CHAPTER-II

CHILDHOOD AND EARLY POLITICAL LIFE
Telugu region is birth place small purchase veera Bramhendra Swamy, YogiVemana and Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu made Best efforts to eradicate Social evils through their literacy and social moments in the same way Pattabhi Sitaramayya way a In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Andhra Desa was on the threshold of modern Andhra Renaissance. An era of social reform was ushered in. There was also intense literary activity. Veeresalingam Founded in 1878 the Telugu journal, “Vivekavardhini”. It was first of its kind and was followed seven years later by another Telugu journal. “Andhra Prakasika” founded by Parthasaradhi Naidu. It marked the beginning of Telugu literary renaissance which led to social and political consciousness in Andhra.1

In 1880, three Andhra intellectuals were born. All the three, as coincidence would have it, did not get the prominence they deserved in public life. Sir C.Y.Chintamani was till his last “an uncompromising liberal.” Sir C.R.Reddy was an eminent educationist and an individualist in politics. Dr. Bhogaraju Pattabhi Sitaramayya was an eminent Gandhian, the official historian of the Congress and an outstanding intellectual whose work was “many sided and magnificent.”2

Bhogaraju Pattabhi Sitaramayya was born on November 24, 1880, in Gundugolanu, a village in West Godhavary District of Andhra Pradesh. His father was a village Karanam and had 25 acres of land-a property reasonably good for a Neogi Bramhin family.

The study of a political leader calls for a study of his adolescence and adulthood, especially traumatic events or personality crises that may have significantly influenced his subsequent behaviour. Influenced his It is, therefore, childhood and adolescence, in order to explain how they influenced his subsequent behavior and thinking.

Pattabhi had a brother and two sisters. His father spent much money on religious function and incurred heavy expenses on the celebration of the girls, marriages. In the dowry-ridden marriage system of Hindu Society, a girl’s marriage is a tremendous psychological and financial strain on the head of...
the family. In 1882, when Pattabhi was a child of two, his father died leaving behind two sons, two daughters and his widow, and a debt of Rs2,500/-. Pattabhi's mother, a lady of exemplary courage, had now to bring up her two young sons, the daughters having already been married. Then me another blow. The creditors demanded immediate payment of the money due from Pattabhi's father. A settlement was effected. The twenty -five Acres land was given away by the family to words the settlement of the dues. But the interest on the loan was still to be paid. Pattabhi's mother sold away all that was available in the house, in clouding utensils and plates, and cleared the areas. For, she thought her sons to believe in the motto that one should rather starve in the house than barrow and eat. However, a meager monthly allowance of Rs , 7/8 was given to the late Karanam's family.

Now, a boy of seven, Pattabhi realized that "poverty repels relations." He went to the village school in a 'langoti' two inches wide and two feet long and nothing else to cover the rest of the body, till he entered the fourth form, he could not afford a shir. What he earned was pity from every quarter. Pattabhi was never ashamed of his poverty and he recalled those days with pride. "Poverty is no sin, no crime. When you survive it, you free, the poor that survive the onslaughts of starvation" he proudly remarked.

At the same time, this poverty must have left a deep impression on his mind. In later life when he made money through medical practice, Pattabhi was not known to be genours like the other Andhra leaders. He was known to be stingy. He felt that poverty made people to beg. In Andhra politics, his like Nageswara Rao and Prakasam, constituted a drag on his personality among the masses. His rectitude and 'business-like' dealings in money matters, however, proved to be an asset in national politics.

In1887, the family moved to Eluru, the District headquarters, for educational purposes. Thanks to the help and encouragement given by the Christian Missionary schools, young Pattabhi, despite chill penury continued his studies. He went to the church every Sunday and won cash prizes for his proficiency in Bible reading. English and drawing, in the Missionary School at
Eluru. The study of the Bible exerted a lasting influence on his attitude to life. Were the ‘Bhagavatha,’ ‘The Bible’ and ‘Les Miserables.’ On the last two, he wrote thus: “Les Miserables” I thought influenced my life. ‘The Bible’ has shaped my life as well as my style and the two characters that dwell in my memory are Jesus and Enjolras—the one from the Bible and the other from “Les Miserables”. Throughout his life, Pattabhi had a deep Love for Christianity.

After passing the matriculation examination in first class, Pattabhi moved in January 1896 to the Coastal Town Masulipatnam to join the F.A. Class, in the Noble College. The Principal of the Eluru Missionary School, Mr. Browne, wrote to Principal Clarke of the Noble College recommending a studentship for Pattabhi. The Noble College of Masulipatnam was one of the oldest educational institutions in south India. It was established in 1843 by Rev. Robert Turlington Noble. At Masulipatnam, missionary activity was intense and many conversions into Christianity were taking place. Elders known to Pattabhi warned him against the ‘danger’ of conversion. One day, after Pattabhi became a student of the college, Principal Clarke called him aside and said, “Look here, Sita ramayya, Mr. And Mrs. Browne tell me that you have clear Christian proclivities and that they almost used to call you a Christian boy.” Pattabhi frankly and honestly told the Principal; “it is true I was attentive to ‘the bible’ and the church but for the rest they are mistaken”.

That was not the only embarrassing confrontation Pattabhi had with this large-hearted Principal. Once Clarke was taking to task a student for not closing his eyes and not being devotional during the prayer time when everybody was expected to do so. Pattabhi got up and asked the reverend; “then how do you know, Sir?” On another occasion when Clarke asked him what he thought of Christ, Pattabhi said that Christ was a great divine the greatest of prophets. But, he said, the doctrine of prophets. But, he said, the doctrine of trinity did not appeal to him. On all these occasions Clarke magnanimously appreciated pattabhi for his frankness. Pattabhi’s waspish tongue and frankness which cost him many things in later life were also becoming well-known.
He had a rewarding two-year period in the Noble College. It was here that Pattabhi met for the first time Mutnuri Krishna Rao, also a student of the same class, who later became a well-known Telugu publicist and social reformer in Andhra Desa. It was here, again. That he came under the influence of one of the most famous Andhrs, Ragupathi Venkataratnam Naidu, later knighted, who was working as a Professor in the Noble College. Venkataratnam Nayudu admired Pattabhi’s intelligence and pited his poverty. The philanthropist- intellectual used to give Pattabhi hand-loans whenever Pattabhi needed money. The student, who was brought up in poverty, promptly returned the advances soon after he got his money.7

During the impressionable years, Pattabhi thus came under the influence of Christian Missionaries and a towering intellectual and Brahmo like Venkataratnam Nayudu it was to them that “Pattabhi owed his correctness of conduct, respect for truth, strict adherence to principles, cosmopolitan outlook and devotion to service-qualities which made his conversion to Gandhism so easy and grace full.” Pattabhi said that the cult of non-violence and truth was taught to him by Christian and Brahmo teachers, twenty years before Gandhi preached it from the Congress. He had unbounded admiration for Nayudu—“his towering personality, his Scholarship, his avowal of social purity and upright character and above all his utter self-efface-ment and utmost humility.” Nayudu taught and practiced Brahmoism. There was a decline in the rate of conversions due to him and this led the in the rate of conversions due to him and this led the “management of the Noble College to drive out Venkataratnam Nayudu”.8 But Pattabhi ‘s association with him continued, though at a different place.

His academic career continued to the brilliant. He passed the F.A. Examination in first class and won the Timmaraju Sivarao Scholarship for the best student in the class. With the help of this Scholarship and a small grant from a well-wisher, he sailed for Madras in 1898 and joined the B.A.class in the Madras Christian College.
The year 1898 was of significance in the life of Pattabhi. For the first time then he saw Gandhi. With his huge Gujarat turban, Gandhi looked peculiar to Pattabhi. Pattabhi began his journalistic exercises that year. His association with the Indian National Congress, of which he was destined to become President fifty years later, began when he attended, as a visitor, the annual Congress Session at Madras. Great orators, cast in the Victorian mould, dominated public life at that time and the peroration of Anand Mohan Bose at the Congress session, made a deep impression on Pattabhi’s mind. In his Presidential address Anand Mohan Bose spoke on Love and Service.  

Another important event in Pattabhi’s life that year was his meeting with Ganjam Venkataratnam, a well-known public figure in Andhra. Ganjam Venkataratnam was the Vice-President of the Godavari District board and later became a nominated member of the Madras Legislative council. His articles on agricultural problems and interest in Co-operation made him a popular figure. His representations to the then revenue Board Member sir Frederic Nicholson led to the passing of the Co-operative Act of 1904. Such was his reputation for public service, that at the Krishna District conference held in June 1901, tributes were paid to his services and appeals were made to return him in the elections to the District Board. Venkataratnam came to know about Pattabhi’s brilliant academic career and poverty. He proposed to give his daughter in marriage to Pattabhi. The latter wrote of this in a lighter vein. “Venkataratnam”, said Pattabhi, “made up his and mind to give his daughter to the poorest man available and there I had no rival in the field.” The marriage was duly performed in 1898 without Pattabhi, taking any dowry. Co Canada, in which the Congress session of 1923 was held, was Pattabhi’s father-in-law’s place matrimony introduced Pattabhi to the practical politics of the province and through his father-in-law he came to know many Andhra leaders. Marriage was a turning point in his life.  

There was no first class in the B.A Examination that year. He passed the Examination in second class and won a scholarship for the study of the Master of Arts Degree course. Pattabhi who had a liking for the
study of medicine since his boyhood, declined the scholarship in favor of
the study of medicine. His father-in-law wanted him to study law and become
a lawyer. While lawyers had, in general, good practice at that time, quite a
few of them made a mark in public life as well. Pattabhi asked his father-
in-law if he could become a successful lawyer without having to speak
untruth. Venkataratnam replied in the negative and appreciated his son-in-
law's high ideals. Pattabhi was happy that his ambition to become
"Bachelor of medicine and master of chirurgery" would be fulfilled.
Venkataratnam deposited Rs. 2,500/- for his son-in-law's medical studies.
Pattabhi took up the study of medicine as a challenge as there were very
few Andhras who ventured to study it.11

"My marriage", wrote Pattabhi "was solely responsible for my
medical studies. My medical profession was responsible for the spirit of full
independence I could command in life, politics and in the Congress." As a
medical student, he was second only to Rangachari in all subjects, Rangachari
became a famous Doctor of Madras and was considered to be one of the
best men in the field in South India.

Pattabhi was not only liberal in his social outlook but had a
deep and genuine sympathy for the low caste Hindus whose lot was
miserable then. In fact he wanted the rigid caste system to disappear
although its ideals appealed to him. When he later set up medical practice,
his servant was a Harijan (untouchable), who was allowed to move freely
in his house---a thing very uncommon in Brahmin houses those days.
Harijans were also admitted into all the institutions founded by Pattabhi and his
friends. All this catholicity of outlook was due to Venkataratnam Nayudu's
influence. Nayudu initiated Pattabhi into social reform. In one of his visits
to Madras, Nayudu saw at the ponneri Railway stations four Harijan
sisters whose ages ranged between 11 and 3, begging for food. (Ponneri is 22
miles from Madras). At the instance of Nayudu, Pattabhi and his friend
subbarayaudu went on a Sunday to Ponneri, brought the girls to Madras, and
gave them new clothes. Nayudu felt supremely happy on seeing the poor
girls rescued. "He felt the same happiness", wrote Pattabhi, "that the
shepherded of the parable felt when he re-covered the lost sheep from

11
the flock. The children remained with Nayudu garu from that day on wards families.” The four girls might, otherwise, have taken to prostitution. Young Pattabhi too was happy about this episode of 1903. But he knew that “it was a trifle in the life of a great reformer like Nayudu garu.” It was “an achievement,” wrote Pattabhi, “so far as Subbarayaudu and myself were concerned in the chapter of Indian Social Reform which must be entitled—the uplift of Harijans or the removal of untouchability.” Such work those days meant fighting against many odds.12

Pattabhi took to the reformist work not only because of the influence of Christian teachings and Venkataratnam Nayudu but also because of the interaction between the ‘inner man’ and the external setting poverty impelled him to espouse the cause of the downtrodden against social and economic exploitation. He chose the role of the champion of the underdog because the situation afforded him an opportunity to satisfy his emotional urges. That was why remarked that Gandhi’s work for the elimination of untouchability and communal unity came to him with ‘some familiarity’, this could perhaps explain why pattabhi clung to Gandhism, at times, with the zeal of a fanatic.

A feature of the reform movement was that the pioneer of it was Veeresalingam, a Brahmin. Several Brahmin intellectuals like Pattabhi helped the growth of the movement. They also benefited from the social reform movement. They also benefited from the social reform movement in the sense that they overcame the rigidity of outlook that is usually associated with the orthodox Brahmin caste. It was pointed out that C. Rajagopalachari, a Madrasi Brahmin, broke with traditional caste rules by allowing the marriage of his daughter to Gandhi’s Son, Devadas.13

Pattabhi passed the M.B and C.M. Examination in 1906. During his fruitful stay in Madras, he saw the Congress session in progress—in 1898 and again in 1903. He developed a great deal of respect for the Congress.14 He also expressed his views through many letters to
newspapers and a few articles. As the new century dawned, the was determined to put his developing faculties to better purpose.

Masulipatnam is a small town on the south-east coast of India. It is the headquarters of the Krishna District in the Circars. The town has a rich historical past. It attracted the foreign trader and visitor and was even the bone of contention between the French and the English in the second half of the seventeenth century. The English emerged victorious by the middle of the eighteenth century. "Nearly every house had its loom and spinning wheel", said the Earl of Oxford, describing how woolen trade had made the town of Morley prosperous. Although there could not be much in common between Morley and Masulipatnam, the latter had been for centuries famous for the export of cloth. By the second half of the nineteenth century, the East India Company stifled the local talent by importing mill cloth. Even till recently, the town was exporting the well-known ‘Kalankari’ cloth. Before the end of the nineteenth century, Masulipatnam, thanks to the spread of education by Christian Missionary institutions like the Noble College, became a seat of literary activity. When nationalist ideas traveled from Bengal to Andhra, Masulipatnam was one of the earliest towns to respond to the call for national self-emancipation. As mentioned earlier, there were a few nationalist activities in the town even before Bipin Chandra Pal’s famous tour of Andhra in 1907. Mutnuri Krishna Rao’s Telugu weekly, Krishna Patrika,’ founded in 1902 was the vehicle of expression for the leading intellectuals of the town and the District.

Kopalli Hanumantha Rao, another luminary of the town, and Mutnuri Krishna Rao Prevailed upon Pattabhi, now a full-fledged doctor, to set up medical practice in Masulipatnam. Pattabhi found the setting of Masulipatnam favorable and the company of Krishna Rao and Hanumantha Rao, intellectually stimulating. He made up his mind to work here. He even rejected an attractive offer to work in the estate of the pithapuram maharaja saying that he wanted to be independent and did not like to serve Zamindars. Pattabhi struck an enduring friendship with them. To
this “illustrious trio from which emanated the many currents of our public life of the time in this part of the country,” the ideals of Venkataratnam Nayudu were scared. There was between them “an activity of mind, a discussion of theoretical social views in terms of practical life, an atmosphere of strenuous and disinterested public service”. Public service, through education and social reconstruction was their goal. They held discussions with other leaders of Krishna District as to how the social evils of the Indian Communities could be remedied. They felt that without social reconstruction, political regeneration would be impossible. Pattabhi soon found himself playing different roles—a physician and a publicist, a public worker and a patriot and above all a social reformer. Of the friendship between Pattabhi and Mutnuri Krishna Rao, Khasa Subbarau, a famous journalist and one of Pattabhi’s bitter critics, wrote thus: “Dr. Pattabhi’s friendship for Mutnuri Krishna Rao is one of those celebrated romances of politics that occur rarely at intervals to confound and entrance onlookers. The friendship between John Morley and Joseph chamberlain was of this kind........ Between these two, so dissimilar in disposition, people wondered what there could be in the one to fascinate and inspire the devotion of the other. The fact was that chamberlain was everything that Morley was not.......... Dr. Pattabhi is brilliant and masterful; while Krishna Rao is reticent and shy the one is a literary genius, while the other is an executive genius.”

When Pattabhi set foot in Masulipatnam, the town like so many other places in India, was echoing the demand that the partition of Bengal must be annulled. Those were days of agitation against the British for their policy of Divide and Rule.

Before he finished the study of medicine, Pattabhi had though that he should practice for five years and then quit it to join the Servants of India Society founded by Gopala Krishna Gokhale. When he was a final year student in Madras, he went to G.A. Natesan to enquire about the rules and regulations that governed the organization. Natesan was not impressed with Pattabhi and the talk ended abruptly. Pattabhi was
disappointed though he later felt that Masulipatnam provided the right atmosphere for the pursuit of his ideals.

As a medical practitioner Pattabhi was a great success. His diagnostic ability allied to an intuitive mind earned for him a roaring practice and immense popularity. Even today stories circulate in the town of Masulipatnam and elsewhere about Dr. Pattabhi’s medical practice and popularity. His commonsense stood him in good stead. He got a booming advertisement when, in the early days of practice, he cured a Sanskrit Pandit of dysentery with castor oil, a mason of pneumonia with brandy and when he performed a series of cataract operations successfully. His treatment of the raja of south Vallur enhanced his reputation and in come. Such was the doctor’s popularity in the town that “people believed nothing was impossible for Pattabhi.”

The cult of Nationalism and National Education was gaining momentum in Bengal. A society for the promotion of National Education (Banga Jateeya Vidya Parishad) with Sir Gurudas Banerjee, a former Judge as its President, was established in Bengal. This organization established 24 national high schools in East Bengal. This society was imparting education “on national lines and under national control and directed towards the realization of the national destiny,” in accordance With the 1906 Calcutta Congress Resolution.17

Bipin Chandra Pal’s tour of the Madras Presidency in 1907 “did most to enliven the quality and expression of South Indian politics.” In Rajahmundry, consequent on the tour of Pal, the people resolved to start a National High School. “The seed of National Education,” wrote Pattabhi was sown by pal in 1907 at Masulipatnam. With Pattabhi as the Secretary, It was decided to start a National High School at Masulipatnam.18 That year also saw the implementation of the new programmes of swadeshi and boycott along with National Education.

Kopalli Hanumantha Rao, Pattabhi and others convened a public meeting of the citizens of Masulipatnam to consider measures
for organizing a National College on lines similar to those followed by the Bengal Society. Pattabhi and Hanumantha Rao were chosen Secretaries of the Committee and as a novel scheme there was to be no President. By January 1908, Hanumantha Rao had given up his practice as a lawyer to devote all his time to the proposed college. The College was designed to impart National Education with a scheme combining literary, scientific and technical studies. But the starting of the college was delayed owing to anarchical acts in Krishna District. As Pattabhi said, the year 1908 marked the beginning of a new chapter in the history of the freedom movement. The hanging of Kudiram' Bose by the Government, for the murder of Mrs. And Miss Kennedy led to acts of violence by Indians in several parts of the Country. Masulipatnam, already influenced by the events in Bengal, was no exception. However, after two years of fund collection and careful planning, Pattabhi and Hanumantha Rao founded the National College in February 1910 and named it Andhra Jateeya Kalasala.

The Andhra Jateeya Kalasala strove to archive the ideals of national renaissance in the educational field. Instruction was given to pupils in technical disciplines and handicrafts. As Prof. M. Venkatarangaiya pointed out, the National Movement in Andhra, which came along with the Bandematarm Movement in 1907; found its best expression in the Andhra Jateeya Kalasala of Masulipatnam. The constructive programmes launched by Pattabhi and his friends poured new life into it. Consistent with their programme of social reconstruction, they admitted Harijans into the college from 1912 onwards. Harijans sat side by side with caste Hindus though many caste Hindus resented it. Toddy—tapping from the Palmyra trees in the Kalasala compound was immediately stopped. The stoppage cost the Kalasala Rs 500/- per year, and drink and untouchability were totally abolished. By 1914, cottage industries were intro—duced in the Kalasala, and in 1916 handlooms were in—stalled, which revived the Carpet industry.
Gandhi was greatly impressed by this institution. He visited the Kalasala in 1921 and again in 1929. He said that Andhras had every reason to be proud of it. He described those who were running it as men who were “filled with the spirit of sacrifice.” He was struck by the capacity of these people for discipline. Gandhi hailed it as “one of the oases in the desert.” Later, when Kopalli Hanumantha Rao died in 1922, Gandhi wrote a touching letter to Pattabhi. He even promised financial support to the Kalasala when Pattabhi requested Gandhi for such help.21

Through their work in the Kalasala, Pattabhi and his friends revived carpet—weaving and hand—weaving which had fallen in to decay. With the establishment of frame—looms (hand operated) all, except one of the programmes launched later by Gandhi, were started by Pattabhi. The only exception was the Chakrawhich Gandhi adopted around 1918. The Kalasala fulfilled in a short time the ideals of the founders, Speaking on its fourth anniversary celebrations in 1914, Sir C.P. Ramaswami Iyer said that “the magnificent enterprise in National Education was steadily gaining ground in this part of the country.”22

Between 1908 and 1911Pattabhi had to run the “Krishna Patrika,” to save the weekly. Mutnuri Krishna Rao, Editor of ‘Krishna Patrika ,’ was served with a prosecution notice for his writings in the weekly. The District Collector was prepared to withdraw the notice if Krishna Rao ceased to be the editor of the weekly to save the paper, Krishna Rao kept himself aloof from the editorship. Pattabhi ran and edited the weekly for three years. His stewardship gave the paper financial soundness, a surplus of soundness. He obtained for the paper a surplus of Rs. 2,000/.

The first “Moderate session” of the Congress was held in Madras in 1908. Pattabhi, whose association with the Congress was increasing, attended it. The clash between Pattabhi and V.Krishnaswami Iyer, a leading South Indian politician and later a member of the governor’s executive Council, became the topic for discussion everywhere. Pattabhi
proposed that in the election of the members to the subjects committee of the Congress, provision should be made on an equitable basis as between the Southern and northern halves of the Presidency. His idea obviously was to seek equal representation for Andhras. He argued that the Madras city was over-represented. Leaders like Krishna Swami Iyer and Sundara Iyer resented this “impetuosity” of a not much known Youngman. The former thought that Pattabhi was “an iconoclast and a heretic.” Krishna Swami Iyer put the official list of candidates to vote. Pattabhi challenged it and came out with his own list of names. However, Iyer overcame Pattabhi’s objection, had his list pro-poséd and elected, and managed to keep Pattabhi out of the subjects committee. In the Congress pandal, people started discussing Pattabhi’s courage and his convictions. S.R. Srinivasa Iyengar, who on principle kept out of the moderate Congress, Congratulated him on his fight.

Earlier at the Bombay Congress session in 1907, Pattabhi spoke on Swadeshi and his speech was well received. Kaka Kalelkar complemented him for the wide meaning given to Swadeshi. Consistent with the Congress resolution of 1906 which accorded “its most cordial support to the Swadeshi movement” and which appealed to promote the growth of indigenous industries, Pattabhi suggested in his newspaper articles that the Congress programme should be changed and reorganized under four heads—Swadeshi, Swaraj, boycott and National Education. He minced no words in supporting Swadeshi. At the Bombay Congress, in 1915, he took to task leaders and people making a “mockery of Swadeshi”. “To cast aside,” hundred Pattabhi, “the exquisite gifts of the Mother and to run after the “husks and trappings” of modern luxury does not constitute a stimulus for sacrifice, but argues a vulgarity of spirit and a degeneracy of soul in country……. Swadeshi was once a fashion; it has now become the fad of a few; it has become the prejudice of the many; at best, it has become a formula upon such sacred occasions to be mechanically uttered, merited no word of prayer or praise.”

In 1910, the year in which the Andhra Jateeya Kalasala was founded, Pattabhi and Hanumantha Rao brought out a small book entitled, “Indian National Education.” They criticized the British for imposing on Indians a foreign system of education which resulted in the people indulging in a cheap imitation of foreign dress,
They made an impassioned plea for the "recovery of our culture and values." Mutnuri Krishna Rao published the book at his Kistna Swadeshi Press. The 'trinity' followed it up with another book in 1913, entitled, "Indian Nationalism." Pattabhi was the author of the book. Hanumantha Rao wrote an introductory piece and it was, as before, published at Krishna Rao's press.

The theme of Pattabhi's book was that India was fit enough to be a nation. "Ours is the land," he wrote, "where the five great cultures of the world are brought together. When we preserve these ancient cultures and add to them that long conceived but little realized sentiment of unity, we shall be holding the balance of the spiritual and material power in over hands." Pattabhi refuted the view that nationalism required a common religion and common civilization. He pointed out how European states were of mixed descent. Even there, differences existed between Catholics and Protestants. State, he argued, did not dement identity of faith. Different religions could exist in a untied nation. Unfortunately, in India religious differences were exaggerated. His vision of country was a secular India was the interests of minorities—Muslims, Parsis, Christians and other would be safe. Hindus and Muslims who had historical bonds could have common political interest. He recalled the words of Sir. Syed Ahmed who had said that Hindus and Muslims "are like two eyes to the mother and either, without the other, would only disfigure the parent's face and make it defective." Pattabhi always stood for the ideal of Hindu-Muslim unity and worked for it. At the A.I.C.C sessions before 1920, he spoke in support of representation for Hindus and Muslims in the councils on some accepted basis. Muslim members who heard the words of Pattabhi later lifted him up to their shoulders to give expression to their joy. He own the affection of many Muslim. Muslim nationalist like Maulana Azad were always his dependable friends.

Pattabhi went on to argue that diversity was no hindrance to India becoming a nation. There was a peculiar oneness of Indian culture which the foreigner failed to notice. Indian life presented "a wonderful unit of character." Nor was the accusation tenable that Indians were indolent and incapable. Indians spent much of their time on matters religious. It was not difficult, said Pattabhi, for Indians "to cultivate the common place virtues of western materialism." What the people immediately needed was national self—consciousness. Strength and genius ought
always to be self-conscious. The people must rediscover the old truths and values and develop anew the faculties. The people create a social environment in which all cultures and classes would live in harmony. Indian nation must be brought about by the union of all. Obviously inspired by one of the great passages of Edmund Burke, he wrote that Indian national life “shall ever be a link of fellowship between classes, races and religions.” Impressed by the operation of the federal system of Government in Australia and New Zealand, Pattabhi contemplated a federation for India. Free India, he wished, “will promote a spirit of unity among its own diverse people and races by holding aloft the new principle of federation in contradistinction to the old notion of fusion.” There was no opposition between nationalism and federalism. They were complementary. The strength of the provinces would be the strength of country. Pattabhi thus made a vigorous plea for nationalism and provincial autonomy in 1930, the year in which the first Andhra conference was held at Bapatla. Ramananda Chatterjee’s modern review suggested that his book on Indian nationalism, be made a text book in all high Schools.27

The famous “Trinity of Masulipatnam”— Pattabhi Hanumantha Rao and Krishna Rao—through “their thoughts and utterances provided the intellectual back ground for the political ferment in Andhra, the first linguistic unit in the south to be impregnated with the spirit of nationalism.” Having conveyed their idea that nationalism meant a flowering of regional language and culture, they brought out in 1913 a booklet entitled “For and against Andhra province.” It contained mostly Pattabhi’s articles published elsewhere and was the first written piece that articulated the views of the Andhras.

With the help of ‘Tamil friends’ Pattabhi got into the All India Congress Committee from the Madras Provincial congress Committee in 1916. He realized that without the support of Tamil leaders Andhras could archive little. “Tamil,” he said, “are acute in intellect and shrewd in business. Andhras are.... Wasteful extravagant, luxurious, unambitious, easy—going and even lazy and emotional to a degree. That is why they are beaten by the painstaking, ambitious, intellectual, thrifty Tamils. Andhras are frank and guileless and do not know what is good for them. The Tamils are farsighted and thoughtful and know which side of the bread is buttered. He always had high admiration for the practical mindedness of the Tamils. He greatly admired the astuteness
of Rajagopalachari and was throughout a good friend of his. His regret was that Andhras were not coming up well in public life. He lamented that there was some kind of superiority associated with the Tamils. They were dominating every walk of life in south India. What the English man was to the Indian, the Tamilian was to the Andhra. Up to his matriculation all his teachers were “Tamil B.A. Or L.T’s….. as an Englishman was considered superior to an Indian, Tamilian was frankly held in higher esteem than a Telugu.” That Pattabhi had no ill—feelings to words Tamil leaders despite political differences was well-known. Not caring for his own caste man, pattabhi worked for sir Venkataratnam Nayudu in the contest for the principal ship of the P.R. College, Kakinada, and was responsible for the defeat of V.S.Srinivasa Sastri. When Sastri was about to visit Masulipatnam in 1908, G.A. Natesan cautioned Sastri against Pattabhi and his friends. Natesan went to the extent of saying that they might even ‘belabor’ Sastri. Pattabhi played host to Sastri for one week and the latter was pleased with the hospitality. Although they belonged to different political schools, Sastri and Pattabhi remained ardent friends till the death of Sastri.

Unlike other leaders, Pattabhi chose to live on friendly terms with the Tamils. There was, of course, no compromise with his principles and ideals such as the demand for a separate Andhra Province, however much Tamil leaders disliked it. Prakasam in contrast could not get on very well with most Tamil leaders. This was mainly due to Prakasam’s demand for Madras City in the proposed Andhra Province. His constituency was Madras and he had to support the Andhrasin that City. He had the support of the masses in Andhra. Pattabhi, on the contrary knew that he did not have such a wide political base and had to build up his position through his own efforts. An intellectual without much popular support would inevitably seek new avenues through which he could build his influence. That was perhaps, one reason why Pattabhi befriended the Tamils.

Two representatives had to be chosen to the imperial Council from the Madras Presidency in 1916. V.S. Sreenivasa Sastri and C. Vijayaragavachari were among those Tamil leaders running for the seats. Four
Andhras, N. Subbarau Pantulu, Mocherla Ramachandra Rao, B.N. Sarma and the Raja of Polavaram also sent in their applications. Pattabhi was keen that at least one of these four Andhras should be elected to the imperial council. Knowing that it would be difficult for even one Andhra to be elected if all the four contested, he persuaded Subbarau Pantulu, Ramachandra Rao and Raja of Polavaram to withdraw from the contest in favour of B.N. Sarma. Sastri and B.N. Sarma won the election and the stalwart Vijayaragavachariar was defected. The Tamil leaders were impressed by Pattabhi as they found in him one who could talk to them on an intellectual plane. But the praise C.P. Ramaswami Iyer and V.S. Srinivasa Sastri showered on Pattabhi following his onslaught on the Justice Party in 1919, could be due to the fact that an Andhra Brahmin was helping, though not deliberately, the Tamil Brahmins in their fight against the non-Brahmin movement. Whenever he went to Madras, he stayed with Tamils. Dr. and Mrs. Ammu Swami Nathan were on many occasions his hosts. Some Tamils were also puzzled how such a 'rabid Andhra' was staying as a guest of Tamil leaders.  

Like so many other politicians in South India, Pattabhi came under the influence of Mrs. Annie Besant. He respected her for her services to the country. Now that he was a member of the All India Congress Committee, he had occasion to work with her and study her at close quarters. He used to meet her internment at Ooty in 1917. Mrs. Besant too liked "this highly valued friend," although Pattabhi had a heated exchange of words with her during the subjects committee debate on the question of a separate congress circle for Andhra in 1917. He wrote for Besant's "New India" and became a home ruler under the inspiring leadership of that dynamic lady.

As the Congress was now taking much of his time, Pattabhi, in accordance with his earlier plan, gave up his lucrative medical practice in September 1916. He regarded the Congress "as the institution entitled to the first claims on our time, attention and expenditure." He found that profession and politics were incompatible and that politics was as zealous a mistress as any profession, and that "Mammon and God could not both be worshipped." He, therefore, "discarded the one and chose the other." as a
medical practitioner, he earned considerable amount of property, including thirty acres of not very fertile land.\textsuperscript{29}

Although he gave up medical practice, he did not lose interest in medicine. In fact, he gave advice freely on a number of occasions. Fifteen years after he gave up practice, he saved A. Govindachari, his jail mate, from the claws of death by giving an injection in the Nellore jail. He continued to write frequently on hygiene and problems of public health. His flair for organizational reform was such that even the field of medicine benefited from his service. For a long time, medical licentiates in Madras Presidency were classified as belonging to the subordinate medical service under government. Under the British regime, there were casteism and compartments in the Civil Medical Services. Thanks to Pattabhi and other medical experts, the unification of Civil Medical Services was achieved. “This reform, in turn, brought about the gazetted rank for medical licentiates.” Mr. Venktappa, a member of the Action Committee that went in to this question, said that the profession of medicine must be ever grateful to removed “undesirable complexes in the body politic of the profession.”\textsuperscript{30}

The starting of journals and newspapers helped the growth of the Andhra movement in the first two decades of the century. In 1902 ‘Krishna Patrika’ made its first appearance. In 1908 Kasinadhuni Nageswara Rao, doyen among Andhra philanthropists, started the Telugu daily ‘Andhra Patrika’. Among the journals that followed was Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya’s ‘Sadhana’, which had a brief existence. Prakasam’s English daily ‘Swarajya’ marked the beginning of a new chapter in Indian journalism. It provided training ground for quite a few journalists who attained national eminence. It was Pattabhi and Mutnuri Krishna Rao who advised Prakasam to start an English paper and Rajagopalachari named it ‘Swarjya.’\textsuperscript{31}

Earlier in 1919, Pattabhi had founded an English weekly and named it ‘Janmabhoomi’. This paper was run by Pattabhi for over eleven years. During the years when Pattabhi, as a supporter of Gandhi, opposed the Swarajists tooth and nail, the ‘Janmabhoomi’ voiced his views. Through its columns he not only
"exposed the fallacies" of the Swarajists but interpreted Gandhi and his philosophy. It did not take the paper long to get in to the notice of the Government which demanded security for the Kistna Swadeshi Press where it was printed.

In its quality, the 'Janmabhoomi' was compared to Mohammed Ali's 'Comrade.' To the youth of those days, it served as a source of inspiration. It "gave a definite shape to my journalistic leanings and fired my youth full ambitions. It was my mental prabulum week after week," wrote K. IswaraDutt. To the younger politicians also it appealed. It, however, cast heavy financial burdens on Pattabhi, when it was closed owing to Pattabhi's imprisonment in 1930, the overall loss sustained by him on account of the weekly was Rs.8,000/-. The weekly almost got for Pattabhi an arrest warrant once for publishing an extract from an American paper 'Boston American' in 1921. An article entitled "The truth about India worries British government" was published by the editor of 'Boston American,' Mr. Hearst. Quoting the article, Pattabhi wrote that the editor. "Mr. Hearst deserved our heartfelt thanks for the fearless and trenchant criticism of the British rule." The Advocate—General C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer declared the article seditious and the Government wanted to prosecute Pattabhi. But since the collector, Government pleader and Public Prosecutor of the District did not agree with the Advocate—General's view the arrest warrant was not served. The closure of 'Janmabhoomi' was a distinct loss to Indian journalism. That Pattabhi made a mark as journalist was evident from the fact that Motilal Nehru offered him the editorship of 'the independent.' Pattabhi did not accept the offer as he was unwilling to leave Masulipatnam. He also rejected the offer of editorship of 'Bombay Chronicle.'

Many Andhra leaders ran journals and newspapers not only because of their literary and intellectual flair but also due to their individualist streak. Most of these Telugu Brahmin leaders were intellectuals and individualists in politics. They made able leaders but were seldom good followers, especially in state politics. Their disunity was a cause for the delay in the formation of the Andhra Province. It also led to the disintegration of the Brahmins in Provincial politics after the Andhra Province materialized. These personality clashes among
the Brahmins resulted in the emergence of the other caste groups in provincial politics. In a way it helped the social change.\textsuperscript{34}

Pattabhi, like other Andhra leaders, contributed to the maelstrom of personality clashes in Andhra politics. He was also affected by it. In his own district politics, Kaleswara Rao’s group did not allow Pattabhi to build a strong political base. If Prakasam was his rival in later years, Sambamurthi and Gopalakrishnayya were his adversaries in his earlier years. Even Konda Venkatapayya was opposed to him on several issues. Pattabhi, however, ploughed through this opposition to a position of prominence. It hardened his political fiber.

A little under forty, Pattabhi was, now, better equipped to play a bigger role in national affairs. He had risen from poverty and obscurity. The influence of Christian teachers and brahmo leader Venkataratnam Nayudu taught him the values of life. He could not have asked for a better introduction in to provincial politics than what his father-in-law, a man of consequence in the province, gave him. A long with his valued friends Hanumantha Rao and Krishna Rao, he studied and tried to follow the teachings of Bipin Chandra Pal, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai. Then he had the privilege of working with Mrs. Annie Besant. Tilak and Mrs. Besant were among the earliest to recognize his mettle and debating powers. Veteran Vijayaragavachariar hailed him as a dominating personality in the subjects Committee. Lajpat Rai appreciated his stand as a Congressman.

During these years, he founded educational and cooperative institutions, worked for the uplift of Harijans, made his mark as a writer, revived village industries and handicrafts and formed his ideas of noncooperation. Indeed, “it is a tribute to his political foresight that before the advent of Gandhiji, he anticipated and carried out except for the Charkha, every item of the elaborate constructive programme of the Congress.”\textsuperscript{35} In the pre-Gandhian era of Indian politics, Pattabhi was a liberal Congressman with nationalistic proclivities. If nationalism gained momentum in Andhra by 1920, it was not a little due to Pattabhi’s efforts.