Round Table Conference, 1935 Act, Cripps Mission, Cabinet Mission etc. He proved his metal in drafting the revolutionary document i.e. 'Constitution of India'. The Constitution has been hailed by many great statesmen and scholars. They see the Constitution as the Foremost Social Document. Through this Constitution he laid down the foundation of democracy. It was his conviction that, Political democracy should be strengthened with social and economic democracy.

The letters written by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar are the source material of Indian Social History. Editor of this volume Prof. Hari Narke, who have been imbued with the spirit of Ambedkarism and is committed to the cause. I am aware of his zeal to work. I congratulate him for the successful accomplishment. I am extremely happy that this volume No. 21 of Writings and Speeches of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar is going to see the light of the day.

(VILASRAO DESHMUKH)

EDITORIAL

This year is a historical year. It is a Golden Jubilee of Dhamma Diksha. It is with utmost pride and pleasure we place the Twenty First volume of the source material on Babasaheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in the hands of people in India and abroad who have patronized earlier volumes of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's Writings and Speeches, published by the Department of Higher and Technical Education, Government of Maharashtra.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was a great thinker and visionary who fought for the 'empowerment' — social, educational, financial, political and cultural — of the oppressed. He stressed on the empowerment of the oppressed as a means of their release from exploitation and injustice, which are social forms of violence against such oppressed people.

He was a prolific writer. There was a remarkable combination of writing and waging protest on every possible front in him. He not only fought for the emancipation of the oppressed but strived for overall development of the nation.

His ideas and thoughts on social justice form a framework which needs to be seen in a proper way. His ideas need to be translated into practice keeping in view of the basic agenda i.e. social justice.

In the early twenties of the twentieth century Dr. B. R. Ambedkar emerged as a promising leader to break the centuries old shackles and liberate the untouchables from the ageold bondage of the Hindu Society. This volume envisages his vital role in nation building.

The present volume contains the correspondence of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar to Karmavir Bhaurao (Dadasaheb) Gaikwad.

The letters written by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar are the source material of Indian Social History. Bhaurao Gaikwad was very close associate of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. He was trusted follower of Babasaheb. Babasaheb Ambedkar was not only the supreme leader of Bhaurao but he was also his Friend, Philosopher and Guide. Bhaurao worked with Babasaheb in Kala Ram Temple satyagraha. He was the chief organizer of Yevala Conference where Dr. Ambedkar declared his religious conversion. He said though I am born as Hindu but I will never die as Hindu.

Bhaurao played measure roll in framing and running of the Independent Labour Party and Scheduled Caste Federation.

The letters reveals that Babasaheb and Bhaurao enjoyed very close relationship. Babasaheb even shared his depest emotions, frustration and anguish with him.

He was a mass leader who organised and led one of the biggest movement to 'Bhumimukti Andolan' after the Mahaparinirvana of Babasaheb. In this movement he mobilised lakhs of unorganised bahujans so as to distribute land to landless bahujans masses.

Bhaurao was one of the most trustworthy follower of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. Bhaurao was one of the very few followers who carried forward the legacy of Babasaheb in true sense.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar wrote him more than 200 letters from 11th April 1927 to 24th September 1956. These letters are very valuable and most important source material for history of Ambedkariet social, educational, political and cultural movement.

Committee is making all out efforts to publish various correspondences Babasaheb had with his colleagues and followers. This 21st volume pertaining to correspondence with Bhaurao is a move toward the same. We will be highly obliged if readers can share the letters/correspondences written by/received from Babasaheb. It will help to further enrich the literature on Babasaheb. Such letters/correspondence shared with the Committee will be duly acknowledged in the respective publications.

Shri Ratnakar Ganvir, Shankarrao Kharat, Vijay Surawade and Surendra Adnyat have published some correspondence of Babasaheb with Bhaurao and others. 21st Volume includes all the correspondence Babasaheb had with Bhaurao.

Shri R. S. Gawai, Hon'ble Governor of Bihar is the senior most and the most respected member of this Committee. He has a vast and rich parliamentary experience. Shri Gawaisaheb has brought glory to the Source Material Committee. He has been a source of inspiration to the members of the Editorial Board. As an elderly figure, he richly deserves our grateful thanks.

Right from beginning to the movement of the publication of this volume has been made possible by guidance, help, support and co-operation from Hon. Sharad Pawar, Hon. Vilasrao Deshmukh, Hon. R. R. Patil, Hon. Dilip Walase Patil, Hon. Jayant Patil, Hon. Chhagan Bhujabal, Hon. Chandrakant Handore, Hon. Dayanand Mhaske and Hon. Suresh Shetty. We place on record our deep sense of gratitude.

Shri Prakash Ambedkar, Shri Ramdas Athawale, Member of Parliament (Lok Sabha); Eknath Gaikwad, MP-Lok Sabha, Prof. Jogendra Kawade, MLC., Shri T. M. Kamble, Prof. Nitin Raut, MLA, Prof. Janardhan Chandurkar, MLA, Shri Tukaram Birkad, MLA, Shri Gangadhar Gade and all the committee members encouraged the Editorial Board. We are very much thankful to them.

Dr. Joyas Shankaran, I. A. S., Principal Secretary, Department of Higher and Technical Education offered wholeheartedly and unreserved co-operation to the Source Material Committee and the members of the Editorial Board whenever they approached her for any help of material or financial. We place on record our deep sense of appreciation and gratitude to her.

Dr. Narendra Jadhav, Vice Chancellor, University of Pune, Dr. K. M. Kulkarni, Director of Higher Education, Government of Maharashtra, Mr. Ratnakar Gaikwad, I. A. S., Director General of Yashada, Dr. Sukhadev Thorat, Chairman, University Grant Commission, Dr. Bhalchandra Munagekar, Member, Planning Commission of India, deserves a special mention. The Committee as well as the Editorial Board has received all the necessary and timely help from them. We express our special thanks to them.

Dr. Andhale, Joint Director, Higher Education, Mumbai, Shri Ramesh Ubale, I.A.S., Dr. Sanjay Chahande, I.A.S., Divisional Commissioner, Nashik, Shri B. I. Nagrale, I.A.S., Secretary, Tribal Development, Shri Shyam Tagade, I.A.S., E. Z. Khobragade, Shri Uttam Khobragade, I.A.S., Shri Kishor Gajabhiye, I.A.S., Shri R. K. Gaikwad, I.A.S., Commissioner, Apanga Kalyan, Dr. Harshdip Kamble, I.A.S., Collector, Yavatmal, Anil Choure, I.R.S., Anil Ramteke, I.R.S., Dr. Sunil Khaparde deserve our appreciation for their unflinching support and timely help.

Special thanks are due to Mrs. Sonalsmith Patil, Desk Officer, Finance, Shri Malvankar, Deputy Secretary, Higher Education, Shri Hemade, Desk Officer, Higher Education, Dr. Avinash Dhakne, Private Secretary to Minister for Higher Education, Shri Sanjeev Jadhav, Private Secretary to State Minister for Higher Education for their unstinted co-operation.

We take this opportunity to thank Shri Waman Nimbalkar and Dr. Yashwant Manohar for having readily agreed to co-operate in this venture for days together and helping for collection of these letters from Mrs. Shantabai Dani.

We wish to record our deep sense of gratitude to Shri Rajkumar Kamble, Shri M. S. Bahal, Gautam Chakraborty, Prof. Vilas Wagh, Prof. Vijay Khare, Prof. Dhananjay Lokhande, Prof. Vilas Adhav, Prof. Rajan Gawas, Prof. Sharmila Rege, Prof. Vidyut Bhagwat, Prof. Satish Shirsath, Prof. Sanjay Chakane, Prof. Sanjeev Sonawane, Dr. Arun Dalvi, Dr. Machindra Wahul, Prof. Anand Ubale, Prof. Vilas Kharat, Prof. Sudhir Ingale, Arjun Dangale, Pratap and Prerana Tambay, Niranjana Waghmare, Naresh Barsagade, Ravindra Chavan, Millind Shambharkar, Prof. Manohar Jadhav, S. P. Gaikwad, S. P. Kamble, R. R. Patil, Prof. Tej Nivalikar, Prof. Harsh Jagzap, Bapu Sonavane, Prof. Pradip Lokhande, who not only encouraged and guided me to prepare this volume but also offered valuable suggestions.


I place on record valuable suggestions rendered by Mrs. Sangita Narke, I am thankful to her.

We owe our sincere thanks to Dr. Rahul Gajbhiye, Shri Sachin Shende, Mrs. Jyoti Shende, Dr. Riya Gajbhiye, Dr. Amol Suryawanshi, Shri Shuddhodhan Aher, Manik Bhongade, Sushil Mhasade, Ratan Bansode, Kuldeep Ramteke, Jayant Ramteke, Takshak Chahande, Dr. Dilip Kamble, Vijay Mankar, Baban Kamble, Madhu Kamble, Sunil Khobragade, Divakar Shejawal, D. D. Ambade, Laxman Gaikwad, Mahadev Jankar, Uttam Kamble, Prof. Gautamiputra Kamble, Bandhuraj Lone, Rahi Bhide, Ashok Ankush, H. R. Gawai, Ravi Bhilane, Dr. Rahul Bagade, Dr. Vinayak Kale, Prof. Ganesh Raut and Mangesh Dahiwalde accomplishing this project.

We would be failing in our duty if we forget to **Late Mrs. Shantabai Dani**, who spared this valuable collection of letters of Dr. Ambedkar to Karmaveer Dadasaheb Gaikwad. Mrs. Dani handed over these letters to committee.

We also take this opportunity to thank Mrs. Shalaka Tambe, Mrs. Sumitra Nevarekar, Maruti Padave and Vijay Vaidya for their co-operation.

Shri P. J. Gosavi, Director of Govt. Printing, Stationery and Publications, Mumbai, Shri S. B. Waichal, Deputy Manager, Government Central Press, Mumbai ; the staff of the Government Central Press, Mumbai, and the Art Department of Government Printing and Publications, Shri Sachin Tipnis, from Scan skill for Scanning the letters deserve full appreciation and thanks for their expeditious printing with utmost care and sincerity.



(Hari Narke)
Editor and Member-Secretary,
Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, Mahatma Phule,
Rajarshi Shahu Source Material Publication Committee,
Govt. of Maharashtra, Barrack No. 18,
Opp. Mantralaya, Mumbai 400 021.
Tel./fax : +91-22-22835610/22870968.
Email : harinarke@yahoo.co.in

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Note :

The original letters written by Babasaheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar to Dadasaheb Gaikwad are 50 to 80 years old. The quality of the paper and the ink has become poor and faint. This book is a reprint (photocopying) of the original letters. However we have tried our level best to improve the quality. The Editor feels sorry for the poor quality of the reprint.—Editor.

SHRI CHANDRASEKHAR AMBUDKAR,
 B. A., M. A., B. L. S. - BOMBAY.
 Member of the Executive Council, D. M. S.

Damodar Hall
 Parel
 Bombay-12.

11/4/27

My dear Gokhale,

I am sending her Gangarni to make
 collection on behalf of our Society at the
 meeting she on the occasion of this yatra.
 I understand that the Deccan India
 Association has sent its agents to
 make collection for a Temple in Bombay.
 You must prevent the collection being
 made. The Association is a bogus body
 beside our people must be told that
 it is not for our advantage to have
 separate temple for us.

1. Am
Jus Smly
BR Ambedkar

2

27.2.28

My dear Bhaurao,

This is to introduce to you my friend
Mr. Chitre. He will tell you the purpose
for which he is seeing you. Please do what
he will tell you. He has my support &
you will therefore not hesitate in the matter. Better
if you can come over to Bombay. The
matter is urgent and important.

Yours Sincerely,
Ambedkar

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR.

M. A. PL. D. D. Sc. BAR AT-LAW

MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY.

DAMODAR HALL,

PAREL,

BOMBAY-12.

26/11/38

Dear Bhamrao,

I cannot accept 20th for the appeal.

I will let you know ~~precisely~~ in a few days what date will suit me. It might be better if you can tell me when the Devale people will be ready to hold their meeting. I will then be in a position to link the appeal to the meeting.

Yours Sincerely

B.R. Ambedkar

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR,

M. A. Ph.D. D.S.C. BAR AT LAW,
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY.DAMODAR HALL,
PARLI., BOMBAY, 12.2nd March 1929.

My dear Bhaurao,

I have received your draft of the address some time ago. I am terribly busy in writing my report as a member of the Simon Commission so much so that I am obliged to give up Court & Council for some time. This will explain to you the reason for my silence. Beside there is nothing about the address because we have consented to postpone the Conference sometime in April.

Can you tell me what is the economic condition of the 'Loulve' who has just now been sentenced by Kuduav. His men had been to me today and desire to take up his work almost for nothing. I ~~am~~ am too poor as you know to be so charitable as that. Not that Charity has no place in my professional work. But I should

be satisfied that the man so known as to receive
charity. Hence the inquiry. My best regards
to you, P. B. & Rankhambi

Yours Truly
P. B. R.

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR,
 B. A. PH.D. D.P. B.A. LL.B. LL.M.
 MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY.

very urgent

DAMODAR HALL,
 PAREL, BOMBAY, 12.

8/10/ 1919.

My dear Garkwad,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 5th. Will you please go to Mr. Kuntakoti ascertain from him the exact date of his arrival in Bombay after Darsara? ~~Let~~ Let me have this information by return post.

I am most probably accepting 19th as the date for the Nasik appeal. But I have not informed Vastak to that effect finally. I am waiting for the date of an appeal at Dhule. Give my congratulations.

to our friend Kate for his passing the
Exam. Also my best regards to Rankhan
and Sami

Yours Truly
RRH



Simons Hall

22 C

London - 17

6-12-79

My dear Bhamboo,

I am in receipt

of your letter. I regret
that owing to engagements
happily made I cannot
come to Manejori.

Yours truly

B. R. Ambedkar

P.S. I was sorry to hear
of Rankhambi's illness.

my regards to Sami
& Kale.



INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

NOTICE.					Charges to pay.	
This form must accompany any inquiry made respecting this Telegram.					Rs.	As.
<i>Bombay</i>	<i>16</i>					
Handed in at (Office of Origin).					Words	
Date.					Service Instructions.	
Hour.					12	
Minute.					15	

TO

*Bhaurao Gachhadkar for
Samaaj Mandir Panchwati
Wasik*

*Reaching tomorrow morning meet-
tation*

Ambedkar =

10

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR,
 B. A. PH.D. D.S.C. BAR-AT-LAW.
 MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY.

DAMODAR HALL,
 PAREL, BOMBAY, 12.

11 Feb. 1930¹⁹²

My dear Bhaurao

I have just returned yesterday from
 Bharwar. I have seen the handbills for your
 meeting at Chandori. I am writing this to
 forewarn you that I do not feel quite
 certain that I will be able to attend it.
 The whole work is congested and I have been
 asking for postponement on so many occasions
 that I feel I have no face to ask for any
 more. Under the circumstances you should
 be prepared to go on with the meeting in
 my absence altho I will try to come,
 subject to my being free from the High Court.

Hoping you are doing well I am
 Yours Sincerely
 B. R. Ambedkar
 My regards to Kate & Ranakhambe.

P. M. RAO R. AMBEDKAR.
 M. A. PH. D. D. SC. BAR-AT-LAW.
 MEMBER, LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY.

DAMODAR HALL,
 PAREL, BOMBAY, 12.

25th Feb. 1930.

My dear Bhaurao,

I had been expecting to hear from you every day since you left regarding the meeting at Simat, and your silence had come to be my programme of work which had resulted in a great inconvenience to all.

As at present situated I can give you only one day that must be Saturday. I must return to Bombay on Sunday morning. Now the question is can you arrange the meeting at Simat at such a short notice as that of one day. Kind you the meeting must be largely attended & of any use and must therefore be widely circulated. Can you do that with only one day on hand? I doubt it. But if you can I have no objection to coming. What however of greater importance is that I should meet our Executive Committee & know how you are planning Satyagrah. When can we do that. Can the members

of the Committee come to Bombay?

If you are arranging the meeting at Sunday let me know by wire so that I can start in time. But you must release me on Saturday night.

I do not know if you realize that your Satyagraha is a matter of great anxiety to me, particularly because owing to the other pressing engagements I have not been able to devote myself to it.

With my very best regards to all
our friends I am

Yours affectionately

B. R. Ambedkar


To
Dr. B. R. Ambedkar:

Everything arranged
Please come morning
train. Waiting Nasik
Station

To
Amrutras Rankha

Dr. Ambedkar coming

Please come to-morrow morning

<p>A. Class) Prefix (Code.</p>	 INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT INLAND TELEGRAM.	<p>No. _____</p> <p>Space for Postage Stamps. <small>The stamps must be affixed by the Receiver and must not overlap. Any Stamp for which there is no room here should be affixed at the back of this Form. Stamps cut, torn or defaced are not accepted.</small></p>
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	To _____	
	By _____	

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--	--	---

Rank	District	Depressed Classes	Public
Meeting	consisting	of	500 held
under	my	Presidentship	on
eleventh	October	unanimously	resolved


FROM { _____

NOT TO BE TELEGRAPHED. { Signature _____ and Address of Sender _____

13-14

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TO { Name _____ Address _____ Telegraph Office _____		
to consider condemn strongly the Government attitude towards Political demands and emphatically declares that no constitutional will be acceptable to them		
FROM {		

NOT TO BE TELEGRAPHED. (Signature and Address of Sender)

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Words: _____ Sent at _____ Charge to: _____ To: _____ By: _____		
Nothing to be written by the Sender above this line		If this telegram is to be classed EXPRESS, write the word EXPRESS in the space below. If this telegram is in State business, the word STATE should be written in this space.
When a reply is to be prepared, write the words "Reply Paid" and the amount in the space below. These words are not charged for.		NOTICE. PLEASE GIVE A FULL ADDRESS.
TO { Name _____ Address _____ Telegraph Office _____		
which does not embody their demand put forth by their representatives etc Anbeskar and Rasthakar Shrivastav		
FROM { Gaidwad Prmentras Rankhanke		

NOT TO BE TELEGRAPHED. (Signature and Address of Sender)

Damodar Hall
Pore C
Bombay-12
18-3-30

My dear Bhaurao,

Gupte has brought your letter to me. I was surprized at the Conduct of the Collector. My view is not to force a conflict with the Government if it can be avoided. I should therefore like to make a representation to H-E the Governor in the matter protesting against the conduct of the Collector and await his decision. If it is unfavourable we shall act up to our intention.

You will therefore let me

know in detail by a letter all
the facts and the letter of the S. M.
in your capacity as the Secretary;
to enable me to make the
representation.

I will also try and see
the Governor in this connection

With my best regards to yourself
Anastacio & the members of the
Committee I remain

yours Sincerely
B.R.A.

16-17

Dear Mr. Ambekar.

I have let out an
in stone that I was
retained till any one
was ready to come and
see. The couple who asked
me if they could come in
and see it had to go. I
am quite sure till
you or any other party
there in 10.30 at the
Collector's bungalow. I am
leaving by the Sunday
mail

S/S


INT. 12



TO
Ambikar, 11/11/30 + X
1st 23 -

Shri. K. V. Subyagach
camp (Machhali Nasar)
Come ask magistrali Temple
renamed class -
ambikar

18


 GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
 AIR MAIL DEPARTMENT.

TO: Dr. Ambedkar 12/57 X 271

Weight in gms. 12 Value 12/57 Service X Post 271

TO 14/12/57



Dr. Ambedkar
 member of the Constituent Assembly
 Carriage - Detached in station
 Post Train was available
 returned Bombay sending
 mark = Ambedkar

N.B. - The name of the sender, if telegraphed, is written after this line.

I must decline to see you in this matter. I quite agree with the
D.P. No fresh satyagraha must
be started. Those taking part
will be removed.

16/3/30

B. Ambedkar

20-21



GOVERNMENT HOUSE
LONDON

25th March 1930.

Dear Mr. Ambedkar,

I am to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th March 1930, and to say that it has been forwarded to the Secretary to Government, Home Department, for consideration and disposal.

*Yrs Sincerely,
E. K. Hobson*

(35)



INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

X N

NOTICE

For further information see the copy inquiry made respecting this Telegram.

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By



Amount in words	Date	Month	Minute	Service Instructions	Rate
10/-	30	13	-	X	10

10
 Gaitkwood Natyay...
 Com...
 11/11/30
 enter hurry volunteers
 Ambedkar

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M.A. PH.D. SC. BAR AT LAW
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY



DAMODAR HALL
PAREL
BOMBAY 12.

Dea Bungalow

Mumbai

29-3-30

My dear Bhaurao,

Thank you very much for your letter. I am very glad to see that you have already dispatched men to bring volunteers for the Nashik Satyagrah. I regret I am tied up here and can't just at the moment help you in the matter. But I will do my best as I am freed from this case. I hope to return to you about 1/7 of April on which date I think we can be able to finish our witnesses.

I have received a reply from H.E. the Governor which I am enclosing herewith for your Committee's information.

With my very best regards to yourself & friends I am in hurry,
Yours truly

B.R.A.

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MRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M. A. Ph. D. Sc. B.A. AT LAW
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL BOMBAY



DAMODAR HA
PAREL
BOMBAY-12.

My dear Shrawan

You must have been surprised at my silence. But there was no way but to be silent. My health as you know has been going down - and the pressure of work has been increasing. The study of the *Pravara* case since 1922 has broken the canal head. I went to the States in a broken condition on the 11th and was extremely disappointed when I heard that the case had to be postponed on account of the illness of the pleader of the opposite party. All this has told on me and again I struggle with my fainting fits.

Regarding the *Parthasarthy* case I can come to Nashik on the 20th for Luxumbhai's ^{appeal} ~~case~~. You can wait till then you need not come if you can't. I think you had better come for case

you choose not to come please remember that my stay at Nasik will be for a day only. I shall have to return back on the same night as I have to appear in court in Bombay on the next day. What I mean is that my stay in Nasik will be very short & so you better therefore take your own decision whether to come or not to come.

Mr. Rasia from Ahmadnagar had been to me --- and ~~she~~ we had a long talk about internal quarrels at Nasik. Of that I'll tell you when we meet. If Amritrao can come please ask him to see on the station on the morning of the 20th.

Tell Laxmibai to send me at least Rs 15/- for Nasik a fair. She has not even paid my rent till. Mr. --- let her at least pay out of her pocket. With regards to all young men
D. D. D.

24

Hand
6/3/32

Mr. B. Gachwad,
informed that the
Commissioner C.D.
is to present at
Kala Ran Temple
Sunday 9th inst.
at 7.30 a.m. (about)
to go into the

question of the Maharashtra
Satyagraha on this
spot.

R. Shinde

Collector

25

Order under S. 144 Criminal Procedure Code.

Whereas it appears to the District Magistrate, Nasik, that there is danger of a riot in the neighbourhood of the Kala Ram Temple, Panchawati, Nasik, on account of religious disputes between different classes of the Hindu population,

And whereas it appears necessary in consequence to prevent people frequenting the neighbourhood of the said Temple,

Now therefore under S. 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code I direct that no person shall sit or loiter on the public road or any other open space within one hundred yards of the said Temple and that no bodies of more than three persons shall collect within the said area for the period of one month from this date or till further orders.

Any person disobeying this order shall be subject to the penalties prescribed in S. 188 Indian Penal Code or such other as may be found applicable.

15-3-51.

Sd/ R.G. Gordon
District Magistrate,
Nasik.

Order under section 42, Bombay District Police Act.

Under the provisions of section 42, Bombay District Police Act, the District Magistrate, Nasik, hereby - prohibits for a period of fifteen days from the date of this notice the carrying of arms, daggers or other weapons and the carrying, collection and preparation of stones or other missiles within the city of Nasik within a - space of 2 (three) hundred yards on any side of the - outer walls of the Maha Gan Temple.

Any person offending against this order will be - liable to the penalties imposed under section 38 of the said Act.

Nasik
3/4/1930.

N. S. K. K.

District Magistrate, Nasik



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BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR.

M. A. Ph. D., D. Sc. BAR AT-LAW
MEMBER, LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY.DAMODAR HALL
PAREL
BOMBAY-12.11th April
1930

To

His Excellency the Rt. Honourable
Sir Frederick Sykes, P.C., G.C.I.E.,
G.B.I., F.R.S., C.S.I.,
Governor of Bombay,
Bombay.

May it please Your Excellency,

The Government of Bombay must have received a report from the District Magistrate of Nashik on the riot that took place there between the touchables and the untouchables on the 9th inst. I feel it necessary to submit to Your Excellency my version of the riot.

Origin of the riot - According to the practice of the Kala Ram Temple at Nashik the Bath (Gerni) of the God Ram was to be taken out in procession through the City. I was asked by Inspector Kernik (one of the Police Officers on duty at the Kala Ram Temple) what attitude I propose to adopt in connection with the bath procession. I told him that if equal treatment was accorded to the untouchables I had no objection to the bath being taken out and I also specified the nature of the equality of treatment I had stipulated for by stating that I would insist upon two things - (1) that the untouchables will participate in carrying the Bath along with the touchables and (2) the untouchables will offer Puja to the idol in the Bath. Mr. Kernik then left and returned with the District Magistrate. The District Magistrate told me that my conditions were accepted by the touchables Hindus and that the touchables would bring the bath ~~to~~ to the main door of the temple and after they had dragged it for 10 feet from

R. AMBEDKAR.
Ph. D. O. SC. BAR AT LAW
LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY



DAMODAR HALL
PAREL
BOMBAY 12

the caste Hindus would join in the... with the
 touchables join in carrying by holding the rope fastened to
 the belt and questioned me whether I had any objection to the
 bath provision, to which I replied I had none, and in order
 to help the cause of peace I went out of my way to sort out
 about 50 out of a lot of 5,000 untouchables and told them
 that they alone were to take part in the carrying of the
 bath, accordingly the bath was brought out to the temple site
 by the touchables, but the touchables who wanted to cooperate
 both the untouchables and the police officers did two things -
 (1) and to hold the rope so close to one another that
 no rope was left for the untouchables to join in, & (2) if
 touchables ~~tried~~ tried to stop the bath at the temple
 site as previously stated began to run away with it so as to
 give no chance to the untouchables to catch the rope and
 participate in carrying the bath. This manoeuvre to violate
 the most important condition in the agreement naturally roused
 the feelings of the untouchables, but the main cause
 of the fight was the action of the Police boys a great
 majority of whom were caste Hindus, they at once started to
 assault those untouchables who were struggling to hold a bit
 of the rope, the fight was started by the caste-Hindu Police
 who openly took the law of the touchable Hindus, the touchables
 who were ~~being~~ subjected to an
 assault from two sides, the touchable Hindus who had held
 the rope and ~~were~~ were preventing them from
 taking a position at the rope and with the untouchables were

HIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M.A. PH.D. D.Sc. BAR AT LAW
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL BOMBAY



DAMODAR HALL
PAREL
BOMBAY 12

struggling to take a position in the best-aimed Police were
energizing them with their batons and but-ends of their rifles.
Seeing their men recruited in this way the rest of the un-
touchables followed the path with which the touchables were
running away at terrific speed. Seeing that the crowd of
the untouchables pursuing the path had come very near to the
touchables abandoned the path of the road and went into the
adjoining field and a volley of stones on the crowd of un-
touchables who were standing on the road. The road was lined
on the side by barbed wire and on the other side by cactus
and consequently the untouchables could not escape from the
volley of stones and a great many of them were injured. The
racial conduct of the untouchables is evidenced from the
fact that there is not a single casualty reported from among
the touchable Hindus.

Departure of the untouchables from the field: The crowd of touchable Hindus
when they were dispersed from the field wherefrom they were
throwing stones went to the camp of the Satyagrah Committee,
pulled down the cart, smashed cycles of the volunteers, stored
the motor car belonging to one of the members of the committee
and searched for women who were in charge of the kitchen and
caused injuries to small children straggling about. From there
they went to the bank of the river where they found some un-
touchables men, women and children who could not leave the
bank of the river and join the main body of the untouchables
at the camp, it was on account of the fact that there was no
one to take charge of their bullocks and carts. They were

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR,
M. A. PH. D. D. SC. BAR AT LAW
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL BOMBAY



**DAMODAR HALL
PAREL
BOMBAY 12**

brutally assaulted, their belongings were burnt and some were thrown into water. According to the information given to me this attack resulted in the death of one man. Very little help was given to these unfortunate untouchables on the bank of the river. The main body of untouchables could not go to their rescue because they were stopped from moving from their place and the Police cordon was placed around them. As most of the Police force was engaged in keeping custody of the main body of the untouchables at the gate very few were left to give aid to those untouchables who became victims to the attack on the bank.

Attitude of the Police:- I must however guard myself against creating the impression that I have any complaint to make against the Police Officers. In the contrary I have not the slightest hesitation to say that they have done their duty. I wish particularly to praise the names of Inspectors - Shelke, Kulkarni and Karake for their splendid work in the most trying circumstances arising out of the Satyagrah. My complaint is against the Europeans who took sides and who exhibited their innate prejudice by assaulting some respectable untouchables in a most unchristianlike manner. Their names and numbers will be submitted to their superiors and I trust Your Excellency will not withhold disciplinary action against them.

Policy of the District Magistrate:- I regret to say that I am not satisfied with the policy of the District Magistrate in connection with the Satyagrah of the untouchables. In my last letter I had informed Your Excellency how the private door of the house of the injured was being used by the

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR,
 B.A. Ph.D. B.C. Bar at Law
 Member Legislative Council, Bombay



DAMODAR HALL
PAREL
BOMBAY 12

public as an entrance to the temple and how our Satyagrah was being frustrated thereby. The District Magistrate did not pay any regard to our contention and on the Pannavmi day not only allowed the public to use the private entrance of the Muzari in complete disregard of our contention but prohibited our Satyagrahis to sit as usual at the adjacent public way the barricade from which was removed to provide exit to the untouchable Hindus entering by the private door. As a result 98 untouchables out of some 300 who offered Satyagrah were arrested on the Pannavmi day.

After the riot of the 5th the District Magistrate proposed to me that I must stop the Satyagrah or else he will withdraw the police. His proposal was considered by the Satyagrah Committee and was rejected and I think rightly. Nothing could be a greater disaster to the movement of the untouchables than the stopping of the Satyagrah at this juncture. The touchable Hindus would gain the impression that any slight use of force is sufficient to crush the movement of the untouchables. Under no circumstances I or the Satyagrah Committee can allow such an impression to go round. Only on this if on no other account we must continue our Satyagrah. Regarding the withdrawal of the police I wish the Government of Bombay to realise fully the implication thereof. To my mind it means that the Government is not willing to use the power it has under its command to help people who are struggling for their rights, to win them. Such a power is good for nobody and the depressed classes may then be justified in joining hands with

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AO R. AMBEEKAR,
 4 A P. C. D. SC. Bldg. AT 4th
 K. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY



DAMODAR HALL
 PAPER,
 60 REGAY-12.

18/4/30

My dear Bhaiji,

I returned yesterday from Mahad. I was to have left for Nasik today by the Nagpur mail. But I was called by Shri Birla for talking over our Satyagrah & our discussion continued beyond time so that I missed the train. I must return to Mahad on Monday & consequently I cannot now spare time for coming to Nasik. Under the circumstances I have to request you and Rantkhambe to come over here by the morning express. You can return by the Nagpur. We shall talk over Birla's suggestions

yours truly
P. R. Ambekar

29-30


 INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

NOTICE
This form must accompany any inquiry made respecting this Telegram.

Charges to pay
Rs. As.

Received at (Office of Origin)
Mahad

Date
26/12/45

Time
11:30 AM

Rate
14/-

Service Instructions

TO
Ranawade Satyagrah
Camp Panchwati Nashik
Coming 26 evening
meet station
Ambedkar

Stamp: NASHIK TEL. APR 14 1946

M.P. No. 100-101-102

N.B. - The name of the Sender, if tele-graph, is written after the rate.


 INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

C.

NOTICE
This form must accompany any inquiry made respecting this Telegram.

Charges to pay
Rs. As.

Received at (Office of Origin)
Mahad

Date
26

Time
8/-

Rate
14

Service Instructions

Stamp: NASHIK TEL. APR 14 1946

TO
Gaikwad Satyagrah
Camp Panchwati Nashik
Detained reaching Bombay Sunday
come Bombay wire
Ambedkar

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BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A. PH.D. SC. BAR AT LAW
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL BOMBAY



DAMODAR HALL,
PAREL
BOMBAY 12

3rd May 1930

My dear Bhawanee

I regret my inability to reply to your wires and letters immediately on their receipt. That was because I was caught by the Doctors for treatment.

I see from your last letter that the conference is fixed for the 11th. I think I can attend it — as I hope to return to Bombay on the 7th. I am leaving Bombay today for Peth for the conference. With my best regards to all

Yours Sincerely
B.R. Ambedkar

DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR
M. A. PH. D. D. SC. BAR AT LAW
LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL BOMBAY



DAMODAR HALL
PAREL
BOMBAY 12.

16th May 19

My dear Bhaurao,

Since my arrival from Nasir I found myself busy with the All Parties Conference to which I was invited by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. The Conference was going on for the last two days and that is why I was not able to write you your letter immediately.

I have not before me the text of the resolution - altho I have seen the substance of it in the papers. It is surprising how Dr. Ambedkar has taken all credit for himself and left Kuntal in the cold. As to the action we should take we should await the formal receipt of the Resoln from the signatories thereto. Thereafter it should be submitted to the Satyagrah Committee which should pass a resolution suspending the Satyagrah

the covering of his expenses should be carefully
 noted. If you need any help in that matter
 I am at your service only you need
 send me a copy of the resolution by the
 Secretarists

You had agreed to send the account of
 the day's work by Sunday last you have not
 kept your promise. The Press is waiting to
 begin with it, and I hope you will expedite
 send it without delay.

Please convey my most sincere regrets
 to Dale for my not stopping to enjoy their
 hospitality. They need not be sorry for I
 have been the loser.

With my best regards I am
 Yours affectionately

B. R. C.

33

SHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR,
M. A. P. R. D. D. SC. BAR AT LAW,
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY.



DAMODAR HALL
PAREL
BOMBAY 12

25/6/30

My dear Bahadur,

I have received your letter of the 23rd June and was very much pleased to read that you successfully carried out the plan at Kolhapur. I congratulate you on your success.

Regarding the law case to which I had referred I have succeeded in finding out the volume. It is reported in Vol 47, Indian Cases p. 39. If the volume is in the High Court library you need not come for it. If not you had better come or send ^{some} one. If you have to come then come before Sunday next. For I am leaving for Poona on Monday next.

With my very best regards to yourself and friends. I am

Yours Sincerely
B. R. Ambedkar

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J R. AMBEDKAR,
A. Ph. D. D.Sc. Barr. at Law,
LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY.



DAMODAR HALL
PAREL
BOMBAY-12

6/7/30.

My dear Bhaurao,

I am in receipt of your letter. I am of opinion that the convicted persons should not pay the fines.

I was glad to hear of your success in the hulgaon expedition. I should like to know how things are going on there after you left. Has the Pathari case been withdrawn?

It is rumoured that Patilparant as Bawa is contemplating the issue of a paper *विद्रोह* or *विद्रोह*. Is that a fact. If so it is in my opinion a very unfortunate move which must be deprecated. Do not misunderstand me but I do feel that these separatist tendencies are going to produce the same disastrous results.

which we notice in the non-Brahmins of
 Port Harcourt, Bombay or any of you think that
 you can give a paper why don't you
 take the Bahubhakt Bharat? People may think
 that I want to centralize every thing. But I
 can't help feeling that safety lies in unity.

With my best regards
 & all I am
 yours sincerely
 B.R. Ambedkar

P.S. I am leaving for Poona. If you
 wish to write to me any thing there your
 letter will find me at the National Hotel
 opposite Railway Station Camp Poona

35-36

विभागाय रामजी भावेकर.
मुंबई, १०/११/१२
आय विभागाधीन अहमदाबाद स्थाने.

संदेश क्र. २१४१
२१/११/१२

I am leaving for Nagpur by the
~~Madras~~ Nagpur mail on Wednesday
the 6th. I will expect you at Nashik
station. Bring Dami & Kale with
you. They should attend the Conference.

Do not forget my raincoat
Love Sincerely
B.R.A.

I am writing to Amritnath also



INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

G.

NOTICE

This form must accompany all notices sent by registered telegrams.

Charges to pay

To



Handed in at Office of Origin. Date. 9/11/12

TO Bhapurao Gaitwad
Tribhakt Gate
Nashik

Regret illness
prevents coming
- Ahmedkar

37-38



INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

By *Handwritten Signature* NOTICE
 This form must accompany any enquiry made respecting this Telegram.

Charges to pay: Rs. *10/-* After issue: *12*

Headquarters of Office of Origin: *Bombay 8* Date: *17 9/35*

TO: *Bhaurgo Garkwad Trunk gate Nasik*
Sunday impossible will write
= ambedkar =

NASIK

N.B. - The issue of this Notice, if any required, is within three days.

H.M.S. 2227-2228-2229-2230-2231-2232-2233-2234-2235-2236-2237-2238-2239-2240-2241-2242-2243-2244-2245-2246-2247-2248-2249-2250-2251-2252-2253-2254-2255-2256-2257-2258-2259-2260-2261-2262-2263-2264-2265-2266-2267-2268-2269-2270-2271-2272-2273-2274-2275-2276-2277-2278-2279-2280-2281-2282-2283-2284-2285-2286-2287-2288-2289-2290-2291-2292-2293-2294-2295-2296-2297-2298-2299-2300-2301-2302-2303-2304-2305-2306-2307-2308-2309-2310-2311-2312-2313-2314-2315-2316-2317-2318-2319-2320-2321-2322-2323-2324-2325-2326-2327-2328-2329-2330-2331-2332-2333-2334-2335-2336-2337-2338-2339-2340-2341-2342-2343-2344-2345-2346-2347-2348-2349-2350-2351-2352-2353-2354-2355-2356-2357-2358-2359-2360-2361-2362-2363-2364-2365-2366-2367-2368-2369-2370-2371-2372-2373-2374-2375-2376-2377-2378-2379-2380-2381-2382-2383-2384-2385-2386-2387-2388-2389-2390-2391-2392-2393-2394-2395-2396-2397-2398-2399-2400-2401-2402-2403-2404-2405-2406-2407-2408-2409-2410-2411-2412-2413-2414-2415-2416-2417-2418-2419-2420-2421-2422-2423-2424-2425-2426-2427-2428-2429-2430-2431-2432-2433-2434-2435-2436-2437-2438-2439-2440-2441-2442-2443-2444-2445-2446-2447-2448-2449-2450-2451-2452-2453-2454-2455-2456-2457-2458-2459-2460-2461-2462-2463-2464-2465-2466-2467-2468-2469-2470-2471-2472-2473-2474-2475-2476-2477-2478-2479-2480-2481-2482-2483-2484-2485-2486-2487-2488-2489-2490-2491-2492-2493-2494-2495-2496-2497-2498-2499-2500-2501-2502-2503-2504-2505-2506-2507-2508-2509-2510-2511-2512-2513-2514-2515-2516-2517-2518-2519-2520-2521-2522-2523-2524-2525-2526-2527-2528-2529-2530-2531-2532-2533-2534-2535-2536-2537-2538-2539-2540-2541-2542-2543-2544-2545-2546-2547-2548-2549-2550-2551-2552-2553-2554-2555-2556-2557-2558-2559-2560-2561-2562-2563-2564-2565-2566-2567-2568-2569-2570-2571-2572-2573-2574-2575-2576-2577-2578-2579-2580-2581-2582-2583-2584-2585-2586-2587-2588-2589-2590-2591-2592-2593-2594-2595-2596-2597-2598-2599-2600-2601-2602-2603-2604-2605-2606-2607-2608-2609-2610-2611-2612-2613-2614-2615-2616-2617-2618-2619-2620-2621-2622-2623-2624-2625-2626-2627-2628-2629-2630-2631-2632-2633-2634-2635-2636-2637-2638-2639-2640-2641-2642-2643-2644-2645-2646-2647-2648-2649-2650-2651-2652-2653-2654-2655-2656-2657-2658-2659-2660-2661-2662-2663-2664-2665-2666-2667-2668-2669-2670-2671-2672-2673-2674-2675-2676-2677-2678-2679-2680-2681-2682-2683-2684-2685-2686-2687-2688-2689-2690-2691-2692-2693-2694-2695-2696-2697-2698-2699-2700-2701-2702-2703-2704-2705-2706-2707-2708-2709-2710-2711-2712-2713-2714-2715-2716-2717-2718-2719-2720-2721-2722-2723-2724-2725-2726-2727-2728-2729-2730-2731-2732-2733-2734-2735-2736-2737-2738-2739-2740-2741-2742-2743-2744-2745-2746-2747-2748-2749-2750-2751-2752-2753-2754-2755-2756-2757-2758-2759-2760-2761-2762-2763-2764-2765-2766-2767-2768-2769-2770-2771-2772-2773-2774-2775-2776-2777-2778-2779-2780-2781-2782-2783-2784-2785-2786-2787-2788-2789-2790-2791-2792-2793-2794-2795-2796-2797-2798-2799-2800-2801-2802-2803-2804-2805-2806-2807-2808-2809-2810-2811-2812-2813-2814-2815-2816-2817-2818-2819-2820-2821-2822-2823-2824-2825-2826-2827-2828-2829-2830-2831-2832-2833-2834-2835-2836-2837-2838-2839-2840-2841-2842-2843-2844-2845-2846-2847-2848-2849-2850-2851-2852-2853-2854-2855-2856-2857-2858-2859-2860-2861-2862-2863-2864-2865-2866-2867-2868-2869-2870-2871-2872-2873-2874-2875-2876-2877-2878-2879-2880-2881-2882-2883-2884-2885-2886-2887-2888-2889-2890-2891-2892-2893-2894-2895-2896-2897-2898-2899-2900-2901-2902-2903-2904-2905-2906-2907-2908-2909-2910-2911-2912-2913-2914-2915-2916-2917-2918-2919-2920-2921-2922-2923-2924-2925-2926-2927-2928-2929-2930-2931-2932-2933-2934-2935-2936-2937-2938-2939-2940-2941-2942-2943-2944-2945-2946-2947-2948-2949-2950-2951-2952-2953-2954-2955-2956-2957-2958-2959-2960-2961-2962-2963-2964-2965-2966-2967-2968-2969-2970-2971-2972-2973-2974-2975-2976-2977-2978-2979-2980-2981-2982-2983-2984-2985-2986-2987-2988-2989-2990-2991-2992-2993-2994-2995-2996-2997-2998-2999-3000-3001-3002-3003-3004-3005-3006-3007-3008-3009-3010-3011-3012-3013-3014-3015-3016-3017-3018-3019-3020-3021-3022-3023-3024-3025-3026-3027-3028-3029-3030-3031-3032-3033-3034-3035-3036-3037-3038-3039-3040-3041-3042-3043-3044-3045-3046-3047-3048-3049-3050-3051-3052-3053-3054-3055-3056-3057-3058-3059-3060-3061-3062-3063-3064-3065-3066-3067-3068-3069-3070-3071-3072-3073-3074-3075-3076-3077-3078-3079-3080-3081-3082-3083-3084-3085-3086-3087-3088-3089-3090-3091-3092-3093-3094-3095-3096-3097-3098-3099-3100-3101-3102-3103-3104-3105-3106-3107-3108-3109-3110-3111-3112-3113-3114-3115-3116-3117-3118-3119-3120-3121-3122-3123-3124-3125-3126-3127-3128-3129-3130-3131-3132-3133-3134-3135-3136-3137-3138-3139-3140-3141-3142-3143-3144-3145-3146-3147-3148-3149-3150-3151-3152-3153-3154-3155-3156-3157-3158-3159-3160-3161-3162-3163-3164-3165-3166-3167-3168-3169-3170-3171-3172-3173-3174-3175-3176-3177-3178-3179-3180-3181-3182-3183-3184-3185-3186-3187-3188-3189-3190-3191-3192-3193-3194-3195-3196-3197-3198-3199-3200-3201-3202-3203-3204-3205-3206-3207-3208-3209-3210-3211-3212-3213-3214-3215-3216-3217-3218-3219-3220-3221-3222-3223-3224-3225-3226-3227-3228-3229-3230-3231-3232-3233-3234-3235-3236-3237-3238-3239-3240-3241-3242-3243-3244-3245-3246-3247-3248-3249-3250-3251-3252-3253-3254-3255-3256-3257-3258-3259-3260-3261-3262-3263-3264-3265-3266-3267-3268-3269-3270-3271-3272-3273-3274-3275-3276-3277-3278-3279-3280-3281-3282-3283-3284-3285-3286-3287-3288-3289-3290-3291-3292-3293-3294-3295-3296-3297-3298-3299-3300-3301-3302-3303-3304-3305-3306-3307-3308-3309-3310-3311-3312-3313-3314-3315-3316-3317-3318-3319-3320-3321-3322-3323-3324-3325-3326-3327-3328-3329-3330-3331-3332-3333-3334-3335-3336-3337-3338-3339-3340-3341-3342-3343-3344-3345-3346-3347-3348-3349-3350-3351-3352-3353-3354-3355-3356-3357-3358-3359-3360-3361-3362-3363-3364-3365-3366-3367-3368-3369-3370-3371-3372-3373-3374-3375-3376-3377-3378-3379-3380-3381-3382-3383-3384-3385-3386-3387-3388-3389-3390-3391-3392-3393-3394-3395-3396-3397-3398-3399-3400-3401-3402-3403-3404-3405-3406-3407-3408-3409-3410-3411-3412-3413-3414-3415-3416-3417-3418-3419-3420-3421-3422-3423-3424-3425-3426-3427-3428-3429-3430-3431-3432-3433-3434-3435-3436-3437-3438-3439-3440-3441-3442-3443-3444-3445-3446-3447-3448-3449-3450-3451-3452-3453-3454-3455-3456-3457-3458-3459-3460-3461-3462-3463-3464-3465-3466-3467-3468-3469-3470-3471-3472-3473-3474-3475-3476-3477-3478-3479-3480-3481-3482-3483-3484-3485-3486-3487-3488-3489-3490-3491-3492-3493-3494-3495-3496-3497-3498-3499-3500-3501-3502-3503-3504-3505-3506-3507-3508-3509-3510-3511-3512-3513-3514-3515-3516-3517-3518-3519-3520-3521-3522-3523-3524-3525-3526-3527-3528-3529-3530-3531-3532-3533-3534-3535-3536-3537-3538-3539-3540-3541-3542-3543-3544-3545-3546-3547-3548-3549-3550-3551-3552-3553-3554-3555-3556-3557-3558-3559-3560-3561-3562-3563-3564-3565-3566-3567-3568-3569-3570-3571-3572-3573-3574-3575-3576-3577-3578-3579-3580-3581-3582-3583-3584-3585-3586-3587-3588-3589-3590-3591-3592-3593-3594-3595-3596-3597-3598-3599-3600-3601-3602-3603-3604-3605-3606-3607-3608-3609-3610-3611-3612-3613-3614-3615-3616-3617-3618-3619-3620-3621-3622-3623-3624-3625-3626-3627-3628-3629-3630-3631-3632-3633-3634-3635-3636-3637-3638-3639-3640-3641-3642-3643-3644-3645-3646-3647-3648-3649-3650-3651-3652-3653-3654-3655-3656-3657-3658-3659-3660-3661-3662-3663-3664-3665-3666-3667-3668-3669-3670-3671-3672-3673-3674-3675-3676-3677-3678-3679-3680-3681-3682-3683-3684-3685-3686-3687-3688-3689-3690-3691-3692-3693-3694-3695-3696-3697-3698-3699-3700-3701-3702-3703-3704-3705-3706-3707-3708-3709-3710-3711-3712-3713-3714-3715-3716-3717-3718-3719-3720-3721-3722-3723-3724-3725-3726-3727-3728-3729-3730-3731-3732-3733-3734-3735-3736-3737-3738-3739-3740-3741-3742-3743-3744-3745-3746-3747-3748-3749-3750-3751-3752-3753-3754-3755-3756-3757-3758-3759-3760-3761-3762-3763-3764-3765-3766-3767-3768-3769-3770-3771-3772-3773-3774-3775-3776-3777-3778-3779-3780-3781-3782-3783-3784-3785-3786-3787-3788-3789-3790-3791-3792-3793-3794-3795-3796-3797-3798-3799-3800-3801-3802-3803-3804-3805-3806-3807-3808-3809-3810-3811-3812-3813-3814-3815-3816-3817-3818-3819-3820-3821-3822-3823-3824-3825-3826-3827-3828-3829-3830-3831-3832-3833-3834-3835-3836-3837-3838-3839-3840-3841-3842-3843-3844-3845-3846-3847-3848-3849-3850-3851-3852-3853-3854-3855-3856-3857-3858-3859-3860-3861-3862-3863-3864-3865-3866-3867-3868-3869-3870-3871-3872-3873-3874-3875-3876-3877-3878-3879-3880-3881-3882-3883-3884-3885-3886-3887-3888-3889-3890-3891-3892-3893-3894-3895-3896-3897-3898-3899-3900-3901-3902-3903-3904-3905-3906-3907-3908-3909-3910-3911-3912-3913-3914-3915-3916-3917-3918-3919-3920-3921-3922-3923-3924-3925-3926-3927-3928-3929-3930-3931-3932-3933-3934-3935-3936-3937-3938-3939-3940-3941-3942-3943-3944-3945-3946-3947-3948-3949-3950-3951-3952-3953-3954-3955-3956-3957-3958-3959-3960-3961-3962-3963-3964-3965-3966-3967-3968-3969-3970-3971-3972-3973-3974-3975-3976-3977-3978-3979-3980-3981-3982-3983-3984-3985-3986-3987-3988-3989-3990-3991-3992-3993-3994-3995-3996-3997-3998-3999-4000-4001-4002-4003-4004-4005-4006-4007-4008-4009-4010-4011-4012-4013-4014-4015-4016-4017-4018-4019-4020-4021-4022-4023-4024-4025-4026-4027-4028-4029-4030-4031-4032-4033-4034-4035-4036-4037-4038-4039-4040-4041-4042-4043-4044-4045-4046-4047-4048-4049-4050-4051-4052-4053-4054-4055-4056-4057-4058-4059-4060-4061-4062-4063-4064-4065-4066-4067-4068-4069-4070-4071-4072-4073-4074-4075-4076-4077-4078-4079-4080-4081-4082-4083-4084-4085-4086-4087-4088-4089-4090-4091-4092-4093-4094-4095-4096-4097-4098-4099-4100-4101-4102-4103-4104-4105-4106-4107-4108-4109-4110-4111-4112-4113-4114-4115-4116-4117-4118-4119-4120-4121-4122-4123-4124-4125-4126-4127-4128-4129-4130-4131-4132-4133-4134-4135-4136-4137-4138-4139-4140-4141-4142-4143-4144-4145-4146-4147-4148-4149-4150-4151-4152-4153-4154-4155-4156-4157-4158-4159-4160-4161-4162-4163-4164-4165-4166-4167-4168-4169-4170-4171-4172-4173-4174-4175-4176-4177-4178-4179-4180-4181-4182-4183-4184-4185-4186-4187-4188-4189-4190-4191-4192-4193-4194-4195-4196-4197-4198-4199-4200-4201-4202-4203-4204-4205-4206-4207-4208-4209-4210-4211-4212-4213-4214-4215-4216-4217-4218-4219-4220-4221-4222-4223-4224-4225-4226-4227-4228-4229-4230-4231-4232-4233-4234-4235-4236-4237-4238-4239-4240-4241-4242-4243-4244-4245-4246-4247-4248-4249-4250-4251-4252-4253-4254-4255-4256-4257-4258-4259-4260-4261-4262-4263-4264-4265-4266-4267-4268-4269-4270-4271-4272-4273-4274-4275-4276-4277-4278-4279-4280-4281-4282-4283-4284-4285-4286-4287-4288-4289-4290-4291-4292-4293-4294-4295-4296-4297-4298-4299-4300-4301-4302-4303-4304-4305-4306-4307-4308-4309-4310-4311-4312-4313-4314-4315-4316-4317-4318-4319-4320-4321-4322-4323-4324-4325-4326-4327-4328-4329-4330-4331-4332-4333-4334-4335-4336-4337-4338-4339-4340-4341-4342-4343-4344-4345-4346-4347-4348-4349-4350-4351-4352-4353-4354-4355-4356-4357-4358-4359-4360-4361-4362-4363-4364-4365-4366-4367-4368-4369-4370-4371-4372-4373-4374-4375-4376-4377-4378-4379-4380-4381-4382-4383-4384-4385-4386-4387-4388-4389-4390-4391-4392-4393-4394-4395-4396-4397-4398-4399-4400-4401-4402-4403-4404-4405-4406-4407-4408-4409-4410-4411-4412-4413-4414-4415-4416-4417-4418-4419-4420-4421-4422-4423-4424-4425-4426-4427-4428-4429-4430-4431-4432-4433-4434-4435-4436-4437-4438-4439-4440-4441-4442-4443-4444-4445-4446-4447-4448-4449-4450-4451-4452-4453-4454-4455-4456-4457-4458-4459-4460-4461-4462-4463-4464-4465-4466-4467-4468-4469-4470-4471-4472-4473-4474-4475-4476-4477-4478-4479-4480-4481-4482-4483-4484-4485-4486-4487-4488-4489-4490-4491-4492-4493-4494-4495-4496-4497-4498-4499-4500-4501-4502-4503-4504-4505-4506-4507-4508-4509-4510-4511-4512-4513-4514-4515-4516-4517-4518-4519-4520-4521-4522-4523-4524-4525-4526-4527-4528-4529-4530-4531-4532-4533-4534-4535-4536-4537-4538-4539-4540-4541-4542-4543-4544-4545-4546-4547-4548-4549-4550-4551-4552-4553-4554-4555-4556-4557-4558-4559-4560-4561-4562-4563-4564-4565-4566-4567-4568-4569-4570-4571-4572-4573-4574-4575-4576-4577-4578-4579-4580-4581-4582-4583-4584-4585-4586-4587-4588-4589-4590-4591-4592-4593-4594-4595-4596-4597-4598-4599-4600-4601-4602-4603-4604-4605-4606-4607-4608-4

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR,
B.A. Ph.D. & LL.B. (HONORARY)
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY

CAMODAR HALL
PAREL
BOMBAY 12

30th August
1930.



most urgent

My dear Bhanu,

Please take the bearer to Mr. Sabnis & ask him to write to me in detail at once about the stage at which the Hari harvest case has reached. These people have to come to me and are telling me something which I am unable to understand. Mr. Sabnis I am sorry to say has not acted up to my expectations in as much as he has not kept me communicated as I had asked him to do. Please therefore ask him to write to me by return post.

Yours Sincerely
B.R.A.

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RAO R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A. Ph.D. LL. B. BAR AT LAW,
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY.



GAMODAR HALL
PAREL
BOMBAY-12

6-9-30

My dear Bhaurao,

I am in receipt of your
l.c. I am trying to come to work on the
9th to attend to the Waki case. you will please
ask Mr. Sabnis to send copies of depositions
immediately on receipt of this so that I will
be prepared to argue before I reach. Please
inform 'Rambhaubai' of this so that if he desires
to meet me he can come to station. you
must have read in the papers that I
have been invited to the R. T. C. More
when we meet.

Yours Sincerely
P. R. Ambedkar

P.S. If I don't come on the 9th
then you can come on the 10th with your
cheat.

41

11th Oct 1930.10 30th A.M.

P & O. S. N. Co.

S.S. Viceroy of India

My dear Bhausa,

I am just writing a line to say that the voyage has been so far very pleasant. The sea is calm and the people are very kind to me. I have forgotten the keys of all my trunks. It seems to be very providential for I am having compulsory rest as I cannot reach my books.

The delegates to the R.T.C. are holding meetings to discuss various questions and I am glad to say that they are very sympathetic to the demands of the D.C.

I am very anxious to know

at about 3 o'clock. I am going to come to
 see the physicians & will catch the steamer
 at Fokstad. My next letter to you will be from
 London. My regards to you & your family. At Kalle
 your Papa

we shall be reaching here to-morrow
 in my absence.
 believing that you will carry on even
 have not the slightest hesitation in
 in having you too as my co-venturer. I
 of course. I think it very fortunate
 that too when you started that
 very great to the responsibility
 I need hardly tell you how

satisfied.
 you in that connection at your
 glassy believe any news from
 faces has ended. I should very
 among out of the North Road
 that has the criminal proceedings

my London address is

Whomso Clerk when 187
 578 Strand
 London W.C.C. 2

42

INDIAN ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

FORM GROSVENOR 3303 (2 LINES)

B, CHESTERFIELD GARDENS,
MAYFAIR,
LONDON, W.1.

My dear Bhaurao,

29-X-30

I arrived in London on the 18th. My
Colleague Rao Bahadur R. Shrinivasan are staying
at this place. I am not certain however that
we shall stay here permanently. You should
therefore write to me at the address I am giving
below.

You must have read in the papers that
the Round Table Conference will be opened by the
King on the 12th Nov. The interval I propose to
spend in seeing important personages. So far I
have seen the Secretary of State for India and the
Under Secretary of State for India. I had been
called to lunch by Mr. Lansbury a great Labour

leader. I find a great deal of sympathy for the D.C. and I am hopeful that this time our rights will receive full recognition. You will be glad to know that I also saw Sir Philip Chetwode the new Commander-in-Chief who is coming out to India and had a long talk with him on the question of the employment of the D.C. in the Indian Army. He gave me a very sympathetic hearing.

You must have heard of the developments that have taken place in Bombay since my departure. I am anxious to know what has happened in the Nasik Road riots case.

Please give my best regards to Dani and Kale and all other friends. Tell Amitrao if you see him that I will write to him by the next mail. Yours Sincerely

B. Ambedkar

Thomas Cook & Co.
Berkeley St.
London

43

Dhanrao R. Ambedkar.

M.A. PH.D. B.C. BAR AT LAW.

Member Bombay Legislative Council,
 Fellow University of Bombay
 Vice-President Bombay Textile Labour Union
 President Depressed Classes Institute, Bombay

DELEGATE

INDIAN ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

Tel. AMBERCORN 2401

42, Clifton Gardens,

Maida Vale,

London, W.9

17. XII. 30.

My dear Bhaurao,

I was glad to receive your two letters. You will excuse me if I have not been prompt in my reply to them. I have been very hard pressed for time. Much of my time has been taken up by the Committee of the Conference. Much leisure as I had I utilized in drafting a scheme for the Protection of the Depressed Classes in the future constitution of India. It is a very elaborate document drawn up in legal language and if I may say so puts the case of the depressed classes clearly and thoroughly. I am sure that you will all like it. I am getting 1000 copies printed—of which I will send some for circulation in India. When you will get it you will do well to telegraph to the Chairman minorities Committee Indian Round Table Conference saying that the D.C. support what is asked therein as their irreducible minimum. Telegrams of the sort should come in plenty and should come from all Provinces of India.

I hope to send printed copies of this by next week's mail

At present I am working on how best to promote the entry of the O.C. in the military. I am also preparing a memorial for this and getting into touch with the retired military officers who know our people. There is also the work of influencing members of Parliament. I am addressing the Labour M.P. on the 'untouchables' on Thursday. I am doing this because I want to get their support for Don't Enfranchise. I have arranged to address a similar meeting of the Liberal M.P. on Saturday.

You will thus see that I am doing my best. My colleague is not of much use to me. But I have to thank him for the helpful cooperation and the spirit of ~~not~~ compromise he has always shown in our deliberation. He is acting as one man so far.

There are some very good photographs of mine taken by the best photographers in London. Perhaps some of you might like to have copies of it. They are very costly. Each copy would cost Rs 15/- If you let me know how many of you would want such copies I can put you in touch with the Photographer who will supply on payment of cost.

I will be back for you Pan Narmann. I know the limitations. do not feel quite well. I do not know the limitations.

44

Bhimrao R. Ambedkar.

M.A. P.O. DE. BOMBAY.

Member Bombay Legislative Council,
 Law University of Bombay
 Vice-President Bombay Textile Labour Union,
 President Depressed Classes Institute, Bombay.

DELEGATE

INDIAN ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

Tel. AMBERCORN 2401.

42, Clifton Gardens,

Maida Vale,

London, W.9

15/1/31

My dear Gokhale

I think I have already written
 you in reply to your ~~first~~ earlier letter. I can
 not find time as we are sitting in Committee
 to write a very short reply to your last letter in
 which you inform me the attitude taken by the
 Collector of Masulih in regard to our contemplated
 Satyagrah. All that I can say is that
 the attitude of the Collector ought not to make
 any difference to our programme and that
 you should go on with your plans
 and carry them out as he did
 not exist. If you or I make our
 activity subject to the approval of
 the officials we will never advance

an inch

It may be that when you
start your satyagrah you may find
me in India

with regards to all I am
yours sincerely

B.R. Ambedkar

45

BHIMRAO R AMBEDKAR
M.A. Ph. D. D. Sc. BAR-AT-LAW
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY
LAW UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY



DAMODAR HALL
PAREL
BOMBAY 12

29-5-31

My dear Bhaurao,

I have received your letter. I had already learned about the tragic events of Pathardi before your letter came. It therefore did not shock me as it would have otherwise done. I was very much dejected to read that none of the assailants has been traced. I hope you will see the D. S. P. and urge upon him the necessity of making a through investigation. My information is that that the Patil of Pathardi is an accomplice — and was present along

with the assailants. This case is an eye opener to all taking part in Satyagrah to be watchful. To tell you ~~the~~ my real feelings you & Rautkhan ~~sa~~ should take special precautions about yourself.

I am sorry I cannot come for the Sunday meeting. My presence is necessary in Bombay. The Mahomedans are holding their meetings in Bombay. We are trying to get the Mahomedans to pass resolutions supporting our claims. A meeting is arranged between D.C. leaders & Muslims ~~less~~ on Sunday the day of your meeting. You will agree that this matter is important and must be given preference over this. Keep this information strictly confidential. Besides my absence will not harm you much. There is no fear of

2

BHIMRAO R AMBERKER
M.A Ph. D. D. Sc BAR-AT LAW
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY
FELLOW UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY



DAMODAR HALL
PAREL
BOMBAY, 12

52

My going to London soon. I will be available
till the end of July for any meeting that you
may arrange for the coming Satyagrah.

With my best regards for yourself, Dale
Ranahambe and Damodarpur sincerely

B.R. Amberker

श्रीमंराव रामजी अंबेडकर,
 एम्. ए. पी. एच. डी. डी. एम्. ली. बार-एडवोकेट.
 सेवर डेजिजनेटरीयड कॉलेजियल, मुंबई.

दामोदर हॉल,
 परळ, मुंबई, १२.

१९२२

There is no foundation in the statement that ~~the~~ Satyagrah by the untouchables at the Kala Ram Temple is suspended. The Satyagrah continues as before. Only ~~the~~ the method of Satyagrah is changed. In stead of sitting at the Temple doors the Satyagrahis patrol round the Temple in batches of four.

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BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR.

M.A., PH.D., D.S.C., BAR AT LAW.

MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY.

DAMODAR HALL,
PAREL, BOMBAY, 12.16th March 1951

My dear Bhawrao

I have learned from D.V. of the process that took place yesterday. There is nothing surprising in that. I am however glad of the fight put up by our people. I congratulate them on their courage.

I understand that the Collector has promulgated a prohibitory order under Section 144 C.P. Code. I have not the text of the order before me. But it seems that the order applies to both parties and is to be in operation for one month. In view of this I think there is nothing to be gained by breaking the order. Our main object is not to offer satyagrah but

✓ To prevent the pilgrimage and cause inconvenience
 this the order helps us to achieve — and nothing
 more can be gained by breaking the order. However
 our camp of Satyagrahis must be maintained
 and if the private gate is used by the public
 then you may use the Satyagrahis for petting
 the temple in a manner as would not be
 them in conflict with the order. Nothing more
 for the present keep me informed of what goes on.

I am
 Yours Sincerely
 B. R. Ambedkar

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BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M.A. PH. D. D. SC. BAR-AT LAW
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY
FELLOW UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY



DANODAR HALL
PAREL,
BOMBAY 12

21/5/51

My dear Bheerao,

I am in receipt of your yesterday's letter. I do not think that ~~to~~ under the conditions you report regarding the ~~theatre~~ - arrangements for the Chamar Conference I can attend it. There is no possibility of my reaching Nasik before 6 P.m. you might as well therefore come to the Karayangao on Saturday. I am told there is a regular motor service.

My regards to all

Yours
B.R.A.

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR,
M. A., PH. D., D. SC., BAR-AT-LAW.

DAMODAR HALL,
PAREL, BOMBAY-12.

7/7/31.

My dear Bhausa,

I am sorry I did not reply to your letter earlier. But I had gone to Kolhapur and returned on Sunday last.

I quite realize your anxiety regarding the Comming Salazarah. I am equally anxious about it—as it is certain that I am sailing for London on the 15th August at the latest if not earlier to serve on the Federal Structure Committee. Under these circumstances it

is necessary that we meet & decide before I leave. I cannot come to Nasik - as the time left at my disposal is too short to finish the work pending in the High Court & elsewhere. Therefore the only alternative is that some members of your Committee should come to Bombay say on Sunday next to discuss the question. If you agree let me have a word before hand if you are coming.

With best regards

Yours sincerely

P. R. G.

50 BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A. Ph.D. D.Sq. BAR-AT-LAW.

DAMODAR HALL,
PAREL, BOMBAY-12.

19/7/31.

My dear Bhaurao,

I am sorry I could not come upon the 19th as desired by you. I would have very much liked you people to have come over to Bombay. But as you do not agree to that I propose to come to Nasik on the 1st August. It is Saturday. I will come there at about 4 in the afternoon and you must let me return at 10.30 in the night. I must be in Bombay on Sunday the 2nd Aug. But this

gives you ample time of five
hours. Let me know if you
agree.

yours Truly
P. R. Umsted.

I suppose you know that
I am leaving for London on
the 15th Aug.

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M.A. Ph. D. D. Sc BAR-AT-LAW
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY
FELLOW UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY



DAMODAR HALL,
PAREL,
BOMBAY, 12

26/7/31

My dear Bhaurao,

I am in receipt of your letter with the enclosed ~~receipt~~ handbills. I quite understand the difficulty of changing the time of the meeting. But I think there are as ^{yet} ~~yet~~ days right days and you can issue another handbill and can giving the new time and cancelling the old handbills. I should therefore advise you to do so immediately so as to permit my returning to Bombay in the evening. I am sorry to cause you this embarrassment but it seems to be unavoidable. I propose to come by the express. I will notify to you if I change. Yours truly
B.R. Ambedkar.)

3 Bernard St
Russell Sq.
London.
14 X 31

my dear Bhausa, a.o.

I regret very much not to have been able to write to you in reply to the letter you sent me sometime ago containing the interview you had with the Commissioner. I have been so ^{much taken up} busy with the question of minutes which as you know has become much more difficult owing to the attitude of Mr Gandhi that I have had no minute to spare.

As anticipated by you I did get a letter from the Commissioner C.D. asking me to advise you & people to stop the Navik Satyagrah. I have not replied to him but I am going to do so by this mail. I am going to tell him that we cannot stop. So you may tell our people to go on we must not take an order from the

First just as we must not take them from the orthodox Hindus, we have trusted the Gorkh long enough to remove untouchability. But it has not lifted its finger to do anything in the matter and it has no right to ask us to stop. We must take the burden on our shoulders and do what we can ^{to} free ourselves at any cost from this curse. If the Gorkh does not help us it must not let hamper us. There is no use telling us that we must not create ill-feeling between different classes & Communities. This appeal by Gorkh should be addressed to all communities and not to us alone. It should specially be addressed to those communities ~~and~~ who are in the wrong and who are ~~also~~ sinning in the matter.

You may publish a translation of this in hand bills and broad-cast them among our

2

people.

I have been reading the telegrams ^{regarding} ~~and~~ the struggle at Mucked between our people & the caste men. I am glad to find that our people are prepared at all cost to carry on the fight. I congratulate them. I see that you are starting Satyagrah on the 5th N.V. I hope you have made the best preparation. I am sorry I am not there to help you. But I know that our people in the Nair District are now ~~to~~ live to their problem they do not need me.

I have had a telegram from Amritsar. It will strengthen my hands. My regards to you and my friends Kale, Dani & then yours truly

P. R. Lambekal

London

23 1x 31

My dear Bhairao,

I was very glad to receive your letter of the 4th. I should have written to you long before without waiting to hear from you but you know in what poor state of health I left and I had to conserve all my energy for writing to the Janata. It is most gratifying to hear that the Satyagrah would be on a very big scale. I hope you all will make the best effort to make it a success. I feel quite ashamed myself when I think I am so little helpful in a campaign which if I have not started I have been at least responsible for. You will I hope on the other hand realize that I am engaged

in equally important business the off results
of which are bound to be very lasting.

I am writing to Janata regularly
of the happenings here - and I am sure
you will not expect me to repeat them.
Do help for the circulation of Janata

There was one thing I was very anxious to
know but about which you gave no
information who is the collector for Nasik?
I read that Gordon has been appointed to
inquire into the Bardoli Tenants' grievances.
You will realize that much will depend upon
the who is the collector when the Satyagrah
Commences. My regards to yourself D and
Kale and Amritao. Write to me as
often as you can yours truly
F. B. G.



Royal Hotel
Lucknow New Delhi
6/1/32.

My dear Bhausa

I am sorry you left Bombay without telling me. I was doubly sorry not to have seen you at Nasik Station owing no doubt to the great crowd. I wanted particularly to see you because I had to give you an errand - which I am doing now.

An American woman by name Miss Cumming is to come to India. She must have arrived in Bombay by yesterday's P & O Mail Steamer. She is a great friend of the Depressed Classes and has as a correspondent

of an American Paper called the "Springfield Republican" she has given our cause the greatest publicity. She is very anxious to see our Satyagrah activity in Nasik and also wants to visit the Ellora caves I had promised her while in London that we will undertake to show her Nasik and the Ellora caves. It now falls to you and Amritrao to make good this promise. What I want you to do is to go to Bombay and get in touch with Miss Cummins. She is stopping either in the Grand Hotel or the Taj Mahal. Take her to Nasik by the night train, show her the temple and then ask Amritrao.



to take her in his car & allow it.
This is a word of honour and it
must be kept. Please inform Annirao
that I have especially asked him to
carry out the mission.

There is nothing particular to
inform you regarding the work of
our Committee. In Delhi we only
~~worked~~ considered our questionnaire.
We did not examine any witness.
I came to Lucknow this morning
and we will stay here till the
9th. — we also do not propose
to do anything in Lucknow. Our

Real work begins at Patna which
we reach on the 10th. More in
my next

I hope you are all doing
well. Sincerely yours

B. R. C.

My address

B. R. Ambedkar
Member Indian Franchise Committee
Camp
India



Calcutta

21/3/32.

My dear Bhanu Rao,

I was extremely sorry to read of the mishap to your father. I hope that the injury is not serious and that he is on his way to ~~sp~~ recovery. I quite understand your feelings when you say that you have gone to Amba and that you must leave your father's sick-bed. I would just like to say a word of warning. You better place your father in the hands of a competent Doctor. It is no use listening to

old and village folks ~~of~~ who have
 a prejudice against doctors & hospitals
 this is more important than sitting to
 sick-bed.

I am planning that you should
 give evidence before the Franchise
 Committee, of course on the understanding
 that your father by that time feels
 better. I ventured to do this notwithstanding
 your father's illness
 for you know we have all to
 perform public duties. I am sending
 you a copy of my answers for
 you to study. Nothing more for the
 present. Please convey to your father
 my sincere regrets for this mistake.

Sincerely yours
 W. R. A.

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DEPRESSED CLASSES INSTITUTE.

(भारतीय-बहिष्कृत-समाज-सेवा-समिती)

Telephone
No 60066.Damanu Yash
Parcel, Bombay 12.

Ref. Letter No

24th February 32.

Dear Mr. Gaikwad

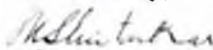
The Franchise Committee of the Round Table Conference have issued a questionnaire to the various institutions in the Presidency. Our Institution has sent replies to this questionnaire and the copy of the same is enclosed herewith for your information.

The Committee at present are touring in the country -- collecting evidence, written and oral. The Institute will have to depute a few of the representatives to appear before the Committee when they later are in Bombay. Dr. Babasaheb desires you to be -- ^{Said} deputation. May I, therefore, request you to study the accompanying replies and be prepared for the evidence. The Committee will arrive in Bombay on the 8th of March 32 and the date of our deputation will be fixed later on, of which you will be duly informed.

If you want any further information regarding the replies will be glad to supply them to you. Mr. [unclear] will also be returning to Bombay along with the Franchise Committee i.e. on the 6th of March. Next.

To,
Mr. Gaikwad,
Nasik.

Yours sincerely,



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MRAO R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A. PH.D. D.SC. BAR-AT-LAW.

DAMODAR HALL,
PAREL, BOMBAY-12.

6. IX. 32.

My dear Bhamao,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 4th. The reason why Shrivastkar was not able to answer your letter was because of my absence from Bombay in professional work. I arrived only yesterday. Mr. Shrivastkar has informed you already that he & 2nd will visit me. I am writing this to ask you whether it would be possible for you to convert this Leaders Conference

into a Bombay Presidency
~~League~~ Depressed Classes
Conference. You can hold
the general Conference on the
1st day and the Leaders Conference
on the ~~1st~~ second day. I think
it ~~is~~ would be an ideal
thing if you can manage
it. I cannot press for it because
it ~~is~~ would be an
expensive matter. However,
I would like to have you
consider my suggestion. With
my best regards to yourself &
Amrutao. Yours Sincerely
P.R.h

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BHARAO R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A. PH.D. D.SC. BAR AT-LAW.

DAMODAR HALL,
PAREL, BOMBAY-12.

15.9.32

My dear Bhaurao,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 15th. I did not reply Amritrao's letter because I have been very busy and also because I had sent you word already with the Kale who had come to see me. I think 15th and 16th would be better.

You will realize that Gandhi's work has created a most critical situation

you must do nothing
by way of statement
which spoil the cause.
I am going to Lawanwar
tomorrow and will not
back till the first. I hope you
will be able to make the
Conference a great success.

Yours sincerely,

B.R. Ambedkar

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M.A. PH. D. D. SC. BAR AT LAW
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, BOMBAY
FELLOW UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY



DAMODAR HALL
PAREL
BOMBAY, 12

7. 10. 32

My dear Bhausa,

I have received your letter yesterday on my return from Poona. I am afraid I cannot agree with you with regard to the Yesta Conference. If we can't discuss the Kalaram Temple question and it can't be discussed unless the Conference meets at Nasik, there is no urgency left in holding a Conference at Yesta. I am therefore of opinion that the Yesta Conference be postponed to March next. I shall therefore be obliged if you will kindly issue another

handbill informing people that it is cancelled. I am sorry I have to trouble you in this connection.

I have ask you or Amitrao to kindly consent to preside over the Jalgaon Conference of the D.C. of Khandesh.

I am
yours sincerely
B.R. Ambedkar

61

Jamonia
Hall
Purcell
Bourway, 2
15.3.33

My dear Dhanoo

I am in receipt of
your letter. The yevala people
came yesterday to see
me. I am sorry that I cannot
tell you the exact date
the Conference which
is to meet at Yevala-owung.
The uncertainties of my ...

work in the High Comm. all
 I can say is that I will
 try and give you a date
 some time after the 15th
 April next. This is all
 very vague I am
 But there is no say on
 I am therefore sure that
 you will for the present
 remain content with what
 I have suggested.

With kind regards
 Dani and Kale I am
 Yours Sincerely
 B. R. Ambedkar

P.S. Has Amuntrao returned
Vinchur

62

Samodar Hall

Parul

Bombay-12.

19.4.33.

My dear Bhaurao,

I have received your two letters sent to me some time ago. I did not reply immediately because I was ^{not definite} upon either of the two topics you had touched upon. I could not support the Stagnana at Kalaram Temple. Having taken the attitude which I did towards the Temple Entry Bills the only thing left for me to do was to oppose it. But I did not like to do it. I agreed ~~to~~ I think the best course and that was to sit mum and say nothing. All the time however I was 'worrying' that the excise officialdom might fall upon the D.C. in which the consequences would have been grave. I was therefore considerably

relieved when I read that Sec 144 was
 applied to both sides. Regarding the yarala
 conference I must now say ~~now~~ that it is
 now beyond me. I am sailing for London
 on the 24th and it is impossible for me to
 attend to any ~~thing~~ else besides most urgent
 business of a personal character. I am
 ashamed to have to disappoint the yarala
 people after having promised them so often.
 But I never thought that the call to
 London would be so sudden and so premature.
 Will you therefore tender my apologies to the
 yarala people and say that they must carry
 on without me. I would have asked them
 to wait till my return. But it is a long
 wait and I do not feel quite confident that
 I would ~~be~~ be able to fulfil my promise.
 I gave one now of coming to yarala on my
 return. With my best regards I am yours truly
 P. R. Lambetha

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Rajghata
Hindu Colony

Dadar

Bombay-14

20.1.34.

My dear Bhaurao,

many thanks for your letter. I was going to write to you but since my arrival I have not had a moment to write. I have had to write three memoranda which has entailed enormous work. I am not yet through with it and may not be through with it till the end of the next week. In these circumstances I suggest that you come to Bombay on the 27th instead of the 23rd. We will then have more time to talk things over.

With my regards to all my friends

I am
yours sincerely
B.R. Ambedkar

Rajgraha
Hindon Colony
Dadar
Bombay-14
3.3.34

My dear Bhawrao,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 23rd Feb. It is very kind of you to have asked me for my views on the propriety of the S.C. launching upon a ~~Satyagraha~~ Satyagraha at the Kala Ram Temple in Nasik on the coming Rama Navmi day. I have no hesitation in saying that such a move would be quite uncalled for — and should not merely be suspended but should be stopped altogether. This may appear strange and surprising coming as it does from one who was the author of the Satyagraha. But I am afraid to declare this change of front. I did not launch the temple entry movement because I wanted the S.C. to become worshippers of idols which they were prevented

from worshipping or because I believed that temple entry would make them equal members in and an integral part of the Hindu Society. So far as this aspect of the case is concerned I would advise the S.C. to insist upon a complete overhauling of Hindu Society and Hindu theology before they consent to become an integral part of Hindu Society. I started temple entry Satyagraha only because I felt that that was the best way of energizing the S.C. and making them conscious of their position. As I believe I have achieved that purpose I have no more use for temple entry. I want the S.C. to concentrate their energy and resource on politics and education and I hope that they will realize the importance of both.

yours Sincerely
B. R. Ambedkar

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BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A. PH.D. D.SC. BAR-AT-LAW.

DAMODAR HALL,
PAREL, BOMBAY-12.

Do not let me see this letter
for publication because I am not
interested in it merely saying
that I do not know Satyapala

P.P.C.

Kajuraha

New Sadar

Bombay +

2-5-36

my dear Bhanrao

I came from Bordi last Sunday and I am sorry to say with no better health than I had before I went here. I have received all the three letters you sent and it is strange I should have taken so long to reply to them. But that is inevitable in the present state of my health — which I have to use very sparingly.

It is very kind of Amrutas and yourself to call me to stay at Vinchur. But I must ask you to excuse me. It would seem strange to accept your hospitality and your pleasant company. But my doctor's advice is to run away from Bombay if I wish to save myself. Reading and speaking

exhausts me as nothing else ~~do~~ I am nature's friend
 live in solitude away from people and away from my
 books. I am going to Panhala (Kolhapur) tomorrow to
 spend the vacation — and will stay here till the first
 week of June. I am however very anxious to meet
 you & Amritrao and perhaps it may be possible too
 both of you to come down to Panhala for two
 days say about the 4th or 5th of June to stay with me
 we can then talk over many of the matters which
 must be discussed & settled. You can come down
 in Amritrao's car if he has.

I would have taken up the case of the
 Mahomedan — but owing to these circumstances
 I cannot. With kind regards to all friends
 yours sincerely
 B. R. R.

My address at Panhala would be

c/o Post headqrs

Panhala

(Kolhapur State)

Rajyaha
New Dadar
Bombay
3.6.34

My dear Bhanu

I was sorry to learn that you
and Amritrao could not come to Panhala owing
to the illness of Amritrao. I did not however
think that his illness was of a serious character.
Your yesterday's letter has made me very
anxious. I don't think that he can get the
necessary medical treatment at Kinchur. He
should come down to Nasik or better still
to Bombay. Will you write to me by return
post if possible as to how Amritrao is
fairing.



My stay at Panhala has done me
some good. I wish I had stayed here longer.
There are many things to discuss. But
they had better wait till Amrutrao is better.
With kind regards to Daini + Kale I am

yours sincerely

B.R. Ambedkar

Rajghata
New Dadar
Bombay-14
7.6.34.

My dear Bhaurao,

I was glad to hear that Amritao is well and that you both intend to come down to Bombay. It would be better if you and Amritao alone came as we shall have to talk over some ^{important} matters which must be treated as confidential. I am only anxious that I should not be away when you come. I am likely to go out of Bombay on ^{Monday} the 18th. It would be better if you came down on Friday the 15th in the evening. We could then have two full days Friday & Saturday to ourselves. Let me know if this suits you. Yours truly

N.R.



The IMPERIAL HOTEL

RUSSELL SQUARE
LONDON, W.C.1

Telegrams: *Imperial London*
Telephone: *Terminus 3055*

28 of 33



My dear Bureau,

C. B. has sent me a letter proposing that an educational Conference be held in the Vasich District and asking for my help. I have sent him a reply a copy of which I am enclosing herewith for your information. This projected conference may be an honest effort to promote education or may be dishonest attempt to belittle you and Rauhauke and I want

you therefore to keep an eye on it and let me know how it is developing and what you think of it.

Nothing more for the present. I hope to be back in August. Give my best regards to Amrtao Dani & Kale.

Sincerely yours
B. Ambedkar

70



Confidential
The IMPERIAL HOTEL

RUSSELL SQUARE
 LONDON, W.C.1

3/27

*Telephone: 6361-6362
 Telegrams: 'Imperial' 1055*

28 6 33



My dear Dadher,

I have received your letter of the 11th May 1933. I am sorry for the delay in replying to it and I hope you will excuse me for the same.

I agree with what you say regarding the importance of education for the depressed classes and I think adequate effort ought to be made in that direction. I am therefore in hearty sympathy with your project of a conference. I must at the same time point out

two things which I think are of great importance.
 one is the relative importance to be attached
 to education and mass movement. I have
 noticed a tendency in you and your friends
 to belittle mass movement. I can of course
 never agree with that point of view. While
 I do not undervalue education I attach
 absolute importance to mass movement. Secondly
 I cannot take any personal responsibility
 for education. I did take such responsibility
 in the beginning but I now think that
 such responsibility cannot properly belong
 to one who has a responsibility for the whole
 of the whole of the Province if not for the
whole of India and for matters of general
 interest to the community as a whole
 and ~~to~~ not for a matter of individual



The IMPERIAL HOTEL

RUSSELL SQUARE
LONDON, W.C.1

Telegrams: *Imperial London*
Telephone: *Terminus 3655*



interest such as education. In respect to these observations you may count upon my support in your educational activity. I must however warn you that I will not allow myself to be used for beating down men like Bhanoo Ghalkwad & Annikrao Rankhambe who have rendered in my opinion invaluable services to the Nasik District in fact to the whole of the Province of Bombay if such be the

result of my association with your work
I thought it was due to you and to me,
but I should make this quite clear.

With kind regards I am

Yours truly
B. B. A.

71

SHRI R. R. AMBEDKAR

M. A. Ph. D. D. Sc.
Barrister-at-Law.
J. P. M. L. C.

RECEIVED

NEW DISTR

DOMBIVY - 14.

2. 1. 35

My dear Bhaurao

This is not to say that I reached Bombay on the 30th evening. I trust that you and the rest have also reached your destination safely.

I had promised the boys of the Vastak Secunly Printing Press to write to their Superior in respect of the relay. Before I actually do so I would like to know if there is really any necessity. Will you therefore kindly go to the Press and inquire if their Superior has created any trouble over their relay and let me know about it.

Nothing more for the present with my best regards to Sami & yourself I am
yours sincerely
B. R. Ambedkar

72



"RAJGRAHA"
NEW DADAR
BOMBAY-14.

3. 3. 35

My dear Bhaurao,

I am enclosing herewith a copy
of my letter to Mr Perry the Collector of Nasik
in behalf of Mr Kale. I shall let you know
what he has to say when I receive his reply
In the meantime you and Kale should ^{not} treat
this letter as absolutely confidential

yours truly
B. R. R.

73

Private & Personal

3rd March 1935.

I thank you very much for your letter promising to give sympathetic consideration to the claim of the Depressed Classes for two seats by nomination on the District Local Board of Nasik.

I have however troubles you once more in connection with the case of Mr. T.B. Kale.

Mr. T.B. Kale is a Mahar by caste. He was appointed first as a clerk in the Revenue Department in the Mandgaon Taluka in the Nasik District in 1925. In 1927 he was taken in the Accounts Branch in the office of the Collector of Nasik. His work there was greatly appreciated and ~~and~~ then he was sent to the Accountant General's office in Bombay for training. After three months' training in the Accounts Office in Bombay he returned to resume his duties in the Accounts Branch of the Collector's Office at Nasik. In consideration of his efficient work he was sent out as a Circle Inspector in Baglan Taluka in July 1934.

The appointments of Circle Inspectors, I understand, are generally made only in cases of persons who are - intended to be raised to the posts of Head Kariuna or Mamlatdars. A very unfortunate incident has happened, which I fear has prevented Mr. T.B. Kale from reaping the full advantage of his appointment as a Circle Inspector. The incident arose out of the most humiliating treatment given to Mr. Kale by the Mamlatdar of Baglan on account of his caste. Kale had complained to me from time to time of the Mamlatdar's attitude - towards him.

I have instructed all the D.C. clerks working in the Government Departments not to mind the insults and humiliations offered to them by other high caste Hindu clerks and officers ~~and~~ as it was necessary for them to establish a foothold for the D.C. in the public services and I have no reasons to believe that Kale did not follow my advice. Evidently the conduct of the Mamlatdar must have been unbearable. For Kale applied for transfer from Baglan to some other Taluka in the District. But to his mortification Kale was reduced to

-2-

the position of a clerk and transferred to Yevla. He has now been working as a clerk at Yevla since - November 1934.

There are probably not more than 2 - 3 clerks from the Depressed Classes in the Nasik District. They are placed in the midst of a ~~host~~ host of hostile - clerks of high caste hindus, who are always administering all sorts of pinpricks and under Hindu Officers who are charged with complete antipathy. If a transfer asked on the ground of ill-treatment or humiliating - treatment was to be treated as a cause for degradation in rank no man from the D. C. can hope to complete his career in any Government Office. I have, therefore, to request you to kindly redress the wrong done to Kale by appointing him as a Head Karkun in some kamlatdar's Office. I have no doubt that he is honest and efficient and deserves encouragement.

I am writing this because I hear you are transferred to some other district and that you will be - relinquishing your charge as Collector of Nasik on the 22nd of this month. If you do not show sympathy to Kale and make his appointment Kale will be doomed for ever because your successor will not redress the wrong.

I was looking forward to meeting you personally at Nasik and to speak to you there about Kale. But as it is uncertain as to when I would be free to come to Nasik I have felt it necessary to write to you lest it should be too late.

Thanking you very much for your kindness and your courtesy,

I am,

74

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.
BARRISTER AT LAW,
I. P. M. L. C.

"RAJGRAHA"
NEW DADAR
BOMBAY-14

16.8.35

My dear Bhamrao

I have written to
Ammanandam three weeks ago about
your plot of land also about Kale
also.

It is possible I will be able to
come to Nasik in October. If the
Yevala people wish it I can preside
over their conference. I cannot
give the date yet.

yours by
B. R. G.

75

HIMRAO, R. AMBEDKAR
M.A., Ph. D., D. Sc.
BARRISTER AT LAW.
J. P. M. L. C.

"RAJGRAHA"
NEW DADAR
BOMBAY-14.

2/10/35

My dear Bhaurao.

I have your letter of the 29th sept.
I am sending herewith the programme you
are prepared. I have cancelled one or two items
hope you won't mind. I won't be able to
bear the strain - and that is the only reason
why I have cancelled them.

Chandamone and his friends had been to me.
They bitterly complain that their names were deliberately
omitted from the handbills. They do not admit
that what you say namely that you asked them
and that they refused to join. It is unfortunate that
this dispute which I find - has become a fact has
not been settled. They have shown their willingness

$\frac{1}{2}$ you - and they have given me names they wish to be included among the office-bearing and Reception committee members. I am sending you the slip of paper containing the names. I am also sending you ~~you~~ ^{the old} handbill in which these names entered in it at places where they should appear. Will you kindly issue and ~~the~~ handbill immediately with the addition of these names. We must see that the controversy is settled.

I have written to Ammonite that I will stop with him and I must now keep my word.

There is some school at the station the manager of which wants me to go there for a few minutes. I don't think there is any objection. You might include this in a programme which I am sending back.

Yours sincerely
 B R Ambedkar

76

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.

BARRISTER AT LAW.

J. P. M. L. C.

"RAJGRAHA"

NEW DADAR

BOMBAY-14

16 8 35

My dear Bhauro,

I have written to
 Ammanudom three weeks ago about
 your plot of land also about Kale
 also

It is possible I will be able to
 come to Nasik in October. If the
 Yevata people wish it I can preside
 over their conference. I cannot
 give the date yet

yours
 B. R. A.

77

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.

BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

J. P. M. L. C.

"RAJGRAHA"

NEW DADAR

BOMBAY-14.

8/11/35.

My dear Bhawrao,

I am returning herewith
 a draft of the ~~hand~~ bill you have
 sent me with one minor change. You
 can issue it now and distribute it
 if yeshwant's condition has not
 improved and I feel very anxious on his
 account with my kind regards to
 yours and Dani I am

Yours Sincerely,

B. R. Ambedkar

P.S. The basic reputation is coming
 on Sunday next at 4 P.M. The Sikhs
 have invited to the celebration they
 are holding in Bombay in honour of

When Nana is on his way next morn'g the
 morning I am thinking of going
 would you like to come? you can
 return in the evening with the reputation
 being done and amount of pay find
 it convenient.

78

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.
BARRISTER AT LAW.
I. F. M. L. C.

"RAJGRAHA"
NEW DADAR
BOMBAY-14.

17
11 35

My dear Bhaurao

I am in receipt of your letter. I did not hurry to reply because I was told that you were coming to Kalyan to preside over a meeting. I approve of your line of action. We must get rid of all superstitions, gods and goddesses.

The handbill should be distributed not only in the Thane district but all over the Bombay Presidency. Will you kindly do this. Yesterday is a little better. I am sending you out of Bombay my regards to all.

Yours Sincerely

B. R. Ambedkar

GHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.
BARRISTER AT LAW.
I. P. M. L. C.

"RAJGRAHA"
NEW DADAR
BOMBAY-14

25/5/36

My dear Bhaurao,

I am writing to know when you are coming down to Bombay and how many of your coming. I expect you here on Friday evening at least on Saturday morning yourself, Bani and Anantao will stay with me. The President is also staying with me. If your womenfolk are coming with you bring them. I shall be glad to have them as my guests only they will be accommodated separately. Nothing more. Give my regards to all.

yours sincerely
BR Ambedkar

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.
BARRISTER-AT-LAW.
J. P. M. L. C.

"RAJGRAHA"
NEW DADAR
BOMBAY-14.

22/6/36.

My dear Bhaurao,

I was very sorry to read your letter. I cannot understand her Dani's attitude. you must ask him to allow her Dani to file a complaint if women can go to Court for getting property why should they ~~sho~~ not get to vindicate their honour. Suppose her Dani was to get some property would not he allow her Dani to go to Court to file a civil suit? I am sure her Kankhambhi will not object.

Why have you not been able to
 form a Committee for the
 purpose? I do not understand this
 difficulty. At least send me the
 names of those you think ought to
 be on the Committee. I am anxious to
 know what you have done regarding
 registration of our Union. I want
 the Registration figures of Madras, Chittoor
 Mangalore & Mysore in the North District
 by Madras. Please treat this as urgent.
 I need not say any thing regarding the
 constitution of the Executive & the
 University. He has spoken to you I would
 like you to show & support him in
 kind regards yours. Sincerely
 G. R. Srinivasan

81

DEVDATT N. TILAK B. A. LL. B.
ADVOCATE
EDITOR OF MARATHI DNYANODAYA
AND BALBOODHIMEWA

ज्ञानोदय
DNYANODAYA
— Site of knowledge —
The Organ of the Missionary Organisations Working in
the area of Bombay, Representative Central Council

Shanti Sadan
Nasik
India

July 30th 1936

My dear Gaikwad,

Mr. Lam writes to say that breakfast will be served -vegetable one- for Dr. Ambedkar, you, Messers Jani and Rankhambe Dr. Katakia and me at his table on Saturday the 1st of August. He is coming with Dr. Ambedkar or earlier and will be very glad to have us. His car will go to the station to fetch Dr. Ambedkar at the train time.

I am writing him to send me his car in the morning so that we can go in it to Deplali and be ready to receive Dr. A.

With my best regards.

Yours sincerely

C. N. Tilak



GOVERNMENT LAW COLLEGE
BOMBAY

31/7/36

My dear Bhaurao,

I have received your letter this morning informing that Amritrao does not propose to come to Bombay. In that I must postpone ^{unless} my coming to Deolali because the question which I mentioned to you is settled I ~~cannot~~ can put nothing before the people whom you have called. We cannot discuss this question in the public therefore Amritrao must make it convenient

to come so that I am able to ascertain
 his mind. In short, ^{that} I cannot make
 up my mind. In that event there
 is no way but to postpone the meeting
 you can fix it for Sunday
 at 12. In case you ~~keep~~ keep it for
 Sunday I must return by 4 o'clock train
 the meeting must therefore be held at
 12. a. m. sharp. Also Amritrao must
 see me before that. He may come
 on Saturday evening. I am sorry but
 I see no way. yours sincerely
B. R. Ch

P.S. you have given me only 5-C. votes
 I also want total voters in both divisions

56
 My dear Bheerao,

"RAJGRAHA"
 NEW DADAR
 BOMBAY-14

3/8/36

Thanks for your letter. I think it would be better to meet at Mr. Lam's place at Deolali. It seems that it is a very convenient place. It is not necessary for Mr. Lam to be there present personally. Even if he is absent from Deolali I am sure he

will allow us the use of his bungalow. If that is not possible you should arrange the meeting on Sunday the 16th. Kind let me know by return post so that I may have time enough to rearrange my programme in Bombay accordingly. The meeting must be held at about 12. So that I can return ~~at~~ by 4 P.M.

Yours sincerely

G. R. G.



"RAJGRAHA"
~~NEW~~ DADAR
 BOMBAY-14.

5/VIII/36

My dear Bhaurao,

I am sorry it has become ^{next Sunday} impossible for me to come to Nasik, owing to some very important business having cropped. I am sorry to disturb the arrangements but there is no way out and I must stay in Bombay. I will let you know the next date.

yours sincerely

B. R. Ambedkar

85



"RAIGRAHA"
DADAR
BOMBAY 14

20. 11. 36

my dear Bhauwao

I have been anxiously waiting to hear
from you as to what arrangement you have made
at both Ranchhambur. But I am sorry there has
been no intimation from you in this behalf.
There will be no issue my coming to Desai's
on Sunday next unless you and Ranchhambur
have reached an agreement which I can

announce at the meeting. If I do not hear from you in the connection before Saturday next you can take it that I shall not be coming.

I have you read the programme of the Independent Labour Party which was published in the Times of India of Saturday last? Let me know what you think of it.

Yours
B. A.

86

M.O.P.P.A. 5892-17-1-25-1,35,000 Etc.



INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

G.

NOTICE.

This form must accompany any inquiry made respecting this Telegram.

Charges to pay

Rs.



Place of Origin.		Date	Hour	Minute	Service Instructions.	Rate
Bombay dr		11	15			18
TO	Bhasrao				Recd. here at 11	11

Naik

NOT coming Sunday next -
Ambedkar

5.A.—The name of the sender, if telegraphed, is written after the text.



41

My dear Bhaurao,

"RAJGRAHA"
DADAR
BOMBAY 14

25.11.36

I have received your letter of the 22nd in which you say that you have written earlier a detailed letter. I have not received any such letter. I cannot understand what you + Rankhambhe have been doing. My health has completely failed and the doctors are advising me to go out of India for best. I may go abroad any time. I must have your decision without delay. I can't wait till you therefore write to me by return post what agreement if any you have reached with Rankhambhe.

Yours truly

B.Rh



RAJGRAHA
DADAR
BOMBAY 14

27.9.36

My dear Bhanu,

I cannot blame you for your silence. But I had expected you to keep me informed of the happenings in regard to the electoral campaign. I am sending you two handbills which have been sent to me. I am surprised to find Dan's name. Does Rautkhambe know of it? Is it done with-

his consent? I like to have some information on these points.

I have gone thro the Papers of the Bhagwat
 makers. I think St has a regulate the ~~cost~~
 remuneration of the makers. However I
 will take up the matter with the Government
 and let you know what they say.

Yours truly
 B R



RAJGRAHA
DADAR
BOMBAY 14.

16.10.36

My dear Bheerao,

I have received your letter. If Rankhede wants to stand for the General seat he must not put in his nomination paper on the 15th for the Reserved seat. If he does he will not be entitled to stand for the General seat. you should inform him of this.

Yours truly

B.R.C.

90-91

D.P. 72-4



INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

G.

NOTICE.

This form must accompany any inquiry made respecting this Telegram.

Charges to pay

Rs. As.



Office of Origin	Date	Time	Rate	Special Instructions	Words
Dadur	7		85		15
TO Bhaurao Gaikwad main road nashik going jalgaon tonight - come Ambedkar					

D.P. - The name of the Receiver, if registered, is written after the text

D.P. 72-4



INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

G.

NOTICE.

This form must accompany any inquiry made respecting this Telegram.

Charges to pay

Rs. As.

Office of Origin



Office of Origin	Date	Time	Rate	Special Instructions	Words
Bombay	21		30		
TO Bhaurao Gaikwad main road nashik Come at once - Ambedkar					

92



Terms of Compromise
on the Trade Disputes Bill.

Government must agree to drop provisions relating to the following

1. ~~The~~ illegality of strike during Conciliation.
2. illegality of strike ~~by~~ by workers who have agreed to arbitrate.
3. organization of Trade Unions on prescribed lines.

We are prepared to agree to nothing more than making conciliation compulsory.

J.R.L.
J.R.L.

93



RAJGRAHA
DADAR
BOMBAY 14

13/10/36

My dear Bhaurao,

I have your letter of the 7th. I am very bad from the point of view of health. I have no energy left and I feel exhausted after any little exertion. I wish you spared me the trouble of going about. Besides I do not think that there would be an election even if the late Rautkhambe stands. There does not seem that there is any urgency of however you think that you I must come I certainly will. However the dates you have fixed will not suit me. We will have to take some other dates. I will let you know what dates

Will shut you in.

Roham who came here day before yesterday
 that there was a meeting held by the Rankhambe
 Party at Niphad and that not only a resolution was
 passed supporting Rankhambe but there was also another
 resolution passed condemning conversion. Please let me
 know how far this is true. I am sending you two
 handbills sent to me. Can you let me know what happened
 at these meetings.

Yours truly

B.R.R.

P.S. Rankhambe I hear is organizing a Party against
 me!!

DR. B. AMBEDKAR

1, N. D. D. St.

14, ASTOR LANE

"RAJRAHA"

DADAR

BOMBAY

21 Oct 1936

my dear Bhanoo,

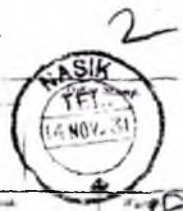
I have received your letter. I am glad your situation has become easy. So far I am informed that there will be contest only in Satara and in Sholapur. In reference our candidate is ~~for~~ Savant and in the latter Aitale. Now that ~~you~~ you are free I want you to go to Satara immediately to help Savant — and then to Sholapur to help Aitale.

I am ~~for~~ going to Gholwad today for rest which I need very badly. I will be returning to Bombay on or about the 1st November.

my address will be
King Hotel
Gholwad
B B T. D. B.

Please treat this as very urgent. you
can take Ghole with you from Poona or
ask Ghole to lend you his car.

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.



Or NOTICE.
This form must accompany all orders made respecting tele Telegram.

Charges to pay
Rs. As

78 London RT

TO DLT Frankford Sabhagraha Committee Nasik

Congratulations To arrested
Keep on only severe sacrifice
will bring us success
ambadkar

227 For name of the sender's address and its address after the 1926.

...
 ...
 ...
 ...
 ...

...
 ...
 ...
 ...



30. 22. 22

Registered in the
 Companies Act, 1906

RUSSELL SQUARE
 LONDON, W.C.1

The IMPERIAL HOTEL

DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR
M. A. Ph. D. D. Sc.
Barrister-at-Law
J. P. M. I. C.

RECORDED
NEW DATED
BOMBAY - 14

9. 10. 34

My dear Bhaurao,

If I wonder if you have received my letter. I have had no reply. I hope you are well.

The bearer comes from Navik. He is very anxious to get some monetary help for the education of his brother. Can you get him a scholarship from the D. L. B. Navik.

Yours Sincerely
B. R. Ambedkar



INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

NOTICE.

Must accompany any inquiry made respecting this Telegram.

Charges to pay.

Rs.

As.

Post Stamp.

Sent in at (Office of Origin)

Date.

Hour.

Minute.

Service Instructions.

Words.

Mumbai dr

14

16

35

X

9

Send Aerial

1)

H.

10

M.

Bhambra Garkwad Nawa pura Nasik

Come immediately

H. B. Ambedkar

H. B.—The name of the Sender, if telegraphed, is written after the text.

98

1 Hardinge Avenue
New Delhi.

My dear Bhanoo,

I have received your two letters. There is no objection to your attending the conference of the Bahu-Jan-ama-jadi Party. Beyond expressing general sympathy with the party there is nothing we can do for the moment. even if we knew our own mind we is not opportune for ~~disc~~ disclosing it to the public. We all have to align ourselves with one party. None dares it would it smite our interests to commit

2

ourselves ~~with~~ to one particular course we must keep our line clear.

I have read your second letter. I cannot say that the stance you have taken vis-a-vis the collector of Nasik is not proper. At the same time I do not wish you to come into conflict with the Government of Bombay. There is plenty of party work to be done and there is no use getting locked up. I should therefore advise you to ~~get locked~~ go slowly, use less abusive language.

I am anxious to know what has happened to Lalingskar

3

The date of the Constituent Assembly which was to meet on the 13th of July has been postponed to November next. I am therefore coming to Bombay the 3rd of July by the Frontier mail — and will stay there for a fortnight. As the pain in my legs has increased I need some treatment which I can have only in Bombay.

I am badly in need of a cook who can cook both Indian and European style food. He must be well behaved. If you find one bring him with you on the 3rd.

During my stay I like to meet the
workers of our Federation as well as
of the I. L. P. for private discussion.

There is nothing more for the
present except the Hyderabad crisis
which I feel a deep concern.

With kindest regards

Yours Sincerely

B. R. H.

P.S. Rajbhoj was here. He seems
blue talk and hearty.

1. Hardinge Avenue
New Delhi.

My dear Phauwao,

I have received your letter. Many thanks for the same. From what you say the cook will suit us — and I would like you to send him as soon as he can come. Let me know what salary he expects, and whether with pechar or without. Pechar, also he is single or with family and if with family, he wants to come alone or with his family.

I want to know what has been the attitude of the Government of Bombay towards you. Keep me informed about it. Jai Prakash Narayan came saw me on ~~the~~ Sunday last. We had a long talk. I told him that we could not commit ourselves to any ^{definite} attitude towards the Socialists unless we know what place the S.C. will have in their pro-~~gramme~~ & policy. He has promised to supply them to me. He also told me of the talks he had with more

and the reasons for this breakdown.
 He said that more was pro-Communist
 and wanted to amalgamate the Bahujan
 Party with the Communist Party. If
 more proceed along this line he will
 I am sure ruin himself and
 the Bahujan Party. Do you agree with
 me?

Joshi has left for Bombay yesterday.
 Will you contact him & finalize the
 scheme for building hutments on
 the land. With kind regards from
 myself and my wife yours sincerely
 B.R. Ambedkar

100



RAIGRAHA
PRESS, DADAR, BOMBAY

1.6.38

My dear Bhawanoo

This is just to congratulate
Mrs Saikwad on her great success
in the D.L.B. election. I should
like very much to know how
our party and Moreat's party
has fared in the elections.

I returned to Bombay
on the 25th day after a very

Strenuous love

yours truly
B. R. K.

101

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc.

BARRISTER-AT-LAW

"RAJGRAHA"

DADAR

BOMBAY-14.

8/6/38

My dear Bhawrao,

I have had your letter. I am sorry not to be able to reply to it earlier. I am busy with my book wholly and solely. I want to finish a good part of it before the High Court begins.

I have written to Mr. Skelliday in connection with Mausung. I hope his luck will come to his rescue.

With regard to your seeking for being a liaison officer I do not know what kind of a job it is and therefore unable to say one way or the other. All I can say in general is that we should ~~do~~ nothing which would

give an idea that we are craving for a personal gain. There is nothing to prevent us from seeking for a place in ~~the~~ any Salutory boy or going to a minister to ask him to do some thing for a ~~particular~~ ~~man~~ our people. It is better to err on the safe side and not to give any body any chance to doubt our honesty. With these words of caution I must leave it to you to decide.

For my book I need a short account of the Nasik Satyagrah. I have to request you to furnish it to me without delay. I want the important dates and details. Treat this as urgent.

I am free from the Law College. I have handed over charge of my Principalship. This is just to say that if there is Court work in Nasik I shall be free to come.

Yours truly
B. K. Ambedkar.

102

DR. RAO R. AMBEDKAR
M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc.
BARRISTER AT LAW

"RAJGRAHA"
DADAR
BOMBAY-14

11.7.38

My dear Bhawrao,

Have you found out the
statement you gave to the Police in the case
Sahyapata for the damage done by the Hindu?
I want it very badly. Send me information

regarding the recent case where our people
were molested - by their fields being thrown open
to cattle to feed because they attended some
convention meeting. Also send the chapters
I need them for correction.

yours sincerely

B. R. Ambedkar



"RA, GRAHA"
DADAR, BOMBAY

5. 10. 38

My dear Bhaurao,

I am sending herewith the
correspondence from Mr. Fakira. You
will see that he is arranging to hold
a Conference of the Kaira District Intendants
at Dwaraka and that they have decided
to have you as the President. I trust
you will accept and relieve me. I
am writing to him that you consent
in anticipation of your reply. Please
write to Fakira if you acceptance.

My minute of dissent to the
Panchayat Bill is ready, only it is

waiting to be typed. I am not hurrying
because the Select Committee is postponed
some die. However I will send it
soon.

Nothing more for the present. Mr
Jainadas was complaining to D.V.
that our boys were not helping
them in the carrying on the
Debate on the Trade (Imports)

BRL

Yours truly
BRL

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.
BARRISTER AT LAW

2-0-38
"RAJGRAHA"
DADAR
BOMBAY-14.

My dear Bhaurao,

I am sorry I could not write to you earlier. This is because your letter remained undelivered. It was kept by Hari among stray papers and I did not notice it.

Of course we have to oppose the Confiscated Land Bill. It goes without saying. Gadhari ~~can~~ ~~has~~ on behalf of our party had opposed the Govt. Resolution last time.

The grounds of objection are

- (i) This Bill takes private property of one person & gives it to another person. There is no public purpose.
- (ii) It throws the cost on the general taxpayers. Why should those who own the land not pay?
- (iii) It destroys rights which have been in existence for over ten years under the best of titles a person can have.
- (iv) Many of those who have purchased the land are small cultivators, tribe people, behressed classes etc. Their needs are greater. This bill takes away the land from the most needy.

105

HIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.
BARRISTER AT LAW

"RAJGRAHA"

DADAR

BOMBAY-14.

21-7-39 91

My dear Shamrao,

I am glad to have your letter of the 19th. I was ^{receiving} such damaging reports about ~~the Dangi Conference~~ that our people did at the Dangi Conference. I am glad to have a true account of the matter from you.

I am coming to Nasik on the 7th August in a serious case. I shall be putting up at Lal's Hotel as arranged by the client. You need not worry about it.

I am glad to know that you

are getting over the effects of your
accident.

With kind regards to all.

yours truly

B. R. Ambedkar

106

HIMRAO R AMBEDKAR

M.A., Fl.D., D. Sc

BARRISTER AT LAW

"RAJGRAHA"

DADAR

BOMBAY-14.

7740

my dear Bhamrao,

you must have received my
 wire. I am sorry to have to trouble you to
 undertake this journey. But there is no help.
 Dande' having failed to secure first rate from
 Dhana it is necessary to secure one from
 Mahagon. The mahasunnas members of the
 Mahagon Municipality have agreed to vote for
 Dande if our man Mahale joins them. I
 don't know Mahale. Hence you must
 be knowing him. ~~See that~~ Give him my
 message and see that he acts up to it.

With kindest regards I am

Yours truly

P. B. R. L.

107

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.

BARRISTER AT LAW

"RAJGRAHA"

DADAR

BOMBAY-14.

my dear Bhaurao

5.9.40

Just drop a line to say if the
 Session Judge Vasik is willing to take up
 the criminal appeal on the 11th inst. If
 will help me to arrange my Court work.

With kind regards I am
 yours truly
 B.R.A.



My dear Bhamao,

"RAJRAHA"
- DADAR
BOMBAY 14

Can you get the District Judge to
fix 21st Friday for the criminal appeal.
Can make it suit me if it is suitable to
him. Let me know immediately.

I am sorry to have troubled you
to go to Jalgaon. There is no help. The
Telegram regarding Jadhav's health - Sahar

109

No. C.R.O./41/1942

Office of the Civil Recruiting Officer, P^o

Camp Jambur, dated the 23rd February '42

Mr. B. K. Gaikwad.

I have already once written to you thanking you for the assistance I received from you during my tour in your Taluka District. I daresay you have since been able to continue your propoganda ~~in~~ recruiting. The time has come when every public spirited Citizen should exert his utmost in War Effort, but especially in the matter of recruitment. I am very glad to inform you that in the course of my tour so far in the Satara, Nagar and Nasik Districts, many gentlemen have given me personal promises to the effect that during the coming months, they would make personal exertions and produce a definite number of recruits during a specified period. As I have had no opportunity to meet you personally so long, I am addressing to you the same appeal with the fervent hope that you not fail to respond. The idea is that each person of influence, Committee members, Secretaries, Pensioners, Patils and officials should make a definite promise to obtain at least one recruit, say, by the end of March. Some have already promised to produce many as 10 or 20. There is no doubt that a definite object in view helps to secure its fulfilment.

Yours



To

Mr. B. K. Gaikwad
Nasik.

No. M.O.P./80/1941

Office of the Civil Recruiting Officer, Poona,
Camp Jaffer, dated the 26th February 1942.

Dear *W. S. Sankar*

I have been informed by the Military Authorities that the Mahar Regiment will be further expanded with immediate effect and that they propose to take the following immediate steps :-

They intend taking 15 cadet Viceroy's Commissioned Officers who are Matriculates or who have studied upto Matric, their age being not under 22 or more than 30 years. The candidate should be of commanding personality and such as are likely to make good leaders

The terms on which they will be taken are that they will be enlisted as sepoy and will be trained in the Unit for a period of 3 months. Those that pass the tests will be gazetted as Viceroy's Commissioned Officers i.e. Jambadars on a basic pay of Rs. 75/- p.m. with the usual free rations, clothing, allowances etc, they will be appointed to their gazetted rank from the date of enlistment i.e. with retrospective effect. Those that fail will be permitted either to continue as Non Commissioned Officers with a prospect of promotion to Viceroy's Commissioned Officer's rank later on, if they prefer, they can take discharge.

Besides, Viceroy's Commissioned Officers they will also be taking a number of Non Commissioned Officers i.e. Naiks and Havildars according to the result of the three months course, as stated above. The requisite education qualification would be standard VI or upto Matric, and their age should not be below 20 or 30 years.

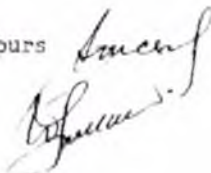
This process will be repeated when the Military Authorities ^{form} ~~form~~ subsequent battalions.

In addition to the above they will also be taking ^{immediately} ~~200~~ ordinary sepoy, and more as found practicable.

- 2 -

I shall be glad if you will use your influence to get likely candidates from your community to avail themselves of this opportunity early. Those concerned should be asked to see the Assistant Recruiting Officer concerned at the earliest possible opportunity, and I would be very glad if you would keep me in touch with your activities in this connection.

Yours



To

Mr. Bhaurao Krishnarao Gaikwad,
White Cottage,
Sharanpur,
Nasik.

111

Western Court
Hotel
New Delhi
8.4.42

you must have read of the political events
that have happened from newspaper Reports
I have no more news than has appeared
in the Papers. However if you are
curious to know from me what I know
first hand you may come to Bombay on
the 13th afternoon. I shall be teaching Bombay
on the 13th morning. If 13th is not suitable
come after 17th. In the interval I shall be
in Poona.

B.R.h

Cripps's proposals are disastrous to the

D.C. and we must have consultations
as to what steps we must take to meet
the situation. From that point of view,
would be better. I shall be free from
~~the~~ as the High Court then closes

112

No. R.O.P./80/

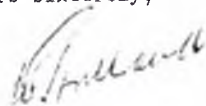
Office of the Civil Recruiting Officer, Poona
Camp Poona, dated the 19th June 1942.

Dear *Mr. Gaiwad*

I regret to inform you that the Military Authorities are finding it hard to find suitable candidates for Non-Commissioned Officers and Viceroy Commissioned Officers for the expanded Battalion and I would again bring home to you the urgency of your help in inducing suitable candidates to apply for these Commissions.

Yours sincerely,

To
Mr. Phauraokrishnaas Gaiwad,
Shriampur.



Copy to all Mamlatdars for information

113

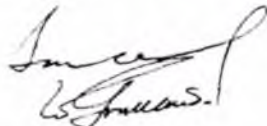
No. R.O.P./80

Office of the Civil Recruiting Officer, Poona,
camp Poona, dated the 6th August 1942.

Dear *M. Gaikwad*

Dr. Ambedkar had suggested to me the appointment of a Provincial Organiser for the recruitment of Mahars and had proposed your name as a suitable candidate for that post. The Military Authorities have agreed to sanction such a post and the incumbent will be given a salary of Rs. 150/- plus travelling allowance of annas 4 per mile and Rs. 1-8-0 halting allowance per night. Will you please let me know whether you will accept this post? If so, will you please see me at Poona in my office on the 19th, 20th or 21st instant if you can between 9.30 to 12 noon?

Yours



B. K. Gaikwad, Esquire, M.L.A.,
Sheranpur, Nasik.

114



22 Pictori Raj Road
New Delhi
9. 8. 42

My dear Ghauras,

You must have been wondering why I have not written to you so far. The ~~fact is~~ reason is not that I am too idle to write. In fact I do much more writing than I did before. Part the matter is I have not had enough spare time to write or do any thing outside office work.

I like to know if you had any communication from Holland. I have not heard from me As I said you should

You should not reject the ~~offer~~ offer if it comes to you. It will give you a very great opportunity of serving our people. Although I am away from public life I cannot forget the necessity of maintaining the movement we have built at its level if we do not succeed in raising its level. In my absence much of this responsibility must fall on you and I have no doubt that you will carry it through. I am determined to help our people in every way I can during the tenure of my office. I have already given a start by ~~the~~ writing

3

Dande and Bohle As delegates to the 97
Labour Conference which was recently
held in New Delhi under my chairman-
ship. Such a thing has never happened
before. I have done many more
things in the course of the week.

I will write in detail about them
some time later on. In the meantime
I want you to convey my kindest
regards to Mr Salunke for her affection
and the trouble she has taken on my
behalf and also to Kale. I ^{am} trying
to find out what I can do for Alpha.

Remembers me
Rama Pata

Yours sincerely
B R R

115

Sharanpur, Nasik,
11th August 1942.

My dear *Babasaheb*.

I received one letter from Mr: Hulland, the Recruiting Officer, Poona, copy of which is attached herewith for your kind perusal.

If I remember it correct, I think I was told that you have recommended for a Recruiting Board to be established to the Recruiting Officer just as one is established for Marathas. But from Mr: Hulland's letter it appears that the Military -- authorities are willing to appoint me as an Organiser for the recruitment of Mahars.

Will your honour kindly advise me in the matter as to whether I may accept the appointment. Early reply is solicited.

I remain;

Yours

To

Dr: Babasaheb B.R. Ambedkar, M.A., Ph.D.,
D.Sc., Bar at Law.,
Hon. Member of the Viceroy's Council,
New Delhi.

116



22 Patthoi Raj Road
New Delhi
13.8.42

My dear Bhauroo,

I have your letter with
Hullund's attached to it. You can go to
Hullund and tell him that the salary is
too low and that there ought to be
a recruiting board under you. However
do not accept anything. Ask for time.
I am finding a job for you and it
seems I will succeed. But I can't say. Some
difficulty may arise on account of the
fact that you do not have sufficient

command over the English language
 I wish you improved it. If no high
 diffeⁿety arises you will have the
 job which will bring you at Rs 400/-
 for month.

When I was in Nank I was
 thinking of purchasing some land.
 Has Rama some any thing in
 that matter. With kindest regards

I am
 yours sincerely
 B R Ambedkar

117

Sharanpur, Nasik,
14th August 1942.

Dear

In continuation of my D.O. dated 11th August 1942, I, before accepting the post of a Provincial Organiser for the recruitment of Mahars, respectfully beg to put before you the following points for consideration :-

- (1) Whether I will be considered as a part time servant or full time servant;
- (2) whether I will be allowed to devote some of my time for the uplift of my community the scheduled castes, as I am doing it since the last 16 years;
- (3) I am a member of the Bombay Legislative -- Assembly as well as am the Elected Chairman of the District School Board, Nasik. May I know whether shall I be entitled to work on these posts ?
- (4) If I am considered as a part time servant, may I know for how many days shall I have to work during a month ?
- (5) What will be my Head quarters ?

I shall be very thankful to you if the above points are clarified early and please let me know by return of post if possible along with other terms and conditions, if any, of the post in question. If it is possible for you to inform me by return post, the same will be discussed in our interview on 20th or 21st instant.

I am,
Yours

To

W.G. Hulland, Esq., I.C.S.,
Recruiting Officer, Poona.

M.L.A.,
N A S I K.

118

grams:
OUR" Government of India,
Department of Labour.

D.O.No.A.C.31.

New Delhi, the 24th August 1942.

Dear Mr. Gaikwad,

It is proposed to create a post of Labour Welfare Officer for the Western Aviation Circle, Bombay, on a pay of Rs.500/- per mensem, plus the usual travelling allowance, for a period of three months, in the first instance. The duties of the post will be in connection with labour employed on aerodromes under construction by the Central Public Works Department in Bombay Presidency and the Central Provinces. Recruitment of labour, arrangements for A.R.P. and Welfare will be included in the duties. Honourable Member ^{has} asked me to enquire whether you are prepared to accept the post. If so, we will like you to come over to Delhi for discussion before taking over your duties at Bombay.

Yours sincerely,



To

B.K. Gaikwad, Esquire., M.L.A.,
Saharanpur, (Nasik,
(Bombay, Presidency)

119

Sharanpur, Nasik,
25th August 1942.

My dear

Thank you very much for your two letters. I had been to Mr. Holland as advised by you and learnt that he wants to appoint me as a full time servant on Rs. 150/- plus T.A. I further made enquiries whether I will be allowed to devote some of my time for the uplift of my community the scheduled castes, to which he replied in negative. I then refused to accept the post. He then put forth another proposal that I should work as an Honorary Assistant Recruiting Officer on a fixed travelling allowance of Rs. 200/- p.m. and stated further that by accepting the post of an Honorary Recruiting Officer, I will be able to work in the community as I am doing at present. I think by accepting this post, I will be able to tour in the Province of Bombay and can make propoganda of establishing the Taluka and District Committees of the scheduled caste Federation.

I am very glad to assure you that I am very willing to accept the responsibility of keeping our movement alive and shall try my utmost for the uplift of our community. This is an opportunity for me to tour throughout the Province to do the needful for our people and therefore, I humbly request you to kindly advise me whether I should accept the above post.

Regarding the other appointment referred to by you in your last letter, I most respectfully beg to bring to your kind notice that I suppose if I am appointed as a full time worker on this post, I will not be allowed naturally to work in the community as I do now. I attach more importance to the social service than any other, provided my brothers support me in every respect as you very well know that my family circumstances are poor. If my brother, 'Appa' gets a suitable business or my elder brother 'Bapurao Dada', who is qualified and working as a clerk in the Irrigation Department gets a suitable job than the present one, it will be very helpful to me in devoting my life for the social service. Your honour knows very well the situation, I have nothing to say more in this respect.

As regards land plot for yourself in Nasik, I am thinking that we should purchase it just on the main road leading to Nasik Road Station out of Municipal limit and near to this plot I am intending to have a Mahar Colony. The correspondence in the matter with the Government is in progress as the plot for Mahar Colony is a Government plot and there are other private plots near to it, for the purpose.

All your therefore kindly let me know whether you would like to have a plot near the Mahar Colony or do you like to be away from it. With kindest regards.

I am,

Yours

Hon. Dr. Baba Saheb B.R. Ambedkar,
Labour Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council,
New Delhi.

120



New Delhi, the 28th August 1942.

My dear Bhaurao,

I find that my office has written to you with regard to the job to which I referred in one of my letters. I do not think that you should hesitate to accept this job. It would not be incompatible with the social work that you are doing. The job which Mr. Hilland has offered you, you can well resign and offer it to D.G. Jadhav. I think he might welcome the same.

Let me know when you are coming good time in advance so that I may send someone to receive you at the station.

yours truly
B.R.A.

B.K. Gaikwad, Esq., M.L.A.,
Saharanpur,
(Nasik),
Bombay Presidency.

121



22 Prithvi Raj Road


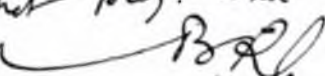
New Delhi

29.8.42.

My dear Bhauroo,

I have dropped you a letter yesterday telling you to accept the job I am offering you ~~and to~~ come over if to Delhi if the office asks you to do so. I don't know how far your folks can be called on to support you. They have some so in the past and will no doubt ~~to~~ do so in future. yet it is better to build up your own financial independence. The job I am offering you will ~~be~~ I am sure will financially

help you very much. Besides
 it is not a permanent job
 and while you are employed it
 will not come in the ~~work~~ way
 of work. It will be very ~~awkward~~
 awkward for me now if you
 reject because I appointed you
 after cancelling cancelling the
 recommendation made by the office
 in favour of another man.

When you come I want to tell
 you what dress you must wear.
 I must give up Dhoti + Short Coat.
 Wear an Achkan (long like ) of
 the up. fashion + chust pajama.
 It is much better to look like a modern
 efficient man than to try to look like
 a Mahatma. It does not pay. With
 kind regards from 

122

Copy which
you should type
and send me by
return post

Sharanpur, Nasik,
31st August 1942.

My dear Babasahib,

I have just this morning posted a letter to you and also to the Secretary to the Labour Department which you will receive in due course. After I had posted the letter, I met Jadhav and had discussion with him regarding your suggestion for transferring to him the offer made to me by the Bombay Government as a Recruiting Officer to them. Jadhav is not quite prepared to take it, and I am rather unwilling to relinquish it or to see it go to some third person. ^{Jadhav tells me that there} ~~There is a strong~~ rumour ^{in Bombay} that there are going to be changes made in the existing organization of the Provincial Governments and that not before long the Government may appoint non-official Advisers to advise the ^{Governor in Bombay} Government. As you well know ^{to represent the D.C.} that I have some prospects of being selected as an Adviser. In that event my chances would be prejudiced if I accept your offer, especially on the terms which are offered to me by your Department. I am sorry to say this to you, but I feel sure no one will be more ^{careful} grateful to safeguard my ^{interest} prospects than

yourself.

I would like you to inform your Secretary that pending your advice I propose to withdraw the letter which I have also posted to him.

Yours sincerely,

To

Dr. Hon. Baba Sahab, B.R. Ambedkar,
Labour Member of the Viceroy's Council,
New Delhi.

123


22, Prithviraj Road,
New Delhi,
2nd September 1942.

My dear Bhaurao,

I have your letter of the 31st August enclosing a copy of a letter which you have written to the Secretary to the Labour Department. I wish you had been more prompt in replying to my various letters, and owing to delay I have found myself in some difficulties which I want to explain to you. From your first letter I thought you were not prepared to come because the offer of the Bombay Government to take you for their recruiting purpose was more agreeable to you. I was always anxious to have you take the appointment in my Department, and therefore I put up a note to the office increasing your salary to Rs.800 stating that you were not prepared to accept Rs.500. Your letter to the Secretary will, however, show that you are prepared to accept the original sum. As you see this puts me in an awkward position. Consequently to give time to think over I have sent you a wire a few minutes ago asking you not to come for the moment and to await my letter. What I am suggesting to you is this that you send me a letter dated the 31st in terms of the one which I am enclosing along with this. You sign it and send it.



You must act promptly as soon as you get this
letter of mine.

Yours sincerely,



B.K. Gaikwad, Esq., M.L.A.,
Saharanpur,
(Nasik),
Bombay Presidency.

124

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

G.

NOTICE.

This form must accompany any inquiry made respecting this telegram.

				Charges to pay.		Words.
				Rs.	As.	
<i>Handled at (Office of Origin).</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Hour.</i>	<i>Minute.</i>	<i>Service Instructions.</i>		
New Delhi	2	19	46	X Ste Immediate effect 1/2		
TO	Immediate B. K.			Recd. here at 2:04 P.M.		
	Gairwad Saharanpur Nasik					
	Stop coming await letter =					
	Ambedkar =					

N.B.—The name of the Service, if telegraphed, is written after the text.



22 Pitkoi Raj Road

New Delhi

4.9.42

My dear Bhaurao,

I have sent you a wire and also a letter. A lot of trouble was caused by your not writing to me immediately. However every thing will be alright. I have got your salary raised to Rs 800/- per month. In addition to that you will be able to draw T. A. at the first class which may bring your salary to Rs 1000/- at least. Unfortunately the post is only for three months. You must compare this

with the Recruiting Officers post with
its salary of Rs 200. I don't know
how long the Recruiting Officers post would
last. Assuming it lasts for a year
it would not financially be better
than this three months job. It may
be that after this it expires I
may be able to find for you another.
You must consider both and decide.
My advise is that you should
accept this and let the other
go to Jadhav.

I have told you about your
dress and the changes that

you must make. you did not refer to it
in your letter. But I have no doubt
that you will not give effect to
my suggestions.

You will get a fresh letter from
the office giving you new terms.
Send your letter of acceptance to me
and I shall forward it to the Secretary
let me know by express wire when
you will be coming.

Bhosle writes to me that he will
give Abba some contact.

B.R.

126

New Delhi, the 13th Feby. 1943.



My dear Bhauroo,

I have your letter of the 10th and also have had telegrams from Bhalerao. I have written to the Secretary of the War Department to make enquiries into the matter and will let you know the up-shot of it.

Yours sincerely,

B. R. Bhambhakar

B. K. Gaikwad, Esq.,
Labour Welfare Officer,
"Rajgrah", Hindu Colony,
Dadar, Bombay-14.

*Bhalerao is here. He is discharged
I am having his case re-examined*

127

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

22, PRITHIVIRAJ ROAD
NEW DELHI

24. 7. 43

My dear Bhaurao

I have this day received a letter from Mr R. N. Doiphode P. A. with your endorsement. I don't know Doiphode, at any rate I don't remember him. There are things which I can do, there are things which I cannot do and there are things which I won't do. You know my nature, how hard it is. Doiphode's matter is one of these which I can't do. It is a matter entirely within the jurisdiction of the Public Service Commission and they may well resent my intrusion in their affairs. Not many people are friendly to me. Any body may write to the Governor General complaining of my

trying to influence them. I shall never land myself in that situation. I am responsible for creating opportunities for our boys. But I don't think it is necessary or obligatory on you or on me to take up the cause of any particular boy, he might thereby be doing injustice to other boys who might have equal chance. You will now understand why I am not inclined to intervene.

There is another matter to which I want to draw your attention. Jashar writes to me that he has many vacancies of temporary clerks and these temporary clerks are afterwards taken up as Railway Inspectors, that he has asked many of our boys to join, but he had not had one. This considerably annoys me. What has happened to our boys & why are they so indifferent. Can you help Jashar?

Yours truly
B.R.H.

128

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

22, PRITHVI RAJ ROAD
NEW DELHI

22.9.43

My dear Bhaurao,

I have your letter. As your letters are so rare and for the time I have not even time to read you have that I have not even time to read letters this one was very welcome. I have noted your efforts to look to the welfare of the workers. They are very commendable. As the aerodromes are nearing completion I would know if it will be possible to extend your term. I shall of course do my best & extend it.

I wonder if I can bother you to send me the following books:

(i) Life of Savarkar by Karandikar

(ii) Autobiography by the wife of Rev. Tilak.

They are both in Marathi & the latter will be available in Hindi from your friend Mr. Tilak.

There is nothing more from here.

Bhole writes to me to say that the Nasik Colony project is complete. I am glad to hear of it. My regards to all

yours truly

B. R. L.

129

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

22, PRITHVIRAJ ROAD
NEW DELHI

26. 10. 43

My dear Bhaurao,

I have had your letter regarding the project of starting a Paper. I am glad to know that there are a good few enthusiastic people who are prepared to run a Paper. I have been so much in the Paper-business that I have learned to be more cautious and less enthusiastic. The running of a Paper does not merely involve the question, which of course is a very big question of finance it also involves the question of maintaining a standard of writing which will make it a respectable paper and which will attract readers. With the question of finance I am not concerned because it will not be my responsibility. But I am very much concerned

to the other question. Who is the Editor, what are his qualifications, these are questions about which you have given me no information. Without this information I am unable to bless the project. I have not given much thought to the question of name. That may be considered later. I am however not in favour of any such name as Revawan or any thing analogous to it.

I am returning the plan of the Colony which Rohan brought to me. I like it. I would suggest only two things. There is no provision for a Common Hall. I should like to have one. It can also be a place of worship. All those who have building plots should contribute towards the cost of it. Another thing I would like is an uniform elevation and an uniform plan.

Your term has been extended for two months. It may not be possible to extend it further. We may be appointing welfare officers for coal mines. Would you like to take one of these posts? I will have your answer soon.

Yours truly
P. Radhakrishnan

130

Labour Welfare Office,
Western Circle, Bombay

Date 22 nd Feb. 1945

My dear Babasaheb,

Yesterday night I had been to Rajgrah along with Mr. Chitre & phoned you about the telwgram which was sent to me by the Superintending Engineer to supply the necessary information as regards my qualifications. I am sending herewith the copy of the telegram and reply given to it.

If you are in trouble and if you think that it would be better for me to resign the post I will do it in no time.

With respectful regards to yourself.

Yours

Sincerely
B. A. Ambekar

131

To (1) Mr. Amery, India Office, London.
 (2) Mr. Churchill, Downing Street, London.

NEWSPAPERS FORECAST PROPOSALS REGARDING REORGANISATION OF
 CENTRAL GOVERNMENT IN WHICH OUT OF TOTAL OF FIFTEEN
 SCHEDULED CASTES BEEN ALLOCATED ONLY ONE SEAT STOP ON PRE-
 SUMPTION FORECAST CORRECT BY BEHALF ALL INDIA SCHEDULED
 CASTES FEDERATION LODGE STRONGEST PROTEST AGAINST THIS
 GROSSEST INJUSTICE TO SCHEDULED CASTES STOP THIS INJUSTICE
 BE APPARENT FROM FACT EIGHTY MILLION MUSALMANS BEEN
 ALLOCATED FIVE SEATS SIX MILLION SIKHS ALLOCATED ~~ONLY~~ ONE
 SEAT AND FIFTY MILLION SCHEDULED CASTES ALSO BEEN ALLOCATED
 ONLY ONE SEAT ALTHOUGH NEEDS SCHEDULED CASTES MUCH GREATER
 THAN EITHER OTHER COMMUNITIES STOP WILL REMIND YOU
 HMGVERNMENTS REPEATED PROFESSIONS OF SYMPATHIES AS
 TRUSTEES MY COMMUNITY WHICH BEEN LOOKING FORWARD ERA FREE
 DEVELOPMENT UNDER AEGIS CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS STOP
 PROPOSALS GREATEST SHOCK LIKELY COMPLETELY SHATTER FAITH
 SCHEDULED CASTES IN BRITISH GOVERNMENT STOP WE STRONGLY
 OBJECT TO HINDUMUSLIM COALITION GOVERNMENT WITH NO POWER
 INFLUENCE THEIR ACTIONS STOP STRONGLY URGE ~~REMEDY~~ REDRESS
 THIS WRONG BY ALLOCATION AT LEAST THREE SEATS TO
 SCHEDULED CASTES IN CENTRAL EXECUTIVE STOP FAILURE TO DO
 THIS BOUND HAVE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES ENDS B. SIVARAJ
 PRESIDENT ALLINDIA SCHEDULED CASTES FEDERATION ROYAPETTAH
 MADRAS.

Grand Hotel, Simla,
 June 7, 1945.

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BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
22, PRITHVIRAJ ROAD
NEW DELHI

18
6
45

My dear Bhaurao,

I have your letter of the
14th June. I did not know that
you had been asked to join the before-
training class of the Calcutta University.

The political situation is of course
causing me deep concern. I have
however decided to wait till the last
act in the drama is played. There
will be time enough for such action
as we will decide upon. I am
if you are prepared for such sacrifice

as you are capable of.

I feel the burden too much for my shoulders. But I believe I shall have strength enough to bear it.

I did not see any statement by any Bengalee leaders. It may be that the A.P. J. has not wired it out. I like to know if they have.

Has Jadhav left for Bombay?

Sechi is very hot, in fact quite unbearable.

With kind regards
yours sincerely

P. B. R. Lumbardhar

133

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
22, PRITHIVIRAJ ROAD
NEW DELHI

17
~~7~~
25

My dear Bhamrao.

I have been in touch with Mr. Jodhi. He has already written to your Committee to release you. He has also written to Mr. Bidhan Chandra Roy about you. Don't know if you wish to go straight to Bombay. I suggest that an better way come to Delhi and stay with me for a

a while and take treatment
from a vaid who is very
proficient in his ~~work~~
job. I am going to be here
~~for~~ a good long while
before I go on tour. Let me
know what you decide

Yours sincerely
D.R. Rumbhakar

134

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
22, PRITHVIRAJ ROAD
NEW DELHI

$$\begin{array}{r} 19 \\ \hline 7 \\ \hline 45 \end{array}$$

My dear Bhaurao,

I am very much shocked to read your letter of the 16th which reached me to-day. I shall speak to Joshi in the evening and let you know what he says. You can go back to Bombay. In the meantime it might be very good if you will

Commit Dr. Biswan Chandra
Roy a very famous physicist
in Calcutta.

I don't want to worry
you about the failure of
the Simla Conference. If it
had succeeded we might
perhaps have been benefitted
to some extent.

Wishing you speedy recovery

I am
yours truly
B. R. H.

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
 M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., BARRISTER AT LAW,
 MEMBER GOVERNOR GENERAL'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
 22 PITHAMPUR ROAD
 NEW DELHI

17
 1
 46

My dear Bhaurao,

I am sending herewith an important letter which fell in my hands immediately on my arrival. I want you to go alone to Ashurval and make personal inquiry and send me a detailed report on the following points in the letter -

- (i) The alleged conduct of Parashé.
- (ii) The alleged letter said to have been written by Rajshoj to Kalyani.

This must be done quickly.

2. you must tell our people in Khandesh

(i) That under no circumstances
will the Federation support
Meake.

(ii) If they want to be true
to Federation they must ask
me to withdraw and ask
one of the other two to apply
to the Federation for the Ticket

3. I must have the names
of the Candidates for the
non-preserved constituencies as
a week
Yours truly
B. R. H.

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BHIMRAO R AMBEDKAR,
M.A., Ph.D., D. Sc., BARRISTER AT-LAW,
MEMBER GOVERNOR GENERAL'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
22, PRITHVIRAJ ROAD
NEW DELHI

29
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46

My dear Bhaurao,

I have your letter of the
25th. I sent you with - that was then
a letter to make inquiries about
Kesh's election. There is no reply.
I don't know what has happened
to it.

As regards setting up candidates
in unreserved constituencies our
candidates should be found. It does
not matter if they do not ~~stand~~

win. They must stand. Much money is not necessary. I cannot say who should be put up for what constituency. I leave that to you.

Kale cannot get more than Rs 500/- as decided.

I am coming to Bombay on the 10th Feb. I am prepared to have a meeting in Bombay on the 10th evening if they are ready to have one. I am prepared to leave Bombay on 14th evening for Belgaum and Satara and spend two days 15th and 16th.

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR,
 M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., BARRISTER AT LAW
 MEMBER GOVERNOR GENERAL'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
 22, PRITHVIRAJ ROAD
 NEW DELHI

I must leave Bombay for Delhi
 on the 17th. Will you get into
 touch with Pmwa, Varale and
 Savant and arrange a programme
 in consonance with the notes and
 let me know. Financial arrangements
 will be looked into when I am
 in Bombay.

With kind regards
 Yours sincerely
 B.R.A.

MRAO R AMBEDKAR

22, PRITHVI RAJ ROAD
NEW DELHI

My dear Bhaurao,

I am in receipt of your letter dated 23rd as also your previous letter of 2nd. As the latter bore no address I could not reply to it. I however sent my acknowledgment of the your contribution of Rs 730 to our political fund. It must have conveyed the same to you. I need not say any thing about it except to thank you for the promptness with which you have responded to my call.

I have passed on to Mr Nimbkar what you have said regarding the miserable condition of the workers on

the "arrangements". He is going to take up the matter with the military authorities.

Your appointment has been extended up to 30th September. You informed me just two days before the date of expiry. This was rather surprising. Is it an indication that you do not want the job or is it one of your mahatmaic ways?

With good wishes I am

Yours truly
B. R. R.

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"RAJGRAHA"
DADAR
BOMBAY 14.

Express Telegram

Bhaurao Gaikwad Nasik

Write how you are.

Ambekar

From B. R. Ambekar

Rajgraha
Dadar Bombay 14

Governor, Bombay.

Rumoured Government action
against Depressed classes Satyagrahis
at Nasik on ground Temple
private property submit Temple
not such. Receives grant ment
for Hindus and declared public
by court. Rumoured action
un-warranted unwise present
attitude — should continue
Government should take ready
for supporting struggle for justice

Ambedkar
M.L.C.

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BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A. Ph.D. D.Sc. BAR AT LAW
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL BOMBAY



DAMODAR HALL
PAREL
BOMBAY 12

24th March 1930.

May it please Your Excellency,

I am extremely obliged to Your Excellency for the letter of the 13th of March 1930 in reply to my telegram giving me assurance that Government proposed to act impartially in the dispute between the touchables and the untouchables which is centred in the Satyagraha at the Kala Nam Temple at Masik. I have however to bring to Your Excellency's notice a recent development in the situation which seems to be fraught with the greatest danger. On the day on which the Satyagraha was started we purposely omitted to block the entrance to the house of the Pujari of the temple assuming that it would not be used by the public for the purpose of going into the temple and obtain Dev Verahan. But of late this entrance has become a public passage and the public Masik is using it to go into the temple. If this be allowed it will entirely frustrate the principal object of the Satyagraha. To prevent this the District Superintendent of Police and the District Magistrate were approached by the Satyagrah Committee to discuss the question and to communicate to them the intention of the Satyagrah Committee to blockade that private entrance to the temple and permit only the members of the family of the Pujari. The District Magistrate however refused to see the members of the Satyagraha Committee and turned them away with a hint stating that he will remove those who will start Satyagraha at the door of the

R AMBEDKAR,
 PH. D. D. SC BAR-AT-LAW
 LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL BOMBAY



DAMODAR HALL
 PAREL
 BOMBAY-12.

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Pujari. It is not for me to say whether such a conduct on the part of a District Officer is wise. What I wish to point out to Your Excellency is that if the attitude of the Collector is to prevail it will immediately provoke a conflict between the Government and the Depressed Classes. Our real contest is with the touchable Hindus and I have been avoiding every circumstance which would leave the touchable Hindus out and make the Satyagraha a matter between Government and the Depressed Classes. Indeed this could have been done on the 1st day by our refusal to make our Satyagrahis stand outside the barricades and insist on forcing through the police guards for seating them next to the temple gates. This we did not do simply because we did not wish to make it a fight between ourselves and the Government, but it would be inevitable if the Government to depart from its original intention of remaining impartial by permitting the Pujari to permit to use his private entrance as a public passage and thereby be a party to the frustration of our object. Under no circumstances can we permit this new stunt of the Pujari and tolerate his rendering our Satyagraha futile even if it brought us into conflict with Government. I am writing this to inform Your Excellency of the situation as it is developing and to give a chance for the reconsideration of the attitude of the District Magistrate before bringing matters to a crisis. I am enclosing herewith the letter of the Satyagraha Committee addressed to me and also a copy of

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR,
M. A. PH. D. D. SC. BAR-AT-LAW
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL BOMBAY



DAMODAR HALL
PAREL
BOMBAY-12.

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the chit sent to them by the District Magistrate with which he turned them away when they called upon him.

I have seen the place myself last Saturday and I am quite convinced that the fear expressed and the danger to the Satyagrah which is apprehended are real.

Awaiting the favor of an early reply,

I beg to remain

Your Excellency's Most Obedient servant

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., BARRISTER AT LAW,
MEMBER GOVERNOR GENERAL'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.
22, PRITHVIRAJ ROAD
NEW DELHI

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Your silence has been most
annoying. It is not you alone have
been defeated but every one has been.
The defeat is no matter of shame
at all. Our people have been
done wonderfully. We have been
defeated because we have been
outnumbered by our enemies.

You only ~~has~~ ~~should~~ ~~be~~ as
the President of the Provincial
Federation is to gather the scattered.

forces of our Party. That is
 what a ~~defeated~~ general of
 a defeated army does. What is
 your conduct as compared to
 the general. You are hiding
 yourself some where I don't
 know I am wanting to know ~~to~~
 what has happened
 how many villages are people were so
 why you failed and in how
 many villages are people were so
 even allowed to go to the post. Will you
 let me have this information
 at once
 Gaikwad.

Yours
 B R Ch

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BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., BARRISTER AT LAW,
MEMBER GOVERNOR GENERAL'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
22, PRITHVIRAJ ROAD
NEW DELHI

$\frac{13}{5}$
46

My dear Bhausaheb,

I have your letter. I was surprised to read that you did know if others have sent in their election petitions. I should have thought that you would have treated this as part of your duty to see that this was done. I can hardly tell you how very annoyed I am.

I shall be in Bombay on the morning of the 13th which is a Sunday. I want to hold a meeting of the

Scheduled Caste Improvement Trust of
 which you, Varale, Madhe Purova and
 Rajbhaj ^{and Parmat and B. S. Jadhav} are Trustees on the 15th in the
 evening I have no time to write
 to these people. I want to write
 to them of this meeting and ask them
 to be present.

You must have read that the
 Simla Conference has failed. There
 is no other news which I could communicate
 that there would be a
 change of Government. What the position
 of the S.C. will be I am unable to say.
 We must wait, watch and see.

Yours sincerely
 B. S. Jadhav

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My dear Bhaurao,

I have your letter.
Unfortunately I am leaving
for Delhi by tomorrow's
Frontier Rail in the evening.
It is not possible for me
to come to Poona. Will
you come to Bombay to-
morrow i.e. Saturday. We
can then discuss.

Yours truly
B. R. h.

Jagan did come to Poona
because he stopped to attend the
funeral of ~~the~~ one volunteer
who died in Bombay ~~by~~ in
accident He will be coming
PBRh

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"Raj Grah"

Dadar,

Bombay 14

Dated 14th October 1946.

Please refer to your letter of the 1st September 1946. When I read it, I did not think that it called for a reply except to refute some of the points you have raised therein. That is the reason why I did not hasten to reply immediately. But I am going abroad and don't know when exactly I would be returning. Under the circumstances I feel I ought to send you a reply before my departure.

In your letter, you say that Mr.N.M.Joshi told you that I was anxious for a settlement with the Congress. I don't know what Mr.Joshi told you. I certainly never told Joshi that I was anxious for a settlement with the Congress and that he should therefore arrange for an interview with you. The truth is quite different. Our meeting has a history behind it. I should like to recount it in brief information as you do not seem to be aware of it.

On Sunday the 7th July 1946, members of the Scheduled Castes Federation staged a demonstration under the leadership of Mr.B.K.Gaikwad before the Cowasji Jehangir Hall where the A.I.C.C. was holding its session. They refused to go unless they saw Mr.Gandhi as they wanted to ask him some questions. Mr.S.K.Patil came out and told Mr.Gaikwad that as Mr.Gandhi was observing silence, he would arrange for a meeting of the leaders of the Scheduled Castes with Mr.Gandhi on some other day. On that assurance the demonstrators left. On Friday the 12th July, Mr.S.K.Patil saw me. He told me what had

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happened between him and the demonstrators on the 7th and asked me who would like to meet Mr. Gandhi. I told him that he had better ask Mr. M.K. Gaikwad the leader of the demonstrators. He asked me if I was prepared to meet Mr. Gandhi or any member of the Congress High Command if a meeting was arranged. I said I would have no objection. On the 17th, Mr. N.M. Joshi met me and told me that he had been asked, obviously by Mr. S.M. Patil, to arrange a meeting between us and that as you were ill, would I be prepared to go to your place. I said I had no objection. In the evening Mr. Joshi phoned me that the meeting was fixed on the 18th at 9 P.M.

This is the genesis of our meeting. You will see I have taken no initiative in the matter. It would be futile for me to have done so. Even when the Congress was down and out it had not shown the wisdom to make a settlement with the Scheduled Castes and win their support to the cause of the country. How could I believe that the Congress installed on the Gadi would think of settling with Brokenmen? It is only a person who has lost all hope, or with no self-respect who could think of approaching the Congress in its present ~~weak~~ condition. There is really nothing wrong and nothing shameful for a leader of one party to approach the leader of another party for a settlement. Like a wandering minstrel Mr. Churchill did go from country to country even to Russia to seek help for his country and I should do the same for the sake of the Scheduled Castes.

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If one looks at it in the natural way as one ought to, there is no point in discussing who met whom and at whose instance. But as Congressmen and Congress newspapers have cultivated the habit of representing the approach to Congressmen by anybody who is not Congressmen for a settlement, as an act of surrender, one must in justice to oneself make it clear from where the initiative came.

Your reference to my quarrel with Mr. Gandhi is, to say the least, is, in my judgment, quite out of place. This is not the first time that you have known that I 'abuse' Mr. Gandhi. Whether you agree or not, I have reasons to be angry with him. I have written a whole book giving my reasons why I am opposed to Mr. Gandhi on the issue of the Scheduled Castes. I am prepared to take back my charges against Mr. Gandhi if he were to show that my facts and arguments are wrong. Many agents have been engaged to refute the allegations contained in my book. Unfortunately, for Mr. Gandhi they have all failed ignominiously. You seem to think that I am the only one who 'abuse' Mr. Gandhi. I know hundreds who do the same. They include some of those who are in the inner circle of Mr. Gandhi's kindergarten and are occupying the posts of Executive Councillors in the present Government of India. The only difference between them and me is that they 'abuse' Mr. Gandhi privately and praise him publicly. My misfortune is that I have not learnt the art of double-dealing, say one thing in public and quite opposite of it in private. Since you have taken my attack on Mr. Gandhi to heart in a manner which shows that but for the

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'abuse' there would have been a settlement, I must say that you think Mr. Gandhi is greater than the country. My view is different. I think the country is greater than the greatest man. You think to be Congressmen and to be nationalists are synonymous. I think a man can be a nationalist without being a Congressman. If you will forgive me, I will cite my own case. I am a greater nationalist than any Congressman and if on occasions I have not been able to present the full front of a nationalist, it is because men like Mr. Gandhi have been stabbing me in the back by their opposition to the demand of the Untouchables for political safeguards.

As to the actual demands contained in my memorandum, I have gone beyond the stand I took at our meeting of the 18th July. I said I was prepared to have territorial separate electorates in place of communal separate electorates. In my memorandum, I have gone a stage further and set out a third alternative. I did that because I heard that in an interview between you and Mr. Joshi subsequent to our meeting, you told him that a settlement along that line had greater chances of success. If, in spite of this, you think there is no basis for a settlement, I am afraid I cannot help you.

That notwithstanding your disagreement with my proposals for a settlement you should have extended to me an invitation to see you, speaks for your goodness of heart. I am sure it can serve no purpose. I must therefore decline it.

In

-5-

In case you care to write to me, I give below my address. I hope you are keeping fit.

My address:

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,
Member, Viceroy's Executive Council,
New Delhi.

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TELEGRAMS: TUSCANHOTEL, LONDON.
 (HOTEL) GERRARD 2405.
 (WIRITORS) GERRARD 2405.
 TELEPHONS: 4018.

TUSCAN HOTEL.
 67. SHAFTESBURY AVENUE.
 LONDON, W.1.

29
 10

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My dear Bhanoo,

Your two letters reached me only to-day. I heard of Mr. Finlay's plan to include a S.C. member in his quota while I was in Karachi. But I did not know whom he had in mind. With regard to the appointment of Mr. Mansal, there are two sides to the question. It is good that we have after all got two members in the Ex. Council.

This is a great improvement. At the same time we cannot forget that we have lost the right to nominate our own men to the Ex. Council. Just as we do not wish to be tools in the hands of the Congress, we do not wish to be tools in the hands of the Muslim League. We are fighting for our independence and we must continue to fight for it until we achieve it. Looking at it from this point of view we cannot consistently express ourselves as being happy ever

to visit and publicly congratulate Mr. Kanoal.
 We must give our full support to Mr. Kanoal
 and back him up. But I am afraid we
 cannot congratulate ourselves ~~and~~ ^{or} congratulate
 Kanoal. What I suggest is send a wire
 to Mr. Finlay thanking him for recognizing
 all India Scheduled Education as ~~the~~ only
 representative organization of the Scheduled
 Castes which the Congress and the
 British Government had ignored. You
 can if you like hold a public
 meeting and pass resolution in the
 above terms.

My arrival in this country has been taken
 notice of by all the newspapers. Last
 Sunday papers were full of it. I have
 prepared a memorandum which I shall be
~~forwarding~~ handing over to various people
 whom I am going to meet. I am sending
 you some copies under a separate
 cover.

There is a great deal of sympathy
 for us among those who are
 outside the Government. I am going to
 see Mr. Pille. I shall be able to learn
 from him what is the attitude
 of the Government. I thought Sirajay

would be of some use to me. But he
 completely disappointed me. He returned
 the very next day after my arrival without
 seeing any thing. The whole burden has
 fallen upon me.

It is very cold here. The food
 is also very good. I want
 to return soon. It is possible
 I may fly back on the 15th
 of Nov.

I hope you are all keeping
 well. With kind regards
 yours truly

B. R. H.

"RAJGRAHA"
DADAR
BOMBAY-14.

My dear Bhaurao,

I was glad to receive your letter. I think it is wise for you to stay with Miss Louise. You should give no occasion for a talapse which may be serious and which may occur for want of care and attention.

There has been no approach the Congress side. The talks between me & Vallabhai broke off because I went to the

As to my joining the interim there is absolutely
 no truth in it. There is no sign from the
 Congress side. Even if there was I would take
 no step ~~without~~ in that direction without
 consultation ~~of~~ with our party and without
 proper safeguards.

I am going to Rasthad to morrow morning
 and will be back on Thursday.

With kind regards
 yours sincerely
 P. R. R.

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BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.
BARRISTER AT LAW

"RAJGRAHA"

DADAR

BOMBAY-14.

My dear Bhaurao,

$$\begin{array}{r} 25 \\ \times 11 \\ \hline 46 \end{array}$$

I returned to Bombay from Delhi on Saturday last. I was hoping to see you as I had not seen you prior to my departure. I was however sorry to learn from your post card to Kunalakant Chitre that you were not well enough to come to Bombay. It will relieve us from great anxiety if you or ~~one~~ one from that could say what is the correct position regarding your health and how soon you will be able to resume your normal activities. I am asking for this information not because I want to assign you new tasks before you are ~~not~~ ^{at} least per cent fit. All I want to be sure about is that you are well on your way to speedy recovery.

As for myself I went to Delhi a sick man and I have also returned as a sick man. I have been examined to-day by doctors. They have taken blood

tests they apprehend that my health is definitely on the decline. Don't let this worry you. I am holding on against a sudden collapse. I am sure I shall live as long as it is my existence is necessary to see our people through. There is my determination which sustains me against pessimism arising out of poor health. In addition I pray God to grant me that much span of life if no more.

You must have been reading the debates in Parliament and in the Constituent Assembly. Our prospects have been very much improved. I am particularly happy over the debates in Parliament. I can say that my work was a complete success. Our position in the future Constitution has been completely assured.

I don't know if you have seen my new book on the Shudras. I am sending you a copy. I am sure you will like it.

Drop me a line and take great care of your health. With kindest regards,
yours sincerely
B. R. R.

1 Harding Avenue
New Delhi

6
x1
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Five days ago I have written to you a letter in reply to your first two letters which I did not post because just before posting it I got the news that you and Rajbhoj were arrested and taken to Jabalpur. Subsequently I learnt that you were not among the arrested. I should have written to you immediately but for two reasons. One is that I had ~~with~~ destroyed that letter and the other is that

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I fell ill, and could not therefore write. Even now I am ill and have been conserving what little energy I have by rigorously avoiding every sort of work except that of the Drafting Committee. I cannot write a long letter much I wish to — and will therefore set down my answers to your questions.

1. your ~~was~~ complaint regarding the conduct of workers is quite true not many are active and a good many are selfish. But this does not mean that you, or I should

3

are leading the movement must retire. A leader's test lies in his ability to make the best of bad material. The material is much better now. It was worse at when I began.

2. your desire to go to jail because the C P Government has arrested a few of the workers of the Federation betrays an incorrect approach to the problem. The new Constitution has come into being. you and I and everybody must realize that it under it a majority has the

right to rule. The ⁴majority - when it has
 got the right to rule means that it
 has got the right to misrule also. There
 are only two ways of getting rid of
 a bad majority. One is to raise an
 armed rebellion and destroy the majority.
 The other is to buy and replace the
 majority by at the next election.
 The second method may not be possible
 for us - altho I hope if other elements
 in the Indian population it may become
 possible. But the first is am certain
 is quite impossible. Your method - that of
 going to jail is ^{rather} the one nor the other

If you will excuse my saying so is just nonsense. It might cover you individually with glory but it cannot turn out the majority. Besides this there is my standing argument against going to goal - namely when we have so few workers it is worse than useless for workers to get themselves locked up in goal and put themselves out of action.

That we should not surrender to the Congress is perfectly right. Don't have we? I am sure we

6

not. Compare the behaviour of ~~these~~
 people since the 15th of August with
 the behaviour of the Muslims ~~for~~
 and their demoralization and abject
 surrender to the Congress. Our people
 have acted more heroically and
 more courageously. ~~if~~ it is
~~time~~ that ~~we~~ have
 not surrendered where is the
 necessity of your going to jail
 to prove what needs no proof.
 I need hardly say that I am
 opposed to your proposal.
 I am grateful ^{to you} for your propaganda tours
 I hope you are keeping fit. With
 kindest regards Yours truly P. R. R.

149

1 Hardinge Avenue $\frac{17}{\times 1}$
 New Delhi $\frac{47}{\quad}$

My dear Phawrao,

I have just received your letter of the 15th enclosing a copy of the order served on Rajbhoj. There is no doubt that the charge against Rajbhoj of acting as the agent of the Nizam is false and malicious.

There are two ways of dealing with the matter -

- (1) To make a representation to the C. P. Government

denying the charges.

- (2) To apply to the Nagpur H.C.
for a writ of Habeas Corpus for
release of the Detenus.

In either case there must be affidavit
by caste Hindus who attended your
meetings and heard what you said
if they could come forward to
deny these allegations made by
the Government there is every
chance of the application in the
High Court being successful. I spoke

to Thawra who was here about the application to the High Court. I don't know what he has done. He may be preparing for it.

I have not been able to maintain steady improvement in my health. There are ups and downs. I am thinking of taking the ~~power~~ powder - as a cure against diabetes - which I had got from the Gune of the Ayurved Pharmacy Ahmadnagar. I want

powder and not pills. Can you
arrange to get it? you can go if
you have time. If you can't—
you can ask Rohan.

There is nothing more to say
I am having a talk with
the Prime Minister ~~of~~ Shukla
g C - P and will let you
know what he has to say.

With kind regards

Yours truly
P. R. K.

150

BHIMRAJ R. AMBEDKAR,

M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., BARRISTER-AT-LAW,

~~Member of the Government Executive Council~~22, PRITHVIRAJ ROAD
NEW DELHI

I came back yesterday and
will be returning to Delhi on
the 9th. I need the black cloth. Either
send it or bring it

With kind regards

Yours truly

B.R.

4
7
47

151

New Delhi, the 18th December 1947.

I have been receiving so many complaints from the Scheduled Caste evacuees who come over from Pakistan to India as well as from those who have been locked up by the Pakistan Government and prevented from coming over to India that I feel that the time has come for me to draw your attention to their sufferings. For the purpose of giving you an idea of what is happening and what is required to be done, I am setting out below the causes of their sufferings and the measures that should be adopted to remove them.

I.

(1) The Pakistan Government are preventing in every possible way the evacuation of the Scheduled Castes from their territory. The reason behind it seems to be that they want the Scheduled Castes to remain in Pakistan to do the menial jobs and to serve as landless labourers for the landholding population of Pakistan. The Pakistan Government is particularly anxious to impound the sweepers whom they have declared as persons belonging to Essential Services and whom they are not prepared to release except on one month's notice.

(2) The organization known as the M.E.O. has been of some use in helping the Scheduled Caste refugees who are anxious to evacuate. I, however, understand that the Pakistan Government is not permitting the M.E.O. to get into direct touch with the Scheduled Castes who want to evacuate. Consequently, the process of evacuating the Scheduled Castes is going on very slowly, and in some places it is at a standstill. I am also told that the M.E.O. is going to be closed very soon. If this happens then the evacuation of the Scheduled Castes from Pakistan would be quite impossible.

(3) What is necessary to do is:

(1) to ask the Pakistan Government not to place any obstacles in the way of the evacuation of the Scheduled Castes.

- (ii) to allow the M.P. to get into direct touch with the Scheduled Castes and wish to evacuate;
- (iii) to maintain the M.P. till all the Scheduled Castes are evacuated.

(4) So far the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation has appointed only one officer from the Scheduled Castes to West Punjab. But other Provinces of Pakistan such as N.W.F.P., Sind and Unawalour are left over and for which no such officer has been appointed. The Ministry should be directed to make appointments to these areas forthwith so that special officers could tour the Pakistan area and find out the places where the Scheduled Castes are prevented by the Pakistan Government from coming over.

II.

With regard to those Scheduled Castes who have come over from Pakistan to Eastern Punjab, they have also sent me their complaints. They are far more numerous than those coming from persons who are impounded in Pakistan. I have their list below:-

(1)

(1) The Scheduled Caste evacuees who have come to Eastern Punjab are not living in the refugee camps established by the Government of India. The reason is that the officers in charge of these refugee camps discriminate between the caste Hindu refugees and the Scheduled Caste refugees.

(2) It appears that the Relief and Rehabilitation Department has made a rule that it is only the refugee who are staying in the Relief camps can receive rations, clothing, etc. On account of their not staying in the Refugee Camps for the reason mentioned above, the Scheduled Caste refugees are not getting any relief. This is a great hardship.

(3) As discrimination cannot be prevented, it is necessary to modify the rule so that the Scheduled Caste refugees

- 3 -

living outside the camps should also be entitled to relief in the same way and to the same extent as refugees living in camps.

(11)

(1) In the allotment of lands made by the Government of Eastern Punjab the interests of the Scheduled Castes are completely overlooked. The administration of Eastern Punjab being entirely in the hands of the caste Hindus, there is nobody either to take a personal interest in the rehabilitation of the Scheduled Caste evacuees nor is there any agency appointed by the Government of India especially charged with the duty of bringing to the notice of the Eastern Punjab Government that the interests of the Scheduled Castes are overlooked.

(2) It is therefore essential that there should be a number of officers appointed by the Government of India to work in East Punjab charged with the special duty of seeing that the allotment of land is fairly made and that the Scheduled Caste refugees get their legitimate share.

(3) I have given to the Hon'ble Mr. Jeogy a list of persons for being appointed for this purpose who, so far as I know, are best qualified to carry out this work.

(4) (a) It is a notorious fact that the Sikhs and the Jats who occupy a very dominant position in East Punjab are compelling the Scheduled Castes who are residents of East Punjab to evacuate from their original homes in order to appropriate their houses or their landed property. The Scheduled Castes are unable to obtain any redress from the tyranny and oppression practised upon them by the Sikhs and the Jats to carry out their purposes for the simple reason that the Magistracy and the Police in East Punjab are wholly manned by Sikhs and Jats who quite naturally protect the wrong doers who are their kith and kin and pay no attention to the complaints of the Scheduled Castes.

(b) It is therefore absolutely essential that the Government of East Punjab should be compelled to recruit at

-4-

least 300 Scheduled Castes in their Civil Police. It was recently published in the newspapers that the East Punjab Government had recruited some 500 Scheduled Castes in their Police Force. An enquiry found that this recruitment has been made for the purpose of the Frontier Constabulary and not for the ordinary Civil Police Force. That the scheduled Castes need for the purpose of their protection is recruitment to the Civil Police of East Punjab. It is inferred that the Civil Police Force of East Punjab does not include even a single Scheduled Caste person.

4. (a) The Land Revenue system of East Punjab divides the residents of a village into two classes - Zamindars and Kamins. In the category of the Zamindars are included those families who have an exclusive right to own land situated inside the village boundary. The Kamins have no right to buy or to own land situated in the village of which they are residents. Even the sites on which their houses are situated belong to the Zamindars, with the result that the Zamindars if they combine can compel the Kamins to leave the village by asking them to remove their houses. This rule places the Kamins of every village at the mercy of the Zamindars. The Scheduled Castes in all the villages in East Punjab are classed as Kamins and are therefore living in complete servitude of the Zamindars of the village.

(b) It is therefore necessary that the East Punjab Government should be called upon to abolish this distinction by altering their Land Revenue system and making it similar to the Ryotwari System under which all villagers are placed on equal footing so far as the capacity to own land is concerned.

5. (a) In the Province of East Punjab there operates what is called the Land Alienation Act which is intended to protect the agriculturists from the moneylenders. But there cannot be slightest doubt that it is a most vicious piece of legislation inasmuch as it contains a definition of agriculturist which is communal and not occupational. According to this law, a person is an agriculturist if he belongs to a

- 5 -

~~xxxx~~ to a community which is declared by the Government as an agricultural community. The old Punjab Government took particular care not to declare the Scheduled Castes as an agricultural community although every member of the Scheduled Castes is either a cultivator of land or an agricultural labourer. The result is that the Scheduled Castes in East Punjab are debarred from buying or acquiring landed property and are compelled to lead the life of landless labourers dependent upon the Hindu, Sikh and Jat landowners for their livelihood. This is a very cruel piece of legislation and I think ought not to be allowed to remain on the Statute book.

(b) The East Punjab Government should be asked to amend the definition of the term 'agriculturist' and make it occupational so that everybody who earns his livelihood by agriculture irrespective of his caste and creed becomes an agriculturist entitled to own and acquire landed property.

I have enumerated all the difficulties of the Scheduled Castes which have been brought to my notice and the remedies, which I think if adopted will remove them. Some of the remedies lie in the hands of the Government of India and the rest in the hands of the Government of East Punjab. There can be no question of applying such remedies as lie in the hands of the Government of India if it has the will to do so. Even with regard to those remedies which lie in the hands of the Government of East Punjab, the Government of India need not feel helpless. For, since the Government of India is paying the cost of rehabilitation, it has a moral right to compel the Government of East Punjab to adopt particular measures which the Government of India thinks necessary for a fair and equal treatment of all classes of people. That is the reason why I have not hesitated to include for action by the Government of India such remedies as lie in the hands of the Government of East Punjab. So far all care and attention has been

bestowed by the Government of India on the problem of the Muslims. The problem of the Scheduled Castes has either been supposed not to exist, or deemed to be so small as not to require special attention. Although some people do not like to mention the problem of the Scheduled Castes none- the less those of us who are concerned with the Scheduled Castes know that the problem exists and it is much more acute than the problem of the Muslims.

Many a times I had thought of drawing the attention of the public to the neglect by the Government of India of the problem of the Scheduled Castes refugees both in Pakistan and in India. For obvious reasons I have refrained from doing so. Owing to your pre-occupation with other matters, I have made no complaint regarding your silence about this question. But I am afraid time has come when I must insist upon your giving personal attention to this problem by issuing directions to the Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation and to the Minister without Portfolio to relieve the Scheduled Castes of their sufferings either by adopting the remedies I have suggested in this letter or by devising better remedies to effectuate the purposes I have set out. I shall be grateful if you will give this matter your immediate attention.

Sd/- B.R.Ambedkar

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister of India,
New Delhi.

152

PRIME MINISTER,
INDIA.

P. M.
New Delhi,
The 25th December, 1947.

My dear Dr. Ambedkar,

I have your letter of the 18th December about the evacuation of Scheduled Caste people from Pakistan to India.

We have been trying our utmost to help in the evacuation of the Scheduled Castes from Pakistan, notably Sind, where they have been prevented from coming away. Our High Commissioner there is in continuous contact with this problem.

As regards the other problems raised by you they have to be dealt with by the East Punjab Government. We shall certainly advise them in the matter and see to it that every help is given to the Scheduled Caste evacuees.

We have had some difficulty in dealing with the East Punjab Government in regard to many matters chiefly because the East Punjab Government has been overwhelmed with the multitude of the problems it faces. I shall gladly give my personal attention to this subject and am requesting the Minister without Portfolio to look into this matter specially.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- Jawaharlal Nehru

The Hon'ble Dr. B.R. Ambedkar.

153

B

New Delhi

16
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48

My dear Bhaurao,

I have received your letter. I quite appreciate your feelings. It is very important to say the least of the Rehabilitation Department to have kept you at Kumbhela without work and without a firm appointment. I am taking up the matter with Vijaya and will let you know the upshot of it.

With regard to the Samata Sainik Dal I am absolutely against winding it up. It is absolutely wrong and cowardly to dissolve an organization because the Government of the day has thought fit to ban it. If some members of the Samata Sainik Dal are arrested and imprisoned they must suffer. That is all. The Congress Government is not going to last forever. It is going and is sure to go. We must wait for our opportunity.

There are two other matters I wish to write to you.

The building of the hall for our people is being delayed. I don't know when we shall be able to collect the necessary amount. Few people I am sorry to say have not applied your energy to the

accomplishment of the task. The building of the Hall appears to me most urgent. It is the only source of income for us and we will find very much in need of money for maintaining our movement. It seems to me that it would not be unwise even to borrow money for the construction of the Hall. Of course I cannot do it on my own authority. There must be the consent of the other Trustees ~~of~~ among whom you are one. Do you agree with my suggestion?

The next thing is about myself. Friends and medical advisers have told me in quite definite terms that while there is every chance of my recovering from

the malady I am suffering from it would be fatal if there was a relapse. Diabetes they say is a nutritional disease and unless there is some one to look after my food vitamin etc. the chances of a relapse cannot be altogether discounted. They have been urging me to keep a nurse or a housekeeper if I did not wish to marry. I have considered the matter for a long time. ~~and~~ I have no doubt that keeping a nurse or housekeeper would give rise to a scandal. The better course is to marry. After Yeshwant's mother's death I had decided not to marry. But circumstances have now forced my resolution. The doctor says that for me the choice is between marriage and ~~life death~~ Early death. While it is easy to make the choice it was of course difficult if not impossible to find wife. A woman to be my wife must be educated, must be a medical practitioner and must be good at cooking; it would be ~~practically~~ impossible

in our Community to find a woman who could
 combine the three qualifications and also suit
 my age. ~~I had~~ It also appeared
 impossible to find a woman outside our
 Community to marry me for the simple
 reason I have no contacts. My life
 has been so solitary that I have had
 no contacts with caste Indian men much
 less with caste Indian women. Fortunately
 I have been able to find one. She comes
 from the Saraswat Brahmin Community.
 The marriage as at present will take
 place in Delhi on the 15th of April.
 Keep this Confidential.

I came to Delhi on the 11th. I
 am feeling much better though I feel
 considerably weak. With kind regards
 yours truly
 P. B. R.

154

B

$$\frac{17}{4}$$

48

My dear Bhaurao,

I was sorry you did not come on the 15th. I did not write to you because I thought you must have gone back until I got your letter which was after the event.

I am sending herewith a letter addressed to you care of me. It was opened by the Jamarao before ~~actually~~ handing it over to me as he usually does without knowing it was addressed to you.

I want to know when they

are actually releasing you and if
you want my help in any way
to settle up your affairs with
the Government of India. If
you do write to me at once.

With kind regards

yours sincerely
B.Rh

155

6th June 1968

1 Hardinge Avenue

New Delhi

My dear Bhairav,

I received one letter from you
with press cuttings. Since you then
there has been no letter. I like to
be kept informed as to the N B
upheaval that is going on in
poornice so as to be able to decide
our own line of action

you should contact Surba
Tipnis and Pridesh Kulkarni and
find out just how their
minds are working

you have not told me
if you are prepared to do to

Bihar. That is important

I and Joshi have been talking over about the construction of the Hall. He has some alternative suggestions to make. Will you go to Bombay and meet Joshi or who is there now and let me know if you agree to his suggestion.

I am going to Simla to night for treat and will be back after a week.

I hope every thing is alright with you. With kind regards
Yours sincerely
B. R. R.

156

B

1 Hardinge Avenue

New Delhi

$$\frac{17}{6} \\ \frac{48}{}$$

My dear Bhauroo,

I just received your second letter on my return from Simla. I was very much interested in reading the report of the meeting of the working committee of the Federation. I wonder who were the critics?

I am sorry I caused you unnecessary trouble for having to go to Bombay to meet Mr Joshi. I misunderstood him. He has however left for Bombay yesterday and

will be there till 21st June. Will
you go and contact him? I have
asked him to discuss with
you some very important
matters.

I am feeling better. My wife
sends you her good wishes
yours truly
B. R. D.

P.S. I agree this is not a good
time to go to Porhar.

157

30th June 1948
1 Hardinge Avenue
New Delhi

My dear Pothanna,

I am sorry to inform you that I have cancelled my leave programme ~~and~~ I shall not be therefore coming to Bombay on the 3rd of July. Important political events are impending and I do not want that they should happen in my absence. I am sorry to have to disappoint you but the events are really very important.

Will you let me know about the Cook. I like to hear from you about him before you actually send him to me.

yours sincerely
B. B. Ambedkar

158

28th March 1948.1 Hardinge Avenue
New Delhi

My dear Chaurao,

I have received your letter of the 24th only yesterday. Of facts as you have stated them I agree that the best way out is for you to resign. I have written a very strong letter to Kheraji. But I have not ~~written~~ ^{received} any letter reply and I ~~wait~~ ^{am} of when it will come. I am ~~sending~~ ^{returning} you herewith your draft resignation with necessary corrections.

You will be sorry to hear that our Madhe Amwa died this morning at 4. a.m. at his residence in Bombay. ~~It was~~ ^{I was}

2

informed of his death over the phone. ~~It~~ It has given me a great shock. He was a great social worker, great trade unionist. The Federation has lost a great organizer. His death has caused a void which it will not be possible to fill easily.

I wonder what you are going to do after your resignation. Would it be possible for you to leave Bihar? I have received a letter from one of our men which I am sending herewith for your perusal. I have spoken to Thawari from Nagpur. He is prepared to accompany you to Bihar if you decide to go.

If you will of course see me before.

3

you return to Bombay. I have some things to
talk to you.

With kindest regards
yours sincerely
B.R.h

P.S. I am slightly better though quite weak.

159



1 Barings Avenue
New Delhi.

My dear Pharo,

Considerable number of Complaints
have been reaching me from the Scheduled
Castes from Sindh and from the Peshawar
State about the harassment to
which they are subjected by the Muslims.
On my representation the Government
of India have agreed to appoint
a special officer to go to Sindh to
look after them and report. I don't
know what would be duration of the

ple think it may not be very long.
 I have recommended your name and
 believe that within the next two
 or three days you will get a letter
 of appointment. I want you
 to accept it and to proceed to
 Smith immediately.

I have met Shukla today. He
 is calling for papers.

$$\begin{array}{r}
 19 \\
 \times 1 \\
 \hline
 47
 \end{array}$$

Yours truly
 P. B. R.

160

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M.A. Ph.D. D.Sc. BARRISTER-AT-LAW

~~MINISTER FOR LAW, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA~~

26 Allipore Road
Civil Lines
Delhi.
8/4/52

My dear Bhauroo,

You were not well when we parted. I hope you have recovered since then.

What have you done with regards to Bhatawkar. People are complaining.

I hear from Kambhant that there is a new law passed by the Bombay Assembly which requires that all public trusts shall be registered with the Charity Commissioner before the 21st of this month. You know we


Have got a piece of land situated at
 the Gokuldas Pasta land — on which
 we erected a building — and in which
 the Press is housed. In addition there
 is ~~an~~ some money in the Imperial
 Bank (Dadar Branch) which is
 part of their Trust:

I wonder if you could transact
 this business. Otherwise I shall have
 to go Bombay personally. Will you
 kindly let me know. you are one
 of the Trustees — and as such you also
 could do it.

with kind regards
 yours Sincerely
 B.R.L.

X INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

Code 81



C

Recd. from	Sent at	H.	Date stamp
By: <u>By 161</u>	To:	By:	
<i>Handed in at (Office of Origin)</i>			
<u>New Delhi</u>	Date	Hour	Minute
	<u>26</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>45</u>
Services		Institutions	
<u>5/2</u>		<u>Ydab</u>	
TO		Read here at <u>2</u> H. <u>5</u> M.	
<u>Bhainoo Gaikwad Kishat</u>			
<u>Bagh Nair</u>			
<u>→ Come immediately to proceed</u>			
<u>direct to Sind stop question</u>			
<u>of clerk and soon will be</u>			
<u>settled here = Ambedkar</u>			

By: The name of the Sender, if telegraphed, should be written after, but separated from the text.

P. M. PRINTERS 20,000 Books 15-3-47

52

my dear Ahammao

New Delhi

3/2/49

I received your letter of the 31st January only yesterday. I should have written to you earlier. I could not do so as Mr. Mahatre was not ready with the site plans of the plots in Aurangabad which we want for our College. He also brought the plans only yesterday. I am sending you one copy for your use.

2. The land we want is the land enclosed within yellow lines. It lies on both sides of the Road which is shown in red ink.

3. In this connection what you have to do is -

- (i) To find out from the Collector of Aurangabad the Survey Numbers of the plots included in the area shown by the yellow line.
- (ii) To find out from the owners at what price they are prepared to sell.
- (iii) To find out from Mr. Coates the Collector in case we find it difficult to get the land by private negotiations whether he would recommend to the Hyderabad

- 2 -

Government that they should acquire the land for us as it is a public purpose.

4. I am enclosing a copy of a note containing particulars of the plots comprised in the area and their owners which was given to ^{me} be when we were in Aurangabad. It may be of help to you. You need not bother with the plots which belong to the Maharaja of Jaipur. I will deal with the Maharaja directly from here.

5. I have noted what you have said about other matters. I shall send a reply dealing with them separately.

6. I am waiting for a detailed report from you on the Pandharpur Dharmashala question.

Yours sincerely
B. R. Ambedkar

163

New Delhi,
10th February 1949.

My dear Ambedkar,

Will you please refer to your letter dated the 13th of January 1949 forwarding an application from Mr. K. B. Bhalerao for the grant of a Commission in the Indian Army ? Under the existing rules only serving or released personnel of the Indian Army are eligible for the grant of a Permanent Regular or Short Service Regular Commissions. Br. Bhalerao who served in the Civil Pioneer Force is not, therefore, eligible for either of these Commissions.

Yours sincerely,

Baldev Singh

The Hon'ble Dr. B. R. Ambedkar,
Minister for Law,
New Delhi.

164

1, Hardinge Avenue,
New Delhi, 14th February 1949.

My dear Bhauroao,

I regret my letter written to you the other day about Mr. Bhalerao was written under misapprehension. I had not read in detail his application and thought it was for Commission in the Army. I have just looked into it again and I found he is applying through the Public Service Commission for the post of a Deputy Collector. I shall, therefore mention it to Baba Sahib as early as possible.

2. As regards Bhalerao's application in the Army, I am sending you a copy of the letter from the Hon'ble the Defence Minister in reply to the recommendation sent by Baba Sahib in favour of Bhalerao. Though Bhalerao is not eligible for either a Permanent Regular Commission or a Short Service Commission, I think he might be eligible for an Emergency Commission for which, if he is suitable, he should apply to the closest recruiting Officer.

With best regards,

Shri Bhauroao Gwaikwad.

Yours sincerely,

M. Massey

165

1 Hardinge Avenue

New Delhi

25th March 1949

My dear Pothurao,

I received your letter yesterday and was glad to have a detailed account of certain matters which we were not able to talk about when I was in Bombay.

With regard to the starting of a Branch of the Siddharth College in ~~Bombay~~ C.P. I do not think that it will be feasible proposition financing speaking. I think that if our project of starting a College at Aurangabad

we would be serving C.P. as well. Besides I am tired of these Prahamins whom we have to appoint as Principals etc. They are a self-seeking ~~lot~~ lot and ~~no~~ have no interest in thing as such.

Regarding the I.L.P. in C.P. Thawari came to New Delhi on the same day I arrived. I talked to him in quite sharp language and told him that I would not ~~tolerate~~ tolerate any disruption in our work nor can I give ~~me~~ up my old

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works in C.P. nevertheless I think it is desirable that you should issue a statement on the subject stating clearly what our point of view is in relation to between S.C. 7. and D.L.P. It would be better if you send me your draft statement for my perusal before you actually print it out.

Regarding Kamble Editor of the Janata have warned him against publishing things in Janata which are prejudicial to our party or policy. If he does

not listen to the advice I shall have no hesitation from removing him from the editor.

I am glad you are going to Aurangabad. I am very much interested in the hill site for our college and would be prepared to take it if he is not demanding exorbitant price.

I am not progressing well. The teeth have weakened me very much and I am feeling very low. But I am hoping for an improvement very soon. With kind regards I am yours sincerely B.R.A.

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Personal & Secret

1 Hardinge
Avenue
29th March 1949

My dear Bhaurao,

You must have got my earlier letter. I am writing this on a different subject. S.K. Patil is standing for the place of a mayor in the Bombay Municipal Corporation. Except a Socialist there is not likely to be a Jwal Candidate. He however wants to make sure and has written to

Gadgil to speak to me that our
 members in the Corporation should
 vote for me. We have lots of things
 to be got down through the
 Municipality and Patil is the only
 man who can help us. He
 is therefore desirable to be on his
~~good~~ right side personally if
 not politically. I want you to go to
 Bombay & speak to our Corporation
 & vote for him. You must do this before
 you go to Aurangabad. With kind
 regards
 Yours Sincerely
 B. R. Ambedkar

167

1 Hardinge Avenue
New Delhi,

My Dear Bhanu,

I have received
your letter just this morning.
I am sorry for the election result
not because of
the loss of it but because
with a little more effort
we would have won it.

I am coming to Bombay
on Wednesday evening by Air

and will be there for
 1/3 day. If you come with
 Ahmadnagar friends we
 can discuss the matters
 you have mentioned

I am not quite well
 but ~~it~~ ^{it} is necessarily
 requires me to be in
 Bombay

With kind regards
 Yours Sincerely
 B.R. Ambedkar

168

1 Harrison Avenue
New Delhi
11th April 1949

my dear Bhaurao,

While you & Chitra had
~~been~~ to Amranchal I had been
~~seriously~~ ill in New Delhi. Sunday
~~was~~ was a very critical

I am better now. I am
~~not~~ able to move out or
~~do~~ any work. But I am
~~struggling~~ to write to you
~~about~~ Prafula Sakhari He was

2

proposed to me by Parmar
 and as I did not see
 any objection I agreed. I did
 not know that there is another
 person from our workers who could
 have been considered. Any how
 we must now fight ~~the~~
 the election. As there are three
 candidates Borale's chances are
 not bad. Our voters must ~~use~~
 their full strength. It may be
 necessary to raise some

3

Subscription to help him. Some
collection can easily be made
at public meetings of our
people. For this purpose it
would be necessary for you
to go to Bombay and stay
there till the election. This
election is like a test match.
Our position in the new elections
will be judged by the results of
this election.

I read in the Bombay Papers
that a meeting of the leftists was
held in Bombay under the
president ship of Sarat Bose.
and that the members of the
Bahujan Party had joined

With-kind regards

Yours sincerely

B.R.h

Personal + Confidential | Harding Avenue
New Delhi
18/4/49

My dear Bhanu,

I received your letter just this afternoon. I am hastening to reply to two points which I find require immediate attention. I do not think it would be right to pledge support to the Bahujan Party. We shall of course stand for the better-

ment of the condition of
 the peasants and workers and
 whenever such questions arise our
 Candidate ^{will} stand for them we
 cannot bind ourselves to the
 Bahujan Party which means following
 them ~~in~~ every thing they do.

I was surprize to read that
 Sarat Bose said in Bombay that
 he had my support in what he
 is doing. This is an absolute lie. He
 has not even met me ~~at~~ ^{the}
 he came to Delhi several times.
 with kind regards from
 Yours Sincerely
 B. R. H.

170

1 Hardinge Avenue
New Delhi

21
4
49

My dear Bhanu,

I am starting this evening for mason for rest. I shall be here for about a week. Chit and Jashar are here. They brought a copy of the Kinsha. Vrata in which I found a statement to the effect that Boarale's candidature was only nominal. This is a mischievous statement. You must contradict it by a small hand-bill so that our people may not

be misled. I have written to me that
 Poarali's chances are very ~~great~~
 bright — and I believe they
 are. What is wanted is
 full effort which I have no
 doubt you will put forth.

With kind regards

yours truly
 T. B. R. L.

171

1 Hardinge Avenue
New Delhi
3/6/49

My dear Bhaurao

I ~~have~~ got your letter only yesterday with more's note. I am extremely busy with the Constituent Assembly. But I will try to find time to speak to the Food Minister and see what can be done.

You have not told me what has happened to more's party in the Local Board elections. I see from papers that the Congress has won a majority in Ahmednagar.

There is one other matter about which I have been wanting to ~~the~~ write to you but have not found time so. ~~you~~ want to get married. I am in search of a girl. Do you know of any one

The girl ~~is~~ must be (1) have looking (2) must have a personality and dignified appearance (3) must be coming from a good family having moral traditions and (4) must not be too young and (5) must be educated though it is not necessary for her to be a graduate. ~~I~~ shall be glad if you will ~~that~~ this matter to be urgent. I would like you to write also to Kawade if he knows any such girl in C.P. With kind regards
Yours sincerely
B. R. R.

172

5th June 1949

My dear Bhaurao,

you must have got
my last letter. In it I have
written to you about Yeshwant's
marriage. It ~~will~~ would be
better if you came here
we could discuss it personally
It is possible the assembly
may close for a short

holiday. I am so tired I want
to go to Srinda & Massourie
To avoid your missing me I
Suggest you come here at
once.

With kind regards

Yours sincerely
B R h

173

Camp Mussoorie

27/6/49

My dear Bhanu

Here with is a reply
 from Gopal Swami Ayyappa
 to my letter about Panoo.
 I don't think anything
 better can be done.

I am coming to
 Bombay on the ~~15th~~
 5th & will be there

till the 16th. You can
 see me ~~but~~ ~~among~~
 this people and if you
 have spotted what I
 have asked you to do
 bring them with
 you.

Yours Sincerely,
 B. R.

174

1, Hardinge Avenue,
New Delhi, 10th August 1949.

My dear Bhaorau,

You are aware that Government provides plain clothes armed guards to accompany each Minister. Lately Doctor Sahib has wished that he should have Scheduled Caste constables belonging to the area of Bombay Presidency to attend on him. The recruiting authorities here are prepared to take up ~~12~~ 15 Scheduled Caste recruits. Doctor Sahib has wished me to ask you to send me the names of 15 trustworthy candidates who are willing to join the C.I.D. Guard.

2. The candidates must have very good moral character and should be of strong built. They should be of 5' - 7" height. The emoluments of the post~~s~~ are - basic pay Rs.35/-, dearness allowance Rs. 35/- and Delhi local allowance Rs. 3/-. Total emoluments Rs. 73/-. These people will be given short training and out of them six men will be reserved to be the personal guard of Doctor Sahib. Their educational qualifications need not be very high. But they should be at least literate if not middle or Matric passed. Will you therefore send me an application from each of such candidates who are willing to come and be recruited? They will be posted in Delhi. Please treat this as urgent. The applications should contain along with other particulars, their full ~~xxxx~~ address. I hope you are keeping fit.

Doctor Sahib is in the best of health now and
in spite of a very busy time he is fit in all respects.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. Massey

(M. Massey)
Private Secretary to
Honourable the Law Minister.

M.C. -
2/18.

Shri B.K. Gaikwad,
Kismat Bagh,
Nasik.

175

Kismat Baug,
Nasik,
23rd. Aug, 1949.

My dear Faisahab *Kassidy*

Thank you very much for your D.O. letter of 18th. Aug. 49. I am sorry I could not get your letter early as I was out of Nasik even after I returned from Delhi.

I returned from tour just yesterday night and noted the contents of your letter. I will try to find out suitable ~~men~~ men who will be considered fit and trustworthy. Their -- applications along with other particulars will be submitted at an early date. By the by I shall feel obliged if you kindly -- enlighten me as regards the age limit of the candidates under reference. I think it will be rather difficult to get persons ^{of} 5'-7" in this Province. I presume that, that height of 5'-7" is applicable to Punjab Province. If you can consider applications having 5'-5" ^{height} to 5'-6" then I will be able to produce the requisit number.

Excuse delay.
With kindest regards,
Yours *S.*

176

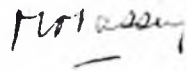
1, Hardinge Avenue,
New Delhi, 29th August 1949.

My dear Bhau Rao,

Thanks for your letter of 23rd August, 1949. It does not matter if the applicants for the C.I.D. are of 5' 5" or 5' 6". I believe it is possible to overlook the difference of an inch or so but it will be better to aim at 5' 7".

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,



Shri B.K. Gaikwad,
Kismat Baug,
NASIK.

177

J. H. SUBBIAH

135-C. PRENDERGHAST ROAD,
SECUNDERABAD DN.

D/4th September 1949.

My dear Mr. Gaiwad,

I honestly apologise for having delayed replies to your letters and telegrams and I sincerely hope you will excuse me for the same. I am feeling rather in a strange position nowadays on account of various commitments due to which most of my monies are locked up and there is likely to be considerable delay in the realisation of those monies. It is due to the present state of affairs in Hyderabad State. As such I cannot make any promise when I shall be able to comply you. I can assure you in this connection that I tried my best to adjust things but it was not possible. If I am disappointing you anyway in this, I hope you will excuse me.

The work of the Federation is progressing alright. The elections are approaching very fast.

P.T.O.

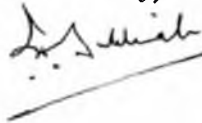
-2-

We are putting up vigourously with our work and I hope we would be able to do well by the time the elections take place.

I hope you are doing well.

With my kind regards.

I am,
Yours Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'B.K. Gaikwad', written over a horizontal line.

B.K. Gaikwad Esq.,
Kismat Baug,
Nasik.

$$\begin{array}{r} 20 \\ \hline 12 \\ \hline 49 \end{array}$$

My dear Phameo,

Your two letters have reached me ~~at~~ also the two sarees. I am thankful to you for the same. Please let me know the ^{price} ~~value~~ of the sarees. I shall send you the amount.

With regard to the circular issued by the Govt in regard to the managers of the schools taking part in politics I am afraid I cannot give you

any definite advice as I have
 not got any adequate idea as
 to what 'exactly is prescribed
 by the Bombay G. You shall
 have to think about and find
~~out~~ some way out.

Shen Kawade was here he told
 me that there were three girls
 in Nagpur for yeshwant to select
 from. Will you get into touch
 with Kawade and yeshwant.

I expect to be in Bombay sometime
 in the ~~the~~ first week of January
 next. With kind regards yours only
 BRR

179

~~Questions to the ^{members of the} Congress
 President Working Committee~~

What is going to be the place of the untouchables in your Swaraj? The Congress has talked a lot about protecting the minorities. Why has ~~not~~ the Congress ~~so far~~ ~~not~~ failed failed to produce the blue-print of the plan ~~to protect~~ for protecting the minorities? Is this silence not calculated to create want of ~~the~~ confidence in the bona fides of the Congress?

2

2 ~~has~~ ~~Gandhi~~ Does the Congress regard the untouchables as a minority? Mr. Gandhi in an article in the Harijan in 1939 admitted that the ~~the~~ only real minority in India ~~was~~ were the untouchables. Why did Maulana Azad in his last letter to the Viceroy say that the Congress was not prepared to recognize the untouchables as a minority?

3. What is the significance of the statement that the Congress does not regard the untouchables as a minority? Does it mean that the Congress will take away even those political safeguards which have been secured by the untouchables under the present Government of India Act?

4

4. Does the Congress admit or does it not admit - that the ~~representatives~~ ^{Candidates} of the Scheduled Castes who have been elected to the Provincial Legislatures came to the bottom in the Primary selection and the Candidates put up by the ^{Scheduled Caste} Federation came to the top? Does the Congress admit or does it not admit - that if in the final selection the failed Candidates were elected it was entirely due to the Hindu votes? Can the Congress deny

T.O.

5

Can that candidates elected by
minor votes can not be regarded
as true representatives of the
Scheduled Castes?

6

5. In the At the time of the Poona Pact Mr. Gandhi gave a ~~an~~ pledge ~~undertaking~~ that the Hindus will not interfere in the selection of the Scheduled Castes to the seats reserved for them. Why did the Congress ^{violate} ~~break~~ the pledge and committed breach of faith?

6. In the Simla Conference ^{called} ~~of~~ ~~1945~~ by Lord Wavell in 1945 the Congress raised no objection to two representatives of the Scheduled Castes being included in the Executive Council. Why did the Congress reduce the representation of the Scheduled Castes this time to one? Does it not prove that the Congress can ^{not} be trusted to keep its word

8

That as soon as the Congress obtains
the right to decide it will ~~not~~
break all its promises and withdraw
all the political safeguards secured
by the Scheduled Castes?

9

7. It has been admitted by all the workers of the Harijan Sevak Sangh and also by Mr Gandhi that the removal of untouchability has made no headway at all. On the contrary the ~~more~~ the tyranny and oppression of the ~~Caste Hindus~~ untouchables ~~has~~ ~~been~~ by the Caste Hindus ~~has~~ ~~increased~~ which has been going on for ages has \pm increased ⁱⁿ of recent times and has become

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intensified in its rigour and has
~~become~~ taken manifold forms.

It is necessary to ventilate these
 grievances on the floor of the
 legislatures if any redress is to
 be ~~ob~~ obtained. No sensible man
 will deny that this work of ventilating
 the grievances can not be done except
 by the representatives of the Scheduled
 Castes who are returned through separate
 electorates. Why does the Congress
 alone oppose the demand of the Scheduled
 Castes for separate electorates?

//

8. There is no connection between the religion of a Community and its demand for ~~a~~ separate electorates. Even ~~Communities~~ Communities professing one religion have claimed separate electorates. Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian-Christians profess one Common religion. Yet all of them have separate electorates. No body has raised any objection to these separate electorates, not

12

even the Congress. Why does the Congress oppose ~~separate~~ the demand of the Scheduled Castes for separate electorates on the ground of common religion which it does not rely upon in other cases?

13

9. There is no social separation between the Hindus and the Sikhs. In one family one member is a Sikh and the other is a Hindu. The Hindus and the Sikhs intermarry and interdine. Yet the Sikhs have a separate electorate to which the Congress has never raised any objection. The untouchables in the ~~intercourse~~ matter of social

14

inter course are far more separated
 than the Hindus than all
 the Sikhs and ~~and~~ Muslims
 why ~~them~~ of the Sikhs
 and Muslims have can
 have separate electorates
 why not the untouchables?

7 Bombay
 6-7-46

B. K. Gaidwad
 President Bombay
 Provincial Scheduled Caste
 Federation

180

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.

BARRISTER AT LAW

1 Hardinge Avenue

New Delhi

22

3

— 50

My dear Bhaurao,

you say you have written to me four/five letters ~~for~~^{to} which I have given no reply. Let me say that I have received only one letter from you having another relating to the girls complaint. I don't know what has happened to the other letter. I have not been writing to anybody. I did not even write to Kaulalamb for more

than a month. For the reason that
 after about a week from my return
 from Bombay my health began to
 give way. ~~The~~ The pain in my legs
 restarted and ^{has} kept on with considerable
 intensity. Giddiness also ~~started~~
 coming on. With the result I was
 disabled from doing any reading
 or writing. It is only 3/4
 back that the fits of giddiness
 has gone off. If they will return
 I cannot say. As I am a

little better - I ~~would~~ want to send
you ~~this~~ a reply.

Your reference about Yeshwant's
marriage. He is free to do what
he likes. He is not under my
control. As he has never cared
to follow my advice I do not
like to give him any advice.
I do not know why he has
rejected the girls in C.P. I
do not ~~can't~~ say how they looked. But
they were quite educated. Yeshwant

is very much charged with inhumanity
 Complex and does not want a
 wife better educated than he is.
 That is why he seems to be
 running after uneducated girls
 I can't be a party to this. I
 have not seen Rajbhoji's daughter
 cannot have any objection on
 account of her Caste because
 we don't believe in it. But she
 can't be regarded as cultured
 or Educated.
 Yeshwant seems to be interested

only in having a ~~wife~~ woman to love
as his wife. He does not seem to be
at all concerned about the name
and fame of the family in which
he is born. Nor does he seem
to be worried about the children
he is sure to have. This indifference
to matters of what I regard
as of some importance on
his part has got me great distress.
I wish ~~to~~ my children were
not born. They are going to
degrade the name of my family

which I have taken such infinite pains
 to please. If my family, because,
 extinct after me I would not
 mind. But I would not it to
 be degraded. I know Yeshwant and
 Mukund want ~~only my~~ ^{money}
 They don't want me. But ~~I don't~~
 mind that. But I ~~do not~~ mind.
 Their willingness to live a life on
 a level of low and uncultured
 life. I don't want their money and
 they will have mine when I die. But
 I want to see them pursuing better ideals of
 life.

About the Poma S.C. Mission Committee
 Resolution I do not know what activities
 they are running and the cost of
 each. If you can make a report
 to me on the subject I can
 give you my mind. It must
 be understood that we are not
 in a position to bear any loss.

I don't know what has happened
 to the Pancharpan Hostel. I am waiting
 to know from you. Love in
 my next. With kindest regards
 Yours truly
 P. D. D.

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J. H. SUBBIAH
135 C. PRENDERGHAST ROAD,
SECUNDERABAD-DN

MAY 10th 1950.

B. K. Gaikwad Esq.
President
Bombay Provincial Scheduled
Castes Federation,
NASIK ROAD.

My dear Dada,

I am extremely sorry that the other day in the evening I could not meet you at the College as promised, as I was informed when I telephoned there that you had left with Docotr, but later on, when I went there next morning I was told you had been waiting for me till late in the night. This was due to the misunderstanding and I sincerely apologise for the inconvenience caused to you.

Doctor Saheb is coming here in about a week's time and is going to stay here for about two or three ~~days~~. I hope you would kindly come at that time, when we can settle a number of things regarding our Federation.

With my kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

J. H. Subbiah

jh:no

182

E-3

By 126

18 31



Aurangabad on 16 12/25 41
 Dadasaheb Santavand Dalit Federation Kisan
 Bang Nair
 = Sardar Baldevsing And Babasaheb coming
 Aurangabad on eighteenth Thursday morning
 by plane for one day stop please come
 with bapnabha and Tar so that you will
 give advise to scheduled class
 - more -

The sequence of entries at the beginning of this telegram is—name of telegram, time banding in cipher number (in the case of foreign telegrams only) office of origin, date, service instructions (if any) and amount in pounds.

A. C. FORM

This form must accompany any enquiry respecting this telegram.



INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

Class } V
 Prefix } HF

Recd. from: 9/20 Sent at: _____ H. _____ M. _____

By: _____ To: _____

By: _____

Delivered to at (Office of Origin): Madras Jw I

Date	Hour	Amount	Service Description	Rate

TO: Followed

most honorable Minister Bombay

Twelfth June Positively

1 Assy

11

MOIPPA-1

2.2.—The words in the brackets, if any, are printed in smaller or various sizes; all unprinted words are in italics.

184-185

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

B. Class *X* Code *FK 6/50* No. _____


Recd. at *8* H *50* M _____ Sent at _____ H _____ M _____

From *Am 18* To _____

By *2* By _____

Secundaries *1/2* X _____

TO *B K Gaidwad Kismet Bazar*
Nashik Road



doctor coming with Sardan
Baldeo Singh on eighteenth
at aurangabad and arriving
hyderabad Nineteenth please come
= Subbiah

B. B. The name of the Sender, if telegraphed, should be written after, but separated from the text.
P. 11. 2047. 12-48.

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

Class *X* Code *KC* No. _____ *dh*

Recd. from *Am 68* Sent at _____ H _____ M _____ Office Stamp

By *dh* To _____

By _____

Handed to at (Office of Origin) *Premibay* Date *10* Hour *15* Minutes _____ Service *X* Words *14*

B K Gaidwad *Kismet Bazar* *Nashik*

Babasaheb wants you
in Bombay immediately
Bhojale

B. B. The name of the Sender if telegraphed should be written after, but separated from the text.

186

C-8

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

Received here at 13 H 56 M

O L H

New Delhi 2 11/10 4 &
 Bhaurang and Resmat Bhai
 Meet ~~them~~ Hombale lawrence
 on word at B bay

Personal Assistant

The position of entries at the beginning of this telegram is—name of telegram, time handed in, serial number (in the case of foreign telegrams only), office of origin, date, service instructions (if any), and number of words.
 This form must accompany any enquiry respecting the telegram.

187

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.
BARRISTER AT LAW

1 Hardinge Avenue
New Delhi
23/8/51

My dear Bhaurao

I have your letter. There is no change in the Programme of the President. It will take place on the 1st Sept. as announced. I shall be reaching Mumbai on the 30th morning by train and will go to Aurangabad straight.

I am ready with the Paper. I am giving it final touches more in my next.

yours sincerely
BRh

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PEOPLES' EDUCATION SOCIETY'S COLLEGE

CANTONMENT,
AURANGABAD.

Ref. No.

527

Date: 2nd Sept: 19 51.

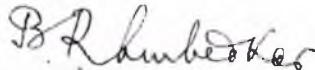
to

Shri B. K. Gaikwad

Dear Sir,

I am glad to inform you that you are appointed ~~as~~ a Member of the Advisory Committee of the People's Education Society's College at Aurangabad. A copy of the Regulations framed by the Governing Body are enclosed herewith. The Registrar of the ~~College~~ College will inform you the date of the first meeting of the Committee.

Yours truly,



CHAIRMAN,
Governing Body of the
People's Education Society.

M.C.G.

27/9/51

189

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

Class Prefix <u>X</u> <u>CC</u>		No. <u>9</u>	
Recd. from <u>Am 72</u>	Sent at _____ H. _____ M.		
By <u>Am</u>	To _____		
Mailed at (Office or Office) <u>Bombay</u>	Date <u>24</u> Hour <u>17</u> Minute <u>15</u>		
TO	Service Instructions	Words <u>14</u>	Recd. here at <u>7</u> H. <u>51</u> M.
<p><u>Pilharao Garkwad Kismat Baiy</u> <u>Nasik</u></p> <p><u>Come immediately for scholarship</u> <u>meeting Jadhav has here</u> <u>- Chitree</u></p>			

N.B.—The name of the Sender, if telegraphed, should be written after, but separated from the text.
 B. C. Press. Ry.—1-4 No.—50,000 Bks.

190

REGULATIONS

for

The Advisory Committee for the People's Education Society's
College at Aurangabad.

The functions of the Advisory Committee shall be as specified below:-

- (a) to make recommendations to the Governing Body regarding the creation of posts of teachers in the Institutions and the duties and emolument thereof,
- (b) to consider and to submit to the Governing Body a draft Annual Report of the activities of the various departments of the Institution,
- (c) to consider the budgets of the departments and to submit the same to the Governing Body,
- (d) to consider questions relating to fees,
- (e) to make rules for the award of free-ships and fellow-ships,
- (f) to make rules regarding :-
 - (i) disciplinary control of students,
 - (ii) the control of hostels,
 - (iii) the health and recreation of students,
 - (iv) social gatherings,
 - (v) setting up of Sub-committees for extra curricular activities,
 - (vi) the Gymkhana of the college,
 - (vii) the Award ~~and~~ of Medals and prizes,
 - (viii) the purchase of books & periodicals for the Library,
- (g) to perform such other duties or functions as are conferred upon it by the Governing Body,
- (h) to make recommendations to the Governing Body on all proposals for new demands with due regard to the funds available,
- (i) to sanction re-appropriation of funds during the budget year. All ~~such~~ such re-appropriation shall be reported to the meeting of the Governing Body,
- (j) to give advice and make recommendations to the Principal and to the Governing Body on the initiative of the Principal or of the Governing Body or on its own initiative on any other question affecting the Institution,

2. Subject to the approval of the Governing Body the Advisory Committee may frame rules for the conduct of its business.

3. The Principal shall convene the meetings of the Advisory Committee. At least one meeting of the Advisory Committee shall be held by the Principal in each year. Additional meetings may be convened at any time by the Principal and shall be convened on the receipt of a requisition signed by four members of the Advisory Committee.

3. Unless otherwise provided for, the Governing Body, six members of the Advisory Committee shall be enough to form a quorum. The meetings of the Advisory Committee shall ordinarily be held on the premises of the College at Aurangabad.

4. It shall be open to the Principal to obtain the views of the members of the Advisory Committee by circulation in cases of urgency.

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BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc.
BARRISTER AT LAW

23rd Sept - 1951
1 Handunge Avenue
New Delhi

My dear Bhaurao,

I have long been wanting to write to you. But it has been quite impossible for me to find even a single minute. Today being a Sunday I have and there being no party meeting I have a few spare moments to send you a few lines.

I have informed Mr. Rajbhoj to call a meeting of the Working Committee of S.C. 7. in Delhi on the 6th. I hope this will suit all. We must at this

meeting we must settle the following points

- (i) The manifesto
- (ii) Party alliance.

There may be other questions.

But these are main questions.

I had decided to resign on or about the 6th Oct by which date it was expected the Hindu Code Bill would be passed. But there does not seem to be much chance of this happening. I am therefore in fix. The Session is likely to drag on till the 15th Oct. It would hardly give me sufficient time to go about if I continue to be a member of Govt till the 15th. I am revolving the

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.
BARRISTER AT LAW

Whole matter in my mind & will
come to a decision by the 6th
with regard to my attending meeting
in Nasik, Manmad and Chalyan.
I shall discuss the matter with
you when we meet on the
6th in Delhi.

I have revised the draft
manifesto and made some changes
in it. I shall be sending you
final copy of it by Tuesday. You
will have to bring the cyclostyled
copies when you come to
Delhi.

many of our people are likely to make mistakes in filling these nomination papers. We have to issue clear and simple instructions to them so that these nomination papers are not rejected.

With kind regards
yours sincerely

B. R. R.

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1 Hardinge Avenue
 New Delhi
 19 Oct 1951.

My dear Phaurao,

I have your letter. The
 N.P. people are not prepared to
 have an early date. Kuzal was
 here just now. I have given ^{him} 9, 10
 and 11 of Nov. I do not
 know what dates our Nagpur
 people want. I shall have to
 be in Bombay during the ~~day~~^{week}
 of nomination from about the
 24th - a few days before - and

a few days after. I shall have
to be in Delhi in the 1st of week
of December. Subject to these
limitations a tour programme
can be arranged.

With-kind regards
Yours sincerely
B R Ambedkar

193

ALL INDIA SCHEDULED CASTES FEDERATION.

To,

Mr. B.K.Gaikward

This is to inform you that the Parliamentary Board of the Scheduled Castes Federation has accepted your application for being selected as a candidate for the forthcoming election to the Bombay Provincial Legislative Assembly.

2. The Board has nominated you for the seat reserved for the Scheduled Castes in ~~Nasik~~ ~~Nasik~~ ~~Nasik~~ ~~Nasik~~ Constituency.

3 The Board trusts that you will put such effort in the electoral contest as will do credit to the Federation as well as to yourself.

Yours sincerely,



General Secretary—

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BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc
BARRISTER AT LAW

26 Ahpore Road
Civil Lines
Delhi

My dear Bhaurao,

Please see the enclosed
correspondence and do the
needful. I have sent a
telegram to Shiva Sharan
that your statement is
to be accepted in preference
to that of Rajbhoj

Yours sincerely

B.R.A.

196



26 Alipore Road
Civil Lines
Delhi

My dear Bhaurao,

I have been in the grip of a bad cold ever since my return from Bombay. I am confined to my home. There is also a lot of botheration from representatives of various parties wanting to have an alliance with us S.C. 7. They come at all times and sit for hours. I have been able to settle matters for the Punjab.

Rajbhoj and Bhole² have been working
for monetary help of course as
you know and as they know ~~that~~
so we have no party funds.
All that we have is a small
sum which I have been able to
collect on my own. I do not like
to fritter it away. Besides
if we pay some candidates the
rest will also ^{make a} demand which I
will not be possible to resist.
I would like to have your views
on the question.

3



As to election tour— I told you that you must do Hyderabad. I wonder if you can also do the C.P. It would be a great chief to one. I feel quite exhausted I don't know what alliance our people have made in C.P. on election purposes. That Province seems to me to be very difficult. There are so many parties, and one seems to be nearer to us.

I want to know the date of election fixed for C.P. — and N.P. so that I may be able to work out — a programme.

~~There is an account in my name in~~
 Keep me informed from time to time of how things are happening.

With-kind regards,
 yours sincerely
 B.Rh

197

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.
BARRISTER AT LAW

3rd Feb. 1952

Delhi

My dear Bhaurao,

I shall be in Bombay on the 6th. I want you to be present on that day. I have not much time to spend. I hope you have collected the material I had asked for

With- Kind regards
yours truly
B R A

198

26 Alipore Road
~~Fort, Bombay~~
 Civil Lines
 Delhi 227
 29 / 52

I got your letter. I did not answer my ~~letter~~ question. I ~~do~~ ^{wanted} to know why you failed. You did not answer that question. The Socialists are wanting me to come down to Bombay. I have promised to be there. They want to discuss the future. I hope you will be there. I shall let you know the exact date. It will be

in the first week of Feb. In the ~~same~~
~~place then~~ meaning time I want
 you to collect the following information
 in the following form.
 and keep it ready -

1	2	3	4
Constituency -	Name of S.C. 7 Candidate	Total Voters belonging to S.C. in the Constituency	Total Votes polled by S.C. 7 Candidate
5		6	
Party with which Alliance was made in the Constituency.		Votes polled by the Candidate of the Allied Party.	

The money you sent with-
 Babaria was received partly by

Kamla Kant — and partly by me.

About my standing again I am
not very particular but we shall
discuss ~~later~~ when we meet.

With kind regards I am

Yours sincerely

B. R. Khambhakar



INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

Class } 0 OH
Prefix } Cole

No. 6

Recd. from : By 81 (M)
By :
Sent at _____ H. _____ M.
To :
By :



Heading of Office of Origin: Nasik

Date: 9/14/40

Service Instructions: 39

TO B K Gaikwad C/o. P N Raghooji 207 Ghorpade Peth W. 2
Dist. here of B x 48 x

Doctor wants you meet him
Before your gang Poona stop
Dont contact make stop doctor
Leaving Bombay Monday morning
S. Chitre

Write the name of the holder if telegraphic transfer is to be made in the box

200



INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

Class }
Prefix } Code

Recd. from By 78 Sent at H. M.
By two To _____
By _____



Origin Bombay Station 572 - X Service Instructions 14

Whanurao Guikwas Kismat bag
nsk

Doctor wants you
here Sixth afternoon

Restain = Chitose

N.B. - The name of the Service if telegrams, should be written after, not before the name of the post.
DIRECTOR - 2-6-50-3, 49, 11, 6.

201

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc.

BARRISTER AT LAW

21/2/52

26 Alipore Road
Civil Lines
Delhi

My dear Bhaurao,

I got your letter just this morning. You have got just the minimum of it is difficult to face the prospect. If there is one defection we are gone. It would not be well to count defeat a second time I want to say that we must have at least 4/5 above the minimum.

You have I think made a great mistake in disclosing the plan to P. It may become known & is sure to give rise to a counter move which we will never be able to counteract. Why you did this I am unable to understand. At such

one feels greatly distressed by such errors of judgement by friends.

How many more than the minimum ~~to~~ you can get. How about the two Ts? you don't seem to have met Karale or Roham — or Ingadi. They should be contacted for they might be useful. I see from today's Times of India that the election to the Council of States by the Bombay Legislature is to take place on the 27th March. There is just about a month.

I would like to know what you wish to achieve by starting your activity. Raybhor has already started his activities. He is going to fight for separate electorates. This has brought the Federation in great ridicule.

yours Sincerely
D. R. R.

202

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.

BARRISTER AT LAW

$$\frac{29}{2} = 52$$

26 Alipore Road
Civil Lines
Delhi

My dear Bhausa

I got your letter yesterday. My reference to 'P' was to P' of Kolhapur. He may have been charged with good intentions. But if those he may speak will start counter-acting that is why I did not like your mentioning the matter to him. However ~~what~~ what is done cannot be undone. Let us hope that nothing worse will happen. I did not like your mentioning the matter to Rajbhoj. He might speak to more who as you know has turned out to be a sworn enemy of the Federation. More if he comes to know of our move is sure to work against it. In view of the known attitude of more I was rather puzzled &

read that you had spoken to Wagh to canvass for more votes. Does not Wagh share the views of the Home? If he does what good can you expect from him. I must leave it to you. you know better.

I am enclosing two letters in original. After reading them please return them to me. Rajbhoj is going to be a great-headache. Most people naturally blame you for the position he has acquired in the Federation. That he will misuse his position is the opinion of one and all, not merely of Nathanni. As to the other letter written by Kasam at home it is a matter of inquiry. They have not given their address. I cannot therefore reply to them. But if you go to Bombay you might contact them.

2.

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc.

BARRISTER AT LAW

With regard to your plea for starting some kind of agitation I am not sure that you have quite clearly understood what the situation is. We cannot come to any definite conclusion as to the future of the Federation unless we have got full reports regarding election results in the different constituencies. I am waiting and waiting but no report so far has come to me. My tentative conclusions are as follows -

1. The Scheduled Castes are behind the Federation.
2. The Federation will not and cannot win a seat in any election by its own strength.
- (3). That being so the Federation must

be wound up and the scheduled Caste people following the Federation ~~shall~~ should be allowed to join any party they like or

(4) The Federation should align itself some other party which (1) has a programme which will benefit the scheduled Caste (2) will allow them to work as an independent group inside the party.

(5) If the Federation is to exist as an independent body the Federation must have funds.

Each one of these is an essential condition. If any of these conditions fails the Federation must be closed down.

3

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc.

BARRISTER AT LAW

I would like to be outside the Federation. Indeed I would like to be out of ~~political~~ politics. I have my own political philosophy. I cannot easily give it up. yet I quite realize that my political philosophy cannot result in ~~me~~ any immediate benefit to him. There is nobody who knows better than myself how desperate is the condition of ~~me~~ our people and how hard it is for them to wait long for their betterment. I am inclined to advise our people even to join the Communists if they can give them immediate relief. The last point you should consider seriously namely my release from the Federation and also from my political

obligations.

The dates of nominations has been announced. It is between the ~~third~~ 3rd of March and 13th of March. I suppose I shall have to personally present my nomination Paper. That means I shall have to be in Bombay for the purpose. I shall have let you know the rate at which I shall be in Bombay.

As to getting into personal touch with our friends I don't know what more can be done except by writing to them a personal letter. If you can give me their names and addresses I can write to them or send the letters to you to distribute them. I am sorry to have troubled you so much for my sake.

With kind regards
Yours sincerely
P. D. I

203

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc.

BARRISTER-AT-LAW

26, Alipore Road,
Delhi,
the 14th March, 1952.

Dear Sir

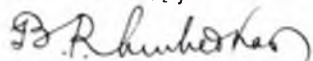
I am writing to you in connection with the coming elections to the Council of States for the Bombay State Legislative Assembly since you being a member of that Assembly you have a right to vote.

There are altogether seventeen seats to be filled and the election is by a single transferable vote. The candidate who gets eighteen first preference votes will win. I am standing as a candidate for election. There are also other candidates contesting the election.

May I have your first preference vote? I am sure in deciding as to which candidate you will give your first preference vote you will consider the merits of the different candidates. As for myself my public work done during the last thirty years is before you. I do not think I need say anything more to commend my candidature to yourself.

Voting for election to the Council of States is scheduled to take place on the 27th of this month. I shall be very grateful if you will give me further opportunity to carry on my public work by giving me your first preference vote. I hope you will give my appeal your best consideration.

Yours sincerely,



(B. R. AMBEDKAR)

204

Personal18th May 195226 Alipore Road
Civil Lines
Delhi.

My dear Phauao,

I have just received your letter from about Mr. Shah. I don't recall anything about meeting him in Bombay. But it is due to my memory not being very strong. My how if he comes I shall be glad to do what I can for him.

I wonder if you had gone to Aurangabad to fix up the contract for bricks. I have been telling you that this is very urgent.

More from Aurangabad had written to me about some mischief being committed

by Mr. S. K. Paksh in the Local Board
elections — and it would very badly affect
the S. C. F. I wanted to send that letter to
you. But unfortunately I have lost it.
Will you write to him and ask him
what the matter is — and advise him
properly.

I am sorry my having to go
to America is almost becoming certain. I
do not like it very much. Since my return
from Bombay my health has deteriorated
considerably — and my wife whose enthusiasm
was very high has ^{it} cooled considerably.
But I suppose there is no escape now. Please
keep this confidential. With kind regards
Yours sincerely
B. R. h.

205

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.
BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

Delhi

6 May 1952.

My dear Bhaurao,

I have got your two letters. I am sorry I could not reply to them owing to my illness.

I am going to Secunderabad on the 9th for the meeting of the Managing Committee of the College. If you come we shall be able to decide

all the points you have raised.
I hope you will find time to
come.

with kind regards
Yours Sincerely
B.R.h

206

14th May 1952.

26 Alipore Road

Delhi

H#

My dear Phaurao,

I have your letter of the 12th. I immediately got into touch with Mr. Poran Chand to find out if he could give me more detailed information regarding our requirements. Mr. Poran Chand has given the following information which I am passing on to you -

I Bricks(1) Total requirement - Thirty lakhs

(ii) Specification of size

$$9 \times 4\frac{1}{4} \times 3$$

(Same as Binsli)

II Lime Five hundred Tons

III. Dabbar

- (i) Total requirement - Thirty thousand ~~to~~ cft.
- (ii) Specification - $\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches in thickness.

Pooran Chand agrees that the rates quoted by you are reasonable and may be accepted.

He cannot give the total quantity of Lime and Dabbar in terms of brass

2

But you can work out ton and ctt in terms of ₹ brass.

you can now proceed to execute the tasks that have been assigned to you. Of course you will have to give advances; but be very careful how much you advance each time. Two conditions should be fulfilled before any advance is made. Except the original advance — other subsequent advances should be (1) against delivery as on spot (2) against 75 p.c. of the value and (3) on certificate as to quality. Either the certificate work should be done by hesham or Bagul or by both. For every advance must take

a receipt duly stamped.

I have told you how to negotiate for the ~~money~~ trucks.

My health is what it is. It is a cause of sorrow for all of you. I have ceased to worry. For I don't think I ~~have~~ can do anything to regain my old self. As the Pundit has said everything that comes into being perishes. you must learn to take it in that light. More important than worrying about my health is to think of taking over my responsibilities which you must be soon ready to do. I am sure I will not last long.

The date of my departure I am sure

3

is approaching rapidly. I shall let you know the exact date.

With-kind regards
yours sincerely
P.R. Humbert

List of candidates for Election to the Council of States as given in the Ballot paper

1. Abid Ali Jafferbhai		
1. अबिदअली नाफरभाई	18	
1. अबिदअली नाफरभाई		
2. Alva, Violet Joachim		
2. अल्वा, व्हायोलेट जोअचिम	17	
2. अल्वा, व्हायोलेट जोअचिम		
3. Ambedkar, Chinarao Ramji		
3. अंबेडकर, चिंनराव रामजी	19	7+1111111 = 13
3. अंबेडकर, चिंनराव रामजी		11111
4. Dabholkar, Shankarrao Gopalrao		
4. दाभोळकर, शंकरराव गोपाळराव	0	
4. दाभोळकर, शंकरराव गोपाळराव		
5. Dave, Sonpath Prabhushankar		
5. दवे, सोमनाथ प्रभाशंकर	18	
5. दवे, सोमनाथ प्रभाशंकर		
6. Doojirakar, Tribha; Raghunath		
6. दोगीराकर, त्रिंबहा रघुनाथ	18	
6. दोगीराकर, त्रिंबहा रघुनाथ		
7. Devkiranandan Narayan		
7. देवकिरानंदन नारायण	17	
7. देवकिरानंदन नारायण		

Bhimrao R. Ambedkar,
 M.A., B.A., B.L.,
 Barrister-at-Law

"Rajgraha"
 Dadar,
 Bombay, 14.

19-7-52

My dear Bhaurao,

I have just had a letter from Mr. Meshram. He tells me that Appa who was doing such excellent work has closed his business and is returning to Nashik. Do you understand the consequences of this? Meshram says that in all probability he has acted under your advice — and that

you are also not allowing your elder
 brother to work as an accountant.
 All this is very regrettable. I am
 dead certain that you cannot
 deny the services of appa
 and to your elder brother
 in connection with the construction
 work. If they have come back
 from Aurangabad they should return first
 with. I hope you will carry on
~~my~~ suggestions. I shall of
 course see you on the 3rd
 with kind regards
 yours sincerely
 B R Ambedkar

209

SHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
 A. Ph.D., D. Sc.
 BARRISTER AT LAW

7th Nov. 1952
 26 Alipore Road
 Civil Lines
 Dechi

My dear Phawrao,

I received one letter from you on the eve of my departure from Bombay. Naturally I could not dispose of it myself. I handed it over to Kamalakant to do the needful in the matter. Nothing came out of it. My boxes are still lying there in Bombay. I do not quite understand why your friends could not go to Bombay and bring the boxes. Surely they would have been paid their return fare from Panmad to Bombay. I have been terribly inconvenienced. Unfortunately my keeps have remained

behind and altho we are at Alipore we
 can't find any of our friends here
 I can't get at my cheque book. That
 is why I have not been able to send you
 the cheque which you had asked me
 send. However I have not asked Chas
 not to wait for any body and he
 send the boxes with the college fees

I will now turn to your second
 letter which came after I had reached
 Delhi. I have read it carefully and
 also the accompaniments.

you have the feeling that I am
 dissatisfied with you and that the
 public has come to know about
 it and that is why they are
 issuing these antagonistic handbills.

3

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc.
BARRISTER AT LAW

Let me clear up the position point by point.

As to the contract being given to Appa the responsibility is entirely mine. You do not come into the picture at all — you can disown all responsibility and throw it on me. I will defend myself against any attack from any quarters. I may do it in the near future — or some time later when occasion arises.

Many of our contractors from Nasik had been to me and I have told them the same thing. Even the contractor whose contract was cancelled had been to me — and he received the same reply.

I told them that this was not the only work they could tender for. There was plenty of ~~other~~ work with the Society - such as levelling the play grounds and building a pavillion for the Sidharth College - and they went away quite satisfied.

I will now tell you what are the real causes - ~~not~~ of my dissatisfaction with you but of ~~the~~ causes of why some ~~your~~ old friends have become dissatisfied with you.

The first and foremost is your intimacy with Miss Dani. They think that there is more than

5

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.

BARRISTER AT LAW

political friendship with you. I am speaking from what correspondents have written and what our mutual and common friends have told me privately. †

The second cause of dissatisfaction is your association with the girls' hostel at Nasik. I have no idea what part you play in the management of it. But people have been talking about ~~the~~ the girls being misused.

‡ There have been, in the third place, complaints about monies

collected but not accounted for. I received while in Bombay a long letter signed by some people raising this complaint.

There are matters ~~for~~ which the public feel disappointed with you so far as I know. The third matter is of no moment you and Waghyan can sit and settle what truth there is in the complaint.

As regards the first two I don't at all share the sentiments of those who accuse you. All the same I cannot help saying that it would be in your own interests to dissociate yourself as much as you can from both Miss Dani as well as the girls' Hotel. Indians are ~~not~~ a bad people. They are always ready to attribute bad

7
 BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
 M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc.
 BARRISTER AT LAW.

motives and bad conduct even when there is no ground for it. Why give cause to such people.

you and all our workers have a feeling that they are safe if I protect them. This is a wrong feeling. This only virtue that can protect a man against public calumny. I shall not last for ever. After I am dead and gone what can protect you is your own virtue.

I will + now tell you of the causes which have made me,

dissatisfied you.

First is that whenever you come to Bombay you go back the very next day without any business being done. I have been wondering why you at all come if you have no intention to complete the business. Last you came to Bombay & we wanted to settle what legal steps we should take and you promised to bring a lawyer. You told me you were going to Mumbai but from there you went straight to Nark and never returned. You know how very anxious I have been to get rid of the tenants. But if you behave in this

9.

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR

M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc.

BARRISTER AT LAW

way what can I do. One
cannot help feeling annoyed.

The second cause of my personal
dissatisfaction with you is that
you have not been able to
set right the sinking condition in
the which the Bombay City Federation
is continuing to be. It is now
several years since you have
been its President — and yet
you have not been able to
set things right. you think this
is creditable? I cannot
function as the head of the

Federation if the Federation is not functioning
and if the Federation is not functioning
it is the fault of the local heads especially
in my present disabled conditions.

I have now given you an
idea of how matters stand
It is for you to do your part

With kind regards
yours sincerely
B R A

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BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M. A. PH. D. D. SC. LL.D.
BARRISTER AT-LAW
MEMBER COUNCIL OF STATES

26 ALIPORE ROAD
CIVIL LINES,
DELHI 22 rd Nov. 1952.

My dear Bhaurao

I have received your two letters. I have been in the grip of a very bad cold and was confined to bed on that account. That is why I was not able to reply to you earlier.

I am glad you have understood ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~import~~ ^{import} of my letter in its ~~time~~ ^{time} ~~import~~. I would suggest that you make Miss Dani the Superintendent of the Girls Hotel and let her manage it. You can help her in the matter of collecting funds keeping accounts etc. you free yourself from its harnesses so that you can move about freely.

Yeshwant seems to be wanting to quit the Press. I would also like him to quit. It gives a chance to some people to talk. I don't know what to do about it. I had mentioned this matter to you and Jathar suggesting that this might be done. Both of you were then against it. You might think over the matter. Janata has become a worthless keeg.

As to your suggestion for a T.A. you certainly can charge T.A. to the Aurangabad College Construction Fund for journeys you have undertaken in respect of the construction either to Bombay or to Aurangabad.

As to your T.A. in respect of the Boardings you are supervising you certainly can charge T.A. either to the Hotels or to P. E. S.

As to your T.A. in respect of the Collection

for Building Fund I entirely agree that you have a right to it. Only question is when you should claim it in the beginning or at the end. I think it is better if it was done at the end when all the money is collected.

I am coming to Bombay on the 16th Dec. We shall then discuss the matter.

With kind regards
yours sincerely
B.Rh.

P.S. There is going to be an section to the Poona. Sanasa has written to Phosle soliciting the support

of our people to his candidate. Whole
he says is supporting the Congress
Candidate

I am not much interested
in Politics. But you may look
into the matter.

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BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
 M. A. PH. D. O. SC. LL.D.
 BARRISTER-AT-LAW
 MEMBER COUNCIL OF STATES

26 ALIPORE ROAD
 CIVIL LINES,
 DELHI 1st Feb. 1953

My dear Bhamrao,

I have received all your letters. I have been unwell and we have had intense cold. Beside I have severe cold in my shoulder. All these circumstances have prevented me from replying to your letters.

I am wanting to write to the Governor of Bombay but I find Bajpai is leaving. We will have to wait until he returns. I cannot write the representation until I have

A Copy of the Act and the ^{Debates} ~~Reports~~
 of the Bombay Legislative Assembly
 Containing ~~Speeches~~ the ~~speeches~~
 on the Bill

As to ~~your~~ the other points
 raised by you I shall write
 separately.

I find that you are not
 paying any attention to
 the question of Court Proceedings
 against the tenants occupying
 the Gokuldas Pasha Land in Bombay

Yours Sincerely
 B.R.A.

212

PEOPLES' EDUCATION SOCIETY

Chairman: Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, M.A. F.R.S. O.S.C. BARISTER-AT-LAW LL.D. (COLUMBIA)

Tel. No. 34497

ALBERT BUILDING,
DR. DADARNAI HAWDOJI ROAD,
BOMBAY 1.

REF. No. 356

12th April

19 53

OFFICE ORDER IN RESPECT OF CONSTRUCTIONAL WORKS AT AURANGABAD

Owing to the sudden death of Mr. G.T.Mesram, Registrar in charge of the constructional works at Aurangabad, the following orders are issued for disposal of the construction work :-

(1) Re:- Wooden Purlins for roof.

Telegraphic order dated 8-4-1953 placed with Messrs Khobaragade, Chanda, for the supply of 350 numbers of purlins be cancelled. Mr. B.K.Gaikwad to arrange to purchase about 400 purlins from Nasik.

(2) Re:- Steel.

Mr. M.G.Tipnis to contact Messrs. Tatas and Messrs. Jayantilal and Co. of Bombay and expedite supply of steel from them.

(3) Re:- Lime and bricks.

These are prepared departmentally and the work should proceed as before.

(4) Re:- Laggis from Shahabad.

Mr. B.K.Gaikwad should take necessary steps for getting the necessary wagons.

(5) Mr. M.G.Tipnis to work at Aurangabad, give all assistance to Mr. B.K.Gaikwad and Mr. M.B.Chitnis and look after the Engineering side of the construction work; Mr. Bagul continuing to be in direct charge of the works.

(6) Mr. B.K.Gaikwad to work as the Liaison Officer between the Chairman and the Principal M.B.Chitnis

(7) The cheques will be operated by the Undersigned as Chairman and Mr. M.B.Chitnis as the Principal till further orders.

PEOPLES' EDUCATION SOCIETY

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., BARHATKATRA, L. S. (COLLEGE)

TEL. NO. 34897

ALBERT BUILDING,
DR. DADARNAI MAWROJI ROAD,
BOMBAY I.

REF. NO.

19

- 2 -

(8) Payments in respect of construction work should be made by the Principal on vouchers signed by Bagul and countersigned by Gaikwad.

(9) Accountant should keep accounts as before.

(10) Mr. B.K.Gaikwad and Mr. M.B.Chitnis will dispose of jointly all matters relating to the works and in case of a difference, they should refer the question to the undersigned for decision.

(11) Mr. Tipnis to submit a weekly report to the undersigned of the progress of the work.

B.R. Ambedkar
66
12/4
CHAIRMAN.

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Bhaurao R. Ambedkar,
M.A. F.R.D., D.Sc., BARRISTER-AT-LAW,
MEMBER, COUNCIL OF STATES,
CHAIRMAN, PEOPLE'S EDUCATION SOCIETY.

26, ALPFORE ROAD,
DELHI.

22nd June 1953

My dear Bhaurao,

Ever since my return to Delhi I have been trying to contact the Railway authorities to get the necessary number of waggons for bringing the Glass from Calcutta. I have not been able to contact them — and even if I do it does not seem possible to get the waggons in time. I am therefore trying to purchase the

glass ~~in~~ from a dealer in Delhi. It is easier to get transport from Delhi. I am meeting the dealer this evening.

I am starting from Delhi on the morning of the 29th by the Punjab mail which will reach Kanpur on the 30th morning. I hope there is a connecting train to take us to Arrangabad. I don't like to travel by car.

I hope everything is alright
Yours sincerely
B.R.h

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Bhimrao R. Ambedkar,
 M.A. Ph.D. D.Sc., BARRISTER AT LAW,
 MEMBER COUNCIL OF STATES,
 CHAIRMAN, PEOPLE'S EDUCATION SOCIETY.

26, ALIPORE ROAD,
 DELHI.

25-6-53.

My dear Phaurao,

I was sorry to read your last letter which came into my hands yesterday. Varale has done a foolish thing. He should have at least consulted you. It was never my desire to make you ~~work~~ work without payment. I was only waiting for the meeting of the Governing ~~Body~~ Body to fix the

amount. But unfortunately no meeting could be held. But the thing will be done at the next meeting. you need have no worry about it.

I was also sorry to read about the quarrel between Varale and Chitnis. you do not know the cause nor has Varale written to me about it. I just got your wire about

the waggon for moving glass.
 When will it be reached? Has
 it moved? Let me know
 by wire if you can.

I am leaving Delhi on the
 morning of the 29th and will
 be reaching Manma on the
 30th morning for Lusaugobad.

I hope you are keeping
 well
 yours Sincerely

B. R. L.

215

IMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M. A. PH. D. D. SC. L. L. D. D. LIT.
BARRISTER AT LAW
MEMBER COUNCIL OF STATES

Personal

26, ALIPUR ROAD,
CIVIL LINES,
DELHI the 29th July 1954.

My dear Bhaurao,

I have got your letters. I don't think that mere action against Bhole will be of any use. The disease of disunity has gone very deep and if you take action the whole thing will break up, a result which I am sure you do not want.

The best thing would be to call a meeting of our workers in the Bombay State and have the dirty linen washed before them.

Rajbhoj is of course another headache. He shall have to be dealt with. Janata is another problem. It has become a group paper. That is the complaint of the rival group. It must also be dealt with.

I must tell you that I do not propose to be at the head of the Federation. I feel I am too old and too sickly to play any effective part in politics. You people can now run the party. You must by now learn to take responsibility which after my death will undoubtedly be yours. Why take it right now?

I cannot remain a titular head. For in that condition I get all the blame for the bad deeds done by others which I am unable to check by my inability to move about.

You have said that people are conspiring tooust you from public life. Matters should have come to this stage is indeed an occasion not merely for sorrow but also introspection. You do not as yet fully realize that there is so much discontent against you personally. There are letters with me which make all sorts of charges against you. The contents of these letters cannot be disclosed in letters. I wanted time to speak to you privately. But you have never allowed me an opportunity to do so. Whenever I am in Bombay you just pay a formal

-2-

visit, stay a minute or two and disappear, never to be found again. There may be many good reasons why you ^{cannot} stay in Bombay longer than a minute while formerly you used to stay for weeks. But the fact remains that there is no contact between us. I have a feeling that you deliberately avoid it. What can I do? I am helpless with such a person.

You once honoured yourself as Mahatma Gaikwad. Now the word Mahatma has been dropped. So much has the tide turned against you. But you have never asked within yourself why has this happened. You ^{in my judgement} have two bad habits about which I have already spoken. First is: you will never admit guilt. Second is: you never repent. You always justify your actions and in those in whom you are your friends. I have told you about your brother what sort of a man he is. You do not admit this. You keep on saying that I am being misinformed by Varale. This is absolutely false. I learned of this during Meshram's life. He too was unfortunately a party to your brother's conduct. What I learned about your brother's conduct was through registered letters sent by men and women workers. I see no reason to doubt them. For I have heard similar reports about your brother from other sources. Yet you still insist that your brother is innocent.

There is a limit to family feeling. One cannot carry it to the extent you carry - certainly no man who wants to play his part in public life can keep on distrusting the public and trust only his brother. You should copy a bit from me. You probably might be knowing how I turned out my eldest brother from my home on the mere allegation by a mill hand woman that he insulted her.

People have been very angry with you also on another ground. People say that they made themselves enemies of Danis and Rankhambes because of you. They have boycotted them on your account. They refuse to give their daughters to Dani or Rankambe. Yet you recently managed to get Dani's son - who was not getting any bride - married

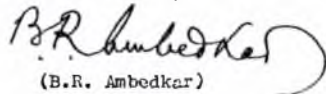
-3-

to the daughter of the Accountant working in the College of the People's Education Society's College at Arrangabad. This double dealing. People say that why should we incur the enmity of Rankhambe for a man who is secretly in league with him.

I have just recently heard some thing quite unbelievable. But this is what it is: you had been, I was told, invited to address a meeting held by our people at Sholapur to celebrate Buddha Jayanti in May 1st. At that meeting you are reported to have condemned my move for conversion to Buddhism as being of no use. That you had discussed the subject with me several times but you were not convinced and that in your opinion the Buddha was a Buddha (fool) and that people should think before they accept my proposal. I wanted to get a copy of the Janata to verify the allegation. I did not get it. If the story is true this is a stab in the back. I do not mind it. I can still carry on in spite of your opposition or any body else's opposition. But if the allegation is true what friendship and regard can one have with a person who is capable of such treachery?

People have unfortunately associated with your hypocrisy. Sadhu and Bhundu that is what they say. If you can drop your mock humility and not aspire to be a Saint, you will perhaps regain your old position as Mahatma Gaikwad. People like a common man, living like a common man. There is yet time to do that.

Yours sincerely,


(B.R. Ambedkar)

Shri Bhaurao Gaikwad,
Kismat Bag, Nasik
G.I.P. Railway.

216

Cant. A'Bad
29th July 1953

My dear Dada

As per decision
our great leader Sr. Babaji
has written a letter and
I have dispatched it
to-day. Will you kindly
come on 7th. inst.?

My Jaiabhem to Tan
ji, Skakuntalabai
and others. Thanks

Yours truly P. S. K. M. S.

217

Camp: Government Aurangabad,
Date: 23-1-53.

From:

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar.

Member Council of States.

To:

The Hon'ble the Minister
for Revenue,
Government of Hyderabad
Hyderabad, P.S.

Dear Sir,

I have come to Aurangabad in connection with the construction of our college buildings. During the course of my stay here many persons belonging to the scheduled castes and residing in the district of Aurangabad have flooded me with their complaints against the Government. I want to mention one in particular as it is so glaring and which relates to your department.

I am told by the scheduled castes of Muldebad that Government had given them some forest lands for cultivation and which they were cultivating for some years. Recently the Muldebad Panchai has been transferred and merged in the Aurangabad district and their lands they had been cultivating have been taken away from them and made part of the forest area. The result is that they have been deprived of their only means of livelihood which they had. They are practically starving.

I have made inquiries into the matter from the Collector's office at Aurangabad and I am told that their dispossession of their lands is the result of the orders by the Government and any redress must be sought from the Government. That is why I am writing to you.

I must frankly say that I am quite unable to understand the policy underlying such an order. Forests are necessary and very essential. But why deprive people of their lands which is their only means of livelihood for the sake of creating and enlarging forest area? There is plenty of barren land which could be used for afforestation. I do not think that this aspect of the case has been considered by the Government. The present needs of the scheduled castes must be given greater importance than the good which a forest can produce at some indefinite time in the future to the general public.

I hope you will take this aspect of the matter into

consideration and order the restoration of the lands to
the Scheduled Castes to whom they were given.

Yours truly,

Sd/- B.R. Ambedkar

Member Council of State

218

B. R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law,
Member, Council of States.

26, ALIPORE ROAD,
 CIVIL LINES,
 DELHI,

Dated the 5th Feb. 1955.

My dear Baburao,

Thank you for sending me the report of the Backward Classes Board, Bombay.

I have just received your second letter. I am sorry the Times of India has not published my letter. I am sorry I have no copy of it with me. I had given you a copy of it when you saw me in Bombay. Will you be so good as to send it to me by registered post.

With regard to Maharki Watan before any agitation is started I would first like to represent the case to Morarji. For that I would like to have all information, such as Government Notifications, Government Legislation regarding the Watan of other Watandors. Send me complete information.

Yours Sincerely
B.R. Ambedkar
 (B.R. Ambedkar)

To
 Bhamao.K. Gaikwad
 Kismet Bang
 Nasik

219

B. R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt., Barrister at-Law.
Member, Council of States.

26, ALIPORE ROAD,
CIVIL LINES,
DELHI.

Dated the ~~24th~~ 28th Feb. 56

Dear Mr. Gaikwad,

I have sent you under separate cover three copies of the Constitution of the All India Scheduled Castes Federation.

Hitherto the Constitution of the Federation was an unwritten Constitution. Time and circumstances require that the Federation should have a written Constitution.

The Constitution as drafted by me, so far as I am concerned, is final. I am however prepared to consider any suggestions that you may have to make. I shall be grateful to receive your suggestions if you have any to make. Your suggestions must reach me within a month.

Yours sincerely,



(B.R. Ambedkar)

Shri B.K. Alias Dadasaheb Gaikwad,
President, Karnataka Scheduled Castes Federation,
Kismet Bag, Nasik.

220

All India Scheduled Castes Federation

President :-

BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR
M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt.,
Barrister-at-Law,
Member, Council of States

26, ALIPUR ROAD,
CIVIL LINES,
DELHI.

Ref. No. _____

Dated the 22nd March 1955.

My dear Gaikwad,

I have received your two letters and the bundle of papers on Watan that you sent.

I wanted to reply to you immediately on the receipt of your papers but I was over taken suddenly by severe illness which has disabled me from doing any work. Dr. Malvankar who had been called and has returned back only recently has warned me not to undertake any intellectual work for some time. I have not been very obedient patient but this time I cannot take liberty and it is impossible for me to attend to the work till I have completely recovered. The speech I made in the Rajya Sabha on the 18th has further lowered my vitality and I have been now lying in bed.

I mention this because you want me to act quickly in the Watan matter. That is impossible. If you think the matter is urgent you are of course free to take such steps as you think are likely to be effective. I however do not think that any thing like Satyagraha would be of any consequence. You might, if you like, hold public meetings to protest against the proposals of the Government of Bombay.

P.T.O.

-2-

I may be coming to Bombay soon for ^{further} medical examination, for Dr. Malvankar has advised me to come down to Bombay to enable him to diagnose what exactly is the melody which attacked me. You may then see me.

Yours sincerely,



(B.R. Ambedkar)

Shri B.K. Gaikwad,
President,
Scheduled Castes Federation,
Bombay State, Kismat Bag,
Nasik.

B. R. AMBEDKAR.
M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law.
Member, Council of States.

26, ALIPORE ROAD,
CIVIL LINES,
DELHI,

Dated the 25th March 1955.

My dear Bhaurao,

Please refer to your letter of the 21st. A letter from Mr. Bhandare on the subject had been received by me. I have advised him to be neutral.

Like you I too was surprised to read his views. They were only his views although the newspapers who came to know of them put them out as his proposals which was quite wrong.

What is however interesting to note the reasons^{is} why he had taken such a view. He writes that two members of the Federation Party in the Bombay Municipality had already decided to vote for the Congress. It is better he thought that all should vote one way rather than show open split. Of the members who had decided to vote with the Congress is one of them is Mr. R.A. Jadhav and the other is Mr. Boricha. Mr. R.A. Jadhav is a man whom you and B.C. Kamble have been lending support against Mr. Bhandare although both of you know that he has been found guilty of embezzling money belonging to the Federation. You must be held responsible for encouraging this man.

As to your other cutting referring to the split in the Federation the author of the news is again your friend 'Mr. Rajabhoj' He has been telling every body that there is a split. To-day somebody has sent me two cuttings from the Lokamanya of Bombay that Mr. Rajabhoj is going to join the Congress. You must have seen the news already.

The Federation is full of groups each fighting against

F.T.O.

-2-

another. For these internal dissensions within the Federation especially in Bombay, you alone are responsible. You have shown by your conduct that you cannot tolerate a rival. You fought with Bhole because he was sent to England and America and you were not. You quarrel with Bhandare because he has been appointed President of the Bombay City Federation. You are not only quarrelling with him, you have got hold of B.C. Kamble and Rajbhoj to form a group to oppose Bhole, Bhandare and support their opponents although they have been wrong-doers. You are in my opinion the hot bed of dissensions and party intrigue.

There is one matter to which I must refer in this connection although I could have referred to it at an earlier stage. When a public meeting of our workers was held in Bombay last November you were present. You were present when the resolution suspending the Bombay Federation was passed. You did not oppose it. I was not consulted before the resolution was moved. I kept quiet and accepted the obligation which was thrown upon me. You were ~~put~~ on the Committee. For a month there was no stir. Suddenly I find a statement of yours in the Janata - which according to many is a Gazette of Gaikwad, Rajabhoj and Kamble - that you repudiated your appointment of the Committee. I was greatly surprised that an old man like you should have done so foolish an act. What shocked me was that you were not content with announcing your own resignation. You went further and issued a cyclo-styled circular telling that they too should resign from the Committee. Fortunately you got only one victim.

There is a limit to which a man can carry his personal pick and pride. ^{In} Every party there are people who make mistakes. It is the duty of the elders to save the face of the party and not to exploit the mistakes for personal aggrandizement.

You must be by now 50/55 years old. You have experience of

-3-

other political parties. As an elderly person it was your duty to bring all people together and make peace. Instead you started group rivalries and group fighting. How can a man like, with no health, work for the Federation? Indeed I am sick of the Federation and would like to do work which is more congenial to my mind.

Yours *Sincerely*



(B.R. Ambedkar)

Shri B.K. Gaikwad,
Kismat Bag, Nasik.

222

BHIMRAO R AMBEDKAR

M A., Ph.D., D. Sc.

BARRISTER AT LAW

26, Alipur Road,
Civil Lines, -
D E L H I.

Jairaj House,
Colaba Causeway,
B O M B A Y 3.

April 28th, 1955.

My dear Bahurao :

I had expected you to see me before leaving for Bhandare. As I shall be leaving for Delhi on Monday, before you return, I leave the following instructions :

- (1) If you are calling a meeting of the working committee - it should be held in Bombay sometime in the last week of May.
- (2) I have told Mr. Pillai how to refashion the hall, so that it may both be a hall and a temple. I want you to leave the matter to him to design.
- (3) Mr. Pillai tells me that your colony is being built up by individual members who are planning their houses according to their own wishes. There is neither a master plan nor an uniform plan. This will result in great chaos. It would be better if you hand over the planning of the colony and the design of the houses and even the construction thereof to one single individual. It seems to me that Mr. Pillai is the best man for the purpose.
- (4) You have to arrange for the Yavala Conference.
- (5) The colony should have one name.
- (6) You have not sent me the notices issued by the Government against the Mahars in respect of the commutation of their Watans.
- (7) You have to attend the Small Causes Court on the 8th of May to give evidence. Herein fail not.

Yours sincerely,

To:

Mr. Bahurao K. Gaekwad,
Kismet Baug,
N A S I K.



223

B. R. AMBEDKAR,
 M. A., Ph. D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law,
 Member, Council of States.

26, ALIPORE ROAD, CIVIL LINES,
 DELHI.

Dated the 8th June 1955.

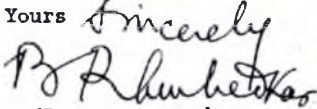
My dear Bhaurao,

I have received your letter with its accompaniment I have read all the debates on the subject of comutation of Maharki Vatan. Every body seems to have gone wrong, our Kamble as well as Government.

The matter will have to be taken to the High Court and if we fail to the Supreme Court I am ready for action. Of course it will cost quite a lot of money we shall have to collect it from the Mahars. We shall discuss the whole thing when I come.

It now appears that I shall be in a position to come down in the beginning of July. We can also hold meeting of the Working Committee in the beginning of July. I shall let you know the precise date of my tour programme.

I have heard nothing from Avode. He is naturally very uncommunicative. Indeed I have not seen the announcement of the Returning Officer as to who has been elected. What have you done about Yevala?

Yours sincerely

 (B.R. Ambedkar)

Shri B.K. Gaikwad,
 Kismat Baug, Nasik.

224

B. R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A., Ph. D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law,
Member, Council of States.

26, ALIPORE ROAD, CIVIL LINES,
DELHI.

Dated the 9th February 1956.

My dear Gaikwad,

I have your letter of the February 1956 asking me to state out the stand of the party in order that you may determine the question of resignation. The stand I have taken is as follows:

- (i) the mixed state of Bombay consisting of Maharashtrians and Gujratis must be desolved;
- (ii) Bombay city should be part of Maharashtra but may be made an independent state;

I am against Samyukat Maharashtra. I want Maharashtra to be divided into four states:

- (a) Bombay city State;
- (b) Western Maharashtra;
- (c) Central Maharashtra; and
- (d) Eastern Maharashtra.

All these points are explained in my book which has been published and you can obtain a copy of it from our Press.

For the present the struggle that is going on is on the issue of Bombay being part of Maharashtra. On that issue I am one with the Maharashtrians but I don't allow a conclusion to be drawn from this unanimity that I am also in favour of United Maharashtra. It is difficult in these circumstances to take a stand which is one single one in all circumstances. If the resignation is limited to the issue of Bombay being part of Maharashtra there is no harm in tendering the resignation although to me tendering resignation seems to be a very childish act. It would be much better to force the Government to suspend the local bodies rather than you people tender your resignation.

You may have to issue a statement so that in case you have to tender resignation people should know what are the terms and conditions under which you are tendering it.

Yours sincerely,


(B.R. Ambedkar)

Shri Gaikwad,
Kismatbagh, Nasik

B. R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law,
Member, Council of State.

26, ALIPORE ROAD,
CIVIL LINES,
11th DELHI,
12th March 1955

My dear Bhanua,

I have received your wire
and your letter ^{to-day}. There is no harm
in your standing for the election. What
good ~~it~~ it can do is more than
what I can. You need however,
withdraw your nomination Paper.

I may perhaps ~~say~~ ^{add} in this
letter that I have been receiving
many complaints about Ghoranagade.
Many people from various ~~sort~~ ^{sort} of parties
have been inviting him to attend
public meetings and have been
expressing their willingness to
meet to ~~his~~ ^{his} expenses. But he ~~does~~
not even reply to them. People have

been unable to understand his conduct.
Can you explain this? I would like
to know the cause.

With kind regards

Yours Sincerely

B.R. Ambedkar

P.S.

I have had no letter from him.

226

B. K. AMBEDKAR,
M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law.
Member, Council of States.

26, ALIPORE ROAD,
 CIVIL LINES,

DELHI.

12th March 1955

My dear Bheerao,
 your client has not sent
 full fees as yet. He has
 sent only Rs 2000/- . He has yet
 to pay Rs 3000. I have to
 engage a junior who has to
 be paid. What is to be done!
 Ask Pawar.

Yours Sincerely
 B.R.

227

B. R. AMBEDKAR,
 M.A., Ph. D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law,
 Member, Council of States.

26, ALIPORE ROAD, CIVIL LINES,
 DELHI

Dated the 3rd May 1956.

My dear

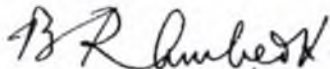
Bhaurao,

I have received your letter dated 1-5-56 along with the Wakalatnama signed by the Prisoner. You have mentioned whether you should stand for the election or not. I had informed you categorically to stand. Unfortunately the word 'not' was not mentioned so I am making this clear.

There is a difference in the appeal to be signed by Shela. There is a condition precedent to an appeal in the Supreme Court that the prisoner should first file a petition for appeal for leave in the High Court. This has not been done. I am sending herewith a copy of a petition for leave to appeal to be signed by Shela and send directly through the Supdt. of Jails to the Registrar of the High Court. You will kindly ~~xxxx~~ go to the Jail and meet the Superintendent of Jail and have the appeal memo signed by Shela and ask the Supdt. to send it to the Registrar of the Bombay High Court.

I spoke on Monday on the States Reorganisation Bill. You must have seen the report of my speech in the Times of India. I have pleased no body as is usually the case with me. But I find that the Government is pressed and may likely concede the points I have made. If this happens I shall myself pray the Buddha to bless me.

Yours sincerely,



(B.R. Ambedkar)

Shri Bhaurao Gaikwad,
 Kismetbagh, Nasik.

P.S. I intend to distribute a few hundred saries to the needy on Buddha Jayanti. Please ascertain whether it could be possible for you to arrange the same from some wholesale dealer there or from any local mill as the case may be

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B. R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law,
Member, Council of States.

26, ALIPORE ROAD,
CIVIL LINES,
DELHI,

Dated the 10th July, 1956.

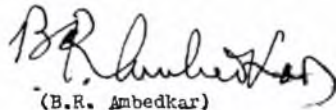
My dear Bhaurao,

I have received your letter. I do not think it will be necessary for you to come here. Although my legs have been troubling me I am feeling much better and I believe that I would be able to attend Parliament without distracting you from your work.

With regard to the question of what Fedezation should do in the new Election Campaign I shall send you a Memorandum. We can then discuss that Memorandum at a Working Committee meeting. I don't know that there is any thing more to be said at this stage. I have received a similar letter from Khobragade and I am going to give him the same reply.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,


(B.R. Ambedkar)

Shri Bhaurao Gaikwad,
Kismetbagh,
Nasik.

229

B. R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law,
Member, Council of States.

26, ALIPORE ROAD,
CIVIL LINE,
DELHI.

Dated the 23rd July 1956.

My dear Bhaurao,

Please refer to your telegram of 22nd July 1956. The dismissal of the application to the High Court was expected. It was done with the object of saving limitation in the Supreme Court which is newly introduced. There are still 80 days ~~left~~ to file a petition in the Supreme Court. We want a certified copy of the application filed in the High Court and the order of the High Court thereon. It might well be better if you can bring it yourself and bring Khobragade with you. There are many matters which have to be talked about regarding election in which you people are so greatly enthusiastic.

Yours sincerely,



(B.R. Ambedkar)

Shri B.K. Gaikwad,
Kismetbagh,
Nasik.

230

B. R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law,
Member, Council of States.

26, ALIPORE ROAD,
 CIVIL LINES,
 DELHI,

Dated the 8th August 1956.

Respected 

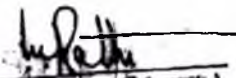
I am directed by Baba Sahib to remind you about the telegram which he sent you in connection with the case of Shelare. The necessary papers have not yet been sent by you so far. As the time is very short you are requested kindly to send the papers immediately.

In his last letter you were also asked to come over here along with Shri Khobragade but nothing has been heard from you so far. Please let us know, by the return of mail, the probable date when you can be expected over here.

Baba Sahib is keeping good health.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,


 (M. C. PATIL)
 Hon. Private Secretary to B. R. Ambedkar

Shri Gaikwad,
 Kismetbagh,
Nalik.

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INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT



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 By f. 3621 To _____
2/8 By _____

Handed in at (Office of Origin)	Date	Hour	Minute	Service Instructions	Words
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To _____ ✓
 Recd. here at 9 11.30 M

Gaikwad Kismit Bag Nasik

Send Shelar Case papers

Immediately - Ambedkar

232

B. R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A., Ph D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law,
Member, Council of States.

26, ALIPORE ROAD,
 CIVIL LINE,
 DELHI.

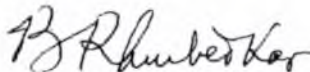
Dated the 8th Sep. 1956.

My dear Bhaurao,

I have your letter of the 4th September 1956. Shelar's appeal has been filed. Unfortunately some copies were indistinct and the court has returned the same for better typed copies. They will be submitted to-morrow.

I was told by the Pleader that the case ~~ix~~ might come on the board for hearing after about ~~two~~ two months but no one can be certain about it. You better make arrangement for the payment of the fee.

Yours sincerely,



(B.R. Ambedkar)

Shri Bhaurao Gai kwad,
 Kismet Bagh,
Masik.

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B. R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law,
Member, Council of States.

26, ALIPORE ROAD,
CIVIL LINE,
DELHI.

Dated the 8th September, 1956.

My dear Bhausa, ,

I have your letter of 4th September 1956.
I had some stomach ~~at~~ ^{and} upsets/ I have had to change
my programme completely. I am better now.

I am not thinking of coming to Bombay till
December or so. I have decided to have my conversion
about the Dussehra holidays. In November I shall be
ascending to Buddhist conference in Nepal. So I have
very little spare time for political work.

I have to go to Aurangabad but I don't know when
I could do the trip. I will let you know about it.

I am thinking whether the Working Committee
meeting could not be ~~at~~ held in Delhi. If you all are
agreeable to come to Delhi we can easily do so. It
would save me much of the botheration arising from tra-
velling. We can have it in the third week of September.
Inform Khobragade.

Yours sincerely,



(B.R. Ambedkar)

Shri Bhausa Gaikwad,
Kismetbagh, Nasik.

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25 Allipur Road

Bombay, dated the 23rd Sep. 56

M E S S A G E

To

Press Trust of India,
New Delhi.CONVERSION OF DR. B.R. AMBEDKAR TO BUDDHISM

The date and place of Dr. Ambedkar's conversion to Buddhism has now been fixed. It will take place at 11.30 AM on the Dussehra day i.e. 10th of October, 1956. The ceremony of conversion will take place between 9 and 11 AM. In the evening of the same day Dr. Ambedkar will deliver his address to the gathering.

Sd. _____

Forwarded for information to ~~Shri. Ambedkar~~ ^{Shri. Sarkar} ^{Shri. Pathan}
 H.H. P.S. to ^{W.C. RASTI} ^{Dr. B.R. Ambedkar}

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B. R. AMBEDKAR,
M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law,
Member, Council of States.

26, ALIPORE ROAD,
CIVIL LINE,
DELHI.

Dated the 24th September 1956.

My dear Bhaurao,

I quite understand the sorrow of our people in Bombay for having changed the venue of my conversion. But we have also to bear in mind the criticism which is levelled by people outside Bombay who are also, our own people.

Time has come that we should give preference to their wishes. There is really no ground for regret or though the first ceremony might be held in Nagpur it is not that similar ceremonies will not be held in Bombay or other places. These will be held wherever there is big gathering of people desiring to convert themselves and I will be present there.

I have been wondering as to what has happened to the manuscript of the booklet "Dhamadiksha" which I gave to you and asked you to give it to Upsham to have it printed. Mr. Upsham has not acknowledged the receipt of the manuscript. I sent him a wire but there is no reply even to the wire. I have been beset with a certain amount of concern as to what has happened to the manuscript.

I am issuing a public announcement through the P.T.I. regarding the date of my conversion. It will of course appear in the Prabuddha Bharat.

Yours sincerely,

B.R. Ambedkar
(B.R. Ambedkar)

Shri Bhaurao Gaikwad,
Kismetbagh,
Nasik.

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B. R. AMBEDKAR,

M.A., Ph. D., D.Sc., LL.D., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law,
Member, Council of States.

26, ALIPORE ROAD, CIVIL LINES,
DELHI.

Dated the 23rd February 1956.

This is to inform you that I have received several communications from Mr. Upsham that you are not allowing him to conduct his duty as Accountant and Cashier of the Boudha Bhushan Printing Press. You seem to be under the impression that by these tactics you will be getting possession of the press. I am writing to warn you that press is public property - neither yours nor mine, and it is not possible to allow a public account to be misappropriated by an public individual.

Your conduct has been utterly disgraceful. You have mis-appropriated several hundred rupees and although many concessions have been given to you, you have not cleared yourself. I write this final letter to tell you that you had better hand over charge to Upsham and not disturb him in performing out his duties. If I don't hear from you that you have acted in accordance with my last and final direction which I am giving you I shall not hesitate to turn you out of the press and also to prosecute for the defaultication of this warning.

I am coming to Bombay in the last week of February and I want to have this matter cleared up before my arrival. The blame for the consequences will be entirely yours. I take no responsibility for the maintenance of you or your family. You have received more than your share. I am sending a copy of this letter to Upsham.

Yours

B.R. Ambedkar
(B.R. Ambedkar)

Shri Yeahwant B. Ambedkar,
Boudha Bhushan Printing Press,
Gokuldas Pasta Road, Dadar,
Bombay.