

ORIGINAL

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21
BURO STAIRÉ MILEATA 1913-21
AC W.S. 287

ROINN



COSANTA.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY, 1913-21

STATEMENT BY WITNESS

DOCUMENT NO. W.S....287.....

Witness

Mr. John Flannery,
2 B. Thomas Court,
Thomas Street,
Dublin,
Identity

Led Mutiny of Connaught Rangers in
India 1920.

Subject

Account of Mutiny of Connaught Rangers
in India 1920.

Conditions, if any, stipulated by Witness

Nil

File No. ... S.1272... ..

Form BSM 2

THE CONNAUGHT RANGERS' MUTINY.

After many years I have decided to write this authentic narrative, on what is now known as the Connaught Rangers' Mutiny. An idea seems to have gained currency, which it would be well at the outset to correct. It has been suggested that the Mutiny was organised and brought to issue by outside influence. This is not so, and readers can judge for themselves the manner in which the trouble was caused in far-off India. The Rangers learned, through sections of the Press, of the atrocious deeds of the Black and Tans in Ireland. This news was later verified by letters which some of the men received from their relatives. Up to that point, the men were happy in the thought that they had played their part in the fight for the liberties and rights of small nations, their own included. But the news from home gave them a great shock. On each man's face one could soon see the stamp of sorrow and disappointment, and, forthwith, a wave of indignation swept through the barracks.

Before giving my account of the Mutiny, perhaps a short history of the Rangers may not be out of place.

The Connaught Rangers were originally recruited in 1793 by Colonel Thomas de Burgh, afterwards thirteenth Earl of Clanricarde. They all came from Connacht and the officers also were all Irishmen, some of them being relatives of Colonel de Burgh. Their first foreign service was in 1807, when they formed part of a British force which was sent to Buenos Aires to attack the Spanish, at that time allies of Napoleon, and from South America they came to the Peninsula. They took part in all the great battles in the campaign, Torres Vedra, Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, Salamanca, where they captured the famous "Jingling Johnny" from the 101st French Regiment. "Jingling Johnny" with its tiers of jingling brass bells, is a figure,

7 ft. 8 ins. high, constructed of brass crescents, bells and horse-hair plumes, and surmounted by an Imperial French Eagle.

They fought also at Nances Valles and through the Pyrenees to Orthes, going then to Canada, where they fought at Plathsburgh. Subsequently, they were sent home, but did not arrive in time to take their part in the battle of Waterloo.

The first time the Regiment was stationed in Ireland was in 1836, when they were transferred from the Ionian Isles to Kinsale. At this period Ireland was in a state of agitation and several attempts were made to create discontent amongst the Rangers. The attempts were renewed on various occasions from 1841 to 1851, but the Regiment was never known to mutiny until 1920.

The Regiment also served in the Crimea, where they gained repute at Alma. We next hear of them in the South African War where they served right through the campaign. After this, they were on foreign service until the outbreak of the Great War of 1914, when they formed part of the first British Expeditionary Force which landed in France. For their part in that war they were awarded 37 place names on their colours, which now lie in Windsor Castle. Prior to its outbreak, the First Battalion were stationed in Ferozepore, Punjab, whence they were sent to France on the 30th August 1914; from the latter place to Mesopotamia, then to Egypt, finally to England, and posted to Grandshaft Bks., Dover. The Rangers were then granted leave, during which the battalion was again strengthened for overseas service. They were next transferred to Wellington Barracks, Jullundur, Punjab, where they arrived on the 24th November 1919. Early in 1920, they were reinforced by two drafts of troops from England, so that, at the time our story commences, the strength of the battalion would be about 800 officers and men.

Jullundur is about three days' rail journey from the nearest seaport, Bombay. All was quiet and peaceful there, without the slightest hint that trouble was brewing in the battalion. The

Rangers, so far as could be seen, were settling down to it and looking forward to a well-earned rest after a hard campaign of four years and three months' active service. But fate took its innings and ordained that it be otherwise.

On the 25th June 1920, about 2 p.m., Private Dawson, B/Coy. went to the battalion guardroom and asked to be placed under arrest, giving as his reason to the guard commander that he was in sympathy with his country in its fight for freedom, and that he was taking this step as a protest against the atrocious deeds committed on the people of Ireland by the Black and Tans. He concluded by stating that he was finished soldiering for England. The sergeant of the guard had no option but place the man under arrest. Having done so, he reported the incident to Sergeant-major E. Tame, who was acting Regimental S.M. at the time. The latter gave an order that a sick report be made out in Dawson's name and that he be removed from the guardroom to the station hospital forthwith. When this order had been carried out the sergeant-major sent a covering note to the M.O. of the station hospital. In that, he explained what Dawson had done, and put forward the excuse - in order to hush up the incident - that the man was suffering from the after-effects of a slight sunstroke, and was not responsible for his actions; he ended his note with a request to the medical officer to have him detained in hospital. The latter granted the sergeant-major's request and, to all appearances, the effort to hush up the matter had succeeded, for nothing more happened on the 25th, 26th or 27th, and we had come to the conclusion that the incident was merely a flash in the pan.

The morning of the 28th June brought a rude awakening, and it became manifest that the action of Dawson was far more than a mere flash in the pan. It was the indomitable spirit of patriotism that was in revolt; it was the calm before the storm. The following four men - Lally, Gogarty, Hawes and Sweeney - came to the Royal Army Temperance Association and asked the N.C.O. in charge if he would do them a good turn by writing home

to their relatives and letting them know if anything should happen as a result of the action they were about to take. On being asked what they really did intend to do, they stated that they were going to volunteer for the guardroom as a protest against the action of the Black and Tans in Ireland, and they made it very clear that they were finished soldiering for England having just had twelve years' service with the colours. The N.C.O. pointed out the possible consequences of their action, and appealed to them, as they were only young soldiers, to reconsider the step they were about to take before it might be too late. They replied that they had already considered it and were going through with it no matter what the consequences might be. Seeing that he could not prevail on them to change their minds, the N.C.O. promised that he would carry out their wishes. They then left the R.A.T.A.

It was difficult enough for the authorities to keep the action of Dawson from becoming general knowledge to the men of the battalion; but, now that four other men had revolted, it was impossible to keep it dark. About 8 a.m. the N.C.O. was told that four men had volunteered for the guardroom. He knew at once who they were, and learned shortly afterwards that they had given the same reason to the guard commander for their action as Private Dawson had on 25th June. The guard commander had no option but to place the four men under arrest. Having done so, he reported the incident to Sergeant-major E. Tame.

Needless to say, news of the action of the four men went round the barracks like wildfire. Small groups of excited men could be seen standing in every direction, others were running here, there and everywhere, just like a swarm of bees that had been disturbed. The N.C.O. thought the matter over very carefully and a feeling impossible to describe seemed to surge through his whole being. The upshot was that he came to the conclusion he was no longer bound by his oath of allegiance to a king whose government was responsible for so many outrages on

his fellow-countrymen and women for merely demanding the God-given right to take their appropriate place among the Free Nations of the earth. Having made up his mind, he went into the billiard rooms, where about fifty men were assembled. He informed them that four of their comrades had volunteered for the guardroom as a protest against the Black and Tan outrages on the people of Ireland, and pointed out that, if the action of their four comrades in the guardroom was to have any effect, it must be backed up by every Irishman in the battalion who loved his country.

One of the party suggested that there was one drawback in the arrangements. As it was summer-time, the battalion was divided, and 300 of their number had been sent up to the hills, while the remaining 500 had stayed at Jullundur. The N.C.O. was well aware that, about a month previously, C/Company had been sent to Solon, and A/Company to Jutogh, both of which places were situated in the Simla Hills, about 300 miles from Jullundur. He stated to the assembled men that there was no alternative, if their four comrades in the guardroom were to be spared from the wrath of the authorities, who would deal very severely with them now that they were aware of the discontent in the battalion. It was only natural to expect that the authorities would prepare forthwith to quash any attempt the Rangers might make to revolt, and so it was the manifest duty of the Rangers to pull themselves together while they had time and to organise every man who was prepared to defend the honour of his country and the noble and righteous cause for which Ireland was fighting, namely, its complete independence. It was necessary that we should be prepared, and in a position to meet the onslaught of the authorities, should they decide to use force against us, although our policy was to be one of passive resistance; but we would not lie down under blows while we were in a position to hit back.

There were 500 men fully armed, embracing B. and D. Coys.

and detachments of A. and C. Coys., each detachment having about 50 men. The majority of the men in the recreation room were members of the C. Coy. detachment, and they immediately returned to their quarters when the N.C.O. had ceased addressing them. It being compulsory for every man in the British Army to attend school until he attained his 3rd class certificate of education, there was a parade of C. and D. Coys. detachments for school at 9 o'clock on the morning in question.

The men of D. Coy. were not fully informed of the events which had taken place earlier in the morning, and they paraded and marched to school. The men of C. Coy. refused to parade and had word to this effect conveyed to the officer in charge of their Coy. The officer replied that they were to go on parade at once. On receipt of this order, the men went to the Coy. office and informed the officer in charge that they would not parade for him or anyone else, and that they were taking this action as a result of what was happening to their people at the hands of the Black and Tans in Ireland. The officer then sent orders to the men of D. Coy. to parade, fully armed, and to place the men of C. Coy. under arrest. The men of D. Coy. proceeded to comply with this order until Cpl. O'Donoghue and Lce.Cpl. J.A. McGowan, who had heard the full particulars of what had taken place that morning, appealed to the men of their Coys. not to parade, but to support their comrades in C. Coy. The men of D. Coy. then refused to parade.

In the meantime, the C. Coy. detachment had marched to the battalion guardroom and, on arrival there, demanded that they be placed under arrest, as they too were finished soldiering. Their demands were complied with. A few minutes after this occurrence, a man named Kelly, who was on duty as Commanding Officer Orderly for the day, went to the guardroom, handed over his belt and side-arms, and demanded to be placed under arrest; his demands also were complied with. Lce.Cpl. Keenan and Hayes, who were with C. Coy. detachment in the guard-

room, were elected spokesmen for their own party. During this time the men of D.Coy. were being addressed by Cpl. O'Donoghue and, as a result of his address, they decided to join their comrades in the guardroom.

About 9.45 a.m. these men of D.Coy. marched accordingly to the guardroom and had an interview with their comrades. While this interview was in progress, the commanding officer of the regiment had been informed of the occurrence and, on arrival at the barracks, went direct to the battalion guardroom, where he appealed to the men to come out and carry on their duty, and that there would be nothing more about it. The men refused point blank to come out. The Colonel then pointed out the seriousness of their behaviour and advised them to let the matter drop. Their action would not change the policy of the British Government in Ireland; the only effect it would have would be punishment for themselves. But the men still refused to leave the guardroom. Seeing that he could not prevail on them to become loyal once more, he turned to the men of D.Coy. assembled outside the guardroom and appealed to them to endeavour to persuade the men in the guardroom to come out and carry on their duty. The men of D.Coy. informed the commanding officer that they were in sympathy with their comrades in the guardroom and demanded that themselves also should be placed under arrest. The Colonel seemed to be at his wit's end. Turning on his heel, he went in the direction of B.Coy. where a large body of men were collected. These he proceeded to address in the same manner as the men in the guardroom, but his appeal fell on deaf ears. He then left the barracks, stating that he had done all he could and that he would now have to report the matter to the General Officer commanding the brigade. Then Major R.L. Payne of the Battalion advised the men to take their commanding officer's advice, as their action would lead them into very serious trouble. They told him they would do nothing of the kind. Thenceforward excited groups could be seen standing outside each company throughout the barracks, and no one knew what would

happen next. Seeing that no man of the party was prepared to take the responsibility, the N.C.O. came to the conclusion that something must be done at once, before things got out of hand, and so seized the opportunity of getting control of the Rangers. Stepping forward, he offered his services to Major R.L. Payne, who was delighted. "That's what I want, Corporal" he said. "I want someone to help me". But if the officer only knew what was at the back of the N.C.O.'s mind, he would not have been so delighted with the offer.

Having got permission, he proceeded to the battalion guardroom, followed by a large body of men. On arrival there, he informed the guard commander, Sgt. Shaw, that he had permission from the Major to address the men in the guardroom. The guard commander raised no objection. The N.C.O. then addressed the men as follows: "Comrades, I am with you, body and soul. To prove it, I am willing and ready to take on the responsibility as your leader, but only on the following conditions: that you will not molest any officer, N.C.O. or man who is not with you in the movement; that you respect the native inhabitants of the station; that you do not loot or commit any discreditable act that would help the enemies of our country in their lying propaganda; that you take no orders from anyone but myself". He further pointed out to them that the policy must be one of passive resistance, and concluded by asking them to talk the matter over amongst themselves and then give him their answer. Thereupon they held a meeting, the result of which was this: they gave the N.C.O. a unanimous vote that they would be led and guided by him; that they would carry out his instructions to the last letter and that they would do nothing to cause their country to be ashamed of them. Having received this assurance, he pointed out to them that they would probably gain their objective by passive resistance, and the only way to accomplish this was to organise. He then advised them to leave the guardroom, at the same time pointing out the urgent necessity of their doing so, adding that he would place their

protest before the proper authority.

Thereupon the men renewed their promise to be led by him and not commit any offence that would cast a slur on the righteous cause for which their country was fighting. He replied that he was proud of them and that their country would be proud, indeed, to know that it had at least one Irish Regiment in the British Army which would not stand idly by without making a vigorous protest against the outrages that were being inflicted on our people by the Black and Tans. Turning then to the guard commander, he asked him to throw open the gate of the detention room and set free all men who were under arrest for their national sympathies. The latter did as requested. When all were free, the N.C.O. gave instructions that they were to go to their quarters and carry on as if nothing was wrong, and that he would have general instructions issued later as to the duties they were to perform. They went, accordingly, to their quarters, the battalion by this time being in a state of great excitement and everyone wondering what might happen next.

His next step was to choose half a dozen trustworthy men whose duty it was to wander through the companies and keep him informed of every move in the battalion, especially the movement of individuals who tried in any way to urge men of the battalion to commit any act contrary to the policy of passive resistance. In this way he was kept in touch with the slightest trouble, and was able to go direct to such individual as might be causing trouble, and warn him that, if he persisted in urging the men to commit any act contrary to the policy of passive resistance, he would be placed under close arrest without further warning.

About 1 p.m. on the day in question, a party of 200 men, composed of all four companies, marched over to the battalion orderly room and, when they had arrived at the latter place, the N.C.O. rushed over from the R.A.T.A. to find out what the parade was for. On arrival he was informed by the general body of the men that they wanted to see the commanding officer. The

adjutant then emerged from the orderly room and informed the parade that the Colonel was not there, but at the Officers' Mess. The men were divided into four companies - Cpl. O'Donoghue, L/Cpls. J.A. Magowan, O'Donnell and Flannery each taking charge of a company, and the whole proceeding to the Officers' Mess. Before reaching the Mess they were stopped several times by officers of the battalion who requested them to return to bks. One major was very persistent in this request. He called on L/Cpl. Magowan, who was in charge of the leading company, to halt the party. Magowan did as requested. Then the major asked the men not to persist in going to the Officers' Mess, but the men replied that no one would stop them. Seeing that he could not get them to return to barracks, he asked for one loyal man of his own company to fall out and return to barracks with him. Every man remained in his place, and the party then proceeded to the Officers' Mess.

On their arrival there the Colonel came out and spoke to the party. He asked that a deputation should come forward and speak to him. After a short consultation with the men, their chosen leader stepped out of the ranks accompanied by L/Cpl. Magowan and Privates Lynch, Hughes, Sweeney and Hawes. He put the decision of the men before the Colonel and gave him the reasons why they arrived at those decisions. The Colonel then asked each man of the deputation his views on the matter in question, and each gave his own view: they were very much the same as those expressed by their leader. The Colonel next addressed the whole party and gave them to understand that he would convey their statements to the General Officer commanding the Brigade and inform him of the action they had taken in the matter. The leader then ordered the men to fall in and numbered them off, gave the command "form fours, left, quick march" at the same time paying the Colonel the compliments due to his rank. On arriving in barracks he dismissed the party. The men comprising the guard handed in their arms and ammunition to the N.C.Os. in charge of their sections. The leader then sent for

the regimental provost sergeant and handed over to him all prisoners in the detention room who had nothing to do with the protest.

About 4 p.m. the same day an officer of the battalion came to inform the men's leader that the G.O.C. the Jullundur Brigade was coming to interview the men at 4.30 p.m., and asked him if he would have them on parade. The leader assured the officer that the men would be ready to receive the general at the hour appointed. The officer returned to the orderly room and the leader had word sent among the four companies that all men who had grounded their arms in sympathy with the movement were to be on parade outside the "Cook" bungalow at 4.30 p.m. sharp. There were close on 500 men on parade at the hour appointed and at about 4.35 p.m. the G.O.C. the Jullundur Brigade, the Colonel of the Connaught Rangers, the adjutant and several other officers of the regiment came over to where the Rangers stood. The leader called the men to attention. The general was astonished to see such splendid discipline still prevailing in the regiment : in fact, he expressed himself very well pleased with the reception that was given him. He then asked for a spokesman. Having already made a promise to state their case to the proper authority, the leader stepped forward and explained the men's grievances to the general. Having stated the case fully, he faced the men and asked them if they were satisfied with the explanation he had made on their behalf and the men unanimously answered "Yes". Turning around, he then addressed the general, and pointed out that the vast majority of the men on parade were men who had enlisted under the impression that they were going to fight for the liberty and rights of Small Nations, their own included. He put it to the general if it was a fitting reward for the sacrifices that thousands of Irishmen had made on many fronts throughout the Great War, and to these men on parade who came through that great ordeal, to return home and learn that their own fellow-countrymen and women were being shot down by orders

of the British Government which claimed to have entered the struggle so as to protect the liberties and rights of Small Nations. He concluded his address by pointing out that the mother and sisters of his comrades were being outraged by the Black and Tans, and asked him how could he expect the Rangers to remain loyal in the face of what was happening in Ireland.

The General remained silent for a few moments, seeming to be lost in deep thought. He did not try to win the Rangers back to loyalty, but just heaved a sigh and asked their leader if he would give a promise that the Rangers would behave themselves, show no bad example to the natives of the station, and hand in their arms and ammunition. The promise was given that all arms and ammunition of the Rangers would be collected and placed under lock and key.

The General then left barracks and the men's leader issued instructions that all arms and ammunition were to be collected and handed in at No. 5 bungalow where an N.C.O. from each Coy. would take them. The handing in of arms continued up to 6 p.m. The leader then gave an order that the handing in was to cease until the next day and all arms in the companies, which had not been handed in at No. 5 bungalow, were locked up for the night. His reason for stopping the handing in of arms at 6 p.m. was that the wet-canteen would be opened at that hour and he did not want men wandering around barracks with firearms in their possession.

Shortly after the men's leader had given the order to cease handing in the arms, a major of the battalion came over to the R.A.T.A. rooms where a large body of men had assembled. He proceeded to address them on various matters dealing with the history of the regiment, and concluded his address by pointing out that there was a large supply of rifles and ammunition in the guardroom, and that it was necessary for the men's safety to have an armed guard placed over them. If the natives became

aware that the guardroom and magazine were unprotected, he added, they would lose no time in attempting to secure their contents and, if such an attempt were successful, the natives would use the arms thus obtained to murder every European in the cantonment. When the officer had concluded, the men's leader assured him that he had nothing to worry about so far as the arms and the safety of Europeans were concerned, as he had made the necessary plans to deal with any such attempt. The officer then went away.

When he had gone, the leader called for one N.C.O. and twelve men to volunteer for guard on the guardroom and magazine. L/Cpl. O'Donnell and 12 volunteers stepped forward. The leader gave the necessary instructions, and they paraded at half-past seven, fully armed, and mounted guard as arranged. An unarmed picket was placed on duty on the outskirts of the barracks with instructions to report to the guardroom, should they notice anything unusual in the native quarters. They were at the same time to keep a strict lookout for any parties of military who might try to take the barracks by surprise.; nor were they to permit any officer, N.C.O. or man of the battalion to interfere with the arms which were under their care, and if any attempt were made to take the arms, they were to defend them with their lives, if necessary.

About 8 p.m. two men of the battalion came to the R.A.T.A. and informed the leader that they were going up the hills to where "A" and "C" companies were on detachment. "C" Coy. was at Solon and "A" Coy. at Jutogh. Both places were in the Simla Hills about 300 miles from Jullundur. They did not tell him what they were going there for, but he had a good idea, and he objected to their leaving. He pointed out that the authorities would have every road leading out of barracks watched, so as to make sure that the men of "A" and "C" Coys. up the hills would not get any information as to what was happening at Jullundur. Somehow he had a premonition that, if the men of "A" and "C" Coys. up the hills got to know what was happening at Jullundur, something terrible would happen.

As the two men left the R.A.T.A. they did not seem pleased because the leader objected to their leaving Jullundur. As a matter of fact, they did not leave on the night of the 28th. About 9.45 p.m., the leader, receiving information that the wet canteen was not closed, went direct to the N.C.O. on canteen duty and asked him why it had not been done at the usual hour. He informed him that it was more than could be done, as the men were talking of keeping it open all night. It was now 10 o'clock and the canteen should have been closed at 9.30 p.m. So the leader went direct to the manager and gave him an order to serve no more beer and the order was instantly carried out. He then addressed the men as follows:- "Rangers, you have grounded your arms for a noble cause. Keeping the canteen open all night will not help that cause, but play into the hands of your enemies who would like to see the movement end up in an orgy of drinking and looting". He next appealed to them to finish their drinks and go to their quarters. The canteen would be opened at the usual hour every day, and closed at the usual hour until the end of the movement. Accordingly, all commenced to move to their quarters with the exception of one man, who was trying to persuade the others not to leave. The leader approached this man, warned him that if he persisted he would have him placed under close arrest, and ordered him to move away to his quarters at once. This had the desired effect, and he went away mumbling something which could not be heard. The remainder of the night was very quiet

On the morning of the 29th June the men's leader had sent word round to each of the four companies that there would be a meeting in the Regimental Theatre at 9 o'clock and that every man of the battalion, who was in sympathy with the movement, was to attend. When the appointed hour came, there were close on 500 men present. Sentries were then placed on guard outside the theatre, so that the authorities would not be able to take them by surprise. A guard was also placed on the rifles in No. 5 bungalow. Having made sure that everything was in order, the

leader addressed the meeting as follows:- "Comrades, I have called you together this morning in order to place before you again the one and only policy which, to my mind, is a wise one, and that is the policy of passive resistance. Now, if there is any man at this meeting who does not wish to remain, he can leave before the meeting commences, as I do not want any man to attend against his own free will". One man, having left the theatre, the speaker continued: "Comrades, we have assembled here in order to pledge our moral support to our country in its fight for freedom. Our policy, as I have already announced, is one of passive resistance. While refusing to take any orders from our officers, we must not molest or insult them in any way, but we must prove by our behaviour that they are not dealing with a mob, but with well-disciplined men". He also told the meeting that, in the event of the authorities making a swoop on the battalion and arresting their committee, the battalion were to elect another committee, and, should the second committee be arrested, they were to elect another one, and so on until every man of the battalion, who was in sympathy with the movement, was arrested. But, in the event of the entire battalion being placed under arrest and certain men picked out as ring leaders, the remainder of the battalion were not to become loyal under any circumstances. If they did, they and they only would be responsible for whatever would happen to those men whom the authorities had chosen as ring leaders. The meeting had it in its power to expose England's vile propaganda against their own country; it lay in its power also to repudiate that lying propaganda. He appealed to them to do nothing that would cause their country to be ashamed of the Rangers. They could strike a great blow for their country in its hour of need without spilling as much as one drop of their blood.

"You can prove to the people of India" he continued "and to the world at large, by your good behaviour, that your fellow-countrymen and women are not bands of hooligans out for murder, rape and loot - as the people of India were led to believe they

were - but bands of heroes fighting for a noble and righteous cause - the freedom of their native land. If you carry out this policy, you will do more to focus the eyes of the world on your country's fight for freedom than if you were to use violence, because acts of violence would place a weapon in the hands of the authorities to crush our protest. If you carry on the fight along the lines that I have mapped out for you, your country will be very proud indeed to learn that it has the moral support of one Irish regiment in the British army, who refuse to turn their backs on their motherland in its hour of trial".

While the meeting was in progress, one of the sentries announced that an officer of the Divisional Staff was waiting outside and wanted to speak to the men. The meeting was, therefore, brought to a close, and instructions were given to show the officer in. This done, he introduced himself to the meeting as Colonel Jackson, garrison staff officer (1), 16th Indian Divn and stated that he had been appointed by the O/C. General Hqrs. to investigate the grievances of the Connaught Rangers, and to act as mediator between the men and the O/C. the Division to which they were attached. He asked the meeting to appoint a deputation with whom he could discuss their alleged grievances. The committee then proceeded to the battalion orderly room, the place appointed for the discussion. On arrival there Colonel Jackson asked them to be seated and opened up by asking the name, rank, regimental number and total service in the Army of the individual members of the delegation. He proceeded to ask questions about the cause of the trouble. The same explanation was given him as had been given to the colonel of the Rangers and the G.O.C. the Jullundur Brigade. This brought the interview to an end. The leader then asked Col. Jackson to accompany them back to the Regimental Theatre where the men were waiting, and find out for himself if the facts placed before him were correct or otherwise. He did so, and was assured by the meeting that the facts which had been placed

before him by the deputation were correct, every word. Thereupon, he took his departure, with the promise that he would place the whole case before the proper authority.

Shortly after the meeting, the handing in of arms and ammunition was resumed under the strict supervision of a responsible N.C.O. from each of the four companies. While this was in progress, the leader decided to pay a visit to the Royal Field Artillery, which was situated about three quarters of a mile from the barracks. He was accompanied by L/Cpl. Keenan and, on arrival, asked the battery sergeant major to bring him before the O. i/c. This done, he explained the situation prevailing in the battalion at the time, and made a request to the officer not to allow any of the Rangers to enter the battery lines for the purpose of obtaining alcoholic drink. This officer gave instructions to the battery sergeant major that none of the Rangers be allowed to enter the battery lines. He then turned to the leader and said "Corporal, you are taking a very wise step". The next move was to proceed to a large establishment where all kinds of alcoholic drinks could be obtained. This was under the management of a native who was now warned not to sell or give drink to any of the Rangers. The only way to prevent a violation of this order was to place a guard on his premises. This was done and every precaution taken to prevent the Rangers getting liquor outside their own canteen.

From the native establishment the leader proceeded to the regimental bazaar, called all the native merchants together, explained to them why the Rangers had mutinied, and pointed out that they had nothing to fear from them. He recalled to their memory what had taken place at Amritsar in 1919 when close on 3,000 of their own fellow-countrymen and women were fired on by British forces, 359 being killed. To the native merchants he also pointed out that the same forces were shooting down our fellow-countrymen and women in Ireland, and Irishmen in India

would not stand idly by without making a protest, the only thing they could do when so far from their native land. He concluded with a promise that the Rangers would not molest any of the native people or interfere with their property, so long as the natives themselves did not try to take advantage of the crisis in the Rangers' barracks. On the contrary, the Rangers would come to their aid should any mob attempt to loot the bazaar.

The merchants thanked him for his offer of protection, assured him they would do their part to maintain order, and finished by saying that Ireland should be proud to learn of the heroic stand her sons had taken in far-off India in defence of their country's honour. An Indian leader said further "Had I a few divisions of men like the Connaught Rangers, I would free my country in a very short time". In the course of the day a Sinn Fein flag was hoisted over the barracks at Jullundur by L/Cpl. Keenan and the men were requested to purchase Sinn Fein rosettes in the native bazaar and wear them. About 7 p.m. the same day a member of the battalion came to the leader in the R.A.T.A. and handed him a letter informing him at the same time that the man to whom the letter had been addressed wanted to see him at the station hospital as soon as possible.

This letter contained a threat to the effect that the person to whom it had been sent had to leave barracks in 24 hrs. on pain of being shot. The leader proceeded to the station hospital and, on arrival there, was approached by the man to whom the letter had been sent, seeming very much upset. He asked him to calm himself and tell him all about the matter. He stated that he had got only so many hours to leave barracks, and if he were not gone in that time, he would be shot dead without further notice. He was assured that he need not be afraid and that no one would be allowed to molest him in any way. This man was English, and was employed as an hospital orderly. He said he could not understand why he should be threatened, as he never hurt even a hair of any man's head in

the battalion. The men's leader advised him to pay no heed to the letter, but to go on with his duty. He, in turn, promised that he would carry out his instructions and, should anyone attempt to molest him, he would report the matter at once. The next move was to place a guard on the officers' quarters lest any irresponsible individual might attempt to molest them.

On the morning of June 30th, the leader was informed that on the previous night two men had left Jullundur for the Simla hills in disregard of his warning not to do so. To get away from Jullundur each of these two men put on a belt and side-arms to make it appear that they were on duty, and proceeded to the railway station. On arrival there, they met Sgt. Edwards of the battalion and asked him where he was going. On being informed that he was going up to Solon to see his wife, who was ill, they said they had been sent down by the Sinn Fein leader to escort him up the hills, as his life was in danger. Now, this story of the sergeant's wife being in danger was merely an excuse to cover up their departure from Jullundur.

Sergeant Edwards had no option but to accept them as a body-guard. Before their arrival at the hills, however, an order had been issued by the authorities up there that a sharp lookout was to be kept and if any men of the battalion, other than those belonging to the Solon detachment, should arrive from Jullundur, they were to be placed under immediate arrest. ^{The} Two men reached Solon, an outpost in the Himalayas, on the morning of July 1st, 1920, but did not attempt to enter any of the detachment's bungalows until dusk, as they had an idea that there would be a sharp lookout for men other than those belonging to the detachment. So they lay low throughout the day and at dusk made their way to No. 27 bungalow. There they explained to the men that their comrades at Jullundur had grounded arms in sympathy with their country and its fight for freedom and as a protest against the Black and Tan outrages on the people of Ireland, and that they were fully determined to do no more

soldiering for England. While the two men were speaking, a young Lance Corporal came on the scene and he reported the arrival of the two men to a full corporal, in the belief that he would have them placed under arrest. But this N.C.O. did nothing of the kind; on the contrary, he joined the movement himself. The young Lance Corporal, seeing what had happened, reported the matter to the provost-sergeant, who lost no time in placing the two men under arrest, but not before they had accomplished the which they had set out from Jullundur to do.

Let us now go back in spirit to Jullundur and leave, for another chapter, the scene of the Solon detachment which has been set ablaze with excitement as a result of the emissaries' visit. On the morning of June 30th, the leader held another general meeting, and had the usual precautionary measures taken so as not to be surprised by the authorities. After explaining the position very clearly, he expressed himself well pleased with the splendid discipline of the battalion. He mentioned that two men had left Jullundur for the Simla Hills, despite his warning to the contrary, and pointed out that, if individuals in the battalion persisted in doing something that was contrary to his orders, the whole movement would end in a victory for the authorities. He earnestly appealed to the meeting, and to individuals in particular, to do nothing that was not sanctioned by their committee. The authorities were only waiting for an opportunity to take drastic measures against the battalion so as to crush the movement, and have it published throughout the world that our action arose out of a canteen squabble and had nothing whatever to do with the trouble in Ireland. He pleaded with all men of the Rangers who had the interest of their country at heart to work hand in hand so as to prevent anything happening that would be contrary to the policy for which they had grounded their arms, and injurious to that noble cause which so many of our countrymen were giving up their lives to promote.

The leader mentioned the threatening letter which had been sent to the man in the station hospital and he stated very emphatically that this kind of business must cease. He outlined all that had happened from the moment they had grounded arms, and congratulated the men on their splendid discipline. Their action and their good behaviour in India would prove to the people of India and to the world at large that the Sinn Feiners in Ireland were not bands of hooligans out for murder and loot - asserted by their old oppressors - but bands of patriots fighting to free their native land from the stranglehold of the invader. The action of the Connaught Rangers in a distant land would put new life into their fellow-countrymen at home when they learned that the "Devil's Own" were with them in their fight for freedom. They had, indeed, struck a great moral blow for their country's cause, as their action in exile would focus the eyes of the world on Ireland's struggle more than any action in Ireland could do, because of the fact that the people of Ireland were surrounded by a ring of steel, while the Rangers were outside this ring of steel. There, it was up to every one of them to protect their country's cause and their country's honour by giving the lie to the vile propaganda so cunningly circulated by the sleepless enemies of Ireland. Before bringing the meeting to a close, the leader warned them all to be on their guard against the traps that would be put in their way by the authorities. The proceedings concluded with three rousing cheers for the Irish Republic.

The handing in of arms and ammunition continued throughout the day and, so far as could be judged, was completed this 30th June 1920. About 6 p.m. the news came that a large force of troops had arrived at the railway station, Jullundur. This information the leader sent on to the responsible N.C.Os. of each of the four companies, with instructions that, should these troops march into barracks that evening, no man of the Rangers was to pass any offensive remarks towards them, but receive them with silent contempt. However, they did not march into barracks

that evening, but camped at the railway station.

About 2 p.m. on July 1st, two men were marched into barracks and placed under arrest in the battalion guardroom. They were heavily escorted by an armed party from the Solon detachment and turned out to be the two men who had left Jullundur on the night of 29th June. The news of their arrival spread like wildfire and the vast majority of the Rangers at Jullundur demanded their release. The authorities would not hear of it. The Rangers answered this refusal by saying that they would soon set them free and hastened in the direction of No. 5 bungalow where the battn. arms and ammunition were under lock and key with a guard placed over them, owing to the fact that the authorities made an attempt to get control of them. Seeing serious trouble in the offing, the men's leader concluded that something must be done at once to evade it. So he rushed into the battalion orderly room and asked the adjutant to hand over the two men to him. The adjutant replied that he had no influence in the matter, that it was the authorities who refused to hand over the two men. He seemed to be "between the devil and the deep sea" and did not know what to do. Hereupon the leader called him to the door of the orderly room and showed him the Rangers who were all rushing to No. 5 bungalow to get their arms. He almost fainted. Warned that the leader would not be responsible for what might happen within ten minutes in the absence of an assurance that the two men would be handed over, the adjutant went to the 'phone, rang up headquarters and informed the officer commanding of the situation in barracks. He got the reply that the two men would be handed over to the leader in camp that evening. Asked then to write out a note to this effect, the adjutant did so. Armed with this, the leader rushed over to No. 5 bungalow and, holding up the note, appealed to the men to give him a hearing. A calm swept over the party, and when the note was read out to them they expressed themselves satisfied with the arrangements. Their leader then explained that they had reached a stage in their protest where it was essential

that every man must be more cautious than ever, learn to keep cool, and never lose his head. All that was now necessary was to carry out the policy of passive resistance as instructed: thus, all would come right. The men were then asked to return to their quarters, and they did as requested. As they dispersed, a rousing cheer of "Up the Republic" rang throughout the barracks. Shortly after this incident, the authorities, in open violation of their promise, had the two men removed from the Rangers' guardroom to the guardroom of the Royal Field Artillery, about a mile and a half from the Rangers' barracks.

We now return in spirit to where we left the Solon detachment in the Himalayan hills and to the two emissaries under arrest. When the provost-sergeant there had secured them in the guardroom, C/Coy. organised about 70 men under the command of Private J.J. Daly. They marched to the Officers' Mess and there informed Capt. Badham that they would not soldier further until the English dogs had been removed from Ireland. Private Daly also demanded the release of the emissaries from the guardroom. Captain Badham replied that the two men had been sent back to Jullunder and Daly retorted "that has been a very quick move". Capt. Badham then said there would be a musketry parade as usual on the morrow, and expressed the hope that he would see them all there. "You will not see us on parade" Daly replied. Capt. Badham, at that stage, gave an order to the party to number off, but they refused to do so. Daly next gave an order to the party to number and they complied immediately. He then marched the party from the officers' Mess through the native bazaar.

One's first impression on entering a native bazaar, is the dense fog of flies creating a droning, humming curtain like a fog through the narrow passages between the stalls. They are there in thousands, alighting on the exposed meats, fruits, sweets and other dainties exposed for sale. Open your mouth and you trap a dozen; they never leave one in peace, but take a plunge and see what's on offer. It is difficult to describe a native bazaar in

a few words, for here, amidst the excited, jabbering and bargaining natives, the noise and stifling heat, are exposed the wares, not only of India and the East, but those from Birmingham, Paris and many other European centres. Here at the stall is the proprietor squatting amid his many-coloured silks, swearing by all his gods that they are real Indian silks; if he said they were imported from Paris or London, he would often be nearer the truth. You take courage and ask him "How much, berra good Sahib?" "Only 150 rupees" he grins. Then the bargaining process begins; if you know the ropes, you have a chance of getting him down to about 20 rupees, which is nearer the value, though still an overcharge. Next we surge through a dense mass of flies and natives to a fruit stall: oranges, limes, grapes and confectionery at special prices, according to the colour of your skin. If you are white, well, may God help you, for you will go black in the face at the price you are asked to pay.

What's all this row next door?. Clouds of acrid smoke which, when cleared, reveal a tinsmith hard at work making coffee pots, pans and kettles, buckets and lamps; whilst further back in the depths of the stall is a blacksmith putting shoes on a donkey, his apprentice blowing the fire, sparks and smoke all over the place; the fact that a butcher and a milk dealer are at either side of his establishment does not disturb anyone. Seemingly, a man is entitled to do his work wherever he likes: what are a few sparks or a gust of smoke anyway! they keep the flies off. We next come to something more interesting. Here is a tattoo artist busily engaged on a portrait of a native lady seated on a British Tommy's chest. Suffering cats! how can he endure it? Watch the perspiration rolling down his face in streams as his smoky decorator, or should I say tormentor, works the needles into his skin.

Turn aside and watch this clever jeweller fashioning

silver rings while you wait: "Berra cheap, Sahib, only five rupees, eight annas". If you give him half of what he asks, you would be paying him well. And here is a dusky tradesman, a cobbler making a silken tunic, while his apprentice puts a patch on a khaki drill pants. This is thirsty work, you say: well, here is a human mineral water bar, with his glasses encircling his waist, and his goatskin slung behind him, full of syrups, sherbet and water. Thus on through the bazaar, where you can get literally anything on earth but a bargain. You have got to keep your eyes always open, for this is the happy hunting ground of the shark, and the European is always fair game. Business, seemingly, is never urgent; the traders and their customers squatting down and chatting about anything except the matter in hand, leading each other up to the "bargain" by a slow and devious way, each trying to get the upper hand. Coffee is served sometimes to put the unwary customer in good humour.

Having said so much about the bazaar, let us continue our journey with the mutineers who, having passed through it, went in the direction of the railway station and from there back to the Company lines. Just as they were about to disperse, one of the men shouted to Daly "What orders for tomorrow" and he replied: "Parade at 9 a.m. for Jutogh". The party then went to their bungalows. Jutogh is another hill station, about 14 miles from Solon. A/Coy. detachment was stationed there.

On the morning of July 1st, the detachment at Solon was ordered by Major Alexander to appear on the company parade ground at 10 a.m. The Rangers refused to do so. Private Daly then said to Major Alexander: "If you want to see the men, you will have to come down to No. 27 bungalow". This the officer agreed to do and, when he arrived, he asked any amongst them who wished to carry on their duty to step forward. Not a man of the party moved. Shortly afterwards the brigadier general of the Ambala Brigade came on the scene. He also spoke to the men and advised them to put their protest in writing and that

he would forward it to the proper authority. Meanwhile, they were to carry on their duty until the reply reached them, but they refused point blank to resume. The next step the men took was to try and get the keys of the rifle racks from the N.C.O. in charge, but he refused to hand over the keys to those who had mutinied, so they decided there and then to smash every rifle rack in the company. Having completed their job, a rifle and several rounds of ammunition was issued to each man. The authorities, on learning of this, sought the aid of Father Baker, who went down to where the Rangers were and appealed to them to hand in their rifles and ammunition. The Rangers said they would do so on condition that the men of the Band, who were attached to C/Coy. and houses in another bungalow, would also hand in their rifles and ammunition. This request was agreed to by the officers. But, it is to be recorded that every man of the Band remained loyal to the Government.

When all arms and ammunition had been collected from the men of C/Coy. and the Band, and placed safely under lock and key in the magazine, information was sent to the authorities that the mutineers were all disarmed. An order was issued immediately by the authorities to re-arm the men of the Band at once with one rifle and 50 rounds of ball ammunition per man. A guard of the latter was then placed on the magazine with instructions to shoot down any of the mutineers who attempted to regain control of the arms. When the men of C/Coy. realised how they had been tricked into handing in their arms and ammunition, they became furious and decided there and then to organise every man of the Coy. with the object of getting back their rifles and ammunition.

The mutineers then went into the company bungalows and, after a short absence, came out, each man armed with a bayonet, and the whole party, about 100 in all, advanced in mass on the magazine: the bayonets were overlooked when the rifles were being collected. Two officers who were in charge of the magazine guard called on the mutineers to halt, but the latter refused to do so. Thereupon

the officers called on the men of the Band to protect the magazine and shoot to kill, if necessary. Then the officers fired several shots into the air and demanded that the mutineers go back, but the latter refused and continued to advance. This time the officers did not fire into the air, but into the Rangers at point blank range, with the result that two men - Privates Sears and Smith - were shot dead and a man by the name of Oliver wounded.

The very thing happened at Solon that the men's leader at Jullundur thought would happen, and that was the reason why he objected to the emissaries leaving Jullundur on the night of 28th June. Had the Solon party adopted the same precautions as the Jullundur party had, that is, to collect all arms and ammunition and place them under a guard of their own men, the officers would think twice before opening fire on the Rangers. Had the authorities at Jullundur attempted to do what the authorities did at Solon, the men there would be in the happy position of being able to hit back; but the authorities at Jullundur were wise, for, had they moved, there is no knowing where it would all end, with so many Irishmen in India at the time. On the morning of July 2nd, a detachment of the South Wales Borderers and Suffolk Regiment arrived at Solon. A guard made up of the men of the Band of The Connaught Rangers were then told off, and they marched through the Company lines. Every man who could be identified as having taken part in the mutiny was placed under arrest. Thus ended the mutiny at Solon.

Let us now get back to Jullundur. At 6.45 p.m. on 1st July, the Rangers' leader received information that a large body of troops were advancing in artillery formation on the barracks. He had all men there warned, and gave instructions that there was to be no excitement whatever. The men were to carry on as if nothing was wrong in barracks, pass no offensive remarks to the incoming troops, and so let them see they were not dealing with a rabble, but with a highly disciplined body.

This reinforcement of troops was made up of the South Wales Borderers and Suffolk Regiment already mentioned, Seaforth Highlanders, 11th and 12th Machine Gun Corps and some native regiments. The authorities were not quite sure that the Rangers would continue their policy of passive resistance, so they ordered the troops to advance into barracks as indicated.

When the barracks had been completely taken over in this way, the officer commanding the reinforcements sent for the Rangers' leader and asked him to get all men in barracks to fall in on parade. The leader sent for the bugler on duty and gave him an order to sound the 'fall-in'. When all Rangers were on parade, it was given out that any of them who wished once more to become loyal to the King, the colonel and the officers of the Regiment could do so by giving in their names at the battalion orderly room. A large number availed themselves of the opportunity, but there were 420 men who refused to become loyal and, to all appearances, were fully determined to go through to the bitter end. The barracks and all it contained were then handed over as it would have been in the ordinary way. The keys of No. 5 bungalow, where the arms and ammunition were stored, were handed over to the officer in charge of reinforcements. When everything was ready, the 420 men who refused to become loyal were marched out of barracks to a camp, which had been got ready, about 3 miles from barracks. On the way to this camp one could see troops in position on both sides of the road along the whole way.

On arrival there, the officer in charge of the camp guard addressed the Rangers, pointing out that they would have to make the best of it until the authorities had made up their minds as to what they were going to do. He also stated that after dark no man of the Rangers was to approach the barb-wire around the camp; if he did, he would do so at his own risk, as the sentries had instructions to fire on any man disobeying this order. They were not long in camp when two more Rangers were marched in

under an armed escort. These were the two men who were arrested at Solon by order of the provost-sergeant. They got a great cheer from their comrades.

The adjutant kept his word. The men's leader approached the officer in charge of the camp guard and asked him if he would allow the native contractor to open up a coffee bar in camp. This privilege the officer granted, and the Rangers were then able to purchase smokes, minerals, tea, coffee and the like. The next thing they set about was to organise a concert, and all the men enjoyed themselves to their hearts' content. One would never think they were under arrest for the most serious crime in the Army - mutiny.

On the morning of July 2nd, one of the officers of the regiment came into camp and asked the leader to get the men to fall-in on parade as he had a letter from G.H.Q. to read out to them. The request was complied with. Then the officer read out the message which was to the effect that certain men were chosen by the authorities to do certain work, and, if they refused, they would have to put up with the consequences. This done, the officer left the camp. During the day, another officer of the Rangers came to the camp and commenced to abuse the men for being disloyal. He singled out one N.C.O. named Murray, and told him he should be ashamed of himself. At this point the men were getting angry with the officer. One man reported the affair to the leader, then at the other end of the camp. Hastening to the scene, he could see at a glance that the men were in a very angry mood. He approached the officer, paying him the compliments due to his rank, and requestfully requested him to leave the camp, as it was the wish of the men that he should do so. The officer then addressed him as follows:- Lance-Corporal Flannery, do not dictate to me!" and the lance-corporal replied: "I am not dictating to you, Sir, I am merely giving you a word of advice, and, if you are not prepared to take it, I cannot be responsible for what may happen to you". Saluting, he turned on his heel to

go away; and it was noticed that the officer at the same moment hastened from the camp.

On the morning of July 3rd, about 5 o'clock, Major R.L. Payne, 1st Battn. the Connaught Rangers, came into the camp and asked the leader to get the men to fall in on parade. He was accompanied by a few N.C.Os. of the Rangers who had remained loyal. The leader did as requested and when all men were on parade, they were marched down to the head of the camp and halted. Major Payne then handed a list to Coy.Sgt. Major Cahill with instructions to call out names of the men. The Sgt. Major seemed to go into a trance, for he stood there with the list in his hand without making any effort whatever to carry out the order. The Major soon snapped the list from his hand and, addressing the men, said: "All men whose names I call out are to fall in six paces on the right of the parade". As each man's name was called out, he fell in on the right as instructed. This went on until twenty had been named. The Major then gave an order that they were to march on a marquee which was situated about 100 yards from the main body and to strike the marquee.

When the twenty men got to the marquee, their leader asked the party if they were going to carry out the order of Major Payne. The party replied "No". He then marched them back to where the main body was still waiting and when they got there they mixed up with the main body. Major Payne next called on the leader to show the men a good example by starting work. This the latter refused to do. The main body then marched back to their tents. This action seemed to upset the officer, who appeared to be very angry, and shouted at the top of his voice: "Now I will let you see that my orders must be obeyed". He rushed out of the camp and went in the direction of the guard tent, distant about 150 yards. The men all wondered what would happen next and had not long to wait, for within ten minutes Major Payne returned to their camp, this time at the head of an armed party about 100 strong.

He gave an order to this armed party to dig the Rangers out of the tents with their bayonets and things were beginning to look very ugly. The men's leader approached the Major and informed him that he did not want bloodshed, and if he wanted the Rangers to fall in on parade that he would get them to do so immediately. Major Payne shouted that they were to be got on parade at once, or he would get them so in quick time. Their leader then gave the order to fall in, and every man of them responded. They were all marched out of camp and halted at the back of a compound with a wall ten or twelve feet high, and 300 yards from the camp. Major Payne then asked Sgt. Major Cahill if he could recognise any man of the party who was warned for fatigue, but refused to do it. The Sgt. Major answered "Yes" and pointed out Private Moran. Thereupon Major Payne ordered the officer in charge of the guard to arrest Moran, but the officer could not carry out the order of his superior because the Rangers intervened.

When Major Payne saw that his orders could not be carried out, he asked the Rangers "Will you, or will you not, allow this man, Moran, to be taken out of your ranks?" The Rangers answered "No, we will not". The Major turned purple with rage and said "Very well, I will now let you see that my orders must be obeyed". Turning to the armed guard he gave the order to charge their magazine close in, and not to be afraid to use their bayonets, and fire, if necessary. He then halted the firing party within two yards of the Rangers and asked them if they would allow Moran to be taken from their ranks, as this was their last chance. The Rangers answered "Never". Major Payne then said: "Now you will have to put up with the consequence". Turning again, he ordered the guard to take aim. This order caused great excitement in the ranks, and a lot of the men were instantly in a crouching position ready to spring and attack the guard even with their bare hands. Realising that something must be done and done quickly to prevent wholesale slaughter, the leader rushed to the front of the Rangers and faced them with his hand upraised. He appealed to them not

to lose their heads, as he had a few words to say to them. A calm swept over the whole party, and the firing party lowered their rifles. The leader then addressed the men: "Comrades" he said "when you had Major Payne and his brother officers at your mercy, you did not injure a hair of their heads. Now, if Major Payne wants to shoot us down in cold blood, are you willing and ready to die for the righteous cause that you grounded your arms for?". With one voice the Rangers answered "Yes". Their leader then gave them an order to fall back to the wall and let Major Payne and his firing party see how Irishmen can die for their native land. They did as instructed. Turning then, he faced Major Payne and his firing party and informed him that the Rangers were ready to die, and that he could proceed with the shooting.. Many of the men exposed their breasts to receive the volley. Major Payne replied: "Very well, I will now make you pay the penalty for your disloyalty". Turning to the firing party, he gave them the order to present. Just then the station chaplain, Rev. Father Livens, an old gentleman about 70, with a flowing white beard, rushed in between the firing party and the Rangers with an upraised crucifix in his hand. Turning to the Rangers, he blessed them. He then faced Major Payne, and addressed him as follows: "Major Payne, if you shoot one of these brave Irish boys, you will have to riddle my poor old body as well". The Major tried to force the priest away, but the priest sternly refused to be brushed aside.

While this battle of words between officer and priest went on, a cloud of dust could be seen rising on the horizon, and from out its mist appeared a lone horseman galloping in our direction. When he arrived, he turned out to be none other than Colonel Stanley of the South Wales Borderers, officer commanding reinforcements, a gentleman every inch. One had not to look a second time to see that the horse was hard ridden, and the look on its rider's face was that of an angry man. He jumped from off his mount and addressed Major Payne as follows: "My God, Payne, what were you going to do? Is it you or I that is in

command?" Major Payne remained absolutely silent. Had not the O/C. Reinforcements arrived in the nick of time, it is certain the writer would not have been alive to give this account of the whole episode, for, as surely as night follows day, there would have been a holocaust that would have shocked the world. Turning to the men, Colonel Stanley said: "Rangers, I am very sorry indeed for what has happened, and I am shocked to see such a fine body of men in the position that you are in now". While he thus addressed the 420 Rangers, several of their officers came on the scene.

The men were then confined within the walls of this compound which was only about 20 yards square, for a period of 7½ hours, exposed to the heat and, worse still, the filthy condition of the place which, to all appearance, had been used by the natives as a lavatory. Oh! one almost sickens to think of what they went through. The Black Hole of Calcutta was nothing compared to this compound. The medical officer in charge of the station paid a visit there and expressed his surprise at the authorities for confining human beings in such a foul place. He promised that he would not rest until he got the Rangers removed to more healthy surroundings. So he approached the responsible authority and requested that they be removed from the compound, but the request was not granted. He then returned and explained what he had done, though in vain. But he had one more card up his sleeve, and thought it would be successful. He asked the men's leader and Corporal Murray to sign a document to the effect that he had done his duty as medical officer to the battalion. This document would place the full responsibility on the authorities should anything happen to the Rangers, as a result of the conditions which they were forced to live under. Not content with that, he went direct to the responsible authority and demanded the immediate removal of the men from the compound, again pointed out the horrible condition the men were in, and made it clear that, if his demands were not acceded to, he would not be responsible for the health of the battalion and would, in fact, resign.

This threat had the desired effect, for the Rangers were taken out of the compound and marched on to the road nearby. There were several officers standing around, amongst them Colonel Jackson from G.H.Q., Colonel of the Rangers, Colonel Stanley of the S.W.Bs. and the G.O.C. the Jullundur brigade. The latter commenced to read out certain paragraphs from King's Rules and Regulations, which gave him the power to fire on mutineers. At this point of the address, the Rangers shouted that he could fire away until he got blue in the face. The Colonel of the Rangers appealed for a hearing, but it was denied him. The Rangers seemed to have much more confidence in Colonel Jackson, for they called on him to explain what the authorities wanted them to do. The colonel then explained that the authorities did not want the Rangers to do any work beyond what was necessary for their own comfort, namely, to put some boards in their own tents, as was recommended by the medical officer. They agreed to do this work and had finished the job within half an hour. They were then allowed back to camp and the remainder of the day passed off very quietly.

On the following morning, July 4th, Mass was said in Camp. When Mass was over, an officer came to the men's leader, and asked him to get the Rangers to have their kits packed up, as they were going back to barracks. He passed this information on to the men and, when they were finished packing, the fall-in was given. Then they were marched out of camp under a heavy armed escort and back to barracks, while the road was lined on both sides with armed troops. Just to let our escort see they were not downhearted, they commenced to sing "Pack all your troubles in your old kit-bag", "A nation once again" and several well-known Irish airs. Back in barracks, they could see that the men who became loyal were giving the finishing touches to the barbed-wire around the "Cock bungalow" where they were to be confined: the reason why it was called the Cock bungalow was because it was the largest of its kind in India. There was only

one entrance to this compound and it was guarded by a Lewis gun section, who had their guns trained on the Rangers. The authorities seemed to be still afraid of the Rangers, although they were unarmed.

During the evening the men's leader learned that two priests were coming to barracks to see if they could get the Rangers to become loyal once more, so he called a meeting and explained that two priests were coming with the object stated. He asked the Rangers if they had made up their minds to go through to the bitter end and they replied in a body that they were going to see it through, no matter what happened. He pointed out that so long as they stuck together all would come right and there would be no courtmartial; the only thing the authorities could do with them would be to send the battalion to some punishment for a few years. This concluded the meeting, except that the leader expressed himself well pleased and repeated that if they stood four square no man would be victimised.

On the evening of 5th July the two priests arrived in barracks came direct to our compound, mingled with the Rangers and tried very hard to get them to resume duty. Having watched these priests for some time the leader asked himself the question: "What have they to offer the Rangers should they decide to become loyal?" So, out of curiosity, he decided to find out. He approached the priests and, in the presence of the Rangers, he asked them what guarantee they could give that no man would be punished for the part he played in the Rising if he returned to duty. The priests informed him without hesitation that they could give no guarantee that men would not be punished for their mutinous behaviour. Turning to the Rangers, he pointed out that they need not expect any clemency from the authorities, and that their only salvation was to stick together, come what may. He then asked them definitely if they were quite clear on their position and were going to stand shoulder to shoulder, and they answered "Yes" like one man. Turning again to the priests, he said "Now you have

the Rangers' answer, and please take it back to the authorities". The priests then left the compound. Nothing more of importance happened on that day, and the night passed off quietly. On 6th July the Authorities decided on taking the Rangers for a route march, around barracks, one-half before breakfast, and the other half in the evening. They were glad of this exercise, as otherwise, they were packed together like sardines.

That evening an officer of the Rangers came to the leader and gave him instructions to have every man in the compound without exception on parade the following morning at 5 o'clock. When the officer left, the leader notified that every man in the compound was to parade as directed. Next morning, July 7th, every man was on parade at the hour appointed. Just as the last man was falling in, there appeared, as if by magic, a horde of armed troops, rushing through the doors of the bungalow. The barbed wire at the back of the bungalow had been cut during the night, so as to make it easy for the troops to rush in from the back and surround the Rangers on parade at the front. Needless to say, all were surprised at this piece of manoeuvring and wondered what would happen next. They were not kept long in suspense, for coming in at the entrance to the compound was a party of picked men from the Royal Field Artillery, and leading them was Colonel Stanley of the South Wales Borderers, Officer Commanding reinforcements. These men had their shirt sleeves rolled up, and each man carried a baton. The officer in charge then addressed the Rangers as follows:- "Rangers, there is nothing to be afraid of. No one will molest you in any way so long as you do what you are told". The body of men under his charge reminded one somewhat of the fishermen at Ringsend wading into the middle of the net when it had been drawn, ready to strike down any poor fish that attempted to escape; but the fish on this occasion were far too clever. The officer then called out the names of 47 men and told them they were to fall in on the right of the parade.

When the 47 men, whose names had been called out, were on the right of the parade, a pre-arranged signal was given, there was a rush of armed men and the 47 men were immediately surrounded. Colonel Stanley then gave their leader an order to follow the 47. This was more than the main body of the Rangers could endure, and they were about to rush on the armed guard in order to set their comrades free; realising that such an attempt would end up in bloodshed, the leader appealed earnestly to the Rangers to do nothing rash, nor lose their heads in any way, but to carry on according to plan, and that all would come right as previously. This advice had a calming effect on the main body, and the 47 men were marched over to the battalion guardroom without further incident. On arrival there, two army lorries were in waiting; the men were packed into them and driven away amidst dead silence under a heavy armed escort. They naturally wondered where they were being sent, but had not long to wait, for they found themselves back in the compound which they had occupied on the 4th July. Within the walls of this terrible place they were again confined for two days. Several of the men had to be removed to hospital on the second day, suffering from fever and heatstrokes; and it was not until the medical officer again created a stir that they were removed back to barracks.

They were not put with the main body in the compound, but in the battalion guardroom cells, four and five men in each cell, from which they had a good view of their comrades in the Cock bungalow, about 150 yards away. On the morning of July 10th, their leader was taken out of his cell and brought before the O/C. Reinforcements in the battalion orderly room. The latter was sitting at a table in the left-hand corner of the room as the leader entered. Another officer sat at the right-hand corner just inside the door. The O/C. Reinforcements then invited the leader to sit down, so that when seated he would have his back to the officer in the right-hand corner. The latter, no doubt, was placed in that position to take shorthand notes of questions

put by the O/C. Reinforcements, as well as of the answers.

The O/C. Reinforcements opened the conversation by addressing his visitor as follows: "Well, Lce.Cpl. Flannery, I have sent for you to see if you can enlighten me as to how this trouble started". "I am sorry, Sir" was the reply, "but if this is why you sent for me, I cannot help you, because you know as much yourselves about the trouble as I do". "Surely, Flannery, you know something about it?". The reply was that he had got his answer. He then asked him if this was his last word, and the answer was "Yes". Thereupon the guards waiting outside the Orderly room door were ordered to take the leader back to his cell. As he was being taken away, the O/C. Reinforcements called on the escort to halt. Turning to the leader he said in anger: "Lce.Cpl. Flannery the man who made a lance corporal of you made a mistake, because it is a general you were intended for". The prisoner could only laugh and thank the officer for the compliment. He was then marched back to his cell and all seemed to be going on well with his comrades in the Cock bungalow. Needless to state, they were delighted that the main body still held out. Unfortunately, it was not to be for long.

Next morning, July 11th, the authorities made another effort to win the Rangers back to loyalty, and they were successful; and this is how it all happened. An officer of the Rangers went into the Cock bungalow and called on the men to fall in on parade as he had very important information to read out to them. When all were on parade, he commenced to read out the letter, which was from General Headquarters, offering a free pardon to every man in the Cock bungalow if he would become loyal once more to His Majesty, the King, and to the colonel and officers of the regiment. Now that the authorities had the ring-leaders under close arrest, four company markers were placed out, that is, one N.C.O. for each company. The officer then gave the order that any man who wished to become loyal could do so by falling in on his own company marker. There was a pause of a

few seconds, the Rangers looking at one another to see who would give the lead. The officer, seeing this, reminded them that it would be their last chance.

This set them going, for they commenced to fall in on their company markers in sixes and sevens until the whole body did likewise. All became loyal, with the exception of one man, Lce.Cpl. Willis. The officer then asked Willis if he was going to become loyal, and he replied that he would remain loyal to his comrades in the guardroom cells. So he was marched over to the guardroom and placed in the cells with the rest. When the leader saw what had taken place, he knew that it was all up with the prisoners and that there was nothing to do now but make the best of it. This brought the mutiny to an end, and the total number of men under arrest as ring-leaders amounted to ninety - 42 from Solon, and 48 from Jullundur.

John Flannery
1 - 9 - 49

Witness: Brennan,
Secretary.
1/9/49.

About three days prior to the 2nd November, the day fixed for his execution, J.J. Daly was removed from the prison and conveyed to the guardroom of the barracks outside. On the evening of the 1st November, he was brought back to the prison, but he was detained in the guardroom at the gate-end and his comrades had no opportunity of seeing him. They were aware, however, that he was to meet his end in the prison next day.

At daybreak on the morning of 2nd November, he faced the firing squad, and here is a detailed account of his execution given to Lce.Cpl. Flannery by the Rev. T.B. Baker, who attended him in his last moments:

"The grand military courtmartial finished its work about the middle of September. Its findings were, as was rumoured - 14 to be shot and about 45 others to get from one to twenty-one years' imprisonment. When these sentences were sent up to the commander-in-chief for confirmation, he decided that only one, Private Daly, for being the leader of the attack on the magazine where there was bloodshed, was to be shot; the sentence for the others he commuted to imprisonment for life. I did not see this in print, but it was common knowledge at the time. The date fixed for the execution was 2nd November, propitious day indeed!

"The Catholic chaplain of Dagshai, where the prisoners were detained, tried his best to get a reprieve for Daly. He went up to Simla, and interviewed the commander-in-chief, but was not successful. He now set his heart on preparing him for the worst and it was wonderful how he responded to the priest's effort. He went to Holy Communion once or twice a week during the short time left to him.

"On October 31st, I was ordered to take over from Fr. Correya and to attend Daly's execution. This was Sunday. Daly received Holy Communion this day, and again, finally,

on All Saints' Day, November 1st. I wanted to give him Mass and Holy Communion in his cell very early on the 2nd November, the day of his execution, but Fr. Correya said that this could not be done. So, on the night of November 1st, I heard his last confession, gave him the Apostolic Blessing and promised that I would give him the last anointing if I possibly could.

"The execution was fixed for 5.45 at dawn. At 5.30, I went into the cell, got the warders out and spoke and prayed with Daly for a short while. He was very calm and resigned and well prepared. At about 6 o'clock everything was in readiness and the Colonel commanding ordered the prisoner to be brought out of his cell. I put on my surplice and stole and had the Holy Oils ready in my vest pocket. The cell door was opened. There was Daly, pale and somewhat thinned, unwashed, and his clothes - oh, so old and dirty. He had on a pair of army boots unpolished, a khaki coat and trousers, a warm jersey below the coat and another thinner jersey below this, not one shred of which had had a wash since the 2nd July previous, and it looked like it.

"A prison warder, with loaded rifle and fixed bayonet, supported him on either side. For some moments we stood on the verandah and then the order was given to proceed. I took my place behind Daly, the provost sergeant with several others followed, and then came a few officers and, finally, the Colonel. We passed into the prison gate and turned sharply to the left. After going a few paces we were told to halt. The provost sergeant produced a long black serge bag and attempted to put it over Daly's head; but Daly shook it off, saying "I don't want this. I'll die like an Irishman!". There was some commotion among the attendants. Seeing that a scuffle was likely to ensue I quietly waved the men aside and coaxed Daly to put on the bag, both for his own sake and for the sake of the firing party. Before doing so, he begged permission to see some of his friends

"I may mention here that the day before, at Daly's request, I urgently begged the colonel to grant this favour to him, guaranteeing that I would be present and that nothing unlawful would take place. He refused outright, but I persisted, and told him that if he had not the power to grant this, he must wire to Simla to obtain it. He did wire to the adjutant general, but seemed to have got no reply. After the execution, I went up to the Adjutant General and, among other things in my report, I asked him why this request was refused. Oh! he did get annoyed, because, as he said, when he received the colonel's wire about 1 p.m. on the 1st November, he telephoned to the ecclesiastical authorities asking them whether my guarantee would be all right, and they said that they could depend on me. Accordingly, the adjutant general made out a telegram to this effect, directing that his wire should have precedence of all others. He showed me all this in his files. But that wire was not delivered to me.

"So. when Daly asked to see his friends, even then I looked back at the colonel and saw from his face that he did not mean to give permission. It was so distressing to tell Daly this. However, he accepted the refusal in a christian spirit, and the procession moved on again. After a few paces, we turned to the right and then to the half-right, and made for the chair which was weighed and prepared for Daly. When he touched the chair with his leg, he said: "Is this where they are going to shoot me?" And again he took off the bag and had a look round and up at the cell windows. Again, there was a rush at him, but I motioned the men off and urged Daly to comply with the regulations. He replied "It's all right, Father, I only wanted to have a look round". Letting me put down the bag, he again pleaded to let at least one of his friends, Private Hawes, see him. I knew that this would never be granted at such a time, so I begged him to accept the disappointment as a great sacrifice, and to tell me what he wanted to say to Hawes and I would do so under secrecy. He said nothing, but

his head fell on my shoulder, and for the first time he gave way.

"It was all so heartrending! . I then said a few prayers with him and gave him absolution and commended his soul to God. Upon which, he replied "May the Good God receive my soul". He then, without a word, took from his coat pocket the farewell letter which the other prisoners wrote to him the day before and which the prison officer was kind enough to have delivered to him, a couple of cigarettes, a few annas in silver and nickel and his green silk handkerchief, the token of leadership.

"I then happily thought of the scapular of the Sacred Heart which the men had given me the evening before to give to Daly. I pinned this on his coat over his heart and said the prayer: Jesus, Mary and Joseph, I give you my heart and soul, and I then made room for the medical officer who was showing signs of impatience. However, the provost sergeant first came with a rope to tie Daly down to the weighted chair. Daly, feeling the rope on his body, said fiercely: "I will not be tied down".

"All right" I said, and I sent the man away. The medical officer then came forward. Seeing the rosary and scapular on Daly, he touched them and looked at me, as if to say, take these off! I said they would not interfere and he let them alone. Producing a small white paper target, he pinned it right over the heart and moved aside.

"The officer in charge of the firing party then motioned me aside and I stationed myself just outside the firing line with my eyes fixed on this officer. As he let fall a handkerchief, the volley was fired, and a bullet found its mark in Daly's heart and passed out of his body with a great spurt of blood. I immediately rushed forward and snatched the bag from Daly's head. He cast a look at me and as he did so, I annointed him on the forehead. His body leaned a little to the left, and he was dead. His

shoulder-blade caught in a corner of the chair and thus he remained sitting.

"While I was anointing Daly, one of the prisoners from his cell roared out: "The London Fusiliers did it". And shortly after, in a calm though loud voice, another prisoner exclaimed "May his soul rest in peace!" The silence was awful and the look of surprise on every face was indescribable.

"I then said the prayers for the dead. When I had finished my part, the medical officer came forward and took Daly's hand and, after feeling the pulse for some time, declared to the Colonel that Daly was dead. The coffin was brought from a shed close by, and placed in front of the chair. Some warders took the body from the chair and placed it in the coffin as it was, boots and all. Again, when the body was in the coffin, the medical officer felt Daly's pulse for a good long time and finally declared that he was quite dead. The lid was screwed down, the coffin placed on the hearse and wheeled away by eight men to the common graveyard. I followed behind and said the Office for the Dead and then buried Daly in the graveyard at Dagshei, No. 340.

"The chaplain had timed himself and was saying Mass for Daly's soul while all this was taking place.

"The first intimation his mother received of his fate was a letter written by himself to her shortly before his execution. In his letter he gave his address as "In Heaven with God and John" referring to his brother who had died a few years previously. The following is a copy of the letter:-

"My Dear Mother:

I take this opportunity to let you know the dreadful news that I am to be shot on Tuesday morning, the 2nd November. But what harm, it is all for Ireland. I am

not afraid to die; it is only thinking of you. If you will be happy on earth, I will be happy in heaven. I am ready to meet my doom. The priest is along with me when needed, so you need have no worry about me, as I am going to my dearest home, Heaven. Out of sixty-two of us, I am the only one to be put out of this world. I am ready to meet it. God bless you all. I hope to meet you all some day in heaven. I hope, dearest mother, you won't be terribly put about, but will keep a stout heart. I know it is hard on you, but what can be done."

The letter then enquired about his father and other members of the family and friends, and continued:

"The priest will send my letters home alright.

This is the last letter you will get from me".

He then asked God's blessing on his mother, father and all at home, and sent them kisses. He concluded:

"I hope, mother, you will get a Mass said for the happy repose of your fond son, Jim, taken from you for the sake of his country. God bless Ireland and also all at home.

From your fond son,

Jim."

Mr. Daly received a letter from the chaplain in Dagshai, which was as follows:-

The Presbytery,
Dagshai, Simla Hills,
November 9th 1920.

"Dear Mr. Daly,

It is my painful duty to announce to you the sad news of the death of your son, James Daly, of the 1st Connaught Rangers. He was implicated in a mutiny of the regiment, tried by courtmartial and shot on 2nd November, just a week ago. Your son met his punishment like a brave Catholic soldier. I gave him Holy Communion on 31st October, and again on 1st November; a brother-priest,

Father Baker, was deputed to attend him at the last hour. I bade him goodbye on the afternoon of the 1st and said "Jim, my dear boy, tomorrow morning, All Souls' Day, you will be in Heaven". Father Baker was with him all through the night of the 1st and the morning of the 2nd. His last words were "Jesus, mercy, receive my soul". The colonel who was order to carry out the sentence of the court said that Daly died like a brave soldier. His courage at the last moment was marked by coolness and greatness of soul. His body was buried in consecrated ground, grave No. 340 in the Dagshai Cemetery. After the funeral, some children went to the grave and laid flowers on it.

"I know this letter will wring your heart with sorrow, but you will draw consolation from our holy faith. Jim is gone to heaven a little before you. God and His Blessed Mother give you comfort. I offered Mass again for James's soul this morning.

Yours in deep sympathy,

Fr. Correya.

Catholic Chaplain."

The remainder of the Connaught Rangers were not back at their usual routine, and life in Jullundur Barracks was resumed as if nothing had occurred. Towards the end of 1920, the battalion was transferred to Rawalpindi, where they were stationed until the Irish regiments in the British Army were disbanded in 1922. Early in January 1921, all were sent back to England in batches and, on arrival there, incarcerated in various prisons - Portland, Dartmoor, Maidstone, Wandsworth and Parkhurst. A claim for political treatment was made on several occasions, but without any success.

They came across Joseph Dowling of the 2nd Battalion of the Connaught Rangers. He served in the Casement Brigade and was better known as "the man in the boat". He too was sentenced to

death, but the sentence was commuted to one of penal servitude for life, and he was released after five years. At the time of the truce between Ireland and England, a few of the Rangers with short sentences were released, and after protracted negotiations with the Provisional Government of the Irish Free State, the remainder of them were released, on the 9th of January, 1923. Some went to the United States to Canada and other countries, but the majority of them remained in the old country. No praise could be too high for the manner in which the men defended the honour of their country in far away ^{India}, not a man, woman or child was molested, nor as much as a pin looted throughout the four days of the mutiny. Hence, their spirited protest in the East Indies will take rank in their country's story with the earlier Irish protests in the West Indies, in Parramatta and Ballarat, Australia; the Irish raid on Canada, the Irish Brigade in the Boer War and the Casement Brigade in Germany, while placing Private J.J. Daly on Ireland's Roll of Fame.

In concluding this narrative I wish to point out to the responsible authority in England that there cannot and will not be any real friendship between the two countries until England cease meddling in Irish affairs. The sooner this is realised, the better it will be for our mutual interests. The Irish Nation will then be able to take its rightful place amongst the Free Nations of the earth and live in lasting peace with its neighbour.

John J. Lannery

1-9-49

Witness:

W. Newman

Secretary

1/9/49.

BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY 1913-21
BURO STAIRE MILEATA 1913-21
NO. W.S. 287