



Moderately



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# RECALL

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## THE UNION COUNTY CONTROVERSY BLACK CONFEDERATES

By WILLIAM NORTHROP

“In the fullest sense, any man in the military service who receives pay, whether sworn in or not, is a soldier because he is subject to military law. Under this general head, laborers, teamsters, sutlers, and chaplains are soldiers.”—AUGUST KAUTZ, General, USA

CUSTOMS OF SERVICE FOR NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS — 1864

An odd and unexpected event occurred in Monroe, Union County, North Carolina, on 8 December 2012. The folks there erected a new Confederate monument in front of their court house where Sherman’s troops once bivouacked. What makes it so out of the ordinary is that it honors ten black Confederate soldiers from Union County and folks generally feel it is “about time.”

The names of these ten black Tarheels were established through the state’s pensioner rolls. North Carolina began paying pensions for Confederate service when we were still dirt-poor in the wake of The Struggle and Reconstruction. The fact that these men were paid a pension when we had no money says a great deal about their value to North Carolina. The names of those ten Tarheels are:

- Wilson Ashcraft
- Ned Byrd
- Wyatt Cunningham
- George Cureton
- Hamp Cuthbertson
- Mose Fraser
- Lewis McGill
- Aaron Perry
- Jeff Sanders
- Wary Clyburn

It should be further noted that this is not a “politically correct” stunt, ala the statue of Arthur Ashe on Monument Avenue in Richmond. It was driven by the Sons of Confederate Veterans and the Society of the Order of the Confederate Rose ... not exactly your garden-variety, politically-correct, wing-nut screamers.

Forgive your humble servant if I take a little literary license with this matter, but the purpose of historical research is to find the truth, not to confirm what we already believe. We are meant

to look for what’s there, not for what we want to be there.

A simple fellow likes to view history in general accordance with Occam’s razor, the law of parsimony, economy, or succinctness, which states that among competing hypotheses, the one that makes the fewest assumptions is generally the best. Thus, our sesquicentennial of The Struggle offers a rare opportunity to put the Union County monument “controversy” into some sort of overall context.

Wrapped as it is in the cause of the war, we can simply state: The South wanted independence with no compromise; the North wanted union with no compromise. Everything else is simply commentary. And that includes tariffs and slavery, which one should view as “pocketbook” issues. (A recent poll shows that 70% of White Southerners agree.)



Court House and Monument in Monroe, NC.

This leaves fertile ground for disagreement, especially among those who prefer the morality of anti-slavery to justify Lincoln’s resort to arms and his invasion of the South. Not surprisingly, most of these folks reside “up north,” are Yankee academics normally characterized as “progressives” ... whatever that means ... and generally had no “dog in the fight.” In any case, they view slavery as the cause, which allows them to

deify Abraham Lincoln whom they credit with “bringing about an end to slavery and saving the nation’s cherished founding principle of democratic rule.” (Democratic rule ... as in two wolves and a lamb voting on what to have for supper.)

Arguing with them leads nowhere for they are as confident in their conclusions as a born-again Christian holding four aces in a poker game. They brook no dissenting opinions as if they benefit



Shakers and movers of the new monument in Monroe.

from some sort of “implied immunity.” And they enjoy the advantage of venue, often relegating their critics to “myth” and “Lost Cause” believers. After all, if the struggle was about slavery, why then would a slave fight to perpetuate that vile institution?

Anyhow, this is the general lay of the land surrounding the issue of slavery as the cause. There is but one glaring inconsistency speed-bumping their theory, and that is the black Confederate soldier. The progressive counter is that these individuals are a “myth” or “served at gunpoint” (*not sure how that was supposed to work*) since there is an annoying mass of politically-incorrect evidence that has survived the ravages of time and is now surfacing as it did down in Union County.

Adding insult to injury in our politically-correct world, one must note that black Union soldiers served in segregated units while black Confederates served alongside their white compatriots.

“When you eliminate the black Confederate soldier, you’ve eliminated the history of the South.”

—Professor Leonard Haynes, Southern University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Harvard University is a good place to start since they maintain a wall of honor in the Memorial Hall on campus in Massachusetts. There are listed its graduates who died in our nation’s wars. None of Harvard’s 164 alumni who died in Confederate service are listed; there is, however, the name of a graduate who died in the service of Nazi Germany. (Just thought I would mention that.)



John Stauffer

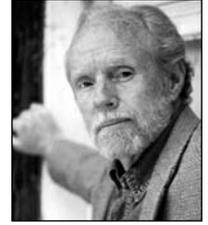
Harvard history professor, Dr. John Stauffer, who studies antislavery movements, the Civil War, and American social protests, surprisingly acknowledges that black Southerners, both slave and free, served as Confederate soldiers. He estimates their number as many as 10,000, which he notes likely represented less than 1 percent of Southern black men of military age, and less than 1 percent of Confederate soldiers. Stauffer did not count

the additional 20,000 to 50,000 blacks in his calculations who have surfaced in contemporary research. These men served as stretcher bearers, hospital orderlies, musicians, cooks, body servants, teamsters, bodyguards, barbers, and scouts, which he argues are non-combat roles.

Apparently unable to avoid the obvious, Dr. Stauffer also notes that Fredrick Augustus Washington Bailey aka Fredrick Douglass, the celebrated, black abolitionist, who wrote several articles after the Battle of First Manassas, mentioned the black soldiers in the Confederate ranks. (Douglass was an advocate of

enlisting blacks in the Union Army and used these articles to support his case.)

Fergus M. Bordewich, an independent historian and writer from New York, professes to be more certain on the matter of Black Confederates. He has stated, “It’s a myth. It is nonsense” and “‘Black Confederate’ is a meaningless term.” He has apparently reached his conclusions based on his research and his experience as a children’s book illustrator, merchant marine deckhand, script writer, and NAACP volunteer.



Fergus Bordewich

As we delved deeper into this volatile heresy for our samplings, we discovered a head-on assault by Dr. Bruce Levine of the University of Illinois who has declared the matter of black Confederate Soldiers an outright “myth.” Dr. Levine, yet another alleged expert academic on the Civil War ... “expert” being defined as anyone from out of town ... further states that this myth is propagated by “untrained Civil War historians” and “Southern quack intellectuals.”

“There are at the present moment many Colored men in the Confederate Army doing duty not only as cooks, servants and laborers, but real soldiers, having muskets on their shoulders, and bullets in their pockets, ready to shoot down any loyal troops and do all that soldiers may do to destroy the Federal government and build up that of the ... rebels.”

—Frederick Douglas, 1861

Bruce Levine joined the UI faculty in 2006 to teach “Introduction to Historical Interpretation” (HIST 200). Not surprisingly, Dr. Levine is also billed as a “Distinguished Professor of African American Studies.” Levine has noted “how unnecessary the divide is between ‘popular’ and ‘academic’ history,” apparently hinting that we “Southern Quack Intellectuals” should accept as gospel his “Historical Interpretation.”



Bruce Levine

Then there is the story of Silas Chandler, Company F, 44th Mississippi, who gained a place in this controversy because he was pictured with his master during The Struggle. In 1916, the State of Mississippi awarded Chandler a pension for his Civil War service. Still, he only became a person-of-interest when he was awarded the Confederate Order of the Iron Cross by the United Daughters of the Confederacy for his valor under fire.

The famous picture and the Confederate Iron Cross made poor old Chandler the subject of a revisionist article published in



Wary Clyburn, 12th South Carolina, and Jeff Shields, 27th Virginia (Stonewall Brigade)

the prestigious *Civil War Times*. Perhaps “revisionist” is too severe a term, because the gist of the article is that Silas Chandler may have had a “loyalty” to his owners, but obviously no “loyalty” to the Confederacy.

As is often the case, the article attempts to “interpret” the motives of a long-deceased Confederate veteran. And, to add credibility, the co-author was none other than the great, great granddaughter of Silas, Myra Chandler Sampson. The other co-author was Kevin Levin, a high school history teacher and blogger from some place up north. Mr. Levin is an advocate of the “myth of Black Confederates,” but in spite of his black co-author, truth has no color.



Silas Chandler

“The main body, hearing the firing, advanced at a double-quick in time to recover their wounded, and drive the enemy back, but did not succeed in taking any prisoners. The wounded men testify positively that they were shot by Negroes, and that not less than seven hundred were present, armed with muskets.”

*The Indianapolis Journal*, 22 December 1861

In reality, it is not all blind doom and gloom from the academic side. Probably the most definitive work on the subject is *Black Confederates* by Charles Kelly Barrow J.H. Segars and R.B. Rosenberg. Five years of study and research and their documentation from primary sources set this work apart from those that attempt to turn history into ideology.

In their work they conclude that 50,000 to 60,000 blacks fought in the Southern ranks, and they believe that their figure is conservative. Others believe the figure is closer to 90,000.

“The forces attacking my camp were the First Regiment Texas Rangers, Colonel Wharton, and a battalion of the First Georgia Rangers, Colonel Morrison. . . . There were also quite a number of negroes attached to the Texas and Georgia troops, who were armed and equipped, and took part in the several engagements with my forces during the day.”

John G. Parkhurst, Lieutenant Colonel, USV, 9th Michigan Infantry

For us “Southern Quack Intellectuals,” the specificity of the issue is clearly evident to any researcher, serious or otherwise. Nathan Bedford Forrest, perhaps the most brilliant Confederate cavalry commander in *The Struggle*, carried on his rosters some 43 black troopers, most his own slaves. A pragmatist, Forrest promised them freedom for their service, and all but one served faithfully and was freed.



Louis Napoleon Nelson

Among his boys was Louis Napoleon Nelson of Company M, 7th Tennessee Cavalry, who went to war with his master like a great number of slaves. Primary sources indicate that Nelson served as a cook, a forager, bodyguard to General E.R. Oldham, and an illiterate chaplain for mortally wounded soldiers. It is also clear that he fought at Shiloh, Lookout Mountain, Brice’s Crossroads, and Vicksburg with the 7th Tennessee Cavalry under Forrest, according to the Official Records and accounts from his grandson.

All of this can be rather embarrassing considering Bedford Forrest is normally vilified as a former slave trader, responsible for the alleged “Fort Pillow Massacre” and a founding member of

the Ku Klux Klan.

Postwar, Nelson returned to his home plantation in Ripley, Lauderdale County, Tennessee, where he lived as a freed man for the next 12 years. About 1877, he bought a home and lived there for the rest of his life. He died in 1934, and in the interim years he managed to attend some 39 Confederate reunions. By all accounts, he died an unreconstructed Confederate who believed to his dying day that Lincoln was a despot.

One of the black Confederates captured in the wake of the Gettysburg fight was Richard “Dick” Poplar of H Troop (Sussex Light Dragoons), 13th Virginia Cavalry. Poplar was a slave from Petersburg and spent 19 months as a POW, because he refused to take the oath. He was finally exchanged on 1 March 1865, returned to his unit and fought during the siege of his hometown. At his funeral in 1886, he was carried to his grave by six white pallbearers from his old outfit and buried with full military honors. And every year on 18 September, the City of Petersburg celebrates Dick Poplar Day.



Some of Forrest’s boys at a 3rd Tennessee Cavalry reunion in Lynchburg in 1886. Note several black veterans.

Recently the National Park Service recognized the contribution of black Confederates in the defense of Petersburg. Under politically-correct pressure, they attempt to hedge their bets by claiming that in “today’s army” support troops would be classified as “in official military service”. Still, they admit that the Confederate successes at Petersburg could have only been achieved with the support of “loyal black Southerners”.

**“... And after the battle of Gettysburg in July 1863, ... reported among the rebel prisoners were seven blacks in Confederate uniforms fully armed as soldiers...”**

*The New York Herald*, 11 July 1863

Henry “Dad” Brown was born near Camden, South Carolina, and does not fit the normal model of a black Confederate. He was a freed man, a brick mason by trade, and a veteran of the Mexican, Civil, and Spanish American Wars.

Records indicate he enlisted in 1861 as the drummer boy of the “Darlington Grays,” E Company of the 8th South Carolina. Some records specify his service with the 1st South Carolina at one point, but we do know that Brown later transferred to H Company, 21st South Carolina, and faithfully served with this outfit throughout the remainder of *The Struggle*.



Richard “Dick” Poplar

Postwar, Dad Brown went home to South Carolina, resumed his work as a brick mason and, in 1878, he enlisted in the local militia company, the Darlington Guards, like a number of Confederate veterans. Needless to say, Brown was also a member in good standing of the Darlington Camp 785, United Confederate Veterans.

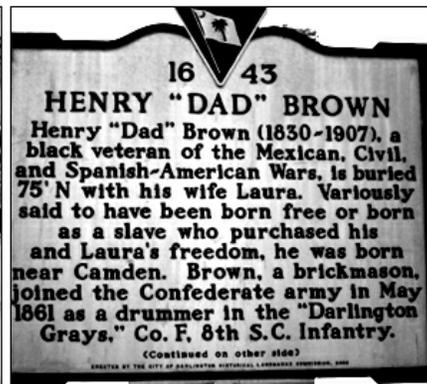
He was called to the colors during the Spanish American War, but what is interesting about the Brown case is the reaction of his hometown citizens upon his death in 1907. He was carried to his grave by six white pallbearers, all veterans of the Darlington Guards. In addition, the local townsfolk erected monuments in his memory. Not a bad legacy for a “myth.”

**“The rule is perfect: In all matters of opinion our adversaries are insane.”**  
—Mark Train

For the 50th Anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg in 1913, arrangements were made for a joint reunion of Union and Confederate veterans. The commission in charge of the event made sure they had enough accommodations for the black Union veterans, but were completely surprised when unexpected black Confederates arrived. The white Confederates immediately welcomed their old comrades, gave them tents, and “saw to their every need.” It comes as a shock when the old photos of nearly every Confederate reunion seem to include black veterans within the ranks. Since there is no way to spin that, it has been a problem for the deniers ever since.

\* \* \* \*

The first military monument in the U.S. Capitol that honors an African-American soldier is the Confederate monument at Arlington National Cemetery. That massive monument was



“Dad” Brown of the Darlington Grays

designed and executed in 1914 by Sir Moses Ezekiel. The artist, a Confederate veteran himself, wanted to correctly portray the “racial makeup” of the Confederate Army. On the Arlington monument, a black Confederate soldier is depicted marching in step with white Confederates. Also depicted is one “white soldier giving his child to a black woman for protection.”

There is an old story, admittedly undocumented from the opaque depths of Civil War lore, allegedly told by a black Confederate cavalryman who surrendered in North Carolina after the close of hostilities. (There is some speculation that he was a member of the 6th South Carolina Cavalry that, well mostly, surrendered at Bennett Place with the Army of Tennessee.)

The story goes that when the trooper surrendered, he was told by the Yankees, “You are emancipated now.” The trooper replied that he “neither needed nor wanted to be emancipated.” Whereupon, “the Yankee gentlemen marked me down as a teamster and emancipated my horse.” And while this story cannot be confirmed, it sounds about right.



Multi-racial Confederate forces shown in Arlington monument.



Details of the Confederate Monument at Arlington National Cemetery.



Further details of the Confederate Monument.

# TRAVIS WINDLY FLOWERS

## Prisoner of War

### Cabanatuan POW Camp, Philippine Islands, WWII

By Edward R. Clarke

Travis Windley Flowers, native of Scranton, Hyde County, NC, attended Sladesville High School. After leaving high school, he worked with his father building houses, additions, and general carpentry work in the Sladesville and Scranton communities until 1938. Travis then began working with the “bridge construction and maintenance division,” North Carolina Department of Transportation, remaining with the state until receiving his draft notice in May 1941; the notice directed him to report 4 June to Fort Bragg for physical examination and induction in the US Army. He was 27 years old. Travis was subsequently sent to Fort Eustis, Virginia, for Army basic training.

Basic training complete, Travis left Ft. Eustis for a brief furlough home. Afterwards, his orders read, report to Fort Belvoir, Virginia, where he and scores of other soldiers would undergo additional training, “get those shots,” clothing issue, and other preparations necessary for shipment overseas; in Travis’s case the Phillipine Islands.

Travis left the United States on 4 October 1941 aboard the Army troop transport *Tasker H. Bliss*, formerly the *SS President Cleveland*, sailing to San Francisco, on to Honolulu in the Hawaiian Islands, the *Bliss*’s final destination, Manila, capital city of the Phillipine Islands, arriving there on 23 October 1941.

Without delay Travis was assigned to Company A, 803rd Engineer (Aviation) Battalion. The 803rd was in the process of constructing a small airfield near Camp O’Donnell on the Island of Luzon. The time, (most likely) early November 1941—a month prior to the Japanese attacking Pearl Harbor, and about 2½ months preceding the Japanese take over of Camp O’Donnell, turning the camp into a POW death camp. Company A along with Companies B & C worked on the airfield until early January 1942.

Company A, consisting of about 125 men, was then re-assigned to the Island of Corregidor in mid January 1942, or the “Rock” as the men who were stationed there referred to it. Once again the company was assigned airfield construction work, this time Kindley Field, a small airfield, with a 2,100-foot runway. The airfield was located near the “tail” of the Island of Corregidor between Monkey Point and North Point. (See map of Corregidor.) Travis’s company was given the task of lengthening the runway to 2,600 feet and also smoothing the surface to accommodate small single and twin-engine aircraft landing and taking off. Along with work on the runway, Company A began construction of five splinter-proof, fully camouflaged “plane pens” to shelter and protect aircraft while parked at Kindley Field.

Construction work on the airfield had become a challenging

task with war underway on Bataan, Japanese aircraft bombing the Island from time to time, and frequent shelling of the Island by Japanese artillerymen. In fact, the first bombing of the Island took place on 29 December 1941. The most intensive bombing and shelling occurred the last two months of the siege, March and April 1942.

Company A’s commander during one of the early air attacks was severely wounded. Later he died in the Malinta Tunnel hospital.

Substantial progress was being made on the runway even under intense hostile conditions. The runway was constructed of crushed lava rock, bumpy and uneven, not a favorable surface for aircraft to land on. According to information told to me by Joseph Vater, who was also in Company A and a friend of Travis, during a recent telephone conversation, he stated one plane landed on the field and in the process its landing gear was considerably damaged and the airframe being dented, rendering the plane incapable of leaving the island before the surrender on 8 May 1942.

Remember: The time period was probably mid February to the first of March 1942, the war with Japan was raging on the Island of Luzon and particularly around the Bataan area, three and half miles across Manila Bay from the “Rock”. Corregidor was being shelled and bombed relentlessly. Surrender of the island was only several weeks away.

Structure of the 803rd Engineer Aviation Battalion consisted of a Headquarters Company and three additional companies, A, B, and C. Personnel strength of the Battalion as of the first of December 1941, consisted of 456 men. Each company had about 125 men attached to it.

Since early September, Military planners in Washington had continuously shipped troops, armament, and supplies to the Phillipine defense forces, increasing troop strength over 40 percent as of 1 December 1941. The week prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor, there were 31,095 American troops available for combat in the Phillipines, Included in this number were 12,000 well-trained Phillipine Scouts and 5,609 Air Corp personnel. Actual US Army troop strength was 14,486 men. About 5000 of these men were stationed on Corregidor.

Compare the above numbers to the 56,000 seasoned, well trained and equipped Japanese troops that invaded the Phil-

HYDE BOY WRITES  
FROM JAP PRISON



PVT. TRAVIS W. FLOWERS  
Mr. and Mrs. C. A. Flowers of Scranton received a card Monday, August 9, from their son, Pvt. Travis W. Flowers, who is a prisoner in Camp No. 1 Japanese Military Prison in the Phillipines. The card stated he was in fair health, and uninjured. He wishes to be remembered to everyone.  
D. D. Spenser also has been notified by a card from his nephew, E. G. Carawan, Pharmacist’s mate No. 2, of his safety. He too was uninjured.

ippines on 10 and 20 December 1941 under the command of General Masaharu. *Homma Banzai!*

General Jonathan Wainwright surrendered the Island of Corregidor on 8 May 1942; Travis was now a prisoner of the Japanese. On 12 June 1942, along with several thousand other American and Philippine prisoners, he was transferred to Bataan, then to Bilibid prison in Manila and on to Cabanatuan the first days of June 1942. Although Travis was not one of the soldiers in the "Bataan Death March," he saw first hand after arrival on Bataan how the men had been treated. In fact, the Corregidor prisoners were shocked almost beyond belief when they saw the appalling condition of the men who had survived the Bataan death march.

Travis was held captive for 33 months, and was one of the 511 POWs rescued on 31 January 1945 by the 6th Ranger Battalion. Travis's physical condition at the time of his rescue is best described as frail, diseased, unable to walk any distance, was one of the rescued who was carried physically on the back of a Ranger. Travis weighed 180 pounds when he was inducted in the Army; at the time of his rescue; he weighed about 90 pounds, merely skin and bones.

Many of the Cabanatuan survivors returned to the US on board the *USS General A. E. Anderson* (AP-111), a Navy transport, to a hero's welcome in San Francisco. Travis wasn't as fortunate; his physical condition was such that he was flown back to the US soon after rescue. Leaving the Philippines on 23 February and arriving in the States on 25 February 1945, in all likelihood he flew from Tacloban air base, Leyte Island, to Hamilton Field California, after a series of refueling stops along the 9,000 mile trip, and then on to Denver, Colorado. Without delay, Travis became a patient in the Army's Fitzsimmons General Hospital in the City of Denver. He was immediately placed on a rigorous nutritional program to restore his body strength and weight. It was a slow disciplined task to rebuild a person's physical health, after the vindictive and brutal circumstances he had been subjected to for nearly a three-year period.

Travis was honorably discharged from the US Army, receiving a Disability Discharge on 13 August 1945, and returned to his home in Scranton, NC. Travis had not seen his family since early September 1941, one month shy of four years.

It's rather ironic, the following day after Travis's discharge, 14 August 1945, Japan surrendered unconditionally to the United States. The Emperor of Japan announced in a brief message to the Japanese people, the core of which was, Japan had been "defeated."

Without question, a smile had to have been on Travis's face when he was told or read the news of Japan's surrender. He and thousands of soldiers surrendered once. No one will ever know the number of American and Filipino soldiers that died as a result of their capture by the Japanese. Miraculously, thousands of prisoners, Travis included, survived. An estimate of 25,000 Americans and Filipinos died in the Death March and POW camps in the Philippines.

Japan gambled enormously on 7 December 1941, and for a brief moment of time, or until mid '42, the Japanese militarily gained possession of approximately one seventh of the world in the Far East, defeating and humiliating American and British forces in their successful ventures.

Then on 4, 5, and 6 June 1942, in the battle of Midway, Japan

lost four of its six aircraft carriers. The US Navy lost one destroyer, the *USS Hammann* DD-412, and the aircraft carrier *Yorktown*.

An Engelhard sailor, Thurman R. Swindell, was stationed on board the *Yorktown* as a rear gunner on one of the Navy's SDB-3, Dauntless scout planes. He was killed when the aircraft he was flying in attacked one of four Japanese aircraft carriers during the battle. Thurman and his pilot were posthumously awarded the Navy Cross for heroism.

As a result of defeating the Japanese at Midway, the tide of war began to turn, Japan was no longer on the road of conquest. In fact, Japan's strategy for the remainder of the war was a holding action. American air, land and sea power over the next three years strengthened and intensified across the Pacific and over the home Islands of Japan, never for a moment letting up. In the end, Japan lost the war on a massive scale. Hostilities between the Allies and the Japanese, ended on 14 August 1945, after atomic bombs was dropped on Hiroshima 6 August 1945 and Nagasaki 9 August 1945. By that point in the war, Japan was on the threshold of total destruction; its military forces decisively defeated. General MacArthur and his staff had developed plans to invade the Island of Kyushu, Japan, on 1 November 1945, and the Island of Honshu on 1 March 1946. Had they become reality, the battle would have been the bloodiest of World War II. Plans to invade Japan is an interesting subject to research for those fascinated by WWII history.

Imperial Japanese forces began their deadly assault on a beautiful Sunday morning when the Japanese Navy's carrier based planes unleashed a surprise and deadly air attack on the US Naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, 7 December 1941. Very much like General Wainwright, the shoe was now on the other foot. Travis did indeed have the last laugh. Ten veterans from Hyde County were on the Island of Oahu, Hawaii, the morning of the attack.

After his return home, Travis's health was never the same; nevertheless his memories and health problems did not prevent his once again realizing a productive life. He married and purchased the "old Betsy Slade Farm" in the Scranton area of Hyde County, according to his wife, Kathleen. The old home place was built around 1790. That being the case, I suspect a lot of work was required repairing and building additions. Travis worked part time as a builder until his untimely death in 1987 at the age of 73.

\* \* \* \*

The following summaries give the reader a brief description of the struggle for Bataan, the fall of Bataan, the Bataan Death March, Corregidor, Cabanatuan POW Camp, the Japanese kill all order, Palawan Island massacre, and, finally, rescue of the 511 Allied POWs by the 6th Ranger Battalion.

Each brief story occurred in the Philippines during the early days of 1942 and relate directly to Travis Flowers and countless thousands of other American and Filipino troops. Brief as the stories may be, together they project a snapshot of events to the reader and, in particular, the younger generation of Americans today. The stories attempt to explain to the reader the hardships American and Filipino troops suffered and endured defending Bataan and Corregidor, and why the American commanding officers surrendered on 9 April 1942 thousands of American and Filipino troops on Bataan, and later on 8 May 1942 the surrender of American troops on the Island of Corregidor. Looking

back, Generals Wainwright and King, without reservation, did what he had to do to protect their men who were under appalling circumstances. Although each commander at the time thought he was letting his men and his country down. Generals Wainwright and King believed all during their captivity if they were lucky enough to survive, each would be court-martialed by a military court. To the contrary, General Wainwright and General King became American heroes.

If you are fond of WWII history, numerous books have been written on the subject, the fall of Bataan and Corregidor. In most instances the novels set out in detail a picture of mayhem and cruelty, and to a great extent describe a disturbing and shocking era of American military history.

### **Bataan**

Soldiers on Bataan referred to themselves as the “Batling Bastards of Bataan.” The following ballad was written by a Bataan soldier in early 1942.

*We are the batling bastards of Bataan.  
No mama, no papa, no Uncle Sam;  
No aunts, no uncles, no cousins, no nieces;  
No pills, no planes, no artillery pieces;  
And nobody gives a damn.*

US Forces available to General MacArthur the latter part of 1941 totaled around 20,000 US Army and Air Corp troops, along with 12,000 Philippine Scouts (professional soldiers), and approximately 100,000 partially trained but poorly equipped Philippine soldiers.

Within hours after Pearl Harbor had been attacked, Japanese warplanes relentlessly bombed the main Island of Luzon in preparation for Japanese troops scheduled to land 10 and 20 December 1941. Airfields in and around Manila were bombed repeatedly from high altitude, and Japanese fighters strafed the air fields and surrounding areas, in particular, Clark field, Nichols, Nielson, Iba, Vigan, and other air bases near the capital city of Manila. All bases were heavily damaged. A majority of American aircraft was partially or totally destroyed.

American and Filipino defenders were overwhelmed by the massive land and air assault. The troops were ill prepared for such sudden and vast attacks. Later General MacArthur ordered that the capital city of Manila “be an open city,” meaning it would not be defended. Declaring it an open city was an attempt to save the city from destruction. He ordered his troops to the Peninsula of Bataan, there to stand and fight the Japanese attackers.

And fight they did, until 9 April 1942. The men were now in a deplorable state, near starvation. Many were sick or so weak they could not resist the invading Japanese. No medical supplies were available. Other supplies and ammunition were exhausted. The Bataan defenders had fought valiantly for 122 days. Finally hampered by fatigue, a shortage of food, ammunition, medical supplies, and other supplies, the men were unable to contend with the enemy any longer. The American commander on Bataan, Major General Edward P. King, made the heart wrenching, momentous decision, “surrender his troops” to the Japanese. General Wainwright choose General King to command the forces on Bataan after General MacArthur left the Philippines. General Wainwright had set up his command on the Island of Corregidor).

During the early morning hours of 9 April 1942, 0530 hours to be exact, General King met with a senior officer and his staff representing General Masaharu Homma, following a lengthy surrender discussion, mainly as to his troops receiving fair treatment in accordance with the Geneva Convention. General King also requested of Colonel Nakayama a 12-hour stay to collect his wounded, Nakayama coldly refused. In response to General King’s discussing the Geneva Convention, Col. Nakayama responded by saying, “The Imperial Japanese Army are not barbarians.” The surrendered troops later found Colonel Nakayama’s comment not to be a true statement.

General King ordered a total surrender of around 76,000 American and Filipino troops under his command. The troops were surrendered to Colonel Motoo Nakayama, General Homma’s senior operations officer. General King unbuckled his belt, holster, and pistol and laid them on the table before Colonel Nakayama, signifying surrender of the American forces, the largest surrender of U.S. troops in American history, excluding the surrender of Confederate troops to Federal forces at Appomattox, Virginia, on 9 April 1865, 77 years earlier, to the day. General King was a student of Confederate history since his grandfather and other relatives had been officers in the Confederate Army.

General Edward King, his staff and officers, along with 76,000 American and Filipino troops were now prisoners of the Japanese Army under the command of General Masaharu Homma, Commanding General, all Japanese forces in the Phillipine Islands.

### **Bataan Death March**

On 10 April 1942, the day after General King surrendered, Lieut. General Masaharu Homma ordered his forces to bring in all American and Filipino military for transfer to Camp O’Donnell prison camp. General Homma’s POW plans seriously underestimated the number of captured soldiers. Initial troop estimates by the Japanese were around 25,000 men. Surrendered American and Filipino troops ran as high as 76,000. The problems of getting these captive soldiers to Camp O’Donnell became horrendous to American-Filipino captives, an almost an impossible task for the Japanese.

During the “Death March,” which began the evening of 10 April 1942, prisoners were shown no mercy, deprived of food and water; many were killed by bayonet. They were clubbed, beat to death by sadistic guards. Some were beheaded by the guards and then survivors, when allowed to rest, were forced at times to stand in the sun, no shade. Those men too weak to walk were shot, beaten, or bayoneted and left on the roadside to die. The Japanese soldiers would actually bayonet a prisoner in the abdomen and leave him on the roadside to suffer a slow death. The march began in the village of Mariveles near the southern tip of Bataan and continued to a railhead in San Fernando about 60 miles north, where the prisoners were unmercifully loaded and jammed into railroad cars with as many as twice the number of men the car was designed to hold. Many men suffocated and died from heat exhaustion during the seven mile journey, finally reaching Camp O’Donnell after a march of seven days and around 65 miles.

One needs to understand the prisoners were in extreme poor physical condition before the march began. They suffered from

malnutrition, sick and weak, some were wounded and in no condition to march. Their numbers were further diminished by malaria, heat, beriberi (resulting from the lack of vitamin B-1), typhus, dehydration, and dysentery. Deplorable health conditions of the men, coupled with inhumane treatment by Japanese guards, caused the death of approximately 10,000 American and Filipino troops by the time they arrived seven days later at Camp O'Donnell. Camp O'Donnell had been hastily built by General MacArthur to train Filipino troops prior to 7 December 1941. The ordeal was not over for the men. Another 40 percent of the "Death March prisoners" died during the next several months at Camp O'Donnell from disease, hunger, and maltreatment. During the early days of June 1942, prisoners in O'Donnell prison were transferred to the infamous "Cabanatuan prison camp." Many were shipped to other locations aboard ships to work as slaves in Japanese war material production.

On 6 June 1942, the Japanese granted amnesty and released Filipino prisoners, ordering each man to return to his home and not take up arms against the Japanese Military.

### The Island of Corregidor

Even before the death march was over, General Homma turned the full weight of his pent up anger against the one remaining thorn in his side, Corregidor. After all, he had told the Japanese War Ministry months before he would with "light fighting" take the Philippines in eight weeks. Now three and half months after the Japanese invasion of the Philippines, Corregidor was still being defended by those stubborn, starving, and ill equipped American and Filipino troops. General Homma and the War Ministry in Tokyo were accusing each other as to failure of not completely defeating the Americans.

Twenty-seven days after Bataan fell, Corregidor was still holding out, but at a terrible price: starvation, no ammunition, no medical supplies, and no hope the men once had that reinforcements, food, and military supplies were being sent and would soon arrive.

Travis W. Flowers was stationed on Corregidor with Company C, 803rd Engineer Battalion, sent over from Bataan, probably in mid-November 1941. General Wainwright and his Corregidor troops held out until the 8 May 1942. The 803rd Engineers had joined the Infantry, Coastal Artillerymen, and Marines in brutal fighting, hopelessly defending the Island of Corregidor.

Corregidor, a small rocky Island strategically located, protected the entrance to Manila Bay. Corregidor is located about 3½ miles south of the Bataan Peninsula, to its west and south the South China Sea, to the east by Manila Bay and the mainland island of Luzon and the capital city of Manila. Corregidor had been a one-time fortress protecting the 12-mile entrance to Manila Bay, defending the beautiful city of Manila.

Corregidor, sometimes referred to as "the Rock," is 3½ miles long and, at its widest point 1½ miles, a total of 1,735 acres in size. In late December of 1941, approximately 5,000 American soldiers were based on the Rock, along with around 800 Philippine civilians, most of who worked for the Army, and American families on the Island. "Leathery Cavalryman," General Jonathan M. Wainwright, commanded the military forces on Corregidor and was overall commander in the Philippines after General MacArthur left for Australia.

Military forces on the island decades before had installed huge coastal guns all around the island; for instance, 18 twelve-and ten-inch guns, and as many as 24 twelve-inch mortars and numerous 155mm guns and machine guns covered the approaches to Manila Bay. These weapons may have been "state of the art" the early part of the 20th century but were of little use against Japanese aircraft and artillery now firing from the Bataan peninsula with pinpoint accuracy.

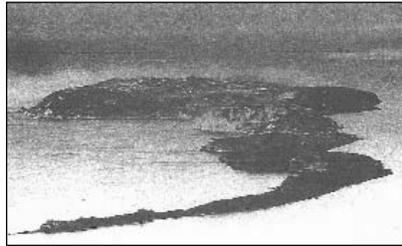
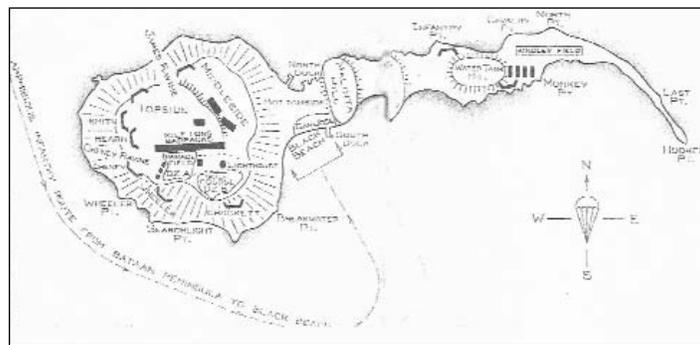


Photo of Corregidor looking east.



Corregidor Island, the "olde hard rock," looking north.

Malinta Tunnel was a cave like network, hewed out of volcanic rock under Malinta Hill, started by the US Government in 1931 and finished in 1938, 1,400 feet long and 30 feet wide with 25 lateral tunnels branching out from the main tunnel, each about 400 feet long and 20 feet wide. Supplies, ammunition, offices, mess halls, communication rooms and even a 300-bed hospital were located in the lateral tunnels. General MacArthur had an office in one of the laterals, as did General

Wainwright. During the final days of Corregidor, troops on the Island sought shelter within the tunnel for protection, especially during heavy bombardment periods. Another major building on Corregidor was referred to as the mile-long barracks, even though the barracks building was only 1,538 feet in length. The building housed officers, enlisted non-coms, and other enlisted men, and in all likelihood, Travis Flowers was assigned to this barracks. Shelling and bombing by aircraft completely destroyed the barracks building, leaving only a shell; all other military buildings on the island were similarly destroyed.

The first week of May 1942, the Japanese were bombarding from the mainland of Bataan with over 400 large artillery pieces, to such an extent it was said a shell was falling every 5 seconds. Each square foot of the 1,735 acres on Corregidor had been subjected to saturation pinpoint bombardment, not only by cannon but also by aircraft. General Wainwright knew from experience that the heavy bombardment signaled an impending invasion by Japanese Infantry\_

On 3 May 1942, the 25th day of General Homma's all-out attempt to blow Corregidor off the map, Japanese infantry and tanks began to invade near the tail of the island. There the decimated 4th Marine Regiment was attempting to stop an unstoppable force. General Wainwright knew full well he did not have the necessary forces, guns, or ammunition to stop the invaders. Worst of all, his men were in poor physical condition, rations

depleted, medical supplies exhausted.

He could imagine Japanese tanks pulling up to the Malinta tunnel entrance and shelling inside the tunnel, massacring his men. General Wainwright had no alternative but surrender the “Rock” and all other forces in the Philippines, preventing a slaughter of American and Filipino soldiers.

The morning of 8 May 1942 was the most painful and shattering experience in General Wainwright’s Army career. He met with General Masaharu Homma and surrendered his Corregidor troops and all other forces in the Philippines. “Corregidor had fallen.”

General Wainwright and approximately 7,000 Americans, including Travis Flowers along with 5,000 Philippine soldiers, were now prisoners of the Imperial Japanese Army.

All prisoners were quickly rounded up and concentrated at a former balloon station, known as the 92nd garage area located on Kindley Field. A site where for the next week the men stood, sat, slept, and ate on concrete. The 92nd area was about 100 yards square, all of which was concrete, one side extending to the water’s edge. Kindley Field was a small airfield with no facilities or buildings and only one water spigot. The men would line up for as much as 12 hours to get a drink of water. All of the prisoners, including the wounded, remained in the 92nd area without food until the seventh day, when each man received his first ration, a mess kit of rice and a can of sardines.

On or about 15 May, prisoners were loaded aboard transports and taken to Manila, off-loaded and paraded along Dewey Boulevard in the heart of Manila for the Filipino people and Japanese soldiers to see those stubborn, ragged, sick, starving American soldiers.

Following this humiliating experience, the prisoners were thrown into Old Bilibid Prison in Manila. Bilibid prison had for years been used to incarcerate Manila’s worse criminals. Several days later they were marched to the railroad station and packed into freight cars. No mercy was shown any prisoner regardless of his physical condition. They were transported to within four miles of Cabanatuan POW camp. The prisoners then marched from the railroad station to the camp. Travis was one of the pris-

oners enduring the first weeks of a 33-month nightmare at Cabanatuan POW camp.

### Cabanatuan POW camp

The Cabanatuan POW camp was located some four miles from Cabanatuan City, a city of about 50,000 people. The prison was built on flat land about 600 by 800 yards in size, or approximately 11¼ acres. Through the center of the camp was a dusty road. On the left side of the road were the American or Allied prisoners, their barracks, other type buildings including a small wooden building used as a dispensary and hospital.

The Allied prisoners were forbidden to cross over the road to the Japanese side of the camp. Their side of the camp contained the barracks housing Japanese officers and guards along with their utility buildings etc. (see layout of camp).

The Cabanatuan prison compound at one time was a Filipino Army training base, and before a training base. The US Government Department of Agriculture at one time had a test farm located near the flat valley just west of the Sierra Madre Mountain range. The Cabanatuan prison camp was located within the Nueva Ecija province, about 60 miles north of Manila on the Island of Luzon. Clark Field was about 30 miles southwest of Cabanatuan. Prior to 7 December 1941, Clark Field had been the major American air base in the Philippines.

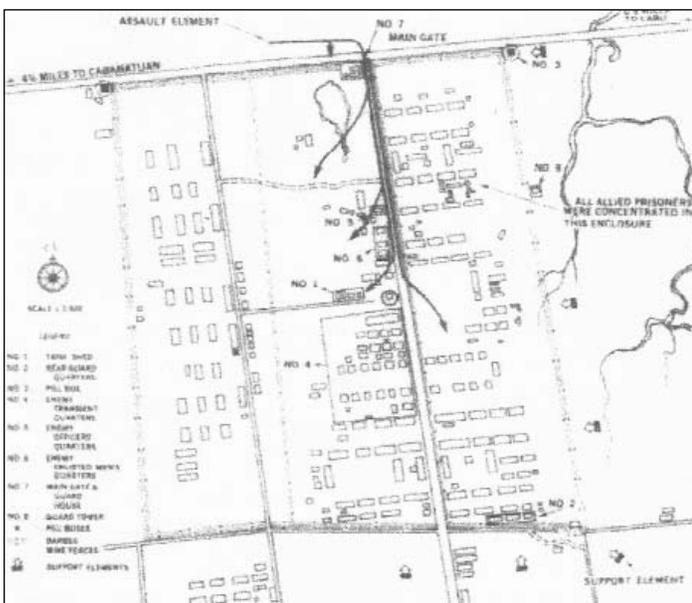
Three barbed wire fences spaced three to four feet apart encircled the prison. These enclosures were about eight feet in height. Wooden guard towers stood at each corner of the prison. The entrance to the camp was secured by a large wooden double gate, about eight feet high. The two gates swung in either direction and were controlled by a sizeable metal lock prohibiting entry to the camp yard. Inside the gate was a sturdily constructed guard station with several guards on duty at all times.

Not much chance for a sick man to escape. If he attempted to escape and was caught, he was beaten severely, and, in some instances, tied up and laid on the ground to experience the “sun treatment” for days, with the end result in most instances death. Most of the time guards would kill prisoners attempting to escape. The prisoners were organized in groups of ten by the Japanese camp commander. When any of the ten attempted to escape; the other nine would be beaten and executed. Every man was aware of the grim fate of a fellow prisoner if he attempted to escape.

### Cabanatuan prison work details

Prisoners were required by the Japanese camp commander to form an organization by dividing the camp in three groups. Each group had a headquarters and a leader responsible for the group’s duties and to see that all duties were adhered to and carried out.

The three respective groups were: camp supply, library, and utilities. Camp supply obtained rice and other food goods from the Japanese and distributed equally to the other groups and to the hospital. The library group was said to have been a joke, since Japanese newspapers were filled with untrue stories and propaganda. The men in the library group expanded its function by including mail, posting of notices handed them daily by the Japanese for prisoner information, and notices that prisoners asked to have posted. The camp utility group had the job of repairing barracks, drainage, and general maintenance on buildings in the POW section of the camp.



Layout of Cabanatuan POW camp,

A number of men including Travis did not work in either of the three above groups. They worked the farm-field, kitchen, wood, or burial detail, with others working on airfield repair or construction work.

Travis, according to his family, worked the farm-field detail, growing food. Frequently he was required to work airfield maintenance. Airfield work was believed to have been on Clark Field. Travis mentioned to family members on occasion that he and others would be required to fill bomb craters in the runways along with building repairs after American planes bombed these facilities later in the war. Clark Field was about 30 miles from Cabanatuan. The men actually looked forward to this work. It provided an opportunity to get away from the strict and harshness of Cabanatuan prison, sometimes going into Filipino towns and villages with their Japanese guards.

The most gruesome of all work details was burying dead prisoners, consisting of three steps:

First, prisoners each morning picked up the dead and laid them along a designated section of the fence,

Second, grave detail prisoners would dig graves, and

Third, prisoners would pick up the dead soldiers, place in the graves, covering each man. The burial detail was hazardous in that it helped spread disease. Bodies in many instances were beginning to decompose. The camp, it was said, always had the smell of death.

All details were as one can imagine: hard labor performed by men, in some instances, barely able to work. The Japanese camp commander sent around and placed on the camp bulletin board a brief simply stated memo for the prisoners to see: "No work, no food."

The farm detail was considered by all prisoners to be the largest and least desirable of any work details. Prisoners were forced to rise at 5:30 a.m. each day, consume a meager breakfast, and at 7:30 form columns, four men abreast, and march out the prison gate to the fields. Work hours were from 7:30 to 10:30 in the morning, returning to the camp for their noon meal. Mid-day heat from the sun was unbearable. Prisoners returned to the fields and began work once again at 2:00, working until 5 p.m. Afterwards the men were marched back to camp and given a meager evening meal around 6:00.

Preparing and cultivating some 800 acres of farmland was accomplished entirely by hand with no tools or machinery other than a rake, hoe, and shovel. Each prisoner was assigned a row 40 inches wide, the length of the field. He was responsible to prepare the land, plant, grow, water, and harvest. Watering the fields was routinely done with 50-gallon containers mounted on a frame requiring eight men. Four men would rest for a period and then switch with the other four men carrying the drum. Five gallon containers were also used. Watering the hot, dry fields, as one can imagine, was an endless task. The prisoners at least had an opportunity from time to time to steal a drink of water.

Vegetables grown by the prisoners consisted of sweet potatoes, mongo beans, rice, corn, radishes, okra, carrots, and peppers, all for consumption by Japanese soldiers stationed at Cabanatuan. Food harvested was also given to other Japanese forces in the area. A prisoner caught stealing seed or food to eat out of the field was severely punished by beating and at other times given the "sun treatment" which was tying the prisoner and leaving him outside for days at a time without food or water in the hot

sun.

The Cabanatuan POWs (among themselves) had nick names for a number of the guards, such as Liver-lips, Web Foot, Charlie Chaplin, Big Speedo, Little Speedo, Donald Duck, Simon Legree, Many Many, Beetle Brain, and Eleanor. The biggest and cruelest guard was referred to as Air Raid or B-17.

While researching this information, it became amusing why a guard was given a particular nickname. For instance; the guard referred to as "many-many" always demanded the Americans bow their heads when passing him, as he would say in broken English, "many-many;" which meant all prisoners bow, not just a few. The guard nicknamed "Eleanor" was so named because he favored President Roosevelt's wife. The guard had protruding teeth. Little and Big Speedo got their nicknames by always shouting: "Speedo, Speedo!" if you were not walking fast enough, at the same time hitting the prisoner with his bamboo club. "Air Raid" came down on a prisoner with his pick ax handle; prisoners felt like they had been bombed.

Americans always seem to have a sense of humor, regardless of circumstances.

His wife Kathleen told this story to me. Travis, while working in the fields most likely during 1943-44, for no reason one day was beaten by the Japanese farm boss guard Air Raid, striking him with either the butt end of a rifle or with a club, breaking Travis's arm. Later Travis realized that during the incident that a group of Japanese officers was walking in the fields watching the prisoners work. The guard nearest Travis (and we will assume it was Air Raid) apparently was attempting to gain their attention, hoping each would think Travis was not working or about something he was not supposed to be doing, and the guard was showing off for his superiors.

Travis worked in the fields almost every day, which leads the writer of this story to believe the guard referred to by the prisoners as Air Raid or B-17, was most likely the guard that beat Travis. Air Raid, according to researched information, had a sadistic reputation for picking on American prisoners, frustrating a prisoner to the extent the prisoner would do or say something, giving Air Raid reason to punish him. Although he needed no reason to abuse a prisoner, he would beat a man for pleasure, exercising his authority. Unfortunately for the POWs, Air Raid was in the fields every day watching the prisoners work. It was said he carried a pick ax handle with which to beat prisoners. The men referred to his ax handle as his "vitamin stick" for its mysterious ability to motivate and energize the prisoner who was beaten. Air Raid, according to all information, was large, strong, and mentally dense, but with the eyes of an eagle capable of seeing everything going on. Each of the prisoners on farm detail universally hated Air Raid, referring to him as "that mean bastard."

### **Dr. Merle Musselman**

Dr. Merle Musselman held the rank of Lieutenant in the US Army Medical corp and was one of the doctors in Cabanatuan prison. He was captured on Bataan, and experienced the Bataan Death March. In all likelihood Dr. Musselman was the camp doctor who attended to Travis's broken arm. On another occasion he operated on Travis by releasing fluid from around his heart. In my conversations with Kathleen Flowers, she told me that Travis had told her the story of Dr. Musselman operating and releasing the fluid from around his heart using a small bamboo branch.

Operations and general prisoner care was performed daily by Dr. Musselman, along with several other doctors in the camp, treating and operating on the prisoners daily in less than desired conditions. The prison dispensary had very modest medical equipment and little, if any, medicine available.

It was after dark when the Ranger rescue raid began. Dr. Merle Musselman, camp surgeon, and another POW were talking on the steps of the dispensary building when the shouting and shooting began. Bullets whizzed in every direction. They immediately thought the Japanese had begun slaughtering the prisoners. They both ran for cover. While attempting to move and seek other cover, both men collided with one of the Rangers, who shouted, "Get the hell to the front gate!" Dr. Musselman and friend needed no further encouragement. After the POWs were freed and on their way to the American lines, Dr. Musselman operated on the Ranger surgeon, Captain James C. Fisher, who was wounded during the early fighting within the prison compound and near the entrance gate. Captain Fisher was hit in the stomach by fragments from an exploding Japanese mortar shell. He was gravely wounded. Dr. Musselman realized the captain's chances were minimal. Shrapnel had done extensive damage to his stomach and intestines. The captain was sewed up, and everyone prayed for a miracle. Captain Fisher's wounds were too serious. He died several hours later. Dr. Musselman had performed to the best of his ability under very difficult combat conditions. Dr. Musselman even went so far as to volunteer to stay with Captain Fisher so that he would not have to be moved from Plateros to Balincarin on their way back to the American lines. The request was denied. Colonel Mucci knew Dr. Musselman and Capt. Fisher, once discovered by the Japanese, would be killed immediately, with no mercy shown.

Dr. Merle Musselman, a native of Nebraska, returned home to Omaha after World War II and for many years served on the staff of the University of Nebraska School of Medicine as a Professor and later Chairman of the Department of Surgery.

### **Japanese Kill All Order**

*When the war situation becomes urgent the POWs will be concentrated and confined in their location and kept under heavy guard until preparation for their final disposition. Although the basic aim is to act under superior orders, individual disposition may be made in certain circumstances. Whether they are destroyed Individually or in groups, and whether it is accomplished by means of mass bombing, poisonous smoke, poisons, drowning, or decapitation, dispose of them as the situation dictates. It is the aim to annihilate them all and not to leave any traces.*

August 1944, the Japanese war ministry issued the above directive, which became known as the "August 1st 1944, Kill-all Order." The order applied to all American POWs wherever they were held: the Philippine Islands, China, Japan, Korea, Okinawa, and other locations. For instance, 25 POW camps existed in the Philippine Islands.

For the reader to understand why this information is being included, and what it has to do with Travis Flowers, simply, the men in Cabanatuan prison had no idea that after three long years of captivity, death at the hands of the Japanese guards could come suddenly without warning, based on the above "Kill all order."

### **Puerto Princesa POW camp Palawan Island, Philippines**

14 December 1944, 139 American POWs were returned to their camp around noon from their routine work detail filling bomb craters in the runways of a Japanese sea-plane base nearby. Returning back to their camp early was highly unusual. The reason given by the Japanese guards was an air raid by American planes would be taking place sometime before their noon meal. The prisoners became highly suspicious that something other than an air raid was about to happen. Unexpectedly the prisoners were forced to go into three air raid shelters, previously constructed by the prisoners of wood and dirt, built for their use when air raids were taking place. All three shelters had openings at each end. Once the prisoners were inside, Japanese guards carrying buckets hurriedly approached the shelters and drenched the openings with aviation fuel, immediately throwing lit bamboo torches on the gas. The trenches exploded in flame. In a matter of minutes most prisoners suffocated or burned to death. Some of the prisoners were able to get out of the shelters but were immediately shot. Several were be-headed by the sword of a Japanese guard. Several of the men, seriously wounded and burned, were later buried alive. A few were able to escape, later found and killed immediately. One prisoner, Eugene Nielson, did escape. He had been shot twice, and his body was lacerated by wire surrounding the prison compound. Miraculously, after hiding and later swimming a distance of around five miles across Puerto Princesa Bay, he reached shore half crazed, naked, and weak. He lay on the beach for several hours, then while struggling through a mangrove swamp he was met by a Philippine guerilla who informed him he had friends, gave him water, and led him to his camp, where friendly Philippine guerilla fighters provided food, water, and shelter. There, to Nielson's amazement, he met two other survivors from the Palawan camp. They, too, had escaped and swam across the bay and were found by the guerillas. Each related his story as to what had happened and how they escaped. The stories were very much the same.

The three were the only survivors from the Puerto Princesa prison camp. Several days later the men told their stories to Major Robert Lapham, an American officer who did not surrender and had become a Phillipine guerilla for the past three years. Major Lapham on 26 January 1944 contacted an Army officer and related the story, which was then retold to General Kruger, Sixth Army Headquarters, in Calasiao. They quickly realized the Cabanatuan POW camp could become a human disaster within the next few days. Each of the American officers knew the Japanese compound commander would not hesitate to kill all of these men, just as they had massacred the men at the Puerto Princesa camp. The advancing American Army would be in the Cabanatuan area within six days. Without question the death warrant would then be sealed for 511 prisoners.

General Krueger and his senior officers were shocked when they heard the details of how the Japanese had gone about killing the American POWs. They needed no further convincing. A rescue team must be organized immediately and sent on a dangerous mission that guaranteed no success for the prisoners or the rescuers. As Colonel Mucci told his men, the odds of a lot of you men not returning is high. Not a man had second thoughts. All of the Rangers knew the job at hand was to save this group of prisoners who had been through and endured so much.

The mission would be led by Colonel Henry Mucci, com-

mander of the 6th Ranger Battalion. The attack commander would be Captain Robert Prince, Company C commander, with a platoon from F Company and 13 soldiers from the US Army's elite Commando unit referred to as "Alamo Scouts," a total of 121 Rangers and 80 well trained, committed Filipino soldiers. The mission was set; departure during the early morning hours of 29 January 1942.

### **The Rescue Mission**

Lt. Colonel Henry Mucci was chosen by General Kruger. His task was to liberate the POWs before the Japanese command at Cabanatuan slaughtered them. To implement a rescue plan, Colonel Mucci chose Captain Robert Prince to put together an attack plan. Captain Prince was commanding officer of C Company. He selected his men and organized a rescue team consisting of 121 American Rangers, (Company C, 6th Ranger Battalion, along with one platoon from Company F) and 80 Filipino guerillas.

In the early morning hours of Sunday 29 January 1945, the Rangers left camp at Calasiao by truck and went as far as the American front lines. The rescue team then set out by foot through Japanese held territory, a distance of approximately 30 miles to Cabanatuan.

The mission was carried out precisely as planned, taking one day to reach Cabanatuan through Japanese infantry lines, over bridges held by the enemy, under bridges and over open fields, crossing rivers, forging streams, passing silently near encamped Japanese troops. Much of the mission was conducted at night, guided by Philippine guerillas.

Sgt.Theodore Richardson rushed the main gate and with his sub-machine gun shot the lock off the entrance gates. Immediately Rangers rushed inside and began the job of rousing the prisoners, yelling, firing their weapons. It must have been as close to a bar room brawl as you could get. The Rangers were so pumped up, they actually were enjoying the fight, At last they were having a long sought after fight with Jap soldiers.

Inside the camp a big fire fight had broken out between the Rangers and Japanese guards, and other troops. Most were killed or seriously wounded. Very little time could be spent convincing the POWs that they were there to liberate them. Some of the prisoners could not, did not believe what was happening. These men were all that were left in Cabanatuan. Thousands had passed through the prison camp. Many were transported to Japan and other locations, leaving the Philippines by old Japanese freighters. At least three of these ships had been sunk by American aircraft and US Navy submarines, unaware US POWs were on board. The Japanese would not identify their POW ships. As a result, several thousand prisoners were killed. The old freighters were termed "Hell Ships" for the purpose each was being used for slave labor. It's appalling to read how the men were crammed on board and in the holds of the ships, closed up, no food, no sanitation facilities, and in most cases very little air to breathe. Trips would take up to two weeks to complete. Numerous prisoners died before reaching their final destinations.

Only the sickest and the weakest were left at Cabanatuan. Too much happening, too quickly for the POWs to grasp. Weapons being fired. Rangers and Filipino troops shouting, looking for prisoners, some still hiding. Finally all prisoners were accounted for, and by the grace of God the rescuers and POWs were able to

move out toward American lines. Many of the men had to be carried. Because of sickness they could not walk. Some had lost their senses and literally were guided by hand, not understanding what was taking place. Rangers carried as weapons the M1 Garand rifle, M1 .30 caliber carbine, .45 caliber Thompson sub-machine gun, 2.75 bazookas, rifle bazookas, and .45 caliber pistols. Each man carried several bandoliers of ammunition strung across his shoulders, along with as many hand grenades as a Ranger felt comfortable to carry. The Rangers wore plain green fatigues and fatigue caps; no steel helmets. The men didn't particularly appear to be an elite fighting force. Looks, however, were deceiving. These men had been trained long and hard by Colonel Mucci for this type of assignment. Every man was resolute, determined to set the mission in motion and see it through successfully. Every man knew it would be a dangerous undertaking.

Once the Rangers reached their prison compound objective, Lieutenant John F. Murphy fired his Garand rifle at the nearest Japanese barracks building, the shot signaling the beginning of the attack. With no hesitation, every Ranger began doing what he had been instructed to do, throwing grenades, firing at startled guards, firing rifle grenades, firing into the barracks buildings, firing bazookas. For instance, Sgt.Theodore Richardson, along with several other Rangers, ran up to the front gates, shot the big lock off with his Thompson machine gun, entered the gates, and killed all guards in the area, Rangers were everywhere, yelling and shouting at the prisoners: "We are American Rangers. Get the hell to the front gate. You're going home." The time: 1945 or 7:45 in the evening, barely light, difficult for the Japanese to realize where Rangers were, where the weapon fire was coming from. Because Rangers were in every area of Cabanatuan prison by now, they had to speak sternly and rather bluntly to a number of POWs, officers and enlisted men alike, to convince the prisoners they were there to liberate them and for every prisoner to move out, quick, now!!

During the fight, the best estimate of enemy kills was placed at 250 prison guards and other soldiers within the compound who were there for the evening. Numerous Japanese soldiers were seriously wounded during the fighting to the extent they were unable to engage the Rangers.

Most prisoners, however, needed no encouragement. Still a few wanted to know what are Rangers, what are you going to do with us? When prisoners were found that could not walk, Rangers quickly picked them up and carried them to a rendezvous site where they remained until the raid was complete. Within 30 minutes it was over. Rangers assisted prisoners who were weak and could not walk. There were caraboa carts carrying prisoners, stretchers with men on them, men carried on the backs of the Rangers, and 511 former POWs were on their way back to the American lines.

In the meantime, and from the beginning of the attack, an American P-6I Black Widow night fighter from the 547th Night Fighter Squadron was in the air around Cabanatuan prison, it was said, flying only 200 feet above the ground, strafing Jap positions, soldiers, and the roads. So much was happening so quickly, Japanese soldiers were confused; not knowing exactly what was taking place.

Six Rangers from company F were the last Americans to withdraw from the rescue objective, and, as they were leaving,

Japanese soldiers began to fire in their direction. Corporal Roy Sweezy, turned to fire his MI and was hit in the chest by automatic rifle fire, dying several minutes later. Six Rangers were injured; two lost their lives. Corporal Sweezy and Captain James Fisher, 66 Ranger Battalion Surgeon, were the two American Rangers to die in the rescue operation.

The raid was well planned and carried out flawlessly by men who were on a mission to rescue their brothers who had been in harm's way for three years. Each Ranger knew these men had suffered long enough and that they were on the brink of being massacred by desperate Japanese officers and enlisted men alike. Every Ranger was willing to risk his life to rescue the Cabanatuan prisoners.

Travis Flowers was part of this rescue *mélée*. What an amazing story he could have told, how it unfolded, how he must have felt, frightened and excited in the beginning, to total euphoria after he realized the Rangers had come to free him and the other 510 prisoners.

The Japanese military knew it to be only a matter of time before Imperial forces could no longer contend with Allied military might. The Japanese knew the war was nearing an end. Japanese military strategists were now resorting to what ever tactic was available to kill or inflict demoralizing harm to the Americans, such as kamikaze aircraft attacks, flying into US Navy ships, into manned American bombers at high altitude, killing and beheading captured airman. Killing American prisoners of war was now becoming a reality with the shocking Palawan Island massacre.

It's been 61 years since his capture on Corregidor. Travis would be 89 years old as this is written. Not many of his buddies are left. Most, like Travis, have passed away. Again what an incredible story he could have told. I suppose after the war and for the next few years, he never thought it was important, and, after all, it was difficult to tell another person of the torturous treatment he and other POWs experienced daily for three years.

The experience was rarely discussed.

How is it possible for today's generation to believe or understand a tragedy such as the surrender of Bataan and Corregidor, the death march, the prison camps, and inhumane treatment the soldiers received? Some will read and wonder and ask themselves: Did these events really happen?

Yes, the events did happen, and in much worse detail than described in these brief accounts. Travis was 28 years old at the time of his capture on Corregidor; he remained a prisoner of war from 8 May 1942 until 31 January 1945, a period of 33 months.

The site of Cabanatuan POW camp today is a park covered by various types of fruit trees. A marble memorial wall contains the names of 2,656 American POWs who died there.

My thanks to Mrs. Kathleen Midyette Flowers and daughter, Sandra F. Sawyer, for information concerning Travis Flowers. It's worthy to note Mrs. Flowers had four brothers to serve in the Army and Navy during World War II: William, Cyril, John Vernon, and Floyd Edwin Midyette. Travis's two brothers, Delon and Max, served in the US Navy.

Thanks to Joseph A. Vater, whom I spoke with by phone, Mr. Vater shared with me information concerning Travis Flowers who was in his company on Corregidor. Mr. Vater lives in McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania, and is the editor of the *Quan*, a quarterly Bataan-Corregidor survivor's publication. Mr. Vater spent about three years in a POW camp in Hoten, China, near Mudken, China, where he worked in a machine tool factory. He was released in September 1945.

Travis Flowers' name appears in the book, *Ghost Soldiers*, by Hampton Sides, as one of the 511 prisoners held in Cabanatuan Prison and freed on 30 January 1945. This excellent book details information as to maltreatment received and the daily existence of men who survived Bataan, the death march, and Corregidor. Hardship and suffering were incomprehensible for these men. The book also gives a detailed version of a nearly flawless rescue of the doomed Cabanatuan POWs.

Even after life has worn them down, when they have fought their battles, both personal and for their countries, when they no longer can stand as tall as they once did, they take with them their pride.



## Unremitting Labours

# Cornelius Harnett, a North Carolina Patriot

By Timothy P. Winstead

The men who became known as the “founding fathers” of this nation came from all of the thirteen colonies. Many of these men gave up wealth and prosperity to follow their beliefs against what they viewed as intolerable conditions decreed by the government of King George III. This paper examines one of these men: a North Carolinian who was neither a signer of the Declaration of Independence nor a framer of the Constitution, but who greatly aided the cause to resist the efforts of the British government. This man led from the earliest days of crisis during the Stamp Act controversy. He was a leader in a North Carolina congress which called for a united effort of all colonies to declare their independence from British rule. While all but unknown to North Carolinians today, this man was a patriot who should be counted among those founding fathers.

Cornelius Harnett, Jr., was born near Edenton in Chowan County on 20 April 1723. His father, Cornelius Harnett, Sr., had been a Dublin merchant who had come to North Carolina by 1720 to seek opportunities offered in this new land. Harnett, Sr., was a successful planter who became involved in colonial politics. It was probably from his father’s involvement in politics that Harnett, Jr., learned of the give and take that would be required to achieve the success that would forever name him “the Samuel Adams of North Carolina.” It was also his father’s sometimes controversial involvement with regional politics which led to the family’s 1726 relocation to Brunswick. It was to be here where Harnett, Jr., subsequently became the “Pride of the Cape Fear.”

Cornelius Harnett, Jr., had a public career that spanned from April 1750 until his death in April 1781. This career began with his appointment as a New Hanover County Justice of the Peace by Governor Gabriel Johnston. It progressed through representation of the citizens of Wilmington, New Hanover County, North Carolina, and the united colonies. He became the Wilmington representative to the General Assembly in 1754 and was a member on an additional 12 North Carolina Assemblies that met under the authority of the British Crown. He was a legislator for 27 years who served in the Colonial Assembly, the Provincial Congress, and the Continental Congress. Throughout his long career, he had neither the eloquence of William Hooper nor did he possess the military skills of Richard Caswell. He was known for his dedication to the causes he represented; he became one of the most forceful personalities in North Carolina during the Revolutionary period.

### **The Stamp Act — William Tryon and Cornelius Harnett**

The Stamp Act was enacted in March 1765, and William Tryon became Royal Governor of North Carolina on 3 April 1765. Cornelius Harnett’s career was to be shaped by this law and by this man. Harnett’s thoughts and direction would be changed from one with a local focus to one which would encompass North Carolina and eventually the other colonies

The Stamp Act was to become effective in November 1765. A special stamped paper had a device similar to a stamp printed on the side of one of the margins. This paper would have to be purchased from a stamp agent and used to print a variety of legal documents, deeds, leases, contracts, newspapers, and other paper products. A similar tax had been used in England for 75 years. Many items that were taxed in Great Britain were to be exempted in the colonies; hence, the tax was to weigh less heavily in the colonies than in Great Britain. Prime Minister George Grenville’s intention was to use the duties from the sale of this stamped paper to reduce Great Britain’s cost incurred in protecting and defending the colonies .

Seen as a tax that had been levied on the colonies without their consent and designed to impact many facets of colonial trade, the colonists immediately opposed the Stamp Act. This tax hit everyone. The North Carolina Assembly speaker, John Ashe, had told Tryon that these taxes would be opposed till the death. Protests with public demonstrations were held in New Bern, Edenton, and Cross Creek. In Wilmington, citizens organized as Sons of Liberty, toasted with a “Liberty, Property, and no Stamp Duty” salute, hanged former Prime Minister Lord Bute in effigy, forced the resignation of Stamp Agent Dr. William Houston, and organized an association to unite and to assist each other in prevention of the implementations of the Stamp Act. Cornelius Harnett was the chairman of the Cape Fear Sons of Liberty.

The Cape Fear region had the most violent reaction to the act, in part because Governor Tryon lived outside of Brunswick Town. It was also a region with a powerful merchant class who would be much impacted by the Stamp Act. Cornelius Harnett was a member of this group. When the printer of the *North Carolina Gazette* was warned that printing on unstamped paper would result in dire consequences, Tryon called for a conference with the leading merchants in an attempt to defuse the situation. Tryon tried to induce the merchants to obey the law; he offered to pay the taxes on the stamped paper that would be used in the colony. The merchants were firm in their stance that their rights as British subjects had been violated, and that they would resist the act with all their resources.

Matters came to a head when on 28 November 1765 the royal ship *Diligence* arrived at Brunswick with a cargo that included stamped paper which was to be used in the colony. The *Diligence* had previously delivered a similar cargo to Norfolk, Virginia, without any reaction from those colonists. The reaction from North Carolina colonists at Brunswick was much different. Word of the *Diligence*’s cargo spread quickly, and armed men from throughout the region rushed to Brunswick to prevent off loading of the stamped paper. Ironically, the Sons of Liberty had forced the resignation of the royal stamp agent; hence, there was no official to accept the cargo from Captain Phipps. Wilmington and Brunswick became closed ports. The merchants faced financial

EDITOR’S COMMENT: We appreciate the Lillington (NC) Rotary Club’s permission to reprint the three drawings included in the Harnett story. The original sketches were drawn by Don J. Long of Greensboro, NC.

ruin; however, they remained firm in their resolve. Tryon wrote of these merchants: "...as assiduous in obstructing the reception of the stamps as any of the inhabitants. No business is transacted in the courts of judicature ... and all government is now at a stand. The stagnation of all public business and commerce, under the low circumstances of the inhabitants, must be attended with fatal consequences to this colony if it subsists for a few months longer."

The standoff climaxed in January 1766 when two ships, the *Dobbs* from Philadelphia and the *Patience* from St. Christopher, arrived at Brunswick without having stamps on their clearance papers. Each ship presented a statement signed by collectors at those ports attesting that no stamped paper had been available to allow them to comply with the law. Disregarding these statements, Captain Lobb, of the royal ship *Viper*, seized the ships in the name of the crown. A third ship, the *Ruby*, was similarly seized by Captain Lobb. The ships' outlaw papers were delivered to the Collector, William Dry, so the legal proceedings could be started against them in the admiralty court. Dry consulted with the attorney-general and subsequently received word that the seizures had been legal and proceedings could be started at the admiralty court in Halifax, Nova Scotia,

While waiting for the attorney-general's reply to Dry's inquiry, the citizens remained calm in the brewing storm. The storm broke when word was received that the seizures were legal. Wilmington merchants refused to send provisions to the royal ships, and angry men seized and jailed sailors coming ashore for those provisions. Cornelius Harnett and others forwarded a letter to William Dry telling the collector to ignore the attorney-general's advised course of action. Dry's house was entered by unknown men and the ships' papers taken by force. Armed men affirmed an oath to resist the Stamp Act and then marched at Brunswick to secure the release of the outlawed ships. Learning that Captain Lobb had taken refuge in the governor's house, the armed men headed to Tryon's dwelling where they intended to seize the captain and force the release of the ships.

Cornelius Harnett and George Moore preceded their followers to Tryon's with the intent of offering the governor a guard. Tryon rebuffed the offer as being neither wanted nor necessary. Tryon braved the "inhabitants in arms" and refused to discuss the matter since the men could forcibly enter and search his residence if they so desired. Somehow they had learned Lobb was no longer in the house; hence, they left a small guard and returned to Brunswick. Neither violence nor insult to Tryon was the aim of the leaders; they had desired only to reason with Tryon to resolve what they saw as unfair practices by the crown.



Harnett confronts Governor Tryon

The next morning, 20 February 1766, a group of armed men boarded the *Viper* and called for the release of the *Ruby* and the *Patience*. The *Dobbs* had been released when it gave proper security to the collector. Lobb was caught between the proverbial "damned if he did and damned if he didn't." With the promise of a decision in the afternoon, Lobb succeeded in getting the dele-

gation to depart. After having conferred with Tryon, Lobb proposed to release the *Ruby* but to continue to hold the *Patience*. His rationale was a negotiated win-win that gave one ship to the people and one ship to the king. When the delegation returned to the *Viper*, Lobb's proposal was met with a hostile retort. The forcefulness exhibited by the delegation caused the captain to change his position to a win-win for the people. Tryon was angry when told of Lobb's surrender to the "inhabitants in arms." He chastised the captain for release of the *Patience* as being the loss of a point of honor for the government. Tryon stated that the action had made his position "very unpleasant, as most of the people by going up to Wilmington would remain satisfied and report through the province that they had obtained every point they sought to redress."

The people were not satisfied with only the release of the ships. They determined to seek further by gaining oaths from all royal officials, except the governor, that the officials would cease and desist from selling the stamped paper in the colony. This action resulted in a dramatic confrontation over the Stamp Act between William Tryon, the king's representative, and Cornelius Harnett, the people's representative. Pennington, the king's comptroller, had taken refuge in the governor's house to avoid the armed protestors who had been searching for him during the afternoon of 20 February 1766. Early the next morning, Colonel James Moore was sent to Tryon to demand that they be permitted to speak to Pennington. The governor replied that Mr. Pennington was busy doing the government's business and that Pennington could only be seen at Tryon's house. Around 10 o'clock approximately 500 armed men approached the governor's house. A detachment led by Cornelius Harnett approached the governor's residence. An interview took place that pitted the ablest of colonial governors against the daring and decided colonial leader. Tryon and Harnett were each resourceful and determined. Each man believed that he was in the right.

The sequence of events that followed was best told through Governor Tryon's *Letter Book* in a letter to Secretary Conway dated 25 February 1766. See *Colonial Records VII*, p. 172-174. Tryon, in this description of events, clearly reflected the status of Harnett among his fellow colonists.

Mr. Harnett hoped I would let him [Pennington] go, as the people were determined to take him out of the house if he should be no longer detained, an insult, he said, they wished to avoid offering to me. An insult, I replied, that would not tend to any great consequence after they had already offered every insult they could offer, by investing my house and making me in effect a prisoner before any grievance or opposition had been first represented to me. Mr. Pennington grew very uneasy, said he would choose to go to the gentlemen. I again repeated my offer of protection, if he chose to stay. He declared, and desired I would remember, that whatever oaths might be imposed upon him, he should consider them acts of compulsion and not of free will; and further added he would rather resign his office than do any act contrary to his duty. If that was his determination, I told him, he had better resign before he left me. Mr. Harnett interposed, with saying he hoped he would not do that. I enforced the recommendation for resignation. He consented, paper was brought and his resigna-

tion executed and received. I then said: "Mr. Pennington, now, sir, you may go." Mr. Harnett went out with him; the detachment retired to town. Mr. Pennington afterwards informed me they got him in the midst of them when Mr. Ward, master of the *Patience* asked him to enter his sloop. Mr. Pennington assured him he could not as he had resigned his office. He was afterwards obliged to take an oath that he would never issue any stamped paper in this province. The above oath the Collector informed me he was obliged to take, as were all clerks of the County Courts and other public officers.

Prior to the exchange with Tryon, Harnett had been known as a skillful merchant and successful businessman. He had shared his talents in the Assembly beginning on 5 December 1759. After the exchange, he became a recognized leader of his people and conversely he became a target of British scorn and contempt. This exchange had occurred eight years before the Boston Tea Party and 11 years before the Declaration of Independence. Harnett and Tryon had been eyeball to eyeball and the governor blinked. In the coming struggle, Harnett would be involved in many eyeball to eyeball encounters with the complexities of revolutionary government, and he would never blink.

The efforts of the men in the Cape Fear region had denied Britain the acquiescence needed for their enforcement of the Stamp Act in North Carolina. Cornelius Harnett had contributed a calm leadership to these efforts; that leadership maintained a firm resolve which never let those efforts approach mob-rule. His leadership during this contest of wills created a conviction among his compatriots which began to define a growing nationalism in the colonies.

What was the fate of the stamped paper that had arrived onboard the *Diligence* on 28 November 1775? It was never off loaded, but was transferred to the *Hazard* for a return voyage to Great Britain. Parliament rescinded the Stamp Act in March 1776.

### **The Halifax Resolves — 12 April 1776**

When North Carolina's first Provincial Congress met in New Bern during August 1774, the delegates took action to organize a system of committees which would exercise the ordinances of the Provincial and Continental Congress. The Wilmington Committee was organized on 23 November 1774, and the New Hanover Committee organized on 5 January 1775. Cornelius Harnett was selected in early January to lead those joint committees. Archibald Maclaine Hooper said that Harnett by his actions in "warning and watching the disaffected, encouraging the timid, collecting the means of defense, and in communicating its enthusiasm to all orders" was critical to an organized resistance to the government of George III.

Royal Governor Josiah Martin deemed Harnett to be among the main leaders of opposition to his Majesty's government. Members of the Provincial Congress had the same perception for they named Harnett to the Provincial Council. On this Council, Harnett was unanimously elected president which in effect made him the quasi-first chief executive of North Carolina.

The Provincial Congress and its leaders moved forward with revolutionary zeal as the winter deepened into a period of discontent. In quick succession, events came with rapidity: Gov-

ernor Josiah Martin dissolved the last royal assembly; Martin was besieged by armed opposition at Tryon's Palace in New Bern and forced to flee to protection under the guns of Fort Johnston on the Cape Fear River; on 19 April 1775, Minute Men and British troops clashed as shots were fired in Lexington, Massachusetts.

With news of Lexington received, Harnett, John Ashe, and Robert Howe authored a letter to Samuel Johnston urging that a provincial convention be called to initiate action. Johnston called for a convention to meet on 10 July. Six days later, Governor Martin railed in a letter to Lord Dartmouth,

I hold it my indispensable duty to mention to your lordship Cornelius Harnett, John Ashe, Robert Howe and Abner Nash, as persons who have marked themselves out as proper persons for distinction in this colony by their unremitting labors to promote sedition and rebellion here from the beginnings of the discontents in America to this time, that they stand foremost among patrons of revolt and anarchy.

Within a week of Martin's letter, Cornelius Harnett and John Ashe led 500 men on a march to Fort Johnston that saw it burned and destroyed.

The Third Provincial Congress met at Hillsborough on 20 April in open defiance to Governor Martin. The congress reorganized the committee system and established the Provincial Council which acted as lead for the new government. Thirteen men of exceptional character were selected for this council. They were given extensive powers as the executive head of the government. Cornelius Harnett was unanimously named president of the council.

Under direction of this council, North Carolina soldiers were directed to stop Highland Scots in the Loyalists' march to unite with British troops traveling from Ireland and New York to a rendezvous at Brunswick during late February 1776. Commanded by Colonel Alexander Lillington and Colonel Richard Caswell, the North Carolina troops defeated the Loyalists at the Widow Moore's Creek Bridge on 27 February 1776. This initial patriot victory in North Carolina was duly reported to President Harnett. This small battle fought in a remote area northwest of Wilmington had a significant impact upon the expanding conflict. The leaders of the Provincial Congress changed the goal that they had sought; they began consideration for a declaration of their independence from Great Britain.

The Fourth Provincial Congress met a Halifax in April 1776 with independence at the forefront of many delegates' thoughts. Cornelius Harnett headed a committee of seven who were to review the outrages committed by the king and his parliament. On 12 April 1776, the committee presented what would become known as the Halifax Resolves. Harnett read the report to the congress,

Resolved, that the delegates for this colony in the Continental Congress be empowered to concur with the delegates of the other colonies in declaring independence, and forming foreign alliances, reserving to this colony the sole role and exclusive right of forming a constitution and laws for this colony, and appointing delegates from time to time (under the direction of the general representation thereof), to meet the delegates of the other colonies for such pur-

poses as shall be hereafter pointed out.

The Halifax Resolves strongly supported the idea of an independent nation that would risk all to attain that goal.

### The Final Years

Cornelius Harnett would remain committed to that noble goal and he would subsequently serve in the Continental Congress. Harnett committed his wealth, future prosperity, and his life to his beliefs. On 28 April 1781, Cornelius Harnett died from an illness brought on by his capture and imprisonment by British forces who were then occupying Wilmington. Harnett was 58 years old.

Harnett never enjoyed the freedom that came to his countrymen with the 19 October 1781 defeat of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown. He, as much as any man during this lengthy struggle, had led the way forward to that day of victory.

### Belated Recognition

At the Wilmington dedication of a monument erected to Cornelius Harnett by the North Carolina Society of the Colonial Dames on 2 May 1907, C. Alphonso Smith delivered the following as part of his address.

Late in July the news had come that the example of North Carolina had been followed by all the other Colonies, that on the 4th of July the Declaration of Independence, prepared by Thomas Jefferson, had been adopted and signed by all the delegates of the thirteen Colonies. The Council of Safety for North Carolina immediately resolved, "That Tuesday, the first day of August next, be set apart for proclaiming the said Declaration at the Court House in the Town of Halifax."

It is needless to say that when 1 August came, no question was raised as to who should read the great document. There was one man, and only one, whose name in every hamlet in North Carolina stood as the supreme embodiment of independence. Hardly four months had passed since he had read his own immortal declaration, and the declaration which he was now to read was but the enactment by a Continental Congress of what he had proposed to a Provincial Congress.



Harnett reading Declaration of Independence

Cornelius Harnett came early to his decision that independence from Great Britain was a worthy goal for North Carolina. The recognition of Harnett's long service, to his state and nation, was a worthy endeavor in 1907.

North Carolinians would do well to again recognize the worthiness of Cornelius Harnett's "unremitting labours" on our behalf.

## WWII Military Trivia

1. The first German serviceman killed in WW II was killed by the Japanese (China, 1937); the first American serviceman killed was killed by the Russians (Finland 1940); highest ranking American killed was Lt Gen Lesley McNair, killed by the US Army Air Corps. So much for allies.
2. The youngest US serviceman was 12-year-old Calvin Graham, USN. He was wounded and given a Dishonorable Discharge for lying about his age. His benefits were later restored by Act of Congress.
3. At the time of Pearl Harbor, the top US Navy command was called CINCUS (pronounced "sink us"), the shoulder patch of the US Army's 45th Infantry division was the Swastika, and Hitler's private train was named "Amerika." All three were soon changed for PR purposes.
4. More US servicemen died in the Air Corps than the Marine Corps. While completing the required 30 missions in a bomber, your chance of being killed was 71%.
5. Generally speaking, there was no such thing as an average fighter pilot. You were either an Ace or a target. For instance, Japanese Ace Hiro Yoshi Nishizawa shot down over 80 planes. He died while a passenger on a cargo plane.
6. It was a common practice for some fighter groups to load a tracer as every 5th round to aid in aiming. This was a mistake. Tracers had different ballistics so (at long range) if your tracers were hitting the target 80% of your rounds were missing. Worse yet, tracers instantly told your enemy he was under fire and from which direction. Worst of all was the practice of loading a string of tracers at the end of the belt to tell you that you were out of ammo. This was definitely not something you wanted to tell the enemy. Units that stopped using tracers saw their success rate nearly double and their loss rate go down.

### YOU'VE GOT TO LOVE THIS ONE...

7. When allied armies reached the Rhine, the first thing men did was pee in it. This was pretty universal from the lowest private to Winston Churchill (who made a big show of it) and Gen. Patton (who had himself photographed in the act).
8. German Me-264 bombers were capable of reaching and bombing New York City, but they decided it wasn't worth the effort.
9. German submarine U-120 was sunk by a malfunctioning toilet.
10. Among the first "Germans" captured at Normandy were several Koreans. They had been forced to fight for the Japanese Army until they were captured by the Russians and forced to fight for the Russian Army until they were captured by the Germans and forced to fight for the German Army until they were captured by the US Army.

### AND I SAVED THE BEST FOR LAST...

11. Following a massive naval bombardment, 35,000 United States and Canadian troops stormed ashore at Kiska, in the Aleutian Islands. 21 troops were killed in the assault on the island. It could have been worse if there had been any Japanese on the island.

AND HITLER & BIN LADEN DIED ON THE SAME DATE, May 1.

# The Battle of Guilford Court House

By Francis Kieron

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The Battle of Guilford Court House was not only one of the hardest fought and most deadly conflicts of the American Revolution, creating a profound impression in Europe; but was the decisive engagement of the Southern campaign, contributing no small part to bringing about, almost immediately, the freedom of the Thirteen Colonies. Yet its importance does not seem to be recognized nor its history well known among people, generally. One reason for that seems to be its geographical location. It is quite likely that had Guilford been in one of the Northern States with a battle of its kind to its credit, the people there would have much more effectively disseminated its narrative.

Colonel Henry Lee, known as "Light Horse Harry," who with his celebrated Legion took part in the battle, says in his memoirs: "It was fought on the fifteenth day of March (1781), a day never to be forgotten by the southern section of the United States. The atmosphere calm and illumined with a cloudless sun; the season rather cold than cool; the body braced and the mind high toned by the state of the weather. Great was the stake, willing were the generals to put it to hazard, and their armies seemed to support with ardor the decision of their respective leaders."

Major General Nathaniel Greene, Commander-in-Chief of the American forces in the Southern Department, had put off battle with the British army under Lieutenant General Earl Cornwallis until the engagement at Guilford, because his troops were not hitherto collected in sufficient numbers to meet the King's soldiers in a pitched field. Greene was placed in command after Gates had been so disastrously defeated. After that rout, there was scarcely a semblance of an American army to dispute with his Lordship the conquest of the Southern States, so completely had he shattered it between the swamps at Camden.

When everything appeared on the verge of irretrievable ruin for the patriots was the very time that the fires in liberty-loving breasts burned most brightly. Never was there a nobler endeavor than that made by the people of the South, determined at that crisis, as well as other times throughout the Revolution, to make themselves free. Beset on all sides by loyalists and British regulars, it required unusual courage for a citizen to declare himself in favor of independence. The partisan war, however, frequently presaged death for the unlucky prisoner, be he patriot or loyalist. With the possible exception of the Mohawk Valley, there was no place where the Revolutionary struggle bore such an aspect of fierceness as in many of the Southern campaigns. Nor were even some of the British free from the stain, and the dashing Tarleton tainted his otherwise valorous career. The Continentals could reflect with joy that their hands were white, a notable temptation they withstood being at the Cowpens, where they turned the day on Tarleton, making most of his troops captives at a time when he had been doing bloody work among the patriots.

Georgia, North and South Carolina, and Virginia sent militia, while the last named state, with Maryland and Delaware, furnished regulars. The hardy mountaineers from the West annihilated Ferguson with his light infantry and militia at the Battle of King's Mountain, striking the first hard blow at Cornwallis; then

came Tarleton's misfortune at the Cowpens; while, soon, with the aid of Morgan, Sumpter, Pickens, and Marion, General Greene, assisted by his other brilliant officers, with wonderful fortitude and perseverance, had gathered Continentals and militia, until they offered fight to the British regulars after extraordinary retreating in marches and countermarches across Southern streams and counties that will go down in history as memorable military achievements. Those leaders were often far apart, working quite independently; yet all having the same end in view, and by constant annoyance to the King's troops, kept steadily on accomplishing the desired result. The climax of all those campaigns was Guilford.

Lord Cornwallis, his efficient officers, and brave followers always performed their tasks wisely and courageously; but difficulties piled up too fast upon them. In their activities they were subjected to trials barely less severe than those endured by Burgoyne and his splendid army in their unfortunate invasion of the North. Both armies suffered the same fate. In this connection it is not too much to say that the British troops that fought at Guilford were not the inferior of any of the royal forces in America; and that they very probably owed their excellence to continuous field work and camp life without tents and customary shelter. Earl Cornwallis was one of the most zealous generals sent out by George the Third. Although he was a magnanimous enemy to the patriots, yet he was ever ready to further his Majesty's cause, never avoiding a fight when it was within his power to get to the field, and ranking favorably with the best British officers of the Revolution in generalship.

Greene and Cornwallis had often met in the North. His Lordship had expressed his opinion of the Rhode Island General in the jerseys, when he wrote: "Greene is as dangerous as Washington; he is vigilant, enterprising, and full of resources. With but little hope of gaining an advantage over him, I never feel secure when encamped in his neighborhood." That was a truthful and praiseworthy acknowledgment, reflecting great honor on both men.

At Brandywine, when the tide of the conflict had turned against Washington, it was to General Greene and his Virginian Division that he turned to stay the pursuit. Greene, pale with apprehension and determination, lost not a moment. His Lordship could attest to his stand; while posterity is well aware of how he chafed under Washington's orders to finally retreat, so stubbornly and masterly did he, aided by his Brigadiers, Weedon, the innkeeper, and Muhlenberg, the minister, direct the Virginians against the flower of Sir William Howe's army under the energetic Cornwallis.

In the retreat at Germantown Cornwallis threw himself into the battle against Greene, who retired so securely as not to lose a single cannon. John Fiske, in speaking of Greene's appointment to the command of the Southern department, says: "In every campaign since the beginning of the war Greene had been Washington's right arm; and for indefatigable industry, for strength and breadth of intelligence, and for unselfish devotion to the pub-

lic service, he was scarcely inferior to the Commander-in-Chief.” In the South, Greene’s illustrious deeds augmented his reputation as a rare soldier.

Guilford Court House stood, a solitary building, near the northern boundary in North Carolina. The natural advantages of its surroundings furnished a strong position to oppose the approach of the royal troops. It was accordingly chosen by Greene, who, knowing the greater numerical strength of his own army, the nature of the enemy’s troops, as well as the eagerness of Cornwallis, anticipated a front-to-front engagement. It was the grand hope of his Lordship to crush the Americans in a single battle; but he had been skillfully evaded until now, so it was with auspicious readiness that he advanced to attack them.

Stedman, the historian, present with the British on the field, gave a glimpse of his chief’s hopes when he wrote: “If Cornwallis had had the troops Tarleton lost at the Cowpens, it is not extravagant to suppose that the American Colonies might have been reunited to the empire of Great Britain.” Cornwallis was obliged to fight 200 miles from his base of supplies, therefore, if the day went against him, he would be exceedingly unlucky; while a victory, unless of the decisive kind of that over Gates, would avail him very little in a territory where the loyalists would be timid and the patriots hostile. Greene, on the other hand, had practically all to gain; and, save a bad beating, nothing to fear. In other words, his Lordship had been out-generaled in being attracted too far in an unsuccessful pursuit.

In planning for the battle, the American Commander was naturally influenced by General Morgan’s advice and experience. That veteran officer had quit the service after joining Greene with his victors of the Cowpens on account of rheumatism; but there endured, after his departure, a record of his heroic and well calculated deeds from the wisdom of which Greene did not decline to profit. He formed his troops in three lines. The first, consisting of the North Carolina militia, numbering 1,060 besides officers, was commanded by Generals Butler and Eaton, and was posted in the most advantageous position Greene had ever seen. They were protected by a strong rail fence and small trees at the edge of a clearing used as fields, and across which the British would have to march in attacking. That clearing was divided by the highroad to Salisbury, and, consequently, Captain Singleton, with two field-pieces, was stationed there to give courage to the militia, as well as to annoy the enemy. On the right of this array of North Carolinians, they were further strengthened by a battalion of Virginia Riflemen under Colonel Lynch; the remnant of the brave Delaware Line, about 80 men, commanded by the “meritorious and unrewarded” Captain Kirkwood; and by Lieutenant Colonel William Washington’s cavalry. The left flank was to be held safe by Virginia Riflemen under Colonel Campbell, and by Lee’s Legion.

Guilford was in a wilderness at that time, and the road to Salisbury was the only open way from the clearing and first line to the environs of the Court House. The forest of lofty oaks gave good protection to the second line, made up of Virginia militia, numbering 1,123 men, rank and file, and directed by Generals Stevens and Lawson. They were on a ridge about 300 yards in the rear of the advance line. General Stevens placed a few veterans back of his troops with orders to shoot down anyone quitting the ranks from cowardice.

More could naturally be expected of these Virginians than of

the North Carolina force, because some of the men, as well as most of the officers, had seen Continental service in the earlier part of the war. Some members of the North Carolina militia were pressed into service to prove that they were not loyalists. That some of them were disloyal as patriots is probable, but that a portion of the North Carolinians fought with ardor cannot be denied.

On the right of the highroad, near where it was joined by the one from Reedy Fork, and over 300 yards in the rear of the Virginians, the Continentals were drawn up, following the rather curved formation of the hill on which the Court House stood. It is more than half a mile from that point down to the foot of the hill, near where a small stream winds through a broken ravine. The enemy would have to fight the first two lines and climb that long hill before he could get at the Continentals; therefore, General Greene and his officers naturally expected that the British troops would spend a great deal of their force and be badly crippled by the time they reached the American regulars.

During the battle Greene kept with the Continentals. The right of this line comprised Brigadier General Huger’s Virginian brigade, his two regiments being commanded by Colonels Greene and Hewes. The left wing was commanded by Colonel Otho H. Williams, consisting of the Maryland Brigade, Colonel Gunby commanding the First, and Lieutenant Colonel Ford the Second Regiment. Between these wings were placed the other two pieces of artillery. On the left and in front of the Maryland Brigade there were some old fields and open space, while a deep ravine in front of the Virginian Brigade afforded them a natural advantage.

The aggregate strength of the American army was 4,404 men. It is not to be overlooked that the only veteran troops were the First Maryland Regiment, The Delawares, Lee’s Legion, and Washington’s Cavalry; far the greater portion of the army being raw troops on which a great deal could not be depended when charged by regulars. Not only did the militia lack experience under fire, but they were without bayonets. Greene had sent Lee and Campbell to skirmish. Quite early in the morning they had an encounter with light infantry and cavalry under Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton, which brought out the superiority of the horses used by the Americans. A front section of British cavalry met a shock from Lee, with the result that the dragoons, to a man, were dismounted and most of their horses knocked down. The small horses used by Tarleton were taken, in large part, from South Carolina plantations, while the much larger and stronger ones used by Lee came from Virginia and Pennsylvania. Tarleton hastily drew off his cavalry. His infantry fought with fine spirit; and when he was about to be supported by Cornwallis, who was advancing, the Americans withdrew, taking their places in the first line of battle.

When the van of the royal army appeared, Captain Singleton opened fire upon them with his two guns, The British artillery replied and, under cover of the smoke of their cannon, the King’s troops marched through a defile along the Salisbury road and deployed for the conflict. Trevelyan says: “No man alive could set a battle in array more artistically and impressively than Lord Cornwallis.” Here is what he did.

Fraser’s Highlanders—that is to say, the Seventy-first Foot and the German Regiment of Bose—composed his right wing under Major General Leslie, with the First Battalion of the Guards in reserve, Lieutenant Colonel Norton commanding. His

left wing was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Webster and comprised the Twenty-third and Thirty-third Foot, the latter being Cornwallis' own Regiment. The Grenadiers and Second Battalion of the Guards were in reserve behind Webster and commanded by Brigadier General O'Hara. The Royal artillery, under Lieutenant McLeod, like Singleton, occupied the road and exchanged fire with him. The Yagers and light infantry of the Guards kept to the left and rear of the artillery. Tarleton's cavalry was in column on the road in the rear. This entire British force did not much, if any, exceed 2,000 men.

As the splendid little army, with scarlet coats and shining bayonets, moved from their cramped position near the brook and began treading steadily toward the American first line, they were animated with all the enthusiasm that inspired the grand advance at Fontenoy. When in the open ground and while still about 140 yards from the North Carolinians, they received from that Militia a feeble volley. The British then, on then part, delivered a fire that did not take any effect; but, following it with the bayonet, a lively cheering, and a rush, they took away the wits of most of the militiamen, who, beginning a wild flight, threw aside everything that would impede them.

The mad action of those unhappy men has been the subject of much censure. George Washington Greene relates, in his *Life of the General*, that, as a tradition, it was told to him of Greene's riding along this first line after it had been formed for the action, and saying to the men: "Three rounds, my boys, and then you may fall back." He well knew that those practiced marksmen, with three rounds, could cause death and destruction in the British ranks. He and many more were bitterly disappointed by knowing that many of those men threw away their loaded guns, not even waiting to fire.

John Frost, in his History, attributes the cause of their panic to "The misconduct of a Colonel, who, on the advance of the enemy, called out to an officer at some distance, that he would be surrounded." Frost adds that "The alarm was sufficient," and continues in a praiseworthy way to condemn the Colonel. But in this age, when we reflect that the Colonel in question did not lose our Independence, his concern for his fellow officer provokes in the reader as much laughter as just anger.

The efforts of Butler, Eaton, and Colonel Davie, the Commissary-General, to rally them were futile. Lieutenant Colonel Lee threatened to cut them down with his cavalry, but all endeavor was of no avail. Lossing, quoting Dr. Caruthers, says, however, that many of the Highlanders fell before the Carolinians, who took post with Lee and Campbell on the left. They were of Eaton's command, and it is quite likely that most if not all of these men were also Scotch. Their part in the battle was brave and honorable, like that of Campbell's Riflemen and Lee's Legion. Those troops were out-flanked by the superior numbers of the enemy when the militia gave way. The Americans' left, consequently, fell slowly back, but not without giving the Germans and Highlanders a steady and galling fire. On the American right, Lynch, Kirkwood, and Washington gave great annoyance to the British onset. The King's troops followed the militia, making for the Virginians in the second line with the bayonet. Captain Singleton, according to previous orders, had safely retired up the road with his artillery to the second line.

It became expedient for Cornwallis to lengthen his line of battle: accordingly, Norton, with the First Battalion of the

Guards, moved to the extreme right to aid the Hessians and the Highlanders, while the light infantry of the Guards and the Yagers supported Cornwallis' Regiment, the Thirty-third, on the left. As for O'Hara's reserve, the Grenadiers and the Second Battalion of the Guards, they moved forward in the middle to drive in the second line of Americans. The British met a terrible fire from the Virginian militia under Stevens and Lawson; their ranks suffered greatly; the density of timber and under-growth in a great many places prevented or interfered with the use of the bayonet; besides, too, the unevenness of the ground hindered their advance. Their left kept steadily moving onward, led by the capable Webster against veteran Americans, whose policy in the action, however, was to fall back for a final stand with the Continentals, if the militia of the two advance lines gave away. The right of the American second line gave way before him; so Webster, proceeding with rapid attack, got out on the open space before the array of Continentals. There he was met by the First Maryland and the left of Brigadier General Huger's command, as well as by Kirkwood's men who took stand with the other regulars. After both sides had poured in deadly volleys, the First Maryland, under Gunby, seconded by Lieutenant Colonel John Eager Howard, advanced to the charge. They were tried and true, the heroes of the line at the Cowpens. At the point of the bayonet, they compelled Webster's command to cross the deep ravine in front of the Virginian regulars, and to retire to a hill as a place of safety.

In the meantime, the British in other parts of the field of battle had been fighting bravely, and assailing with great energy all the Americans that confronted them. Owing to the greater resistance on the left of the Virginian militia, as well as to the stubbornness of Lee and Campbell, who were now engaged in a separate encounter with the Hessians and the First Battalion of the Guards, to the extreme left of the American line, the King's troops were longer delayed on their right. Their artillery had kept pace with them, moving up the Salisbury road. Tarleton, as he afterwards wrote, thought that either army had an equal chance of victory. He sat uneasily in his saddle, as he always did, wishing to be in the battle; for his cavalry had advanced up the Great road to act as a reserve, or to be ready for a vital blow.

The British were hemmed in by the forest and were not in complete touch with each other; but, be it said greatly to their renown, they kept on charging the enemy wherever they saw him or heard the rattle of his musketry, ultimately gathering for a grand assault upon him. Cornwallis, mounted on his splendid horse, rode with the troops, receiving reports and giving orders. When his animal was shot under him, he used one belonging to a dragoon, not noticing in his busy thought that the saddle-bags had turned under the horse's belly and were catching in the brush, as he urged it on toward the enemy without realizing his danger of capture. Sergeant Lamb, who relates this incident, says that he turned the horse around for the General; and they retired to the edge of a wood, where his Lordship saw a bewildering sight.

He saw the outcome of the unsupported attack of O'Hara's command, the Grenadiers and Second Battalion of the Guards, on the Maryland Brigade. They had penetrated the forest along the highroad, dissipating the militia before them, and marching across the clearing, unnoticed by Colonel Williams of the Marylanders, "on account of an intervening clump of trees." They fell intrepidly upon Ford's Second Maryland and Singleton's two

guns, now with the third line, with the result that the raw troops, making up nearly the whole of Ford's Regiment, fled, losing the cannon. Their triumph was of a few minutes only, for Colonel Williams wheeled the First Maryland to the left upon these brave men. The Marylanders, like their antagonists, covered none the less with glory than with blood and smoke, charged, first under Colonel Gunby, who was quickly dismounted by the shooting of his horse, and then under the brave Howard; while, at the same time, Washington and his cavalry, hearing the heavy firing, clattered to the scene and crashed into the British ranks, badly breaking them, and cutting down men wherever they rode. Such handling could not be endured by the Guards, who for a time obstinately stood under Lieutenant Colonel Stewart against the bayonets of the Marylanders until further resistance was not possible. The field pieces were retaken, the ill-fated Stewart was killed in a hand-to-hand encounter with Captain Smith of the First Maryland, while the entire force was pushed back in irreparable disorder. The fighting was exceedingly fierce. "It was at this time," says Lossing, speaking of Washington's finishing stroke, "that Francisco, a brave Virginian, cut down 11 men in succession with his broad-sword. One of the Guards pinned Francisco's leg to his horse with a bayonet. Forbearing to strike, he assisted the assailant to draw his bayonet forth, when, with terrible force, he brought down his broadsword, and cleft the poor fellow's head to his shoulders. Horrible, indeed, were many of the events of that battle; the recital will do no good, and I will forbear." Another remarkable performance is accredited to Francisco in a subsequent action, related by John Fiske in the latest illustrated edition of his *American Revolution*.

John Marshall wrote that, about this time, Washington saw not far away an officer, surrounded by aides, whom he guessed to be Cornwallis. He flushed with the thought of taking him, which might have been possible had not an accident happened causing the retirement of his cavalry at that point of the action. Cornwallis knew that the danger was supreme. Indeed, there was grave risk that not only would he lose the day, which would destroy all respect for the Royal arms in North Carolina, but that his army would now be cut to pieces if he could not stay the tide of the struggle. McLeod took post with his guns on an eminence, actually the key to the field, but which Greene, because of the rawness of a large portion of his troops, dared not occupy. His Lordship ordered McLeod to open upon them—friend and foe alike. O'Hara, dangerously wounded, protested for his Guards. Cornwallis replied: "It is a necessary evil which we must endure to avert impending destruction." The grape-shot from the smoking artillery of McLeod strewed the open ground with more bodies of the Guards, though it checked Howard and Washington and saved the King's army. Greene, too, knew the day was being decided; and, about the time Cornwallis was riding into danger of being taken, was also nearly taken by the British because, lost in his plans and concern, he was equally as unmindful as his Lordship when Major Burnet apprized him of his peril. He had ridden out to get a nearer view of the conflict. He had not heard from Lee. He could plainly see, as he could have as easily foretold, that the few veterans were his only troops upon which he could depend. The ammunition was giving out. He would not risk his army to destruction. He had crippled his enemy, severely; and now the British were gathering around McLeod, as a nucleus, preparing for a desperate, concentrated assault on his

Continental.

The collection of the royal troops near the small hill on which McLeod's artillery was stationed came about in this way. The Virginian militia, being hard pressed on their centre and left after Webster had prevailed on their right, gave way altogether when General Stevens, a great, animating leader in their ranks, received a ball in his right thigh. Although they were slowly retreating, up to that time they had done so with their faces toward their foe. This left O'Hara free to send Stewart and the Guards against the Marylanders. Then, after the Guards were repulsed, O'Hara, notwithstanding his bad wound, rallied them to the Seventy-first and Twenty-third Regiments, which, in the meantime, had come up in the vicinity of McLeod's cannon. Webster, eagerly waiting for a favorable occasion to join the others or cooperate with them, marched down from his refuge on the height. The First Battalion of the Guards, leaving the Hessians to contend with Lee and Campbell, came through the woods on the right, completing a line of regulars against which Greene could not have relished to stand.

As for the hard fight that went on between the Hessians and the Americans in the woods to the right and rear of the British, it had begun to ease, for Lee had left with his cavalry, and Tarleton, luckily escaping him, charged the riflemen and militia until they withdrew into a dense part of the wood where his horse was no longer dreaded. Tarleton then returned to the neighborhood of the Court House, on the right of the newly formed line of Cornwallis. Lee and his cavalry, by a timely arrival at the scene of the main action, might have easily turned the day on the King's army; as it was they did not join Greene until the next morning.

Greene was thinking fast during the pause after the artillery play of McLeod, and decided to retreat, accordingly ordering Colonel Greene with his Virginia regiment to cover the rear. The Colonel with his men had been stationed to hold safe the right of the third line; and since they had not an opportunity to exhibit their courage, despite their Colonel's burning desires, he became irritated when he learned General Greene's order, for he claimed, they would have no hot fighting when retreating. He was dejected on the following day, and only his Chief's promise that his regiment would have the first fighting in the next battle consoled him.

The retreat began near 3:30 in the afternoon, the battle lasting an hour and a half by Cornwallis' watch. He, no doubt, timed the battle proper, for he does not seem to have included the opening cannonade. A rather feeble pursuit was begun by the Seventy-first and Twenty-third Regiments, and Tarleton's cavalry. They were the freshest of his Lordship's troops; but they soon returned for the orderly retreat of the Americans, as well, no doubt, as the uncertainty of Lee's whereabouts made the movement appear unpropitious to Earl Cornwallis. Since the horses were killed, Greene was obliged to leave his four field pieces and two ammunition wagons, like the honors of the field, behind him. Lossing says two of those pieces of artillery were taken from Burgoyne at Saratoga; lost by Gates at Camden; retaken by the Americans at the Cowpens; and lost again to the British on the field at Guilford. He states, too, that they were of the small variety called "Grasshoppers."

Greene's army retreated about ten miles to Speedwell's iron-works on Troublesome Creek. Cornwallis remained on the battle ground. He did everything possible for the wounded of both

sides, but destitute of tents and buildings was helpless to shelter the poor fellows. Some, however, were brought to nearby farm houses.

The list of the killed and wounded of the King's army at Guilford is on an historic tablet honoring immeasurably the bravery of the British and Hessian soldier. Historians, scanning the pages of English history, come upon no instance where British valor excels the courage displayed by the royal troops in the forest and openings on the well-earned hill in North Carolina.

The Earl's kind heart was deeply touched when he learned the losses he had suffered. Tarleton says: "One-third of the British army was killed or wounded." The actual report gives the loss as 544.

"The deeply loved Webster" was fatally wounded. Stewart was killed, as was Lieutenant O'Hara, brother to the General. The younger O'Hara fell by his cannon during the opening cannonade with Singleton. His brother was wounded, and also General Howard, a volunteer with the army. Among others were Tarleton, Talbot of the Thirty-third, Grant of the Seventy-first, and Maynard. Cornwallis did not mention that he, himself, was slightly wounded and had two horses killed under him. Leslie was the only general officer not wounded.

With the Americans, the deserving Major Anderson of the First Maryland was killed. General Huger was slightly and General Stevens severely wounded; while 77 others were killed.



## NORTH CAROLINA MILITARY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

# North Carolina's Role in the War of 1812

Saturday, 11 May 2013 – 10 a.m.

The annual symposium and general membership meeting of the North Carolina Military Historical Society is scheduled for Saturday, 11 May 2013, in the Long Leaf Pine Room of the North Carolina Museum of History, Raleigh. The symposium is free of charge to any who wish to attend and no prior registration is required unless you wish to reserve a \$5.00 sub-sandwich lunch. Meals will only be available for those who reserve one no later than Monday, 1 May, by emailing the Society at [ncmilhist-soc@yahoo.com](mailto:ncmilhist-soc@yahoo.com), or by calling the Society President at 910- 897-7968. Meals will be payable at registration.

The theme of this year's symposium is *North Carolina's Role in the War of 1812*. The meeting will last from 10 a.m. until 4 p.m. and will feature four outstanding speakers offering presentations on various aspects of our state's participation in our "Second War for Independence." Free parking is plentiful and adjacent to the museum.

Though North Carolina did not play as extensive a role in the war as some other states, her contribution was significant none the less. Jeff Bockert, East Region Supervisor for the North Carolina Division of State Historic Sites based in Kinston, will speak on the role of the state's militia as well as North Carolinians in the regular Army. Major Bruce Daws, Commander of the Fayetteville Independent Light Infantry, North Carolina's oldest militia organization, will discuss the martial activities of the FILI between 1812 and 1815. The war at sea will be covered by two well qualified speakers. Jim Greathouse, historian with the Fayetteville Area Transportation and Local History Museum,

One hundred and eighty-two were wounded, and about 1,050 missing, bringing the total to a little more than 1,300. Of course, the great portion of the missing was the militia, the members of that organization simply going off home.

As evening came over the battle field, the clouds began to gather. March's chill winds intensified the pains and distress of the wounded and dying soldiers lying beneath the bare oaks or in the clearings; then night, with darkness and heavy rain, increased the gloom, sadness, and extreme suffering. It is not always easy for one with an ardent and inflexible nature—such as Cornwallis happily possessed—to recognize a frustration of his designs. The facts were: his Lordship claimed the fame; though his actions conceded the gain of the battle to Greene. Notwithstanding that, his expressions in public, in a barren effort to allure the North Carolinians to his cause, and in his letter to Lord George Germaine, did not convey his weakness. Yet, confidentially, he wrote General Phillips, in part: "The fate of it was long doubtful. We had not a regiment or corps that did not at some time give way." In short, four days after the sanguinary contest, leaving many of his own wounded and all of the Americans under a flag, he began his retrograde march; while, seven months from that day, a war lasting that number of years practically ceased, and the liberty of the people of the United States of North America was conclusively wrought out, "in the trenches before Yorktown, in Virginia."

will outline Tar Heel coastal defense efforts, including the construction of the United States schooner *Alligator* (Gunboat #166); and Andrew Dupstadt, Assistant Curator of Education with the North Carolina Division of Historic Sites, will offer a presentation on the war at sea, including sailor life, the value of privateers such as Captain Otway Burns and the *Snap Dragon* and Captain Johnston Blakeley of the United States warship *Wasp*.

Living historians will be on hand displaying the uniforms, weapons and accoutrements of the War of 1812, and to discuss the life of the common soldier and tactics of the day.

Several potential lunch-time or post-symposium activities are available. Attendees may take a self-guided tour of the N.C. Museum of History's new Chronology exhibit and its permanent North Carolina military history gallery, "A Call to Arms," on the third floor. Adjacent to the museum is the N.C. Museum of Natural Science, and a block away is the State Archives of North Carolina for those interested in historical or genealogical research. North Carolina's 1840 Capitol Building stands just across the street from the Museum of History.

The Society will sponsor raffles throughout the day for donated items. Funds generated from the sale of raffle tickets help defray the cost of the symposium, publication of the Society's semi-annual magazine, *Recall*, and support the Society's own North Carolina Military History Museum at Kure Beach.

Donations for the raffle will be appreciated and may include books, magazines, prints, figures, uniforms, artifacts, and like items. If you have items to donate, they may be hand-carried to

## North Carolina Military Historical Society

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the meeting or mailed to the N.C. Military Historical Society, c/o Sion H. Harrington III, 503 South 11th Street, Erwin, NC 28339-2715. Questions regarding potential donation items may be directed to the Society via e-mail at [ncmilhistsoc@yahoo.com](mailto:ncmilhistsoc@yahoo.com), or

by calling 910-897-7968. A meeting of the Society's Board of Directors will follow the close of the symposium. The North Carolina Military Historical Society cordially invites you to learn about *North Carolina's Role in the War of 1812*.

## Speakers for the annual meeting of the Historical Society

**Jeff Bockert** currently serves as the East Region Supervisor for the North Carolina Division of State Historic Sites based in Kinston, NC. Jeff also currently serves on the N.C. Civil War Sesquicentennial Committee as well as the NC War of 1812 Bicentennial Committee. Jeff has worked in the historic site and museum field for almost 20 years. Prior to arriving in Kinston, he served as the Civil War Specialist for the NC Department of Cultural Resources. Jeff's previous work experience includes managing the President James K. Polk Birthplace, Associate Curator on the Battleship *North Carolina*, and work at the National Archives in Washington, DC. He has also worked as a college history instructor and is the author of several works on presidential and military history. He has been published in works such as *White House Studies* and *Public Historian*. Jeff received both his undergraduate degree in American History and his master's degree in European History from UNC-Wilmington.



**Andrew Dupstadt** is the Assistant Curator of Education for the North Carolina Division of State Historic Sites. He has a BA in history and an MA in public history from the University of North Carolina at Wilmington, where he served as Teaching Assistant to renowned Civil War historian Chris Fonvielle. Previously, he has worked at the *CSS Neuse* State Historic Site, Fort Fisher State Historic Site, Tryon Palace Historic Sites and Gardens, and the Carteret County Historical Society.



Andrew also serves as an Adjunct Instructor of History at UNC-Pembroke, Coastal Carolina Community College, and Craven Community College. He is a founding member and President of a living history group called the Carolina Living History Guild. Andrew currently lives in Kinston, NC.

**Jim Greathouse.** A Senior Museum Specialist with the Fayetteville Area Transportation and Local History Museum, New Orleans native Jim Greathouse is a 21-year veteran of the United States Air Force and graduate of Methodist University. He serves as the Historic



Properties Coordinator for the City of Fayetteville, NC. Jim helps oversee and is responsible for the historical content of exhibit panels and educational programming at two museums, the North Carolina Veterans' Park, and several historic buildings. He is a member of the North Carolina War of 1812 Bicentennial Committee and co-chairs the Living History sub-committee and sits on the Exhibits, Coastal Conference, and the Events and Programs sub-committees. An educator and historian, Jim is currently researching the history of the U.S. Schooner *Alligator*, a Jeffersonian gunboat that saw active service in both North and South Carolina waters during the War of 1812. He hopes to have the research published during the bicentennial. Married to Leisa Greathouse, the Curator of Education at the Museum of the Cape Fear, Jim has used their love of sailing and maritime history as a naval living historian and member of the Carolina Living History Guild where he educates the public on aspects of life at sea during the Age of Sail. He demonstrates the art of navigation to visitors at various programs around the state.



**Major Bruce J. Daws**, a former Covert Narcotics Agent in the United States Army and Technical Services Division Commander with the Fayetteville Police Department, Bruce is the Historic Properties Manager for the City of Fayetteville and serves as Curator of the Fayetteville Area Transportation and Local History Museum. Major Daws, as Bruce is better known, is a renowned local historian, tour guide, and former United States Army officer. He has served as commander of the Fayetteville Independent Light Infantry, a position of honor to which he has been continuously elected by the membership since 1984. In addition, he has served on various boards and commissions throughout his distinguished career.

The North Carolina Military Historical Society

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EDITOR'S TACK ROOM

By Richard M. Ripley

Again, thanks to some dedicated writers, we continue to have excellent stories for this Spring *Recall*. A few, like Bill Norton, continue to write excellent articles. Please don't stop writing. I



cannot express enough appreciation to those of you that take the time to write the stories. Also thank you, my good friend, World War II P-51 fighter Ace, Col. (Ret) Barrie Davis. For years Barrie and I have worked together in producing *Recall*. A great team of two old guys putting war stories together.

Roy Clarke, author of the Travis Flowers story, sent me a copy of a letter written by Retired First Sergeant Abe Abraham. Abe during World War II was a member of the 31st Infantry. He was captured, survived the Bataan Death March, and for the next two years was a POW at Cabanatuan POW Camp. Abe writes that he and Travis Flowers slept next to each other. They became close friends and went on many grave digging and farm details together. Amazing to me, Sergeant Abraham, after his liberation, remained in the Philippines for two and a half years to help locate and identify men who died during the Bataan Death March. He was a true example of his 31st Infantry Regiment's motto, "Pro Patria"—"For Country." Abe died 22 March 2012. He was 98. He is buried in Arlington National Cemetery.

The annual symposium and general membership meeting of the North Carolina Military Historical Society will be held on 11

May 2013 at the North Carolina Museum of History, Raleigh, NC. Please note the program and speakers on pages 22 and 23 of this *Recall*.

I recommend you consider membership in the Army Historical Foundation. The Foundation's mission is to build The National Museum of the U S Army, which will be located at Fort Belvoir, Virginia. Despite the fact that it is the nation's oldest branch of the Armed Forces, the Army is the only one without a National Museum. The Foundation's magazine, *On Point*, is an outstanding military history publication. Your membership contributes to building the Army Museum. You can find more by contacting the Army Historical Foundation, P.O. Box 96703, Washington, DC 20090-6703.

Photos, Interviews Sought to Document Tar Heel Military Experience

In 1998, the N.C. Division of Archives and History began Phase III of its effort to better document the state's 20th century military experience. Previous phases have focused on the period from 1900 through the end of the Korean War. Though still actively collecting and preserving items from this era, the Archives is seeking to honor North Carolina veterans who served North Carolina and the nation from 1954 through the present.

The Military History Collection Project also is engaged in an extensive oral history program. People around the state are encouraged to tape interviews with veterans of all time periods and services for deposit in the Military Collection of the State Archives. If you have items to share, please mail them to or contact: Ken Simpson, Coordinator, Military Collection Project, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 109 East Jones Street, Raleigh, N.C. 27601-2807; or call 919-807-7314.

Contribute Articles to Recall

Readers are invited to submit material to *Recall*. In choosing material for publication, the editor of *Recall* will give preference to articles of unusual significance and transcripts or abstracts of difficult-to-locate records.

Material submitted for publication will be reviewed by persons knowledgeable in the areas covered for validity, significance, and appropriateness. All material will be edited for clarity and conciseness. Manuscripts should be sent to the Editor, 4404 Leota Drive, Raleigh, N.C. 27603. Tel. 919-772-7688. E-mail: [ripley@nc.rr.com](mailto:ripley@nc.rr.com).

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