

CHAPTER - VI

STRUGGLE FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT AND SAHODHARAN APPAN

During the 2nd and 3rd decades of the 20th century, people from the native States began to demand their participation in Government due to the political awakening that took place through out India. Naturally, such demand came from the people of Cochin also. At the same time, Indian National Congress concentrated its attention in constructive programmes in the native states and hence during this period they did not directly participate in the activities for responsible government in Cochin.¹

The Legislative Council of Cochin was formally inaugurated in 1925 and it contained a non-official majority, 30 out of 45 members being elected. The electorate was constituted on a broad franchise and Cochin had the unique honour of having the first lady member in a legislative council in India. After the inception of the Cochin Legislative Council, several congressmen like E. Ikkanda Warriar, Dr. A.R. Menon, Ambat Eachara Menon, A.B. Saleem, K.M. Seethi Sahib, P. Kumaran Ezhuttassan, Ambat Sivarama Menon and Panam Pilli Govinda Menon contested the elections in their individual capacity and came out victorious. Besides them, K.T Mathew, Sahodharan Ayyappan, C.V. Iyyu, T.A Ramachandra Ayyar and K.S Panickar proved to be very able legislative members during the early phase of the council.² All these members attended council meetings only after making serious study of the problems and criticized the Government in the effective way. At the same time, they strictly observed all parliamentary etiquettes and customs and always had respect to opposition. However, elections on party basis were not familiar among the people of Cochin during the third decade of the century.

Sahodharan Sahodharan Ayyappan was a firm believer in democracy and hence he strongly argued in the Cochin Legislative Council for Responsible Government. On 23rd March 1931, he moved a motion in the Council for lowering and extending the franchise in the rules framed under the Panchayat Regulation. He criticized the move of the Government to make laws limiting franchise to those tax payers upto Re.1 instead of literacy qualification.³ He also opined that by this reform, several people lost their franchise and hence it would drag the country in a backward direction and cause shame. Hence, he demanded the Government to follow the principle of adult franchise. Sahodharan Ayyappan also wanted to remove the disqualification of women to contest in elections. Finally, he also demanded that every voter had the right to contest in elections. On this resolution, the Government adopted a neutral position and was passed by the Council.⁴

Again on 12 August 1932, Sahodharan Ayyappan introduced a motion in the Council for requesting the Government not to introduce property qualification for Panchayath voters in the new Panchayat Rules. He argued that many literate people might not have property qualification and those who had property qualification might not have literacy. If the two qualifications were imposed together, the number of voters would be considerably limited. He also opined that adult franchise should be given immediately and that neither property qualification nor the literacy should be insisted upon.⁵

From the Government side P.V Raphael, the Registrar of Village Panchayats, replied that one rupee tax qualification was only nominal and that would better the Panchayats still further.⁶ However, he assured that after working for sometime, if the Government found that the system, instead of improving had retrograded, then they would consider a change in that rule. There after, the motion was put to votes and carried. Due to that over whelming demand of the Council, the Government decided to introduce adult franchise for Panchayat

elections.⁷ This achievement was mainly due to the hard and continuous efforts of Sahodharan Ayyappan.⁸

Sri. Ramavarma was formally installed as the Maharaja of Cochin on 1st June 1932. Replying to a public address presented by the people of the state on the occasion of the installation ceremony, the Maharaja said: "You have referred in your address to the many vital questions which await solution at the present time. There is just cause for what you have said, for never in its history has the state been confronted with more numerous and more pressing problems than those which face it at the present time. I am confident, however, that with the support of the paramount power and the loyal co-operation of my officers and subjects, these questions will so be solved as to enhance the prestige of my state and the happiness of my people.

To enable a large number of my subjects to be associated with any Govt. in the solution of these and other problems, it is my intention to extend the franchise for the Legislative Council by lowering the qualification at present required for a voter. I also intend to increase the privileges and the responsibilities of the Legislative Council itself by conferring on it the right to elect into own Deputy President and by extending to all Members of the Council the right to put supplementary questions on an original question put by any member. It is my firm belief that by these measures the usefulness of the Council will be increased in proportion to the added privileges and responsibilities conferred upon it.⁹

To fulfil these intentions of the Maharaja, a committee consisting of U. Kandar Menon, Diwan Peishkar (Chairman), P.V. Raphael, Registrar of Village Panchayath, Thomas Manjuran, Govt. Advocate and Law Officer M.A. Chacko, T.A.Ramachandra Ayyar, Sahodharan Ayyappan, Marayil Krishna Menon, S.S. Koder and K. Mohammed Seethi were appointed on 27 November 1932.¹⁰

The majority of the Committee was for lowering the qualification as follows:¹¹

Schedule II of Cochin Legislative Council Rules Section 5

Present qualifications	Proposed
(a), (b), (c) and (d), Land Revenue assessment- Rs.10	Rs.5
(e) Municipal tax – Rs. 5	Rs.2
(f) Rental qualification in municipalities – Rs. 60	Rs.30
(g) Fishing Stakes- annual revenue – Rs. 10	Rs.5
(k) Pension – Rs. 25	Rs.10

However, Sahodharan Ayyappan strongly opposed the idea of property qualification and argued for the introduction of adult franchise in his dissenting note to the Report of the Franchise Committee. After considering the recommendations of the Committee, Government decided to reduce, roughly by a half, land revenue assessment, municipal tax etc, payable for enrolment as a voter in the general and special constituencies and to increase the total number of elected seats to 36 and the nominated members to 18.¹² Further, by a notification dated 23rd July 1932, the Legislative Council Rules were amended so as to extend to all members of the Council the right of asking supplementary questions on an original question put by any member. Again a Proclamation dated 8 August 1932, was issued by the Maharaja to enable the President of the Council to nominate from among the members of a panel of not more than two chairmen any of whom might preside over the Council in the absence of the President and Deputy President when requested to do so in writing and who would, when so presiding, have the same powers as the President. Further by a notification dated 12 October 1932, the right of electing its own Deputy President was conferred on the Legislative Council.¹³ Thus, all the steps necessary were taken to give effect to the intentions expressed by the Maharaja during the installation ceremony.

On 28 November 1932, K. T. Mathew moved a motion in the council for urging the Government to introduce responsible Government in the state. On this, Sahodharan Ayyappan opined that responsible Government was a necessity and it had no defects. He exhorted the people that they had enough strength.¹⁴ From the Government side Ramavarma Thampuran, Secretary to Government replied that this matter required very careful study and the Government had sympathy with the proposal.¹⁵ Finally, the motion was put to votes and carried.

During general discussion on the budget on 1 August.1933, Sahodharan Ayyappan strongly argued for the introduction of responsible Government in the State. He opined that the demand for an elected President and responsible Ministers did not meet with success so far due to the weakness of the people.¹⁶ He also argued that in the place of existing administrative set up, responsible ministers of the people under a constitutional ruler was essential for a good Government. Again, he declared that the demand for communal representation was in no way against responsible Government. At the same time, in a caste ridden society the demand for communal representation was an essential requisite for responsible Government.¹⁷

On 24 January 1934, K.T. Mathew introduced a resolution in the Council for recommending to the Government to give immediate effect to the motion passed by the council to appoint three ministers enjoying the confidence of the Legislature to carry on the administration of the State in co-operation with the Diwan. From the Government side Ramavarma Thampuran, Secretary to the Diwan, replied that the Cochin State had not yet passed through the financial difficulties and it was not the time to increase the expenditure of the Government. He continued that the report of the Franchise committee should form the first step in that direction.¹⁸ He also declared that the proposal should await till times improve. This reply did not satisfy Sahodharan Ayyappan and he recalled the move of the British

Government to grant provincial autonomy to Indian states and demanded the same from Cochin Government.¹⁹ Sahodharan Ayyappan also warned the Government that it was very dangerous to rule the people by prolonging freedom to them. Finally the resolution was put and carried.

During general discussion on the budget in the Council on 1 August 1934, K. Sahodharan Ayyappan opined that for solving many of the difficult problems of the day, the introduction of responsible Government in the State was essential. He continued that among Indian native states only the people of Cochin had necessary maturity for responsible Government.²⁰

In 1935, with a view to bring about a closer co-operation between the various administrative departments and the non-official representatives, four standing advisory committees were constituted to render advise to certain departments of the state.²¹ Each committee consisted of three members, two elected and one nominated from the non-official side of the Legislative Council. These committees were attached to each of the following departments:-

- a. Education
- b. Medical and Public Health
- c. Agriculture, Co-operation, Pachayat and Depressed classes
- d. Industries and Commerce including Forest, Fisheries and Public Works.

On 1 August 1935, K. M. Ibrahim moved a motion in the Council during voting of demands for grants for drawing the attention of the Government towards their lethargy to introduce responsible governments in the state. On this, Sahodharan Ayyappan alleged that like all government Cochin Government was also reluctant to transfer power to the people.²² He commented that by the introduction of responsible Government, the State of Cochin would not fall in the Arabian Sea. Sahodharan Ayyappan also opined that the people of Cochin were

able to shoulder the responsibilities of a responsible government. Moreover, he argued that responsible government was the right of the people.²³ On these grounds, he requested the Cochin government to take urgent measures for the introduction of responsible Government in the state. From the Government side T.S. Narayana Ayyar, Secretary to Government, replied that the formation of advisory committees were intended to carry into effect the ideal of increasing association of non-official members towards the progressive realization of responsible Government.²⁴ Finally, the motion was put to votes and carried.²⁵

The popular demand for responsible Government in Cochin began in the wake of what was interestingly called the electricity agitation of 1936. It was caused by the action of the Government in giving the right of power supply in Trichur town to a private company, disregarding the opposition of the local people, especially the Christians. Owing to the stern measures of the Government the agitation failed. But it impressed upon the leaders the need to find an organization for a more effective agitation against the Government and for democracy. This agitation brought C.R. Iyyunni, E. Ikkanda Warriar and Dr. A.R. Menon to the political front of Cochin and the Christian Community of Trichur to the national line.

In 1936, T.K. Nair founded the Cochin State Congress, first political party in Cochin for the achievement of responsible government.²⁶ Sahodharan Ayyappan, P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan, C.V. Iyyu, K.S. Panicker, K. Balakrishna Menon and K.M. Ibrahim were the other leaders of the party. Actually, Cochin State Congress had no connection with the Indian national Congress. In reality, this party had no popular base and its functions mainly centred round the legislature.²⁷ After sometime, young and active workers like V.R. Krishnan Ezhuthassan, K.N. Nambeesan, G.S. Dhara Singh, C. Achuta Menon, T.S. Bandhu, P.M. Dhar, M.N. Sivaraman Nair, T. Parameswara Menon, E.P. Menon, G.M. Nennmeli, E. Gopalakrishna Menon, K.V. Vittappa Prabhu and C. Durga Swami appeared as Indian

National Congress workers in the political arena of Cochin.²⁸ They also, in due course, worked for the introduction of responsible government.

On 12 of February 1936, K.T. Mathew introduced a resolution in the Council for recommending to the Government to introduce further constitutional reforms including the appointment of at least two ministers enjoying the confidence of the legislature to carry on the administration in co-operation with the Diwan. In this connection, Sahodharan Ayyappan criticized the Government policy and declared that the days of benevolent autocracy were over.²⁹ He continued that the people preferred democracy, even if it had some defects. President Sir. Shanmukham Chetti, Diwan of Cochin, had expressed his sympathy for the resolution and assured the council that so long as he was there, it was his endeavour to apply his mind to a study of this problem and offer advise to the Maharaja, which in his opinion seemed to be the best in the interests of the Cochin state as a whole.³⁰ Finally, the resolution was put to votes and carried.

On 30 July 1936, Sahodharan Ayyappan moved a motion in the Council during voting of Demands for Grants for requesting the Government to leave the administration of Panchayat and Co-operative departments to ministers responsible to the legislature, as an experimental measure of introducing responsible Government in the state. He explained that certain departments of the State in which there were no possibility of conflicts, say, between the ruler and paramount power, and which dealt only with matters of internal administration could first be chosen and the administration of them be entrusted to a minister chosen from among the elected members of the Legislative Council and who was made responsible to the members of the Council.³¹ Sahodharan Ayyappan demanded that for self Government, training was indispensable and hence the Government should leave at least the administration of one department to a minister responsible to the legislature. From the Government side President Sir. Shanmukham Chetti, the Dewan, replied that the demand was a very modest one and deserved the attention of the Government.³² He continued that no Indian state had

ventured on this enterprise. Diwan also hinted that Cochin would take the credit of taking it up first.³³ Finally, the motion was put to votes and carried. On 4 August 1937, during general discussion on the budget in the Council, Sahodharan Ayyappan requested to Sir. Shanmukham Chetti that he should take much enthusiasm for introducing responsible Government in Cochin and made it sound by laying a good foundation during his Diwanship itself.³⁴

The Government of Cochin, in accordance with the wishes of the Council, constituted a committee on 26 June 1937, to consider and report on the question of an extension of franchise for the Council.³⁵ The Committee consisted of N.R Sahasranama Ayyar (Chairman), C.V. Antony, K. Achuta Menon, M. Sivarama Menon, Ambat Sivarama Menon, P.C Varkey, Sahodharan Ayyappan and Dr. A.K. Kunhalu.³⁶ While agreeing that the time had come for lowering the franchise qualifications, Government ordered that the committee should examine the extent to which the franchise should be lowered and the manner in which it should be done.

The committee held 26 meetings, 12 of which were devoted to the hearing and recording of evidence and the rest to discussion and deliberation among themselves.³⁷ They visited the important towns for the purpose of interviewing the leading men and women of the state and had gathered a good deal of evidence, had examined as many as 156 witnesses. They had also prepared a brief questionnaire, setting forth the main points on which they needed answers and it was published in the Cochin Government Gazette and in all the Cochin news papers.³⁸ The response was prompt, generous and representative of all shades of opinion. They received in all as many as 478 written representations-294 from leading individuals, 105 from representative associations, 42 from the Panchayats of the state, 3 from the municipalities and 34 in the shape of resolutions passed at public meetings.³⁹

After a careful study of the question of lowering the franchise qualifications, the committee came to the conclusion that the time had not come for the immediate introduction of adult franchise.⁴⁰ However, Sahodharan Ayyappan dissented on it and he argued for the introduction of adult franchise. The committee recommended that the tax qualification might be lowered and the electorate enlarged by giving a vote to all people who paid any tax to the state or to a municipality.⁴¹ The committee also recommended for the extension of franchise to all those who had passed the school final examination and had become eligible either for public service or for college admission. The committee included, for purposes of the right to vote, in the term school final, its equivalents such as 1) Cambridge Senior, 2) Matriculation, 3) Oriental Titles Examination, 4) Sanskrit Pandit's Examination, 5) Bhushana Examination, 6) Malayalam Pandit's Examination and 7) such other tests as may be prescribed by Government, from time to time, in this behalf.⁴² In this connection, K. Sahodharan Ayyappan held the view of the grant of franchise to all literates whereas P.C.Varkey and A.K.Kunhalu stood for the completion of primary education as evidenced by the passing of the IV class examination.⁴³ The Committee submitted its report on 30th September 1937 and the Government accepted the above recommendations.⁴⁴

C.P.Ramaswami Ayyar (from 8 October 1936) and R.K.Shanmukham Chetti (from 8 April 1935) assumed the offices of Diwan in Travancore and Cochin respectively in almost the same period. Both of them were very able administrators. Earlier, they had actively participated in the activities of Indian National Congress and later relinquished it and became friends of the British in India.⁴⁵ After assuming the offices of Diwan, both of them competed each other to establish their personal glory and greatness.

On the advice of Dewan Sir.C.P.Ramaswami Ayyar, the Travancore Maharaja made the Temple Entry Proclamation on 12 November 1936, opening all government temples in the State to all Hindus. That was highly appreciated by national leaders like Gandhiji and C.

Rajagopalachari. In consequence of this Proclamation, Cochin also witnessed a movement for Temple Entry under the leadership of S. Neelakanta Ayyar, C. Achutha Menon, T.S.Bandhu and Chowara Parameswaran. In this issue, Shanmukham Chetti concluded that C.P. Ramaswami Ayyar had made a good score whereas he could not persuade the Cochin Maharaja, an orthodox Hindu, for the same.⁴⁶ Moreover, the Government of India Act of 1935 and its provision for the establishment of an All India Federation attracted the attention of Sri. Shanmukham Chetti. Under these circumstances, the shrewd Diwan of Cochin persuaded the Maharaja to introduce an installment of constitutional reforms in the dyarchic form of Government. Accordingly, by the command of the Maharaja of Cochin, Sir.R.K.Shanmukham Chetti, Dewan, made the following announcement on the occasion of the Public Durbar held on 4th January 1938, in connection with the 76th birthday celebrations of the Maharaja.⁴⁷

“..... Having been impressed by the genuine interest evinced by the members of the Legislative Council, I have decided that steps should now be taken to associate my people directly with the administration of my Government and make the Legislative Council responsible in a more effective manner for the administration of certain nation building departments. This object can best be achieved by associating a non-official representative from the Legislative Council with my Diwan in the carrying on of the administration of certain departments. I have, therefore, decided that the administration of the departments of Public Health, Panchayats, Co-operation, Agriculture, Ayurveda and uplift of the Depressed classes shall hereafter be conducted by my Diwan with the assistance of a Minister nominated by me from among the elected members of the Legislative Council. This Minister will be called ‘Minister for Rural Development’, and he will hold office during my pleasure. Though the administration of these departments will normally be carried on in accordance with the advise of my Minister, it is necessary that my prerogative should be preserved unimpaired. My undoubted right and prerogative of ordering at anytime that action should be taken otherwise than in accordance with the advise tendered by any of my advisers will be

preserved in the administration of these and other departments of my Government. My Government will issue the necessary amendments to the Acts and Regulations to implement this, my desire.

I hope that my people will realize the significance of the momentous step that has been taken. Though it has always been my desire and the desire of my Government to carry on the administration of my state in accordance with the wishes of my people, the announcement that I have made today will for the first time make the representatives of the people directly responsible for the administration of some of the great departments of the State. The administration of these departments, more than any other, vitally affects the every day life of the rural population, and the responsibility that devolves upon my Minister and the Legislative Council will, therefore, be very great indeed. The welfare of the vast masses of the rural population has been my constant care. On their contentment depends the prosperity and stability of the state, and in their happiness I seek my reward. It is my earnest desire that the representatives of my people in the Legislative Council will realize the magnitude of the responsibility that they are called upon to shoulder, and I pray that they may be given the courage and wisdom to shoulder that responsibility in a worthy manner”.

Sahodharan, newspaper owned by Sahodharan Ayyappan, commented that Cochin was the first among Indian states to introduce this reform.⁴⁸ It continued that just as the Temple Entry Proclamation in Travancore made temple entry a question of practical politics so far as other Indian States and British India were concerned, so also this constitutional reform in Cochin had brought about a state of affairs in which it would not be possible for other Indian states to postpone the introduction of such a reform.

On the basis of this new constitutional reform with liberalized franchise qualifications, Cochin Government made preparations to conduct elections to the Legislative Council. The

new offer of Government of a minister from the elected Legislative Council members paved the way for the birth of a new political party in Cochin – Cochin Congress.⁴⁹ Most of its members were connected with the working of the Cochin Legislative Council. At the same time, some old congressmen who were working with Cochin State Congress also joined the new party. Kurur Neelakantan Nambudirippad (President), M.K. Devassy (General Secretary), C. Achutha Menon (Joint Secretary), Dr. A.R.Menon, E.Ikkanda Warriar, Ambat Sivarama Menon, Panampalli Govinda Menon, Ambat Eachara Menon, C.R. Iyyunni, C.A.Ouseph, C.Kuttan Nair, T.A. Ramachandra Ayyar, Puthur Achutha Menon, K.K.Warriar, P.S. Nambudiri and George Chadayammuri were the early leaders of the Cochin Congress.⁵⁰

In the elections held to the State Legislature under the new constitution two political parties, viz., the Cochin State Congress and the Cochin Congress, won 12 and 13 seats respectively. The Legislative Council then comprised of 58 members of whom 38 were elected. With the help of a few unattached independents, the Cochin Congress could assume office and its leader Ambat Sivarama Menon was accordingly sworn in as Minister (Minister for Rural Development) on 17 June, 1938, when the new constitution was formally inaugurated by the Cochin ruler in the Durbar Hall at Ernakulam.⁵¹

For the first time in a princely state a Minister whose term of office depended upon the votes of the elected representatives of the people was entrusted with administrative responsibilities and for several years to come Cochin was to be the only State of its kind in India with any semblance of responsible Government. The reform created a good impression all over the country. “The Constitution”, said A.B.Keith, “is wisely framed as a first contribution to the achievement of responsible government in full”.⁵²

By that time, the Government of Travancore headed by the Dewan Sir C.P. Ramaswami Ayyar made it clear that it would not allow any agitation for responsible government, as that slogan was a challenge to the authority of the Maharaja. The Travancore

State Congress came to clash with the Government and had started a civil disobedience movement. The Government of Cochin took a different attitude and declared that it had no objection to responsible government and that, on the other hand, responsible government was its own goal. This gave a handle to rightist leaders of the Cochin Congress to sabotage the development of the organisation on militant lines.⁵³ They decided to accept the new installment of reforms, made their representative agree to the minister ship and then began to co-operate with the Government.

Ambat Sivarama Menon, the first popular minister of Cochin, died in office on 30th August 1938 and in his place Dr. A.R.Menon of the Cochin Congress was appointed as Minister on 5th September. Two more departments of Government, viz., Fisheries and village libraries, were transferred to the new Minister. However, the most glaring defect of the new constitutional reform was that there were no independent provision to get the necessary funds for the departments of the popular minister. This exposed the hollowness of the reform and the subordinate status of the popular minister without any real power. Hence, the new system of dyarchic rule was distant from responsible government.

On 8th of December 1938, Sahodharan Ayyappan introduced a resolution in the Council for recommending to the Government to make an announcement that it was their aim to establish at an early date, complete responsible government under the aegis of the Maharaja. One of the important reasons for the introduction of this resolution was the statement made on behalf of the British Government by the Earl of Winterton in the House of Commons that the Paramount Power would never stand in the way of an Indian Ruler granting any measure of responsible government to his subjects.⁵⁴ In connection with this resolution, Sahodharan Ayyappan opined that the already introduced constitutional reform was significant on the ground of being first of its kind in a native state towards the achievement of responsible government. He also declared that responsible government was

the right of the people and by placing power in the hands of the people, the Government of Cochin could assume an enviable position among native states.⁵⁵ From the Government side K.P.Kannan Nair, Secretary to Government, replied that the new constitution had been working barely for six months and the future development of responsible institutions would depend upon the measure of success attained in the working of the present constitution. Finally, the resolution was carried without opposition and the Government remained neutral.⁵⁶

On 20 November 1940, T.K.Nair, leader of the Cochin State Congress, introduced a resolution in the Council for recommending the Government to place the Departments of Education, Medicine and Public Works under popular ministers, as a further step towards complete responsible government. Sahodharan Ayyappan supported this resolution and opined that for full responsible government either the Cochinites needed the strength to capture that or the ruler had to grant that in a liberal manner.⁵⁷ For the cause of responsible government, when the demand was a simple one-appointment of a popular minister-that met with success. After this, Cochin State Congress demanded for further constitutional reforms, transfer of three departments to popular ministers. In this connection, K. Sahodharan Ayyappan declared that after achieving this goal, they would demand for complete responsible government.⁵⁸ Finally, the resolution was put and carried, 31 voted for and none against.⁵⁹

The working of the dyarchical system did not satisfy the legitimate political aspirations of the people of Cochin. So, the national leaders of Cochin concluded that an agitation for responsible government was inevitable. Hence, they decided to unite all political parties, particularly the Cochin Congress and the Cochin State Congress. For this, V.R.Krishnan Ezhuthassan, President of the Cochin District Congress Committee, made an appeal to the leaders of both political parties, but was turned down.⁶⁰ Under these circumstances, V.R.Krishnan Ezhuthassan made a statement in the newspapers of Cochin

State in the third week of January 1941, in which he condemned the working of the political parties in Cochin and hinted that for spearheading the movement for responsible government a new political party was inevitable.⁶¹ Some days later, on 23 January, three leaders of the Congress V.R.Krishnan Ezhuthassan, C.Kuttan Nair and S.Neelakanta Ayyar-made a request in the news papers for assembling the people of having national interests at Cochin District Congress Committee Office on 26th for discussing about the formation of a new political party. Accordingly, more than 30 persons, of having national outlook assembled at District Congress Committee office from different parts of Cochin. Most of the participants were young and followers of Indian National Congress who had participated in its struggles. Apart from the three organizers, the participants were K.N.Nambeesan, M.N. Dhara Singh, E.Gopalakrishna Menon, Francis Thottungal, K.I. Narayanan, C.P.Ummer, K.V. Vittappa Prabhu, E. Gopala Menon, C. Sekhara Warriar, K.P. Francis, P. Sekhara Warriar, E. Sankarankutty Warriar, A.C. Antony, Ullattikulam Mathai, M.A. Kakku, P. Narayana Menon, T.S. Bandhu, P.R. Damodara Menon, M.A. George, Ramu Painkal, Vattapparambil Sankarankutty Menon, V.P.Joseph, I.P.Balagopal, C. Ramadas, A.F.Thomas, C.A. Kittunni and V.K. Achutha Menon.⁶²

In the Presidential speech V.R. Krishnan Ezhuttassan introduced the idea of forming a new political party-Cochi Rajya Prajamandalam – which had similar ideology and policy of Indian National Congress. After discussion, it was decided that for conducting agitation for responsible government in Cochin, a new political party became the need of the hour. In this connection, a resolution was moved by G.S.Dhara Singh, which clearly stated that Prajamandalam stood for responsible government, providing social and economic equality to the people of Cochin.⁶³ This meeting appointed a committee consisting of V.R.Krishnan Ezhuthassan, C.Kuttan Nair, S. Neelakanta Ayyar, K.I.Narayanan, M.N.Sivaraman Nair, Francis Thottungal, E. Gopalakrishna Menon and T. Parameswara Menon to draft the constitution of the new party.

On 9 February, another meeting was summoned at Trichur to discuss and accept the new constitution. After accepting the new constitution, the meeting elected a working committee of Prajamandalam comprising of 21 members. They were S. Neelakanta Ayyar (President), V.R.Krishnan Ezhuthassan (General Secretary), G.S. Dhara Singh and M.A. Kakku (Joint Secretaries), E. Gopalakrishna Menon and P. Narayana Menon (Organising Secretaries), Ullattikulam Mathai (Treasurer), C. Kuttan Nair, M.N. Sivaraman Nair, T. Parameswara Menon, Vattapparambil Sankarankutty Menon, T.S. Bandhu and K.N.Nambeesan.⁶⁴ In that evening, a public meeting was held at Trichur where the inaugural function of the new party was performed. This meeting resolved to organize the party at different places immediately.

In the early morning of the formation of Prajamandalam (26 Jan. 1941), there appeared wall posters in the towns of Cochin containing the slogans like “deport native ruler”, “destruction to imperialism” and “end British rule”. It was placed even under the statue of Cochin Maharaja at Trichur Town. Authorities connected these activities with the formation of Prajamandalam. Hence they decided to follow a repressive policy and C. Kuttan Nair, one of the founders of the Prajamandalam, was arrested on 11th February and put in prison.

On 20 May 1941, Cochin had a number of casualties and destructions due to the heavy rain and storm that shook different parts of the country. The Prajamandalam workers took a lot of pain to extend relief measures for those victims. That played a decisive role in bringing the people close to the activities of Prajamandalam.⁶⁵ In due course, Prajamandalam became a mass organization.

By May 1941, the relations between R.K.Shanmukhan Chetty, Diwan of Cochin, and the Maharaja strained on the issues of Cochin Kuries Bill, administration of Kalamandalam, distribution of electricity and the appointment of Sarvadhikaryakar.⁶⁶ So, Shanmukham

decided to retire voluntarily from State service, However, Shanmukham Chetty continued as the Diwan till 6th June 1941, when he went on leave preparatory to retirement.⁶⁷ Then, K. Achutha Menon, Secretary to Government assumed the charges of the Diwan and remained in that position upto 8th October, 1941. A.F.W.Dixon assumed the charges of the Diwan on 9th October.⁶⁸

During that period, the Cochin State Praja Mandal intensified its agitation for the achievement of full responsible govt. On 29th July, 1941, Sahodharan Ayyappan requested to the Maharaja to grant complete responsible government to the people of Cochin.⁶⁹ Unfortunately, during the Diwanship of A.F.W.Dixon the workers of the Prajamandalam were subjected to much repression and it was not possible for that organization to carry on its normal political activities.

On 1 August 1941, T.K.Nair and A.V.Moothedan moved two cut motions in the Legislative Council during Voting of Demands for Grants for further constitutional reforms and pointed out that the Govt. of Cochin might be carried on by a council of Minister responsible to the Legislative with adequate provisions to safeguard the treaty obligations with the crown and the interests of the minority communities. Sahodharan Ayyappan supported those cut motions and opined that in the issue of responsible government all political parties should unite and demand for the same which would impress the Maharaja that the people were fit for responsible government.⁷⁰ In the ensued voting, government remained neutral and the motions were passed without opposition. But later, government regretted their inability to accept the position taken up by the mover of the cut motion.⁷¹

For the first time since the inauguration of the new constitutions, the Cochin Legislative Council passed a motion of no-confidence in the Minister for Rural Development, Dr.A.R.Menon.⁷² Before the motion was taken up on 23rd February, 1942, A.F.W. Dixon, the President of the Council, announced that the official members would take no part in either the

discussion or in the voting.⁷³ C.V.Iyyu, the mover of the motion, pointed out that there were various defect and drawbacks in the administration of the transferred subjects by the Minister for Rural Development, Dr. A.R.Menon, Minister for Rural Development, replied by explaining at length the policy followed by him in the administration of the transferred subjects and defended the steps taken by him. The motion was then put and carried, 22 members voting for and 19 against the motion. In view of the passing of the no-confidence motion, Dr. A.R.Menon tendered his resignation of the office of Minister for Rural Development. The Maharaja accepted the resignation and appointed T.K.Nair, leader of the opposition party, as Minister for Rural Development.⁷⁴

During the Quit India Movement, several meetings and demonstrations were held in August, 1942 under the auspices of the Prajamandalam to protest against the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders.⁷⁵ The student population of Ernakulam played a particularly active part in the agitation. The most prominent leaders of the Prajamandalam from Ernakulam district were Panampalli Govinda Menon and K.P.Madhavan Nair. The Quit India movement of 1942 boosted the prestige of the Prajamandalam as a political party. Simultaneously, the membership of the party also increased to 11,000 and 107 area committees were formed by January, 1945.⁷⁶ Hence, the Prajamandalam party contested in the ensued elections to the Cochin Legislative Council held in May, 1945 and 12 Out of 19 candidates put up by the party got elected. The Prajamandalam members functioned as an effective opposition in the Council.

The experiment in dyarchy continued during this period. In the newly constituted Legislative Council T.K.Nair, Minister for Rural Development, lost the support of the majority members and hence he decided to resign. Accordingly, T.K.Nair resigned his office on 11th July 1945 and Parambi Lonappan, leader of the Nationalist Party, was appointed as Minister.⁷⁷ On 3rd August, P.Kumaran Ezhuthassan moved a cut motion in the Council to

urge upon the government of the necessity of having an elected president for the Council. Sahodharan Ayyappan opined that as a matter of right of the Legislative Council, this motion was acceptable. But he continued that under the existing system, the acting of the Diwan as President of the Council had several advantages.⁷⁸ Sahodharan Ayyappan also expressed the hope that with the introduction of responsible government in the State, the Council would also have an elected President. From the government side B.V.K. Menon, Secretary to Government, opposed the cut motions. Finally, the motion was put to votes, 17 for and 28 against and lost.⁷⁹

Sri Ravivarma, the Maharaja of Cochin, passed away on 31 January, 1946. He was succeeded by his next cousin, Sri. Kerala Varma. The religious ceremonies connected with the Installation of Sri Kerala Varma were conducted as usual in the historic Dutch Palace at Mattancheri on the 18th March, 1946, with the centuries old formalities and antique ceremonials. The Installation Durbar was held on the 21 March in the Durbar Hall at Erankulam. On the occasion of the installation of Sri. Kerala Varma, in his reply to the message of felicitations given by the Resident of the Madras on behalf of the Crown Representative, announced: "Anxious to associate my subjects more closely with the Government of the State I have decided to appoint a second minister and to transfer more departments of state to the administration of a representative of the people."⁸⁰ In pursuance of this announcement, the designation of the existing Minister for Rural Development was changed into Minister for Health and K.Balakrishna Menon was newly appointed as Minister for Development on 15th May, 1946.

On 21 July, 1946, the annual conference of the Prajamandalam met at Erankulam and took the far reaching decision to start a state wide agitation for the achievement of responsible government in Cochin.⁸¹ The State Legislature was scheduled to meet at Ernakulam on the 29th July and it was decided that, that day should be observed as "Responsible government

day.⁸² In pursuance of this decision, huge meetings and demonstrations were held all over Cochin State on that day demanding the end of Diwan's rule and the transfer of full political power to the elected representatives of the people, Labourers in several areas struck work. The ferry services at Mattancheri came to a stand still. The bus services were also dislocated. The Council meeting of the day was boycotted by 30 members. In the same day (29 July), Sree Kerala Varma, the Maharaja of Cochin, send a message to the Council expressing his hope that Travancore, Cochin and Malabar would unite before long and a Kerala State would come in to existence.⁸³ But the Maharaja was silent on the crucial question of responsible govt. which agitated the minds of the people.

After the demonstrations of the 29th July, were over, 30 elected members of the Cochin Legislature submitted a memoranda to the Maharaja emphasizing the need for the early establishment of full responsible government and requesting His Highness to transfer all departments of government to the charge of popular ministers as the first step towards the achievement of that goal.⁸⁴ In order to press the government for the cause of responsible government, the Demands under 'General Administration and Police' were rejected by the council.⁸⁵ In the same session, two motions of no-confidence against the Minister for Public Health and the Minister for Development was carried by the Council.⁸⁶ Hence Parambi Lonappan and Balakrishna Menon resigned form office on 8th August 1946 and their portfolios were entrusted to the Diwan. Though Sir George Boag, the Diwan, officially invited Panampilli Govinda Menon, leader of the Prajamandalam party, to form a ministry, it was turned down.⁸⁷ It was clear that the dyarchical experiment had failed. In order to over come the constitutional dead lock the Maharaja sent a message to the Legislature on August, 1946, in which he expressed his willingness to transfer almost all departments of government except Law and order and Finance, to ministers responsible to the legislature. The subjects so reserved were to continue as the responsibilities of the Diwan, but the Diwan and the ministers together were to constitute a Ministry or Cabinet and all decisions were to be taken

only after joint consultations among its members. The number of ministers was raised to four.⁸⁸ The proposal was welcomed in all quarters as a progressive one. Indian National Congress President Jawaharlal Nehru, K.P.C.C. President K. Kelappan, Sarojini Naidu and such other leaders welcomed this proclamation.⁸⁹ T.K.Nair and K.Sahodharan Ayyappan who headed two small groups in the legislature expressed their willingness to accept the leadership of the Prajamandalam and join the proposed cabinet. Consequently, the first popular ministry of Cochin consisting of Panampilli Govinda Menon, C.R. Iyyunni, Sahodharan Ayyappan and T.K.Nair assumed office on 9th September, 1946.⁹⁰ The first decision of the cabinet was to release all political prisoners. On 15 April 1947, the Cochin Legislative Council also came to have its first elected president in Prof. L.M.Pylee.⁹¹ In spite of the good start, the practical working of the government revealed that there was clash of interests between the Diwan on the one side and the popular ministers on the other. It was becoming increasingly clear that the only solution of the problem lay in the abolition of the Diwanship and the complete transfer of the whole administration to a popular cabinet.

In July, 1947 when the British Govt. had made all preparations for their exit from India and the stage for Indian Independence had been set, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru sent a message to the ruler of Cochin emphasizing the need for the immediate establishment of full responsible government in the state.⁹² On 31st July, the working committee of Prajamandalam requested the Cochin Maharaja through a resolution that by 15 August, the transfer of power to the legislature might be effected.⁹³ On 14th August 1947, the Maharaja issued a Proclamation in which he proposed to transfer all Departments except Palace, Devaswams, Police, Jail and State Forces to ministers under the Govt. of Cochin Act.⁹⁴ While finance was transferred to the control of the popular ministry, it was decided that Law and Order should be administered by a minister under the direct control of the ruler. These constitutional changes provoked the resignation of C.P.Karunakara Menon from office, as the Diwan had now become a mere ornamental figurehead. Sree Kerala Varma, Maharaja of Cochin promulgated

on the 26 August 1947, the Government of Cochin (Amendment) Act of 1123 M.E. The main feature of this Act was to terminate the constitutional position of the Diwan by suitable changes in the Government of Cochin Act.⁹⁵ The Cabinet there after, consisted of the Prime Minister and three other Ministers. One of these ministers was in-charge of the subjects of police, Jails and State Forces in respect of which he was answerable only to the Maharaja. The administration of Devaswams and Palace was exercised by an executive authority appointed by the Maharaja. The ministers were assisted by a Secretariat and civil service.⁹⁶

Panampilli Govinda Menon was sworn in as the first elected Prime Minister and formed the cabinet which came into power on 1st September, 1947.⁹⁷ Prime Minister was also entrusted with the finance portfolio. The Maharaja entrusted Law and Order to T.K.Nair in whom he seemed to have had greater confidence as Minister in charge of these subject. T.K.Nair was responsible only to the ruler for the administration of the concerned departments while the Prime Minister and the Council of Minister were collectively responsible to the legislature for the conduct of the Govt. as a whole. This created an anomalous position and vitiated the smooth working of the administration.

A Public meeting held at Rajendra Maidan, Eranakulam, on 18th October, 1947, was dispersed by the police by resorting to a lathi charge. There were protests from all over the State against the conduct of the police in the incident. The Prime Minister demanded a public enquiry into allegations of police excesses. The Maharaja rejected the demand on the advise of the Minister for Law and Order.⁹⁸ This culminated in the resignation of Panampilli Govinda Menon (Prime Minister), T.K.Nair (Minister for Home Affairs), C.R. Iyyunni (Minister for Food and Revenue) and Sahodharan Ayyappan (Minister for Works) from their offices as Ministers which came into effect from 27 October 1947.⁹⁹ Then, the Maharaja appointed T.K. Nair as Prime Minister and Parambi Lonappan and K. Balakrishna Menon as ministers.¹⁰⁰ The Maharaja entrusted the administration of police, military and Jails to

T.K.Nair. The Rajendra Maidan incident also paved the way for political changes in Cochin. Several people who kept aloof from the Prjamandalam party decided to join and strengthen it. Among them, the most important personalities were.Sahodharan Ayyappan, K.I.Velayudhan, K.T.Achuthan, K.K.Kannan, K.Kochukuttan and P.K.Dewer, Following them, many people from the backward communities became the members of the Prajamandalam.¹⁰¹

The last annual conference of the Cochi Rajya Prajamandalam was held on 11th and 12th of July 1948 at Trichur. The conference was inaugurated by K.Kamaraj Nadar, Tamil Nadu Congress Committee President, which was presided over by E.Ikkanda Warriar.¹⁰² The Delegates' Conference held on the second day under the presidentship of Ikkanda Warriar resolved to merge Prajamandalam in the Indian National Congress and after integration Travancore and Cochin should continue under the leadership of Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee.¹⁰³ The Conference also elected E.Ikkanda Warriar (President), K.Sahodharan Ayyappan, V.R.Krishnan Ezhuthassan, C.R.Iyyunni, M.K.Raja, P.Mani and K.P.Madhavan Nair as parliamentary board members of the party.¹⁰⁴

Sree Kerala Varma, Maharaja of Cochin, promulgated on 12 May 1948, the Government of Cochin (Amendment) Act XV of 1123. Accordingly the name of the Council was changed into Assembly. The number of members of the Assembly was raised from 53 to 58 and the practice of nominating official members by Government was done away with.¹⁰⁵

The Cochin Government declared that the general elections to the Legislative Assembly would be held on 8th and 11th of September 1948, on the basis of adult franchise. Cochi Rajya Prajamandalam and People's Congress were the political parties participated in the election. Several national leaders including Dr.Rajendra Prasad, Dr.Pattabhi Sitaramayya, S. Nijalingappa etc. requested the people of Cochin to elevate Prajamandalam to power. In connection with election campaign, Prajamandalam organised several public meetings in different parts of the Cochin State. The workers of the party made a systematic campaign and

squad work among the people. Moreover, through the columns of newspapers and pamphlets, they made vigorous propaganda for the cause of Prajamandalam party.¹⁰⁶ Finally, when the results were declared Prajamandalam got a clear majority and won 43 seats (contested in 51 seats), Peoples' Congress 4 (contested in 43 seats) and Independents 6. After the declaration of results, T.K.Nair tendered the resignation of his ministry to the Maharaja on 19th September. In the next day, a new cabinet was formed and sworn in under the Primeministership of E.Ikkanda Warriar, Other members of the ministry were Panampilli Govinda Menon, Sahodharan Ayyappan and C.A.Ouseph. This cabinet could be regarded as the first full-fledged Congress ministry because by January 1949, the Cochin State Prajamandalam had itself merged in the Indian National Congress. It was when that ministry was in office that the integration of the States of Travancore and Cochin took place on the 1st July, 1949. From that day onwards the Maharaja of Travancore became the first Raj Pramukh of the newly constituted United State of Travancore and Cochin. The Covenant executed by the Ruler provided for a Council of Ministers to aid and advise the Raj Pramukh in the exercise of his functions. The ministers were to be chosen by, and were to hold office during the pleasure of, His Highness the Raj Pramukh. Accordingly, the administration was carried on by the aid and advise of a Council of Ministers comprising representatives of the former states of Travancore and Cochin.

The cabinet ministers of the two states prior to integration were combined and sworn as ministers of the United State of Travancore-Cochin under the Chief Minister ship of T.K.Narayana Pillai on 1st July 1949. Other members of the ministry were A.J.John, E.Ikkanda Warriar, Panampilli Govinda Menon, E. John Philippose, Sahodharan Ayyappan, N. Kunjuraman, Sahib Bahadur T.A.Abdulla and Annie Mascarene. This event marked the end of monarchy and the beginning of democratic rule in Kerala history.

Other Contributions of Sahodharan Ayyappan

Sahodharan Ayyappan made constructive suggestions and extended support on several progressive resolutions moved by others in the Cochin Legislative Council. He made many attempts in the Council to draw the attention of the Government on the difficulties of the Kuri subscribers, in the wake of economic depression. Finally, the Government realized the seriousness of the problem and hence the Cochin Maharaja promulgated a Proclamation on 26 August 1932, which was intended to give temporary relief to subscribers in Kuries in the State.¹⁰⁷

On certain occasions, the opinions of Sahodharan Ayyappan influenced the decisions of the Government. For instance, on 25 March 1936, E.Ikkanda Warriar moved a resolution in the Cochin Legislative Council for urging the Government to organize cottage industries on a universal scale through out the state. On this resolution, Sahodharan Ayyappan opined that if Government organizes cottage industries, it would not be successful.¹⁰⁸ He had suggested that by extending subsidies and other financial aids, the Government could help those cottage industries. From the Government side I.N.Menon, Member of Industries, replied that they had sympathy with the resolution. At the sometime, he had stated that the idea behind the resolution was not practicable. Moreover, the Government member pointed out the limitations of the Government in this matter and repeated the opinions of Sahodharan Ayyappan. Finally, the resolution was put to votes and carried through.¹⁰⁹ In consequence of the State Aid to Industries (Amendment) Act of 1114 M.E, the Cochin Government had extended subsidies and financial aids for reviving cottage industries.

Sahodharan Ayyappan's reformist zeal knew no bounds. He was very much interested in the social progress of all communities. Hence he actively took part in the discussions affecting the social structure of a particular caste. In this connection, he had participated in the discussion on the Cochin Nambudiri Bill which was moved by P.S.Kesavan Nambudiri in

the Cochin Legislative Council on 16 March 1932 and opined that he stood for a common civil law for all communities.¹¹⁰ He had explained that even though it was not possible all on a sudden under the then existing system, progressive social legislations would lead to that goal ultimately. Finally, it was referred to a select committee. But the select committee did not submit its report till the dissolution of the second Legislative Council.¹¹¹ Later, Cochin Government took the initiative in introducing a similar Nambudiri Bill in the Council. It was passed by the Legislative Council and hence got the assent of the Maharaja on 3 August, 1939.¹¹²

On 10 August 1932, P.S.Kesavan Nambudiri tabled a cut motion in the Council during voting of Demands for Grants for drawing the attention of the Government to the extreme necessity for giving more encouragement to the cause of female education among the Nambudiris. Sahodharan Ayyappan supported this resolution and opined that female education among the Nambudiris would be helpful for progressive social changes.¹¹³ He had also hoped that such changes would be beneficial to the backward communities. Finally, I.N.Menon, the Director of Public Instruction, accepted the demand of the mover. So, the cut motion was withdrawn, with leave of the House.¹¹⁴

On 17 February 1931, Mrs. G. Pavithran introduced a Bill in the Council for preventing the dedication of women to Hindu temples in the State of Cochin. Sahodharan Ayyappan strongly supported this Bill along with V. Achyuta Menon and C.J.Mathew. Then it was passed by the Legislative Council. However, it became law when the Cochin Maharaja passed the Prevention of Dedication Regulation (Regulation XXVI of 1111 M.E.) of 19 June, 1936.

On 3 August 1932, K.P. Kannan Nayar moved the Cochin Income Tax Bill in the Council. It was supported by Sahodharan Ayyappan and opined that the money collected by way of income tax might be used for the welfare of the people.¹¹⁵ In view of the passing of

this Bill, P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan introduced a cut motion in the Legislative Council during voting of demands for grants on 5th August urging the Government not to cut the salary of the persons drawing below Rs.100/-. Sahodharan Ayyappan opposed it and argued that for getting the proposed amount, the Bill was justifiable. He had also demanded that the cut would be deeper in proportion to increased salary.¹¹⁶ Finally, the motion was put to votes and negatived. The Cochin Income Tax Bill was passed by the Legislative Council on 30 November 1932. It was assented to by the Maharaja on 6th April, 1933.¹¹⁷

The Depressed Classes' pupils experienced delay and difficulties in getting stipend from the Protector of Depressed Classes. So, K.P.Vallon, representative of the Depressed Classes, introduced a resolution in the Legislative Council on 14th February 1933, for giving Government help to Depressed Classes through the Director of Public Instruction. Sahodharan Ayyappan extended his sympathy to this resolution and opined that the Government would make an enquiry into the difficulties of Depressed Classes' pupils and take steps for the redressal of their grievances.¹¹⁸ Finally, I.N.Menon, Director of Public Instruction, replied that the Government had accepted the demand of the resolution.¹¹⁹ Hence the resolution was withdrawn with leave of the House.

On 22 February 1934, T.K.Nair introduced a resolution in the Council which urged the Government to dispense with the services of those Government servants who had put 20 years of service or more to provide a chance for at least a small portion of the educated unemployed youngmen in the State. Sahodharan Ayyappan supported this resolution and remarked that the demand was a moderate one.¹²⁰ From the Government side K. Achyuta Menon, the Diwan Peishkar, strongly opposed the resolution and said that the resolution was in the nature of a violent experiment with nothing to comment it for acceptance except its violence.¹²¹ He added that both in the interests of efficiency and economy the existing rule-retirement at the age of 55 should not be departed from, In view of Government opposition, it was clear that in

the event of voting, the resolution would not be passed. So, the resolution was, with leave, withdrawn.¹²²

Sahodharan Ayyappan always stood for the flowering of democracy in Cochin. In this attempt, he never tolerated official interference in General Elections. For instance, on 9th August 1935, E. Ikkanda Warriar alleged in the Legislative Council that in the IV General Elections to the Cochin Legislative Council, there was not only an active interference by the subordinates but active participation and connivance of some of the Heads of Departments. On this issue, Sahodharan Ayyappan strongly criticized bureaucracy and remarked that the people of Cochin were not slaves to vote for their candidates.¹²³ In this connection he had also declared that there was no power superior to the people and hence the government should move in the direction of their wishes. From the Government side T.S. Narayana Ayyar, Secretary to Government did not encourage interference in elections by public servants.¹²⁴ He had also assured the House that hereafter action would be taken against those public servants who had interfered in the elections.

During the discussion on the Cochin Nair Regulation Amendment Bill in the Council, Sahodharan Ayyappan opined that the Bill was beneficial not only to the Nairs but also to the Ezhavas and other backward communities.¹²⁵ In this connection he had criticized the Joint family system and Marumakkathayam. Finally, the Bill was passed by the Council. It got the assent of the Maharaja on 22 July 1938.¹²⁶

Sahodharan Ayyappan always shared the feelings of the working class and hence he argued for their cause in the legislature. For instance, V.K. Kutty moved a resolution in the Legislative Council on 29th March 1939, for fixing the minimum wages for beedi makers. In this connection, M.K. Devassy opined that it was for the sensible public and the Government to strike a happy via media, whereby they could stem the tide of the labour movement by wise adjustments. On the other hand Sahodharan Ayyappan declared that for the strengthening of

the labour movement, any means could be adopted.¹²⁷ Also he demanded for raising the minimum wages for beedi makers. Dr. A.R. Menon, Minister for Rural Development, replied that the contractor was at liberty to give any wages he liked and proper organizations alone would help the workmen. Finally, the resolution was put and carried.¹²⁸

Mrs. Thankamma N. Menon introduced the Cochin Child Marriage Restraint Bill in the Legislative Council on 8 December 1939. She had pointed out the fact that even though this evil system began to disappear from Cochin, it continued to exist among the Brahmins, Gauda Saraswath Brahmins and Konkanis. Hence, the aim of the Bill was to put an end to this evil system. Sahodharan Ayyappan supported this Bill and remarked that it was a progressive one. Then, the Bill was referred to a Select Committee consisting of T.A. Ramachandra Ayyar, M. Govinda Pai, C.A. Kunjunni Raja (Advocate General) and the mover. The Select Committee report was discussed by the Council and finally passed on 21 November 1940. Later it got the assent of the Maharaja.¹²⁹

Note and References:

- 1 *P.C.R.S.*, p. 57.
- 2 *Ibid.*, p.58.
- 3 *P.C.L.C.*, 23 March 1931, p. 768.
- 4 *Ibid.*, p. 773.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 12 August 1932, p. 1004.
- 6 *Ibid.*, pp.1005-1006.
- 7 *Ibid.*, 17 February 1933, p. 1024.
- 8 *Kaumudi* (Mal.), 29 November, 1937, p.8.
- 9 *R.A.C.*, 1107 M.E., pp.2-3.
- 10 *C.G.G.*, 3 February, 1934, p.329.
- 11 *Ibid.*, p.330.
- 12 *P.N.C.C.*, p.vii.
- 13 *Ibid.*
- 14 *P.C.L.C.*, 28 November 1932, p.63.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p.62.
- 16 *Ibid.*, 1 August 1933, p.146.

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- 17 *Ibid.*, p.147.
 - 18 *Ibid.*, 24 January 1934, p.240.
 - 19 *Ibid.*, p.241.
 - 20 *Ibid.*, 1 August 1934, p.297.
 - 21 *R.A.C.*, 1110 M.E, p.19.
 - 22 *P.C.L.C.*, 1 August 1935, p. 396.
 - 23 *Ibid.*, p. 397.
 - 24 *Ibid.*, p. 414.
 - 25 *Ibid.*, p. 417.
 - 26 *P.C.R.S.*, *op.cit.*
 - 27 *Ibid.*, p. 59.
 - 28 *Ibid.*
 - 29 *P.C.L.C.*, 12 February 1936, p. 696.
 - 30 *Ibid.*, p. 821.
 - 31 *Ibid.*, 30 July 1936, p. 416.
 - 32 *Ibid.*, p.420.
 - 33 *Ibid.*, p. 421.
 - 34 *Ibid.*, 4 August 1937, p. 334.
 - 35 *P.N.C.C.*, p.
 - 36 *Report of the Franchise Committee*, 29 September, 1937, p. 17.
 - 37 *Ibid.*, p.1.
 - 38 *Ibid.*
 - 39 *Ibid.*
 - 40 *Ibid.*, p.3.
 - 41 *Ibid.*, p.5.
 - 42 *Ibid.*, p.6.
 - 43 *Ibid.*
 - 44 Proceedings of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin, *Law and Justice Department*, Order L-4-19676/1112, dated 22nd October 1937, p.1.
 - 45 *P.C.R.S.*, p.66.
 - 46 *Ibid.*, p.67.
 - 47 *P.N.C.C.*, pp.1-3.
 - 48 *Sahodaran*, 8 January 1938, Editorial.
 - 49 *P.C.R.S.*, p.70.
 - 50 *Ibid.*
 - 51 A Sreedhara Menon, *Kerala District Gazetteers, Ernakulam*, Trivandrum, 1965, p.219.
 - 52 *P.N.C.C.*, p.129.
 - 53 E.M.S.Namboodiripad, *Kerala Society and Politics*, New Delhi, 1984, p.138.
 - 54 *P.C.L.C.*, 8 December 1928, pp.329-330.
 - 55 *Ibid.*, p.324.
 - 56 *Ibid.*, p.333.
 - 57 *Ibid.*, 20 November 1940, p.229.

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- 58 *Ibid.*, p.230.
- 59 *Ibid.*, 30 January 1941, p.765.
- 60 *P.C.R.S.*, p.74.
- 61 *Ibid.*, pp.75-77.
- 62 *Ibid.*, p.78.
- 63 *Ibid.*, p.80.
- 64 *Ibid.*, p.81.
- 65 *Sarva Vijnana Kosham* (Malayalam Encyclopaedia), Vol.VIII, Trivandrum, 1987, p.665.
- 66 *P.C.R.S.*, p.89
- 67 *R.A.C.*, 1116M.E., p.6.
- 68 *Ibid.*, 1111 M.E., p.3.
- 69 *P.C.L.C.*, 29 July, 1941, p.52.
- 70 *P.C.L.C.*, 1 August 1941, pp.378-379.
- 71 *C.G.G.*, 4 October, 1941, p.108.
- 72 *R.A.C.*, 1117M.E, p.36
- 73 *P.C.L.C.*, 23 February, 1942, p.1009.
- 74 *R.A.C.*, 1117M.E, p.36.
- 75 A.Sreedhara Menon, *op.cit.*, p.220.
- 76 *P.C.R.S.*, p.160.
- 77 *R.A.C.*, 1118 M.E., p.3.
- 78 *P.C.L.C.*, 3 August, 1945, pp.221-212.
- 79 *Ibid.*, p.215.
- 80 *R.A.C.*, 1121 M.E., p.5
- 81 *P.C.R.S.*, pp.220-226.
- 82 *Ibid.*
- 83 *R.A.C.*, 1121 M.E, pp.7-8.
- 84 A.Sreedhara Menon, *op.cit.*, p.221.
- 85 *R.A.C.* 1121 M.E., p.37.
- 86 *Ibid.*, p.36.
- 87 *P.C.R.S.*, p.234.
- 88 Quoted in K.Ramakrishnan Nair, *Constitutional Experiments in Kerala*, Trivandrum, 1964, p.168.
- 89 *P.C.R.S.*, p.237.
- 90 *Ibid.*
- 91 *P.C.L.C.*, 15 April, 1947, p.637.
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- 93 *P.C.R.S.*, p.299.
- 94 *C.G.G.*, Extra Ordinary, 14th August, 1947, p.2.
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- 100 *Ibid.*
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- 102 *Ibid.*, p.352.
- 103 *Ibid.*, p.357.
- 104 *Ibid.*, p.358.
- 105 *A.P.C.*, Vol.XVI, 1123 M.E, pp.96-99.
- 106 *P.C.R.S.*, p.365.
- 107 *R.A.C.*, 1108 M.E., p.6.
- 108 *P.C.L.C.*, 25 March 1936, p.1166.
- 109 *Ibid.*, p.1181.
- 110 *P.C.L.C.*, 16 March 1932, p.1199.
- 111 *R.A.C.*, 1106 M.E., p.10.
- 112 *R.A.C.*, 1114 M.E., pp.88-89.
- 113 *P.C.L.C.*, 10 August 1932, p.719.
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- 115 *Ibid.*, *P.C.L.C.*, 3 August 1932, p.144.
- 116 *Ibid.*, *P.C.L.C.*, 5 August 1932, p.368.
- 117 *Ibid.*, *P.C.L.C.*, 31 July 1933, p.34.
- 118 *Ibid.*, *P.C.L.C.*, 14 February 1933, pp.680-681.
- 119 *Ibid.*, p.700.
- 120 *Ibid.*, *P.C.L.C.*, 22 February 1934, p.819.
- 121 *Ibid.*, p.700.
- 122 *Ibid.*, p.825.
- 123 *Ibid.*, *P.C.L.C.*, 9 Aug 1935, p. 1957.
- 124 *Ibid.*, p. 1061.
- 125 *Ibid.*, *P.C.L.C.*, 3 April 1937, p. 1263.
- 126 *A.P.C.*, Vol. VI-1939, p. 337.
- 127 *P.C.L.C.*, 29 March 1939, p. 1124.
- 128 *Ibid.*, p. 1134.
- 129 *Ibid.*, *P.C.L.C.* 28 Jan 1941, p. 443.