



Official Newsletter of the Michigan Company of Military Historians & Collectors  
**January 9, 2017**

*“The soldier’s health must come before economy or any other consideration.”* **Napoleon**

*“If the facilities for washing were as great as those for drink, our Indian army would be the cleanest body of men in the world.”* **Florence Nightingale, 1863**, commenting as a member of the Royal Commission on the sanitary state of the Indian army.

*“It is in disaster, not success, that the heroes and the bums really get sorted out.”* **Admiral James B. Stockdale**, writing in In War, In Prison, In Antiquity.

*“Military history, accompanied by sound criticism, is indeed the true school of war.”* **Baron de Jomini**, Summary of the Art of War, 1838.

*“History will bear me out, particularly as I shall write that history myself.”* **Churchill**

Our January speaker will be Elizabeth (Betsy) Ford. Her father, Dale Ford, a 1937 graduate of Lowell High School was one of the Monuments Men. She will be sharing his story with us along with some of his personal items.

*MEETINGS* take place the second Monday of every month at the **Riverfront Hotel Grand Rapids** 270 Ann St NW, Grand Rapids, MI 49504 (616) 363-9001. Socializing begins at 6:00 (1800 hrs), dinner at 7:00 (1900 hrs), business meeting 7:15 (1915 hrs), and program at 8:00 (2000 hrs).

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**Company Notes**

◆ **Dues—still only \$45.00**

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# Post War Fate of Nazi & Japanese War Criminals

On December 18, 2016 there was a panel discussion with three WWII historians/authors at the National World War II Museum in New Orleans. Each spoke about their recent publication but what was interesting was the new information presented on three broad topics and the quantity and quality of the questions posed by men and women who had served in WWII to the present day during the Open Mic portion. The 65 minute presentation can be viewed on a computer by Googling C-Span 3 and searching by title or date.

Present were Annie Jacobsen, journalist and author of Operation Paperclip; Gerald Steinacher, PhD., professor of history at the University of Nebraska and author of Nazis on the Run: How Hitler's Henchmen Fled Justice, and Linda Goetz Holmes, PhD., author of Unjust Enrichment: How Japan's Companies built Postwar Fortunes using American POWs. While much has been written about Operation Paperclip where various Germans were captured and sent to America. At that time the Joint Chiefs of Staff described these men as "chosen, rare minds whose continuing intellectual productivity we wish to use." Such intellectual spoils were not to fall into Soviet hands. In 1945, Operation Overcast (renamed Operation Paperclip for the paper clips attached to the dossiers of the most "troublesome cases") began. More than 1,600 Germans were secretly recruited to develop armaments "at a feverish and paranoid pace that came to define the Cold War."

Although some of these men had been Nazi Party members, SS officers and war criminals, they were declared vital to American national security. Thus it was okay, American government officials reasoned, to ignore these scientists' roles in developing biological and chemical weapons, in designing the V-2 rockets that shattered London and Antwerp and in the countless deaths of concentration camp inmates who fell victim to medical experiments at Dachau and Ravensbrück. The journalist Annie Jacobsen's "Operation Paperclip" is not the first unveiling of the program. The New York Times, Newsweek and other media outlets exposed Paperclip as early as December 1946. Albert Einstein, Eleanor Roosevelt and Rabbi Steven Wise publicly opposed the program, and according to a Gallup poll, most Americans at the time considered it a "bad" idea. But Jacobsen's book is the first on the topic to appear since President Clinton signed the Nazi War Crimes Disclosure Act in 1998, which pushed through the declassification of American intelligence records, including the F.B.I., Army intelligence and C.I.A. files of German agents, scientists and war criminals. Jacobsen's access to these documents, along with her research in various special collections and her interviews with former intelligence personnel and relatives of the scientists, make her study the most in-depth account yet of the lives of Paperclip recruits and their American counterparts.

Jacobsen tracks twenty-one of these Nazi scientists and technicians. Eight of her subjects had worked directly with Hitler, Himmler or Göring; 15 were active Nazi Party members; 10 served in paramilitary squads like the SA and SS; and six were tried at Nuremberg. A few familiar figures pop up, including several pioneers in space exploration — Wernher von Braun, Hubertus Strughold, Walter Dornberger and Arthur Rudolph. Skillfully rendered are the stories of American and British officials who scoured defeated Germany for Nazi scientists and their research. One well-known find was the Osenberg list of thousands of German scientists and facilities, which was retrieved from a toilet at Bonn University. Another was a huge cache of tabun (a sarin-like chemical). They called in American Army chemists, who tested the chemical and found that just a drop on the skin would kill a rabbit in minutes. In 1945, 530 tons of tabun were shipped to various locations in the United States including Edgewood Arsenal in Maryland.

There, Jacobsen writes, American soldiers became unknowing guinea pigs for Dr. L. Wilson Greene, an American. In a gassing chamber, soldiers were exposed to low levels of tabun. Greene was pleased with the effects: Though the soldiers were “partially disabled” for one to three weeks, they eventually recovered. Thus nerve agents and hallucinogenic drugs could serve as more “gentle” weapons, immobilizing the enemy but, Greene hoped, avoiding the “wholesale killing of people or the mass destruction of property.” Greene assigned his colleague, the German chemist Fritz Hoffmann, to research other toxic agents for military use. Hoffmann (who died in 1967) studied everything from street drugs to Mongolian hallucinogenic mushrooms, and may have contributed his research to the development of Agent Orange. What makes Jacobsen’s research especially compelling is her interviews with the children and grandchildren of the various German scientists who initially worked for the U.S. government. Hoffmann’s daughter remembered that her father was interested in producing a substance that could defoliate trees in Vietnam “so you could see the enemies. Agent Orange turned out not only to defoliate trees but to cause great harm in children. Dad was dead by then, and I remember thinking, Thank God. It would have killed him to learn that. He was a gentle man. He wouldn’t hurt a fly.”

While most of the progeny produced by these captured Nazis became legal Americans, less than a handful of them chose to renounced their German citizenship.

Steinacher’s Nazis on the Run puts to rest the story depicted in Frederick Forsyth's bestselling thriller The Odessa File, where a tightly knit, top-secret organization of SS veterans arranged escape routes for former Nazis, placed them in powerful positions across the globe, and developed rocket facilities in Egypt to destroy Israel with a massive onslaught of biological weapons. In reality, as this book demonstrates, Odessa never existed. The truth about Nazis on the run was a lot more prosaic than the myth created by Simon Wiesenthal, the famous Nazi hunter. What did exist was a rat line that ran through Italy. Western Europe in 1945-46 was in a state of almost complete chaos. There were tens of millions of German and other refugees, former slave laborers of the Nazis, German and Austrian prisoners of war, and people fleeing the advance of communism in eastern Europe – most of them without papers, milling around in total confusion. In this situation, it was not difficult for ex-SS men to change their identities and obtain false passports. To get away from Germany, the best route lay across the Alps, over the border to Italy.

Once in Italy, the escapees found many different agencies where help could be provided, and the Red Cross was willing to issue travel documents without too many questions asked. Dedicated to an extremely broad principle of humanitarian aid, the Red Cross provided help to Jews seeking to emigrate illegally to Palestine, at the same time as giving ex-Nazis the identity papers they so badly needed. The problems confronting the Red Cross were too overwhelming for careful discrimination to be made. But it is hard to disagree with the author's conclusion that it was more careless than it should have been. There were criminal and corrupt Italians who were prepared to forge papers for the SS men – and if the price could not be paid, there were always those who would act out of ideological conviction. Most important, there was a group of Vatican priests around the Austrian bishop Alois Hudal, the deeply anti-semitic author in the mid-1930s of a tract called The Foundations of National Socialism, which he had presented to Hitler. A number of fugitives succeeded in obtaining "denazification through conversion", as German Protestant or Nazi-style "deists" had themselves baptized to get the church's help.

Pope Pius XII, a friend of Hudal's, turned a blind eye to his activities and interceded repeatedly for ex-Nazis. When a U.S. State Department report pointed the finger at Hudal in 1984, the Vatican reacted with fury, but after Steinacher's book there was no doubt of Rome's complicity, despite the regrettable fact that the Vatican archives are still closed for this period. The current pope has put the canonization of his wartime predecessor on hold. However, a more important part was played by the

Americans, who saw in former SS technicians, spies and experts sources of information and possible assistance in the emerging cold war. The rocket engineer Wernher von Braun, who had employed forced laborers under deadly and degrading conditions in his underground V-2 factory, was put in charge of the American rocket program; the Nazi spymaster Reinhard Gehlen, who claimed his network of spies in eastern Europe was still in place, was rescued by the Americans and subsequently put in charge of the West German intelligence service.

Within the Vatican and the U.S. government, significant groups and individuals helped ex-Nazis to escape justice because they saw in them men whose hatred of communism was as great as their own. After the Nuremberg war crimes trial, governments decided that strengthening German self-respect in the face of the Soviet threat was more important than meting out justice. Most surviving victims of the Nazis were too busy putting their lives back together for moral reflection on the recent past. Germans, Austrians and Italians simply wanted to forget. A thought-provoking sidebar was that Italy never convened a war crimes trial. Nazi escapees took advantage of this growing silence and amnesia to make their escape.

During World War II, 32,260 Americans were held as prisoners of war of the Japanese. Thousands were shipped to do forced labor in the factories, shipyards, and mines of Japan-at the specific request of major Japanese companies. For more than fifty years, this story has gone untold-until now. Combining investigative research, personal interviews with more than 400 ex-POWs, excerpts from POW diaries, and samples of the more than 300 recently declassified documents, Pacific War historian Linda Goetz Holmes revealed the brutal and exploitative practices of Japanese companies during World War II. Her research formed the basis of a landmark class-action lawsuit against five of the Japanese companies filed on behalf of 500 former POWs in U.S. District Court in Albuquerque, New Mexico, on September 13, 1999. Her presentation raised a often asked question that the other presenters chose not to answer because the events of 2002 are not yet seen as historical!

Ms. Holmes described how Japan's and Germany's post-war recovery was ably aided by Generals Lucius Clay and Douglas MacArthur with the assistance of former Nazis and morally questionable Japanese. Both war-torn countries were well served by keeping in place the existing power structure which kept order and allowed reconstruction to proceed more expeditiously. This was contrasted with the selection of Paul Bremer as the chief administrator of Iraq in 2002 and the debacle that was created by disbanding the Iraqi army and the de-Ba'athification of the Iraqi civil service. An opportunity had presented itself where the lessons learned in WWII, at the cost of many lives, were ignored. It is inconceivable that the Bush administration was unaware of the events that led to Germany's and Japan's postwar recovery but chose to ignore them. Bremer was heavily criticized for officially disbanding the former Iraqi Army. He contended that there were no armies to disband, despite that American commanders at that time were negotiating with senior Iraqi army officers on how to use the Iraqi army for security purposes. He claimed that many soldiers simply left after the fall of Baghdad; some to protect their own families from the rampant looting. Critics claimed his extreme measures, including the firing of thousands of school teachers and removing Ba'ath party members from top government positions, helped create and worsen an atmosphere of discontent. The questions raised by many of the different generational members of the audience were about fifteen years too late.

Both Jacobsen and Steinacher were reluctant to offer opinions about Iraq and chose rather to express facts and seek the truth by their presentations of them. Holmes, on the other hand, maintained that in order for history to have meaning, historical facts cannot be forgotten nor denied. The Bush administration has yet to explain their actions and they still present a litany of justifications that fail to prove accurate when exposed to the truth. To this day we are still suffering from their arrogance and ignorance.

# Top 10 Most Important Battles in History

While unfortunate, it cannot be denied that warfare has had a major role in shaping our world. It has defined our history, created and destroyed entire nations, and repeatedly altered society in both major and subtle ways for thousands of years. While history is replete with battles both large and small, there are a few that have had a bigger hand in shaping the course of history than others. Only a handful have had a major impact on the course of history. The following list of the ten most important ones may not have been the largest battles ever fought in terms of numbers involved, and not all of them are even land battles, but each of them had major ramifications on history that continue to be felt today. Had any of them gone the other way, the world we live in today would look very different indeed. Although this list is hardly the final or only answer, it does provide a template from which other battles can be compared.

**10. Stalingrad, 1942-1943**—This is the battle that effectively ended Hitler’s quest for world dominance and started Germany down the long road towards ultimate defeat in World War Two. Fought between July, 1942 and February, 1943, by the time it was over, 1.5 million men had been killed, captured, or wounded, with 91,000 Germans being taken prisoner and an entire German Army being wiped from the face of the Earth. So bad were German losses that the German army never fully recovered and was forced to largely take the defensive for the remainder of the war. (With the possible exceptions of the Battle of Kursk in July, 1943 and the Battle of the Bulge in December, 1944, the German Army never mounted a major offensive again.)

**9. Midway Island, 1942**—What Stalingrad was to the Germans, the naval air engagement that raged between Japan and the United States for three days in June, 1942, was for the Japanese. Admiral Yamamoto’s plan was to seize Midway Island—a tiny atoll some four hundred miles west of Hawaii—which he planned to use as a springboard from which to later attack those strategic islands. Much to his surprise, he was met by a task force of American carriers under the command of Admiral Chester Nimitz, and in a battle that could have easily gone either way, he lost all four of his aircraft carriers, along with all their aircraft and some of his finest pilots. The defeat effectively spelled the end to Japanese expansion across the Pacific and dealt Japan a defeat she would never recover from.

**8. Actium, 31 BCE**—The battle also marked the start of about three centuries of unequalled Roman naval supremacy over the whole Mediterranean and even wider. Cleopatra and Mark Antony’s fleet were destroyed by the smaller naval forces of Octavian. In a sea battle of epic proportions, in the course of a few hours Antony and Cleopatra lost two-thirds of their fleet—about 200 ships—and any chance of ousting Octavian as Emperor of Rome once their soldiers got word of the defeat and began deserting in large numbers.

**7. Waterloo, 1815**—In a total repudiation of Napoleon’s attempt to reclaim his previous glory after a brief vacation to the island paradise of Elba, an undersized force of British, Dutch and Prussian troops under the capable command of the Duke of Wellington threw back Napoleon’s army at the little Belgian town of Waterloo, thereby bringing an ignoble end to his much-touted comeback tour. The “Little Corporal” had been on a slide since that unfortunate affair in Russia a couple of years earlier, when he lost most of his army retreating from Moscow in the dead of winter, but this latest setback pretty much ended it for him and sent him packing for another vacation spot; some little place called St. Helena. Of course, it’s not a certainty Napoleon would have ultimately succeeded even if he had bested Wellington, but it’s a certainty losing put whatever plans he had for the future on permanent hold.

**6. Gettysburg, 1863**—Lose this one, and General Lee probably marches on Washington D.C., sending Lincoln and his staff fleeing and forcing the country to accept the existence of a Confederate States of America. This one was a must win for the Union and, fortunately, the man in charge, George Meade, proved to be up to the task—though just barely. In a battle that raged for three sweltering days in July of 1863, the two massive armies pummeled each other into dust, but it was the superior Union position—they held the high ground—and Lee’s ill-advised decision to have General Pickett charge the center of the Union line that ended in the worst defeat in Confederate history to that time. While the Union losses were heavy too, the North could better absorb such losses. The South, on the other hand, never recovered from Gettysburg and was forced to begin increasingly fighting a defensive battle to stave off inevitable defeat against a much more populous, industrially advanced, and wealthier North.

**5. Battle of Tours, 732**—Chances are you never heard of this battle, but had the Franks lost it, we might all be bowing towards Mecca five times a day and studying our Koran each night. The battle near the city of Tours pitted about 20,000 Carolingian Franks under Charles Martel against a Muslim force of up to 50,000 soldiers under Abdul Rahman Al Ghafiqi intent on bringing Islam to Europe. Though outnumbered, Martel proved to be an especially able commander and routed the invaders, driving them back into Spain and, ultimately (through his son, Pippin the Great) off the continent. Had Martel lost, Islam would probably have become the predominant faith of Europe and, eventually, the main religion around the world today. How this would have impacted western civilization can only be guessed at, but chances are it would have taken a dramatically different tact than it did.

**4. Battle of Vienna, 1683**—In something of a remake of the earlier Battle of Tours (see no. 5) the Muslims were again on the march in an effort to claim all of Europe for Allah. This time, riding under the banner of the Ottoman Empire, somewhere between 150,000 to 300,000 troops under Kara Mustafa Pasha met a mixed force of some 80,000 troops under the Polish King John Sobieski near Vienna one fine September in 1683 and somehow lost. The battle proved to be the end of Islamic expansion into Europe and resulted in their commander, Mustafa Pasha, being executed by the Turks for his mishandling of the siege and battles for Vienna. How close were things? Had Pasha attacked when he first arrived at the city earlier that July, Vienna probably would have fallen; in waiting until September, however, he gave time for the Polish Army and their allies to arrive to break the siege and provide the forces necessary to send the Turks packing.

**3. Yorktown, 1781**—In terms of numbers, this was a pretty puny battle (8,000 American troops, supported by 8,000 French troops, against some 9,000 British troops) but by the time it ended on October 19, 1781, it changed the world forever. The indomitable British Empire, the super power of its day, should have easily defeated the rag-tag colonists under George Washington, and for most of the war, they generally had the upper hand. By 1781, however, the upstart Americans had learned how to fight and, having acquired the assistance of England’s arch enemy, France, had become a small but professional fighting force. As a result, the British under Cornwallis found themselves trapped on a peninsula between the determined Americans on the one side and a French fleet on the other that made escape impossible and so, after a couple of weeks of fighting, they surrendered. In doing so, the Americans defeated the world’s premier military power and gained independence for some backwoods country in the new world called the United States of America.

**2. Battle of Salamis, 480 BCE**—Imagine a sea battle today that involved over a thousand ships and one can begin to appreciate the magnitude of this single engagement between the outnumbered Greek Navy under Themistocles and the massive navy of King Xerxes of Persia. The Greeks had used guile to get the Persian fleet to sail into the narrow Straits of Salamis, where they

were able to deprive them of taking advantage of their superior numbers, and dealt the Persians a humiliating defeat. As a result, Xerxes was forced to withdraw most of his army back to Persia, thereby leaving Greece to the Greeks and preserving western civilization in the process. A number of historians believe that a Persian victory would have stilted the development of Ancient Greece, and by extension 'western civilization' per se, making Salamis one of the most significant battles in human history.

**1. Adrianople, 718**—What The Battle of Tours (see No. 5) was for western Europe, and the Battle of Vienna (No. 4) was for central Europe, the battle of Adrianople was for eastern Europe in that once again, the armies of Islam were stopped in their tracks just as they were prepared to take all of Europe. Had this battle been lost and Constantinople—at the time the largest city in Christendom—fallen to the Muslims, it would have allowed the armies of Islam to move practically unimpeded throughout the Balkans and into central Europe and Italy. As it was, Constantinople was to act like the cork in a bottle, keeping the armies of Allah from crossing the Bosphorus and taking Europe in force—a role it was to play for the next 700 years until the city finally fell in 1453.

There are two battles that took place in Ireland whose aftermath is still felt today. Their significance could be seen as only effecting local matters but the resultant English victories set a policy toward treatment of Irish Catholics that allowed the Irish Famine of the 1840's to proceed, and in part this led to the creation of the Irish Disapora, which benefitted many countries throughout the world and yet denied England a greater prominence in world affairs. Much like the exclusion of Blacks and women in 19th and 20th century America, the price of their hubris has delayed the advancement of mankind on many fronts. Talented and qualified men and women were rebuffed in making significant contributions to society because of their religion, color of skin, or sex, and now even their sexual orientation or preference.

The Battle of the Boyne was a battle in 1690 between the deposed English Catholic King James II, and the Dutch Protestant Prince William of Orange, who, with his wife, Mary II (his cousin and James's daughter), had overthrown James in England in 1688. The battle took place across the River Boyne near the town of Drogheda on the east coast of Ireland, and resulted in a victory for William. This turned the tide in James's failed attempt to regain the British crown and ultimately aided in ensuring the continued Protestant ascendancy in Ireland. The battle took place on July 1, 1690 in the Old Style (Julian) calendar. This was equivalent to July 11 in the New Style (Gregorian) calendar, although today its commemorative parades are held on July 12th. William's forces defeated James's army, which consisted mostly of raw recruits. The symbolic importance of this battle has made it one of the best-known battles in the history of the British Isles and a key part of the folklore of the Orange Order. Its commemoration today is principally by the Protestant Orange Institution, which records the first commemorative parades as having been held in 1791. The Battle of Aughrim was the decisive battle of this continuing war in Ireland. It was fought between the Jacobites and the forces of William on July 12, 1691 (old style, equivalent to July 22 new style), near the village of Aughrim, County Galway. The battle was one of the more bloody recorded fought on Irish soil – over 7,000 people were killed. It meant the effective end of Jacobitism (Latin for James) in Ireland.

The Boyne battle was the first, decisive encounter in a war that was primarily about James's attempt to regain the thrones of England and Scotland, resulting from William and William's wife, Mary, to take the throne. It is regarded as a crucial moment in the struggle between Irish Protestant and Catholic interests. In an Irish context, the war was a sectarian and ethnic conflict, in many ways a re-run of the Irish Confederate Wars of 50 years earlier. For the Jacobites, the war was fought for Irish sovereignty, religious tolerance for Catholicism, and land ownership. The Catholic upper classes had lost almost all their lands after Cromwell's conquest, as well as the right to hold public office, practice

their religion, and sit in the Irish Parliament. They saw the Catholic King James as a means of redressing these grievances and securing the autonomy of Ireland from England. To these ends, under Richard Talbot, 1st Earl of Tyrconnel, they had raised an army to restore James after the Glorious Revolution. By 1690, they controlled all of Ireland except for the province of Ulster. Most of James II's troops at the Boyne were Irish Catholics; however, there were also Scots-Irish Presbyterians fighting for James II. The majority of Irish people were Jacobites and supported James II due to his 1687 Declaration of Indulgence or, as it is also known, the Declaration for the Liberty of Conscience, that granted religious freedom to all denominations in England and Scotland and also due to James II's promise to the Irish Parliament of an eventual right to self-determination.

Conversely, for the Williamites, the war was about maintaining Protestant and English rule in Ireland. They feared for their lives and their property if James and his Catholic supporters were to rule Ireland, nor did they trust the promise of tolerance, seeing the Declaration of Indulgence as a ploy to re-establish Catholicism as the sole state religion. In particular, they dreaded a repeat of the Irish Rebellion of 1641, which had been marked by widespread killing. For these reasons, Protestants fought en masse for William of Orange. Many Williamite troops at the Boyne, including their very effective irregular cavalry, were Ulster Protestants, who called themselves "Inniskillingers" and were referred to by contemporaries as "Scots-Irish". These "Inniskillingers" were mostly the descendants of Anglo-Scottish border reivers (reivers were raiders along the Anglo-Scottish border from the late 13th century to the beginning of the 17th century. Their ranks consisted of both Scottish and English families, and they raided the entire Border country of Scotland without regard to their victims' nationality) and large numbers of these reivers had settled around Enniskillen in County Fermanagh, hence the name "Inniskillingers".

Ironically, historian Derek Brown notes that if the battle is seen as part of the War of the Grand Alliance, Pope Alexander VIII was an ally of William and an enemy to James; the Papal States were part of the Grand Alliance with a shared hostility to the Catholic Louis XIV of France, who at the time was attempting to establish dominance in Europe and to whom James was an ally.

The Williamite army at the Boyne was about 36,000 strong, composed of troops from many countries. Around 20,000 troops had been in Ireland since 1689, commanded by Schomberg. William himself arrived with another 16,000 in June 1690. William's troops were generally far better trained and equipped than James's. The best Williamite infantry were from Denmark and the Netherlands, professional soldiers equipped with the latest flintlock muskets. There was also a large contingent of French Huguenot troops fighting with the Williamites. William did not have a high opinion of his English and Scottish troops, with the exception of the Ulster Protestant irregulars who had held Ulster in the previous year. The English and Scottish troops were felt to be politically unreliable, since James had been their legitimate monarch up to a year before. Moreover, they had only been raised recently and had seen little battle action.

The Jacobites were 23,500 strong. James had several regiments of French troops, but most of his manpower was provided by Irish Catholics. The Jacobites' Irish cavalry, who were recruited from among the dispossessed Irish gentry, proved themselves to be high caliber troops during the course of the battle. However, the Irish infantry, predominantly peasants who had been pressed into service, were not trained soldiers. They had been hastily trained, poorly equipped, and only a minority of them had functional muskets. In fact, some of them carried only farm implements such as scythes. On top of that, the Jacobite infantry who actually had firearms were all equipped with the obsolete matchlock musket.

The River Boyne lies 30 miles north of Dublin. It was the last natural barrier facing William as he marched south towards the city and James' stronghold. James chose to make a stand at the Boyne, enshrining it as the location where, for the last time, two crowned kings of England, Scotland and



Ireland would meet in battle. William was known for his sometimes reckless courage and the Boyne was no different. He decided to investigate the river's crossing points for himself and was shot at by Jacobite officers. It was rumored that William was dead, but a bullet had only grazed his shoulder. At almost 40 years of age William was a battle hardened commander and a veteran of countless campaigns. By contrast James, once praised for gallantry in battle as a younger man, was in his late fifties with his best years as a military leader behind him. It was said that he was also displaying early signs of dementia that would later be the cause of his death.



After four hours of fierce fighting a significant body of William's men had made it across to the Boyne's southern riverbank. James' cavalry had them pinned down, but they held and James gave the order to retreat. A rout was avoided by Louis XIV's cavalry skillfully covering the withdrawal. Despite his army retreating in good order, James quickly abandoned them and returned to exile in France. He was derisively nicknamed Seamus a' chaca ("James the shit") in Irish.

William marched into Dublin and finally secured his reconquest of Ireland with the Treaty of Limerick in 1691. William's victory ended James II's hope of regaining his throne. William was now securely in control of England, Scotland and Ireland, which would ultimately help him to reverse Louis XIV's military conquests in Europe.

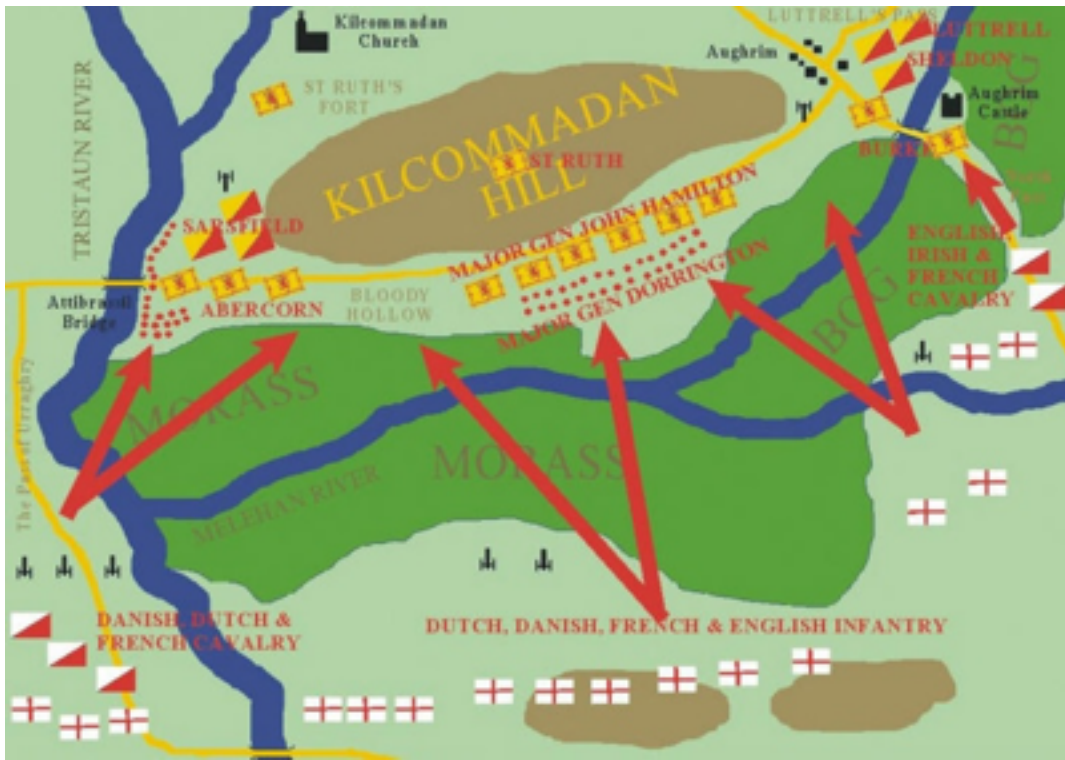
William ruled jointly with his wife Mary (James II's daughter). Their reign marked an important transition from the direct rule of monarchs like James towards a more parliamentary system. In Ireland, William's victory dashed Jacobite hopes of recovering property that had been confiscated from Irish landowners since the days of Oliver Cromwell. But for Protestants, it secured their ascendancy in Ireland. In Ulster it ensured the survival of the Protestant, English-speaking colonies known as the Plantation. The victory is still celebrated every July 12th in Northern Ireland by the Orange Order, named for William of Orange.

Almost a year later the Battle of Aughrim was to be the final, decisive battle of the Williamite War in Ireland. It was fought between the remaining Jacobites and the forces of William III on July 12, 1691 near the village of Aughrim, County Galway. The Jacobite position in the summer of 1691 was a defensive one. In the previous year, they had retreated behind the River Shannon, which acted as an enormous moat around the province of Connacht, with strongholds at Sligo, Athlone and Limerick guarding the routes into Connacht. From this position, the Jacobites hoped to receive military aid from Louis XIV of France via the port towns and eventually be in a position to re-take the rest of Ireland. Godert de Ginkell, the Williamites' Dutch general, had breached this line of defense by crossing the Shannon at Athlone - taking the town after a bloody siege. The Marquis de St Ruth (General Charles Chalmont), the French Jacobite general, moved too slowly to save Athlone, as he had to gather his troops from their quarters and raise new ones from rapparee (Irish guerrilla fighters) bands and the levies of Irish landowners. Ginkel marched towards Limerick and Galway, before he found his way blocked by St Ruth's army at Aughrim on the 12th of July 1691. Both armies were about 20,000 men strong. The soldiers of St Ruth's army were mostly Irish Catholic, while Ginkel's

were English, Scottish, Danish, Dutch and French Huguenot (members of William III's League of Augsburg) and Irish Protestants.

The Jacobite position at Aughrim was quite strong. St Ruth had drawn up his infantry along the crest of a ridge known as Kilcommadan Hill. The hill was lined with small stone walls and hedgerows which marked the boundaries of farmers' fields, but which could also be improved and then used as earthworks for the Jacobite infantry to shelter behind. The left of the position was bounded by a bog, through which there was only one causeway, overlooked by Aughrim village and a ruined castle. On the other, open, flank, St Ruth placed his best infantry. The battle started with Ginkel trying to assault the open flank of the Jacobite position with cavalry and infantry. This attack ground to a halt after determined Jacobite counter-attacks and the Williamites halted and dug in behind stakes driven into the ground to protect against cavalry. The French Huguenot forces committed here found themselves in low ground exposed to Jacobite fire and took a great number of casualties. Contemporaneous accounts speak of the grass being slippery with blood. To this day, this area on the south flank of the battle is known locally as the "Bloody Hollow". In the center, the Williamite infantry tried a frontal assault on the Jacobite infantry on Kilcommadan Hill. The Williamite troops, mainly English and Scots, had to take each line of trenches, only to find that the Irish had fallen back and were firing at them from the next line. The Williamite infantry attempted three assaults. Eventually, the final Williamite assault was driven back with heavy losses by cavalry and pursued into the bog, where more of them were killed or drowned. In the rout, the pursuing Jacobites manage to spike a battery of Williamite guns.

This left Ginkel with only one option, to try to force a way through the causeway on the Jacobite left. This should have been an impregnable position, with the attackers concentrated into a



narrow lane and covered by the defenders of the castle there. However, the Irish troops there were short on ammunition. The Williamites tried a fourth assault, consisting mainly of cavalry, in two groups - one along the causeway and one parallel to the south. The Jacobites stalled this attack with heavy fire from the castle, but then found that their reserve ammunition, which was British-made, would not fit into the muzzles of their French-supplied muskets. The Williamites then charged again with a reasonably fresh

regiment of Anglo-Dutch cavalry under Henri de Massue. Faced with only weak musket fire, they crossed the causeway and reached Aughrim village with few casualties. A force of Jacobite cavalry under Henry Luttrell had been held in reserve to cover this flank. However, rather than counterattacking at this point, their commander ordered them to withdraw, following a route now known locally as "Luttrell's Pass". Henry Luttrell was alleged to have been in the pay of the

Williamites and was assassinated in Dublin after the war. The castle quickly fell and its Jacobite garrison surrendered.

The Jacobite general Marquis de St Ruth, after the third infantry rush on the Williamite position up to their cannons, appeared to believe that the battle could be won and was heard to shout, "they are running, we will chase them back to the gates of Dublin". However, as he tried to rally his cavalry on the left to counter-attack and drive the Williamite horse back, he was decapitated by a cannonball. At this point, the Jacobite position collapsed very quickly. Their horsemen, demoralized by the death of their commander, fled the battlefield, leaving the left flank open for the Williamites to funnel more troops into and envelope the Jacobite line. The Jacobites on the right, seeing the situation was hopeless, also began to melt away, although one Jacobite officer did try to organize a rearguard action. This left the Jacobite infantry on Killcommadan Hill completely exposed and surrounded. They were slaughtered by the Williamite cavalry as they tried to get away, many of them having thrown away their weapons in order to run faster. One eyewitness said that bodies covered the hill and looked from a distance like a flock of sheep. Estimates of the two armies' losses vary. It is generally agreed that about 5–7,000 men were killed at the battle. Some recent studies put the Williamite dead as high as 3,000 with 4,000 Jacobites killed. However the Williamite death toll released by them at the time was only 600 and they claimed to have killed fully 7,000 Jacobites. Many of the Jacobite dead were officers, who were very difficult to replace. On top of that, another 4,000 Jacobites either deserted or were taken prisoner. What was more, they had lost the better part of their equipment and supplies.

For these reasons, Aughrim was the decisive battle of the Williamite war in Ireland. The city of Galway surrendered without a fight after the battle, on advantageous terms, and the Jacobites' main army surrendered shortly afterwards at Limerick after a short siege. The battle, according to one author, "seared into Irish consciousness", and became known in the Irish language tradition as "Aughrim of the slaughter". Since it marked the end of the Irish Catholic Jacobite resistance, Aughrim was the focus of Loyalist (particularly Orange Order) celebrations in Ireland on July 12 up until the early 19th century. Thereafter, it was superseded by the Battle of the Boyne in commemorations on "the Twelfth" due to the switch to the Gregorian calendar (in which 1 July OS became 11 July NS and 12 July OS became 22 July NS). It has also been suggested that the Boyne was preferred because the Irish troops there were more easily presented as cowardly than at Aughrim, where they generally fought bravely.

In recent decades, "The Twelfth" has often been marked by confrontations, as members of the Orange Order attempt to celebrate the date by marching past or through what they see as their traditional route. Some of these areas, however, now have a nationalist majority who object to marches passing through what they see as their areas. Long lines of men dressed in suits with an orange sash, topped by a bowler and most carrying umbrellas would lead bands playing fifes and carrying huge drums. The drummers hands would be bleeding to match the fervor of their effort.

Each side dresses up the disputes in terms of the other's alleged attempts to repress them; Nationalists still see Orange Order marches as provocative attempts to "show who is boss", whilst Unionists insist that they have a right to "walk the Queen's highway". Since the start of *The Troubles* (1969-20??), the celebrations of the battle have been seen as playing a critical role in the awareness of those involved in the unionist/nationalist tensions in Northern Ireland. Every July in the North there are daily parades organized by many of the lodges of the Orange Order. At one time many Catholics would flee to the Republic during Marching Season for there was much violence directed against them. The only parallel to this event would be if on Jefferson Davis' birthday and for several weeks thereafter, men dressed in their full Klu Klux Klan regalia would march up and down through the streets of Harlem or any other area with a large Black population singing Dixie while members of the National Guard protected them from any outside interference.

