From Ship To Sarcophagus: The USS Arizona As A Navy War Memorial And Active Burial Ground / "A Date Which Will Live In Infamy": Community Engagement At Pearl Harbor National Memorial And Museum

Shannon L. Bremer

William & Mary - Arts & Sciences, sbremer2714@gmail.com

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.wm.edu/etd

Part of the American Studies Commons

Recommended Citation
https://doi.org/10.21220/1kj3-1j98
From Ship to Sarcophagus: The USS Arizona as a Navy War Memorial and Active Burial Ground/ “A Date Which Will Live in Infamy”: Community Engagement at World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument

Shannon Lee Bremer
Oakland, New Jersey

Bachelor of Arts, Historic Preservation, University of Mary Washington, 2019

A Thesis presented to the Graduate Faculty of The College of William & Mary in Candidacy for the Degree of Master of Arts

Department of American Studies

College of William & Mary
August 2021
This Thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Shannon Lee Bremer

Approved by the Committee July 2021

Committee Chair
Hannah Rosen, Director of Graduate Studies, American Studies; Associate Professor, History and
American Studies
College of William & Mary

Audrey Horning, Forest D. Murden Professor, Anthropology
College of William & Mary

Elizabeth Losh, Professor, English and American Studies
College of William & Mary

Simon Stow, Marshall Professor, Government and American Studies
College of William & Mary
ABSTRACT

From Ship to Sarcophagus: The USS Arizona as a Navy War Memorial and Active Burial Ground

On December 7, 1941, the Japanese government launched an aerial attack on Pearl Harbor on the island of Oahu, Hawaii. The attack destroyed several ships, including the USS Arizona. Today, a memorial straddles the wreck of the Arizona, paying homage to the 1,177 men that perished aboard the ship. In this paper, I will discuss the history of the attack on Pearl Harbor, the creation of the present memorial, and the interment ceremony that takes place there at the request of a USS Arizona survivor upon his death. Furthermore, I explain why the USS Arizona Memorial is unique when compared with other war memorials in the United States and across the world.

“A Date Which Will Live in Infamy”: Community Engagement at World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument

World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument is operated by the National Park Service (NPS) and includes the USS Arizona Memorial as well as several exhibits discussing the attack on Pearl Harbor and the repercussions of the attack. Presently, the exhibits depict life before the attack, the attack itself, and the results of the attack. In this essay, I will explain how the NPS has both succeed and failed in telling an inclusive and representative history of Pearl Harbor. I will also discuss why following guidance from the field of archaeology regarding community engagement is the best path for future development of the World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedication</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Figures</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introductory Statement</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Ship to Sarcophagus: The USS Arizona as a Navy War Memorial and Active Burial Ground</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figures</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“A Date Which Will Live in Infamy”: Community Engagement</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complete Bibliography</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my sincerest appreciation to Professor Hannah Rosen for her patience, guidance and criticism throughout this process. I would also like to acknowledge Professors Audrey Horning, Elizabeth Losh, and Simon Stow for also serving as members of my committee and providing feedback, criticism and guidance on this thesis. Thank you all for making my time at William & Mary a wonderful experience and for all of your hard work and help.

I would also like to acknowledge Daniel Martinez and Scott Pawlowski of the National Park Service. Without their knowledge and expertise, this paper would not be possible. I thank them both for taking the time out of their busy schedules to not only answer my phone calls and emails, but also to meet with me and give me a tour of World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument.

Lastly, I would like to acknowledge the people who pushed me the hardest and supported me through all of the smiles, tears, and everything in between. I would like to extend my sincerest gratitude to the following: to my cohort at William & Mary for always challenging me and encouraging me to question everything; to my parents, Sherilyn and Kevin, for always helping me achieve my dreams; to my sister, Allison, for being the best hype woman; to my grandmother, Joan, for always checking in on me and showing interest in my work; and finally, to my partner, Danielle, for loving me and being there for me regardless of the circumstances. A quick final note of appreciation for the dogs, Layla and Wren, for the endless cuddles throughout this process. All of you are the best support system a person could ask for and I thank you from the bottom of my heart.
This thesis is dedicated to everyone who has been there for me throughout this journey and supported me in never giving up my dream to attend and graduate from William & Mary, especially my Grandma Bobbie who was cheering me on from Heaven...
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Pearl Harbor Salvage Operations: USS Arizona, 1943</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Flags Fly on Each Grave and Along the Roads Leading through the National</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific (aka Punchbowl) to Mark Memorial Day, 1988</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Propaganda Poster Example, “Remember Pearl Harbor!”, 1941-1945</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>USS Arizona Memorial Beside a Memorialization Effort on the USS Bennington,</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1958</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Navy Club Memorial, Pearl Harbor, 2021</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>USS Arizona Memorial, Pearl Harbor, 2021</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Shrine Room Wall, USS Arizona Memorial, 2021</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Original Mockup of USS Arizona Memorial</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>National Park Service Divers During Interment Ceremony</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Naval Officer Carrying Remains of Raymond Haerry During His Interment</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ceremony</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Upper Deck Hatch of USS Arizona</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Preserved Naval Uniform Located in One of the Lower Decks Aboard the USS</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arizona as Seen in the Film, “Pearl Harbor: Inside the USS Arizona”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Map Showing Location of USS Arizona Memorial</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>USS Missouri and USS Arizona Memorial, 2021</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF FIGURES (CTN.)

15. Visitor Map of World War II Valor in the Pacific
   National Monument 68

16. Visitors Looking at Interpretive Signs, Pearl Harbor, 2021 69

17. Remembrance Circle, Pearl Harbor, 2021 70
Introductory Statement

When I was accepted into the MA program at William & Mary, I thought that I would conduct my research on the U.S. Civil War or slavery in antebellum Virginia. I have always been curious about the ways in which humans experience the tragedies and horrors of life such as unexpected death or war. After taking Professor Simon Stow’s class, “American Mourning, Memory, and Memorialization,” I realized a part of that human experience is memorializing tragedy in an effort to heal. Professor Stow’s class encouraged me to think about the ways in which memory and memorialization can both heal and create deeper wounds in society, something that I had never thought deeply about. I, like many others, had been to memorials across the United States and across the world. While I was there, however, I never truly thought about why I wanted to visit these places beyond the fact that it was something to see.

When deciding what to write for the class’s final paper on, my mind immediately shot to the USS Arizona Memorial. I had never been there, but I was eager to learn more about how the National Park Service managed the site. My historic preservationist brain wanted to know what was being done to manage the underwater cultural resource component of the memorial while my archaeologist brain wondered how the Park Service handled the presence of human remains. With all of these questions spinning around in my head, I dove into researching the memorial’s history, cultural resource management practices, and the interment ceremony performed there. That final paper turned into the first part of this thesis portfolio, which examines the USS Arizona Memorial as a military memorial with several unique features that make it stand out from any other military memorial.

The second paper was inspired by Professor Audrey Horning’s class, “Engaged Archaeology.” Archaeology was a large part of my undergraduate studies in Historic
Preservation and holds a very strong spot in my heart. I realized that the concept of engaged archaeology and guidance on working with the stakeholders of an archaeological site could be used in a museum setting as well. While the first paper focuses on the USS *Arizona* Memorial, the second paper looks at the World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument, of which the USS *Arizona* is one part, as a whole. In particular, it focuses on the stories and histories that are told in the park’s two museum exhibits and how the National Park Service succeeds and fails in engaging with all stakeholders who were affected by the attack on Pearl Harbor.
From Ship to Sarcophagus: The USS Arizona as a Navy War Memorial and Active Burial Ground

Introduction

When tourists travel to the island of Oahu, many visit Hawaii’s beautiful beaches and the island’s other natural resources. Others seek to experience what is advertised as Hawaiian and Polynesian culture in the form of luaus and surfing lessons. Regardless of their primary reason for visiting Hawaii, many make their way at some point or another to Pearl Harbor and the USS Arizona Memorial, which is a part of the World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument. Pearl Harbor and the USS Arizona Memorial, Hawaii’s number one tourist attraction, welcomes almost two million guests annually.1 Besides the obvious appeal of being located on a tropical island in the middle of the Pacific Ocean, the draw of Pearl Harbor and the USS Arizona Memorial appears to be different for each visitor.2 It is clear from my own visit to the USS Arizona Memorial and my observations there that the memorial provides a gateway to emotions ranging from pride and patriotism to sadness and anger, as people come in waves to bear witness to the extreme loss of life that occurred on December 7, 1941.

The USS Arizona Memorial Visitor Experience

As visitors arrive at the World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument Visitor Center, they are greeted by National Park Service (NPS) rangers and instructed to drop off any bags that are not transparent at a bag check stand. Because the USS Arizona is a military memorial and there are shuttles to museums on the neighboring Ford’s Island, which is still an

---

active military base, safety precautions are taken by the NPS. The main attraction, so to speak, is the USS Arizona Memorial itself. Ticketing to the memorial is provided on a first-come-first-serve basis. Visitors must either reserve the tickets online three days before their visit or arrive at 7 A.M. when the park opens to visitors in order to wait on a stand-by line.

Once the visitor makes their way to the front of the stand-by queue, Park Service rangers provide a brief introduction to the USS Arizona Memorial and the behaviors that are expected of visitors once they arrive at the memorial since they will be visiting the final resting place of 1,177 servicemen. Pre-COVID-19, visitors would then be ushered into the theater complex where they would be shown an introductory film on the history of Pearl Harbor and the December 7, 1941 attack. Since COVID-19 has restricted the number of people allowed inside a confined space, the introductory film is not presently being shown before the tour; however, visitors can still view it in an outdoor pavilion space behind the ticket booth and audio tour headset pick-up station.

Visitors are then led by Park Service rangers to a Navy-operated boat that takes visitors out to the USS Arizona Memorial. The memorial straddles the physical remains of the USS Arizona which still sits in the location where it was moored and eventually sank on December 7, 1941. Appearing like a small, white island, the memorial is only accessible by boat. The Navy seamen operating the boat review the same information that was given to visitors by the Park Service ranger when they arrived at the front of the stand-by queue. Upon the boat’s arrival, visitors have approximately 30 minutes to explore the memorial which is comprised of several interpretive signs, commemorative plaques, a remembrance wall, and viewing portals where visitors can see the sunken remains of the USS Arizona itself. I argue in this essay that the

---

3 Nelson, Pearl Harbor: From Infamy to Greatness.
presence of the USS Arizona’s sunken remains is a defining aspect of the memorial and creates a
unique experience for visitors.

Summary of Essay and Research

The first section of this essay describes the history of Pearl Harbor and the events that transpired there on December 7, 1941. The next two sections are dedicated to the creation of the memorial that straddles the USS Arizona wreckage as well as the memorial ceremonies that have occurred there since its opening. The main ceremony that I examine is the interment process for USS Arizona survivors who wish to have their ashes interred on the ship upon their death. The fourth section covers the condition and structural integrity of the USS Arizona as well as the memorial itself as it sits in situ today according to the most recent cultural resource management reports published by the National Park Service (NPS). It is important to discuss the present status and structural concerns with the memorial in order to establish the USS Arizona’s importance at the memorial. Without the ship’s partially submerged remains, I argue that a memorial to the servicemen who died during the attack on Pearl Harbor would not be as effective as it presently is.

The fifth section of this essay offers an in-depth analysis of what makes the USS Arizona Memorial stand apart from other war memorials. Using observations from my personal visit as well as archival sources, meetings with NPS staff, and works prepared by Pacific Historic Parks, I will show the unique partnership that exists between the U.S. Navy and the National Park Service. Unlike other war memorials, such as the Vietnam Memorial Wall in Washington D.C. or the monuments on the battlefields of Gettysburg, the USS Arizona Memorial displays for visitors the immense damage and loss of life through a witness object that was present and
sunken during the attack on Pearl Harbor. I will also discuss how the presence of human remains, both those that were trapped within the ship upon its demise and those who have been interred since, and the Arizona’s role as an active underwater cemetery provide a level of sanctity that not many war memorials carry. As historian Geoffrey White has written, instead of serving as a tool “for forging national subjectivities, linking individual sentiments to larger historical imaginaries,” the USS *Arizona* Memorial “speaks silently but eloquently of the distance yet to be traveled before the world lives in peace.”

White is one of a handful of scholars who have examined the USS *Arizona* Memorial and American efforts to commemorate the attack on Pearl Harbor generally and one whose work I draw on in this essay. Both White and Craig Nelson are historians whose works examine the history of the attack on Pearl Harbor. Both scholars also explore memorialization efforts and practices that have been or are presently occurring at the USS *Arizona* Memorial. Edward Linenthal, a public historian and memory scholar, offers further insight into the function of memorials as spaces of public history as well as the memory they can invoke. Emily Rosenberg is also a memory scholar whose research is dedicated to the role of Pearl Harbor and the 1941 attack in American memory as a whole. Lastly, I draw on the work of Michael Slackman quite often in reference to the creation and operation of the USS *Arizona* Memorial itself. Slackman was the Pearl Harbor historian prior to Daniel Martinez, the current historian with whom I

---

corresponded throughout my research. Slackman wrote his book, *Remembering Pearl Harbor: The Story of the USS Arizona Memorial* in order to provide readers with an in-depth history of the creation of USS *Arizona* Memorial. I use the works of these scholars to build my own conclusions about the USS *Arizona* Memorial and its status as an unique military memorial.

“A Date Which Will Live in Infamy”

December 7, 1941 began as any normal Sunday for sailors aboard the USS *Arizona*. According to survivors, the crew awoke for breakfast and to begin their weekend duties of sweeping and cleaning the decks. This day, however, would turn out to be no ordinary Sunday. Positioned thousands of miles away from Hawaii on their own aircraft carrier, Japanese pilots loaded into their planes, preparing for an attack on the United States Naval and Air fleets. December 7 would become the day that thrust the United States into World War II beginning with a Japanese air attack on U.S. forces in Pearl Harbor.

At 7:55 a.m., the first wave of Japanese aircraft began attacking U.S. battleships and aircrafts with bombs and torpedoes. By 8:45 a.m., most of the U.S. air power had been destroyed along with main battle line of the Pacific fleet. The attack itself is often remembered in the United States as a surprise attack, and to those in Pearl Harbor that day, it was a surprise. However, internal government investigations in the years following the attack suggest that U.S.

---

8 “Submerged Cultural Resources Study: USS Arizona Memorial and Pearl Harbor National Historic Landmark,” Submerged Cultural Resources Study, Southwest Cultural Resources Center Professional Papers (Santa Fe, NM, 1989), 16.
government and military officials had some knowledge that Japan was planning an attack on the United States. The Navy apparently had intelligence of a Japanese submarine being discovered and captured not far from Oahu in the early hours of December 7, but did not disseminate that information to any other military branch or to the President. Similarly, the Army was aware of a large blip of planes appearing on their radar systems; however, those aware of this assumed they were only seeing U.S. pilots arriving from California. Because of these mistakes and miscommunications between government officials and the leaders of the military branches, U.S. forces in Pearl Harbor suffered an immense loss of life and infrastructure in a seemingly unexpected attack on the Pacific Fleet and air fields of Pearl Harbor.  

Of the 2,403 service men who were killed, 1,177 belonged to the crew of the USS Arizona. This ship was at the center of the maelstrom and deemed a total loss by the afternoon of the 7th. An explosion caused by a combination of the attacks, the Arizona’s own ammunitions and fuel created a massive crack in its hull, rendering the ship unsalvageable. The massive explosion caused the superstructure of the Arizona to burn for nearly two days with temperatures reaching up to 8000 degrees Fahrenheit.  

In the days and weeks following the attack, the U.S. Navy conducted salvage missions in order to assess what could be saved as well as to recover any human remains from the damaged ships (Figure 1). It was determined that some of the guns and turrets from the Arizona, Utah, and

---

10 Nelson, Pearl Harbor: From Infamy to Greatness.
11 Nelson. The 1,177 men killed on the USS Arizona, included 23 sets of brothers illustrating that many families lost more than one family member during the attacks of December 7.
13 “Submerged Cultural Resources Study: USS Arizona Memorial and Pearl Harbor National Historic Landmark.” 34.
14 Madsen, Resurrection: Salvaging the Battle Fleet at Pearl Harbor.
Oklahoma could be salvaged for use on other ships, but other than that, the ships were damaged beyond repair.\textsuperscript{15} There were initial attempts to remove some of the human remains from the USS Arizona. It was soon realized, though, that the damage to the Arizona was so extensive that the 1,177 men who perished on the ship could not be removed.\textsuperscript{16} Many of the remains were either incinerated during the explosion or trapped below deck where divers were unable to access them safely. It was therefore determined that it would be best to leave the remains where they were. In the span of a few hours, the Arizona went from being an intimidating battleship to an iron-clad sarcophagus housing the remains of the crew that perished inside during the attack on Pearl Harbor.

The Process of Healing: From Beginnings of Memorialization to the Creation of a Memorial

It did not take long for Navy officials and other servicemen to begin memorial efforts after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Immediately after the attacks, those whose bodies were recovered were laid to rest at the presently named National Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific (Figure 2). The cemetery itself was created for the purpose of not only burying servicemen who were killed in the attack on Pearl Harbor, but also those who were killed in action in the Pacific Theater.\textsuperscript{17} Commonly referred to as the Punchbowl, the National Memorial Cemetery of the

\textsuperscript{15} “Submerged Cultural Resources Study: USS Arizona Memorial and Pearl Harbor National Historic Landmark.” 34.
\textsuperscript{16} Madsen, \textit{Resurrection: Salvaging the Battle Fleet at Pearl Harbor}.
\textsuperscript{17} John Ford, \textit{December 7th: The Movie}, Documentary (US Navy, 1943).
Pacific became the final resting place for many of the men and women killed during the attack on Pearl Harbor.  

In 1942, director John Ford was chosen by the U.S. Navy to produce a propaganda and memorial film about the attack. The result, “December 7th: The Movie,” included video footage of the memorial services at the Punchbowl. It also served as a memorialization attempt in its own right by honoring those who died on that day. In the film, actors portraying ghosts of deceased servicemen told their Pearl Harbor story and spoke of the families they left behind. However, according to a 1991 article in the *Los Angeles Times*, covering the showing of the film at Saddleback College as part of a larger series called “The Road to War,” the U.S. Navy never released the full-length film to the public. Admiral Harold Stark, the chief of naval operations in 1942, stated at the time of the film’s release that the “picture leaves the distinct impression that the Navy was not on the job, and this is not true.” Because Navy leaders objected to this portrayal, the original 85-minute film was cut down to a 20-minute film showing only battle scenes and clips that invoked patriotic sentiment and military strength. The full film was not

---

18 Ford. The name Punchbowl comes from the location of the cemetery. It is located in the center of an inactive volcanic crater which makes it appear as if the cemetery is sitting inside of a giant bowl.  
20 Ford, *December 7th: The Movie*.  
21 Smith.  
22 Smith, “War Film a Morale Dilemma: Movies: ‘December 7th’ Was Deemed a Propaganda Failure and Shelved. It Screens Tonight at Saddleback College to Open ‘The Road to War’ Series.”  
23 Smith.  
24 Smith.
released to the public for many years, dimming the full impact Ford had intended his memorial to have.

Within months of the attacks, manufacturers of all sorts of goods began selling memorabilia such as recruitment posters and children’s tin banks, all with the phrase “Remember December 7th” or “Remember Pearl Harbor” written across the front (Figure 3). These commemorative objects were displayed and sold in shops across the United States, revealing what scholar Marita Sturken has described as “the complex relationship of mourning and consumerism and the economic networks that emerge around historical events, including events of trauma.”

These kitsch items served as both a memorial technique and propaganda in order to build support for the war effort. The song, “Remember Pearl Harbor,” became an anthem to men departing for the war fronts, especially in the Pacific, serving as both a war-cry and a small tribute to fallen servicemen.

Within days of the attacks, a flag was placed at the wreck of the USS Arizona, symbolizing its service to the U.S. Navy and paying homage to the fallen crew within its hull. A ritual of laying wreaths and flowers upon the wreckage of the Arizona was common as well in the weeks and months following the attack. For many years, this was the only memorial practice enacted at the physical wreck of the USS Arizona because the United States was still actively involved in World War II until September 1945. In the midst of war, government resources had

---

25 Sturken, 4.
27 Rosenberg, A Date Which Will Live: Pearl Harbor in American Memory.
28 Personal Meeting with Dan Martinez and Scott Pawlowski on site at the USS Arizona Memorial Visitor Center.
to be applied to higher priority projects, therefore the funds needed for a proper memorial were unavailable.\textsuperscript{29}

The first proposals for the construction of an official memorial at the site of the USS *Arizona* began in the late 1940s. Beginning shortly after the end of World War II, Honolulu business man and retired World War II naval officer, H. Tucker Gratz, would make an annual pilgrimage on December 7 to the wreck of the USS *Arizona* where he would place a flower lei in commemoration of the attack on Pearl Harbor.\textsuperscript{30} Upon his visit in 1946, he discovered that his lei still remained at the wreck site, wilted and alone, as there had been no other visitors.\textsuperscript{31} Appalled by the lack of attention being paid to the fallen servicemen of the USS *Arizona*, Gratz proposed that an official memorial be created in order to honor the men of the USS *Arizona*.\textsuperscript{32} The *Arizona* was chosen in particular from the two other sunken ships in Pearl Harbor because of its size and also because the loss of life on the ship touched the entire United States. According to Dan Martinez, every state had at least one casualty aboard the USS *Arizona*, making the impact of the ship’s destruction that much larger compared to the smaller ships that were not as heavily damaged.\textsuperscript{33}

In 1949, the Pacific War Memorial Commission (PWMC) was established by a legislative act.\textsuperscript{34} Gratz was appointed as the head chairman of the PWMC.\textsuperscript{35} In 1950, a simple

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{29}] Slackman, *Remembering Pearl Harbor: The Story of the USS Arizona Memorial*.
\item[\textsuperscript{30}] Slackman. While it is stated that Gratz was stationed at Pearl Harbor during his military career, it is unclear whether or not he was present during the attack on December 7.
\item[\textsuperscript{31}] Slackman.
\item[\textsuperscript{32}] Nelson, *Pearl Harbor: From Infamy to Greatness*, 415-416.
\item[\textsuperscript{33}] Personal Meeting with Dan Martinez and Scott Pawlowski on site at the USS *Arizona* Memorial Visitor Center.
\item[\textsuperscript{34}] State of Hawaii, “Act 288, S.L.” (1949).
\item[\textsuperscript{35}] “Meeting Minutes of the Pacific War Memorial Commission,” January 1950, Box 1, Hawaii State Archives.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
flagstaff and plaque were added at the site by the U.S. Navy, followed by the gradual addition of a platform, plaque, and obelisk (Figure 4). In 1955, the Navy Club erected their own memorial dedicated to all servicemen who lost their lives during the attack on Pearl Harbor on the adjacent Ford’s Island. It consisted of “a ten-foot-high basalt stone with a plaque dedicated to the memory of American servicemen killed in the December 7, 1941 attack. It was the first permanent memorial at Pearl Harbor” (Figure 5).

Efforts organized by the PWMC to raise funds for the memorial consisted of flower sales, individual donations from the families of survivors and victims, and two large scale fundraising efforts in the form of a television fundraiser and a concert. Letters written by Gratz indicate that the flower sale was not a particularly profitable form of fundraising. In the Hawaii State Archives file on the PWMC, there are at least 50 letters that accompanied individual donations from families of survivors and victims as well as survivors themselves. Within the letters, people often mentioned their relationship to the USS Arizona and the names of family members that survived the attack or those that were killed. All of the letters carried the same sentiment; the donors all expressed that they were proud to donate to the memorial fund in honor of the fallen servicemen and thanked Gratz for being the person to finally step up and organize a worthy memorial. The two wide-scale fundraisers, the television show and the benefit concert, were the largest sources of private funding for the USS Arizona Memorial. The reality-documentary series, This is Your Life, raised $95,000 for the memorial, following the appearance

36 Slackman, Remembering Pearl Harbor: The Story of the USS Arizona Memorial, 30.
37 Slackman, 31.
38 Tucker Gratz, “Flower Fundraising,” Pacific War Memorial Commission Box 5, Hawaii State Archives.
40 “Letters from Family Members and Survivors.”
41 “Letters from Family Members and Survivors.”
of USS *Arizona* survivor Rear Admiral Samuel G. Fuqua on the show. In January 1961, it was announced that Elvis Presley, who was a veteran himself, was organizing a benefit concert to raise funds for the memorial. His concert raised a total of $64,000 and is the most well-known of the fundraising efforts.

After another three years of fundraising and government committee proceedings in Washington D.C., President Dwight Eisenhower approved the construction of an official memorial in 1958. According to archival records, the memorial took a total of twelve years to be approved because Congress had to approve the funding and designs as well as make provisions to allow non-military visitors access to the memorial since it would be built in an actively used military harbor. The *USS Arizona* Memorial was officially dedicated on Memorial Day 1962 by its main supporters, Tucker Gratz and the Pacific War Memorial Commission.

The *USS Arizona* Memorial is a 180 feet long concrete structure that straddles the width of the *Arizona* (Figures 6, 7, 8). Its designer, Alfred Preis, described his creation in the following words:

> [it] sags in the middle but stands strong and vigorous at the ends, express[ing] initial defeat and ultimate victory… The overall effect is one of serenity. Overtones of sadness have been omitted to permit the individual to contemplate his own personal responses…his innermost feelings. At low tide, as the sun shines

---

42 Slackman, *Remembering Pearl Harbor: The Story of the USS Arizona Memorial.*  
44 Slackman, *Remembering Pearl Harbor: The Story of the USS Arizona Memorial.*  
45 “Pacific War Memorial Commission Files.” The entire file on the Pacific War Memorial Commission contains upwards of 100 documents and letters related to the Congressional hearings and procedures that were required to approve the construction of a memorial at the site of the USS *Arizona.*  
46 Nelson, 416.  
47 Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields.*
upon the hull, barnacles which encrust it shimmer like gold jewels… a beautiful sarcophagus.\textsuperscript{48}

Pries felt that the wreck of the USS \textit{Arizona} was the central feature of the memorial. He wanted to make it the centerpiece of the visitor experience at the memorial instead of forcing pre-determined emotions and feelings upon visitors, something he believed other war memorials did.\textsuperscript{49} Pries believed his design was simple, yet elegant, and similar to the design of a mausoleum, providing a respectful final resting place for the deceased servicemen entombed in the \textit{Arizona}.\textsuperscript{50}

In order to enter the USS \textit{Arizona} Memorial, visitors must first board a boat, driven by active-duty Navy members. Upon their arrival at the Memorial, visitors are greeted by the presence of the \textit{Arizona}’s bell followed by a long pathway with several interpretive signs with information about the ship itself lining the middle. Before reaching what is referred to as the shrine room, there is an opening where visitors can peer down onto the wreck of the \textit{Arizona}. At the opposite end of the entrance, a white marble wall engraved with the names of the fallen \textit{Arizona} crew is bookended by two marble planters engraved with the names of the men who have since been interred on the \textit{Arizona} following their deaths.\textsuperscript{51}

Today, Pearl Harbor functions as a physical reminder of the destruction of war as well as a sanctified final resting place. While the memorial was purposely made to appear plain and simple in order to avoid provoking specific emotions, visitors, nonetheless, tend to feel a sense of pride, honor, sacrifice, sadness, along with a myriad of other emotions upon their visit to the

\textsuperscript{48} Nelson, 416.
\textsuperscript{49} Nelson.
\textsuperscript{50} Nelson.
\textsuperscript{51} Linenthal, \textit{Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields}. 
USS Arizona.\textsuperscript{52} This is not because of the memorial structure itself, but because of the context and content of the memorial. Visitor surveys conducted by the National Park Service have provided scholars with documentation of the emotional impact of the USS Arizona Memorial. For instance, Marjorie Kelly’s review of visitor surveys in 1996 revealed that most visitors were “emotionally moved by the site” and felt sadness and reverence.\textsuperscript{55} Another anthropological survey done by Emma Waterton listed emotions such as humbled, sad, solemn, proud, in awe, heartbroken, and tearful as being experienced by visitors to the USS Arizona Memorial who were willing to participate in her own personal survey.\textsuperscript{56} In her research on the USS Arizona Memorial, memory scholar Yujin Yaguchi determined from NPS surveys that Japanese visitors associate the memorial with peace making and remorse.\textsuperscript{57} The descriptions of the attack on Pearl Harbor, in particular, made many Japanese visitors feel “intensely ‘embarrassed,’ ‘sorry,’ and ‘responsible’ for what happened.”\textsuperscript{58}

The NPS surveys used by Yaguchi and Kelly are no longer available and so I cannot examine them in detail myself nor has the Park Service conducted similar surveys since their research in 2007. However, visitor reviews from the past five or so years on more accessible online platforms such as Google or TripAdvisor reveal emotions such as sadness, reverence,

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{55} Marjorie Kelly, “Enshrining History: The Visitor Experience at Pearl Harbor’s USS Arizona Memorial,” \textit{Museum Anthropology} 20, no. 3 (December 1996): 45–57.
\item \textsuperscript{58} Yaguchi, 243.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
pride, and honor to be common reactions of visitors of all ethnicities and nationalities. The wide range of felt and experienced emotion reveals that the cultural landscape works in unison with the wreck of the USS Arizona and its entombed crew to create a sanctified space memorializing and honoring those who have found their final resting place on the Arizona.

An Honor Reserved for Few: The Interment Ceremony

There are a variety of different ceremonies held aboard the USS Arizona Memorial. The most well-known of the ceremonies is the annual remembrance ceremony that occurs on December 7 every year. This is generally separate from the interment ceremony; however, there have been instances when an Arizona crew member was interred at the annual remembrance ceremony. The USS Arizona is one of the only war memorials where survivors of the battle, or in this case, the attack, are allowed to be interred at the memorial following their death and cremation. Those being interred have their ashes placed within barbette number 4 by NPS divers. The first interment on the USS Arizona occurred in 1982 after survivor Stanley Teslow asked the NPS and Navy if he could be interred in the Arizona upon his death.

The process of interment is lengthy and has specific requirements that must be met. It involves several months of planning and organization before the actual interment can take place. Those wishing to have their ashes interred must meet requirements set forth by the U.S. Navy as well the USS Arizona Memorial. According to Daniel Martinez, historian for the USS

59 “Google and Trip Advisor Reviews of World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument.” This is a general conclusion based on dozens of reviews left by visitors to the USS Arizona Memorial.
60 Daniel Martinez, Personal Conversation, Phone Call, February 18, 2021.
Arizona Memorial, in order to qualify for interment, the veteran in question must have been stationed on or assigned to the Arizona on December 7, 1941 and must have been present during the attack on Pearl Harbor.\textsuperscript{63} Once an approved veteran decides they would like to be interred, they must also agree to be cremated and brought back to the USS Arizona for the interment ceremony. Not all Arizona survivors have chosen to be interred, however. While it is unclear how many have declined interment, it is certain that 44 servicemen have joined their brothers in arms aboard the Arizona upon their death.\textsuperscript{64}

The interment ceremony itself is an awe-inspiring event. As mentioned, there are only a few men actually eligible for interment, making the ceremony a rare occurrence. In 2017, the World War II Foundation was permitted to film the process of interment of Raymond Haerry, a naval officer aboard the USS Arizona during the attack on Pearl Harbor.\textsuperscript{65} The subsequent documentary details the entire interment ceremony from planning to the physical interment. The ceremony itself is comprised of a committal service, the flag and plaque presentation, and ends with the interment accompanied by rifle salute and the playing of Taps (Figure 9, 10).\textsuperscript{66} The ceremony itself is a full military funeral with high honors, something that Dan Martinez and Scott Pawlowski have described as a particularly moving and emotion-filled event.\textsuperscript{67} The actual interment is completed by both NPS and Navy divers. According to footage from the interment of Raymond Haerry, the divers retrieve the sealed box containing the remains from a representative family member on the dock to the memorial.\textsuperscript{68} Before the divers submerge into the

\textsuperscript{63} Daniel Martinez, Personal Conversation.
\textsuperscript{64} Daniel Martinez.
\textsuperscript{65} Gray, Journey Home to the USS Arizona.
\textsuperscript{66} Gray.
\textsuperscript{67} Personal Meeting with Dan Martinez and Scott Pawlowski on site at the USS Arizona Memorial Visitor Center.
\textsuperscript{68} Gray, Journey Home to the USS Arizona.
water, a twenty-one-gun salute is given. While the divers then take the remains and place them into barbette number 4, Taps is played to mark the remains indefinite placement into the final resting place.

The process of interment has hit a critical crossroads in the past several years. Because the number of World War II veterans and Pearl Harbor survivors has dwindled down to only a handful of people still alive who were aboard the USS Arizona on December 7, 1941, the memorial is facing the end of its career as an active burial site. As of 2021, there are only two Arizona survivors alive, both in their late nineties or early 100s. Neither of the two remaining survivors, as of present, wish to be interred on the Arizona upon their deaths. The National Park Service believed that the final interment on the USS Arizona was that of Lauren Bruner in 2019. However, Scott Pawlowski who is currently in charge of the dive operations for the interments, anticipates a final interment will occur on December 7, 2021, the 80th anniversary of the attack on Pearl Harbor. In our correspondence, Pawlowski mentioned that an unnamed survivor wished to be interred, but the family had not contacted the Park Service to set up the interment until recently. With the outbreak of COVID-19, there was no viable way for the

69 Gray.
70 Gray.
72 Daniel Martinez, Personal Conversation.
73 Scott Pawlowski, Personal Correspondence, Email, April 2021.
74 Pawlowski.
remains to be interred. Until they can be interred, the remains have been in the care of the USS Arizona survivor’s family.

Up until the past ten years or so, Pearl Harbor survivors and, in particular, USS Arizona survivors, have played an active role at the memorial and in the interment proceedings. They have served as assistants in the interment and as interpreters at the memorial and visitor center. The USS Arizona Memorial has entered a unique transition phase, shifting from an active burial site to a consecrated memorial site. This shift places the USS Arizona Memorial in a category with other places like the Alamo, Little Bighorn, and Ground Zero, where the remains and partial remains of those who’ve perished are still present but the site is not an active cemetery.

The USS Arizona Today and the Importance of Preservation Practices

The USS Arizona is still physically present in Pearl Harbor and sits below the USS Arizona Memorial. Today, the wreck of the USS Arizona is owned by the U.S. Navy, but monitored by the NPS. It is the NPS’s job to monitor and perform any cultural resource surveys and analysis on the site; however, the NPS must have prior approval from the Navy. A cultural resource survey and analysis is an account of tangible remains of past human activity or significant cultural objects and their present condition. These surveys and analyses are crucial in ensuring that the remains of the Arizona are preserved as much as possible for future generations. Since the completion of the first report and survey in 1989, the NPS has complete three more.

---

75 Daniel Martinez, Personal Conversation.
77 “Submerged Cultural Resources Study: USS Arizona Memorial and Pearl Harbor National Historic Landmark.”
The most recent was completed in 2008. In 2016, however, a documentary film titled “Pearl Harbor: Inside the USS Arizona,” included footage of more recent explorations and mapping endeavors, offering an additional record of the condition of the ship itself (Figures 11 and 12).79

One of the biggest obstacles facing the survival of the USS Arizona as well as the physical memorial is the fact that it is a submerged cultural resource.84 The added element of constantly sitting in salt water can cause the ship to break down at a faster rate.85 The constant exposure to the water has also caused deterioration of the physical structure of the memorial as well. The NPS recognized this obstacle early on, and adjusted accordingly by creating a Submerged Cultural Resource Management plan and updating it every few years.86 These management plans determine what steps should be taken to preserve the ship and are crucial to the survival of the Arizona and its crew as objects of national ritual remembrance.

Based on routine dive surveys, the NPS has determined that in its present condition, the USS Arizona is stable with minimal areas of significant corrosion and deterioration.87 The bio-growth that has been developing on the wreck has allowed for preservation of the original ship

79 Oblaender, Pearl Harbor: Inside the USS Arizona.
84 “Submerged Cultural Resources Study: USS Arizona Memorial and Pearl Harbor National Historic Landmark.”
86 “Submerged Cultural Resources Study: USS Arizona Memorial and Pearl Harbor National Historic Landmark.”
87 Personal Meeting with Dan Martinez and Scott Pawlowski on site at the USS Arizona Memorial Visitor Center.

21
materials. The lack of oxygen in the lower levels of the ship have allowed for the preservation of organic materials such as uniforms and cloth as well as the ship itself. The current plan of the NPS is to leave the *Arizona* in situ without any major interventions. Because the structure is relatively stable, there is currently no reason to disturb the wreck. Fortunately, the physical location of the wreck also helps to preserve its current state (Figure 13). Pearl Harbor is still an active military base, but there is minimal boat activity in the area in the form of tour boats taking visitors to the memorial. The physical location of the ship is also protected by Ford’s Island from any damaging storms, winds, or waves. The stable, in situ condition of the *Arizona* permits it to be recorded as a National Historic Landmark. All in all, the *Arizona* is anticipated to remain stable and present at Pearl Harbor for the foreseeable future.

Because of the sanctity of the *Arizona* due to its status as a memorial and final resting place of military members, it is in the best interest that the wreck remain undisturbed, unless it is absolutely necessary. Moving forward, however, if anything were to happen that would cause extreme damages to the *Arizona*, there are already procedures in place to provide the best preservation efforts possible. It is important that future preservation remain a top priority for the *Arizona*. If nothing is done, it will lose its significance in the present landscape as a sacred burial and interment site.

---

90 Daniel Martinez, Personal Conversation.  
91 “Submerged Cultural Resources Study: USS Arizona Memorial and Pearl Harbor National Historic Landmark.”  
92 “Submerged Cultural Resources Study: USS Arizona Memorial and Pearl Harbor National Historic Landmark.”  
While the *Arizona* itself may be in a stable condition, the physical memorial is in need of repairs. According to Michael Slackman, who previously worked for NPS and the *Arizona* Memorial Museum Association, there are some minor structural issues to the memorial that will need to be addressed in coming years. In his book, *Remembering Pearl Harbor: The Story of the USS Arizona Memorial*, written in 2012, Slackman writes:

Weather exposure and saltwater spray have caused deterioration, corrosion and rust, and various fixtures need to be replaced, including the skylight domes, roof hatches, and railings. In addition, the Shrine Room wall, which lists the names of the marines and sailors who died in the attack, is stained, rusted, chipped, and contains misspellings and erroneous ranks. The wall needs to be removed and replaced, the floor beneath it needs to be repaired, and the names researched and verified.  

From my observations on my own visit to the USS *Arizona* Memorial, it does appear that many of these updates have been completed. The most recent cultural resource plans set forth a preservation plan for the USS *Arizona*, but not for the memorial. There were, however, snorkeling endeavors and dives completed prior to the outbreak of COVID-19 that focused on the memorial’s submerged structure.  

The USS *Arizona* Memorial is in dire need of repair and should become the primary focus of any new cultural resource plan. Since the wreck of the USS *Arizona* is stable and being monitored on a consistent basis, it is time for priority to be placed upon the physical structure of the memorial. If it does not become the primary focus, it will lead to further deteriorations and closures of the memorial if it is not able to support such a large number of visitors.

---

96 Personal Meeting with Dan Martinez and Scott Pawlowski on site at the USS *Arizona* Memorial Visitor Center.
Since there are few living witnesses to the attack on Pearl Harbor remaining, the USS Arizona serves as a symbolic living witness. Each day the Arizona leaks oil from its damaged fuel tanks, producing a likeness to crying tears of sadness and mourning. Several Pearl Harbor historians and scholars propose the metaphor that on the days of interments, this is the Arizona shedding tears of joy for the reunion between the interred survivors and their fellow shipmates.

The preservation issues facing the memorial and the wreck of the USS Arizona make it a uniquely functioning site. There are no other military memorials in the United States that have to take into consideration the preservation issues associated with a submerged cultural resource.

A Diamond in the Harbor: USS Arizona Memorial as a Uniquely Functioning Site

The USS Arizona Memorial has multiple attributes that make it a unique memorial site. There are four reasons, in particular, that the Arizona Memorial stands out when compared to other war memorials in the United States: its dual function as a war memorial and burial ground, the process of interment, its geographic location on the island of Oahu, and the partnership and cooperation between the U.S. Navy and the National Park Service in running the memorial.

Earlier, I mentioned that the USS Arizona is in a category with other sites such as the Alamo, Little Bighorn, and Ground Zero, where the remains and partial remains of those who have perished are still present. While the four sites all have partial and complete remains of those that perished in tragic events, the Arizona stands as the only war memorial in the United

---

97 Linenthal, Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields.
98 Linenthal; White, Memorializing Pearl Harbor: Unfinished Histories and the Work of Remembrance.
99 White, Memorializing Pearl Harbor: Unfinished Histories and the Work of Remembrance; Linenthal, Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields; Rosenberg, A Date Which Will Live: Pearl Harbor in American Memory.
States where people have been and will be actively interred until this upcoming December. At all other war memorials, like Little Bighorn or the Alamo for example, those that died at the respective locations remained there and those that survived were buried elsewhere upon their death. After a request for interment from one Arizona survivor in the 1980s, the men that survived the explosion of the USS Arizona and the horrors of the attack were given an option to return to the ship upon their death if they so choose.

The processes of interment itself is unique to the USS Arizona and Pearl Harbor. Since those wishing to be interred must be USS Arizona survivors, the Arizona serves as an extremely exclusive cemetery. There is one other place in Pearl Harbor where survivors can be interred and that is on the USS Utah on the other side of Ford’s Island. Beyond the Utah and the Arizona, the process of naval interment onto a sunken battleship does not exist outside of Pearl Harbor.

The process of interment is also considered a finite memorial ceremony. It will only exist as long as long as there are USS Arizona survivors wishing to be interred on the ship. With the fact remaining that there are only two surviving USS Arizona crew members and neither wants to be interred on the ship at present, it is inevitable that the interment process will end with the upcoming interment in December. It is at that point that the Arizona will transition from an active underwater burial ground to an underwater shrine and cemetery.

The third signifier that isolates the USS Arizona Memorial from other war memorials is its geographic location. Not only is it one of only a few war memorials in the Pacific. The USS

100 Personal Meeting with Dan Martinez and Scott Pawlowski on site at the USS Arizona Memorial Visitor Center.
101 Linenthal, Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields.
102 Daniel Martinez, Personal Conversation. The USS Utah is also owned and operated by the Navy and National Park Service, however access to the Utah Memorial is limited since it is located on Ford’s Island, an active military base.
103 Daniel Martinez; Pawlowski, Personal Correspondence.
Arizona also sits in the harbor of a still active military base. The harbor as well as Ford’s Island is used by the U.S. Navy for both housing and operational buildings. One of the biggest quarrels during the process of determining where the memorial would be built was that Ford’s Island was considered off limits to any non-military personnel and especially to tourists.\textsuperscript{104} Today, visitors are allowed onto Ford’s Island, but only to visit the two privately owned museums that operate there: The USS Missouri and the Pearl Harbor Aviation Museum.

The Arizona’s location next to the USS Missouri is also a unique addition to the story that is told about World War II at Pearl Harbor. The USS Missouri, a battleship that operated during World War II, the Korean War, and the Gulf War, is docked directly next to the wreck of the USS Arizona and the Memorial.\textsuperscript{105} While serving in the Pacific, the Missouri was the ship designated as the location for the signing of the armistice between the Allied powers and Japan. Its presence in Pearl Harbor creates a bookend appearance: the place where the war began for the United States and the place where the war was brought to an end. The positioning of the Missouri relative to the Arizona is also different than how most battleships are stored in a harbor (Figure 14). When docked, battleships usually point their guns out to sea as a symbol of vigilance and protection of the harbor.\textsuperscript{106} The Missouri, however, has its guns positioned the opposite direction. They sit at a 45-degree angle above the wreck of the USS Arizona, symbolically protecting the ship and its crew from any harm that may come.\textsuperscript{107}

The final and most unique aspect of the USS Arizona is that it is owned and operated by both the U.S. Navy and the NPS. The wreck of the USS Arizona is considered Navy property

\textsuperscript{104} Slackman, Remembering Pearl Harbor: The Story of the USS Arizona Memorial.
\textsuperscript{105} “History,” Battleship Missouri Memorial, https://ussmissouri.org/learn-the-history.
\textsuperscript{106} Visit to the USS Missouri.
\textsuperscript{107} Visit to the USS Missouri.
because it is a battleship commissioned into the U.S. Navy. Similarly, the harbor, Ford’s Island, several original mooring quays, the original Officer Bungalow houses as well as the wrecks of the Utah and Oklahoma are also U.S. Navy property. Originally, the memorial efforts at Pearl Harbor, specifically the ones for the Arizona were a Naval effort; however, the United States government urged the Navy in the late 1960s to give the operational responsibility to the Park Service. When this was presented to the Navy in 1968, the Commander in Chief of the Pacific Fleet insisted that “under no circumstances should the responsibility for operation and maintenance of this Navy memorial and its supporting facilities…be transferred to another US agency.” Clearly, the Commander in Chief of the Pacific Fleet did not want the Park Service to interfere with what he understood as Navy property and jurisdiction.

At this point in the USS Arizona’s life, the original visitor’s center and theater complex were in the process of being built. The Navy wanted sole ownership and operation of the USS Arizona Memorial; however, they did not want to pay for the actual construction. Eventually, the Navy agreed to transfer the responsibility for the memorial and visitor center to the Park Service; however, they still remained the legal owners of everything in Pearl Harbor.

This decision started the unique relationship between the Navy and NPS. After speaking with Dan Martinez, Pearl Harbor and NPS historian, and Scott Pawlowski, curator of the USS Arizona Memorial and museums, as well as reading Slackman’s book, it became clear that the Navy and NPS have a sibling-like relationship, where the two entities often fought in the early years, but have become much more reliant upon one another as the relationship matured. In the beginning, the US Navy did not want to share the USS Arizona or the Memorial, leading the two

---

108 Slackman, Remembering Pearl Harbor: The Story of the USS Arizona Memorial, 47.
109 Slackman, 47.
110 Slackman, 47.
agencies to butt heads in the 1960s and 1970s. Today, however, it is impressive to see how closely the two parties work with one another in the operation and maintenance of the USS Arizona Memorial.\textsuperscript{111} Since their partnership began in 1968, the Navy has given operational power over the original mooring quays, the USS Utah and Oklahoma Memorials, and the Chief Petty Officer Bungalows to the Park Service as an extension of the USS Arizona Memorial and the present-day visitor center and museum.\textsuperscript{112} In return, the Navy provides any assistance that is needed in order to maintain and preserve these important cultural resources.\textsuperscript{113}

\textbf{Conclusion}

The attack on Pearl Harbor led to the loss of over 2,000 servicemen.\textsuperscript{114} The entire Pacific fleet was severely damaged, leaving three ships unsalvageable. Of those three unsalvageable ships, the Arizona suffered the most damage and the greatest loss of life.\textsuperscript{115} While the rest of the Pacific fleet was repaired and sent to war in the Pacific, the Arizona remained at Pearl Harbor with its fallen crew.

In the days, weeks, and months following the attack on Pearl Harbor, commemoration and memorialization efforts began across the nation, but especially on the island of Oahu. Those first memorialization efforts grew until it officially became the USS Arizona Memorial in May of 1962.\textsuperscript{116} The new memorial shined like a set of white wings straddled across the back of the

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{111} Personal Meeting with Dan Martinez and Scott Pawlowski on site at the USS Arizona Memorial Visitor Center.
\textsuperscript{112} Personal Meeting with Dan Martinez and Scott Pawlowski on site at the USS Arizona Memorial Visitor Center.
\textsuperscript{113} Personal Meeting with Dan Martinez and Scott Pawlowski on site at the USS Arizona Memorial Visitor Center.
\textsuperscript{114} Nelson, \textit{Pearl Harbor: From Infamy to Greatness}.
\textsuperscript{115} Nelson.
\textsuperscript{116} Nelson.
\end{flushleft}
Arizona. As the months following the attack turned into many years, Pearl Harbor and the USS Arizona Memorial was becoming not only a sacred final resting place for those lost in the attack, but also an active underwater cemetery.

The USS Arizona Memorial functions as a unique hybrid between active underwater cemetery and war memorial. In a similarly unique fashion, it is also operated and maintained by both the U.S. Navy and the Park Service. It is a hidden jewel in the Pacific, serving as one of only a few war memorials in the Pacific and also as a sanctified site where the deceased are interred as well as remembered. As of today, the Arizona sits on the floor of Pearl Harbor’s waters, resting and releasing its tears of oil for all visitors to see. Its hull and the remains it holds now serve as witness objects, honoring and serving as a reminder of the fallen servicemen, their sacrifices on December 7, and the unique practice of interment that reunited survivors with their fallen brothers.
Figures

Figure 2: Flags Fly on Each Grave and Along the Roads Leading through the National Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific (aka Punchbowl) to Mark Memorial Day, 1988 (National Archives, https://catalog.archives.gov/id/6462367)
Figure 3: Propaganda Poster Example, “Remember Pearl Harbor!,” 1941-1945 (National Archives, https://catalog.archives.gov/id/514566)
Figure 5: Navy Club Memorial, Pearl Harbor, 2021 (Photo by Author)
Figure 6: USS Arizona Memorial, Pearl Harbor, 2021 (Photo by Author)
Figure 7: Shrine Room Wall, Pearl Harbor, 2021 (Photo by Author)
Figure 8: Original Mockup of USS Arizona Memorial (Hawaii State Archives, Box 7)
Figure 9: National Park Service Divers During Interment (National Park Service, https://www.nps.gov/perl/learn/historyculture/ussarizonainterments.htm)
Figure 10: Naval Officer Carrying Remains of Raymond Haerry During His Interment (National Park Service, https://www.nps.gov/media/photo/gallery-item.htm?pg=5223749&id=22D3AE80-1DD8-B71B-0BD9E666D57F7EF3&gid=21FAC975-1DD8-B71B-0B8422974220C97A)
Figure 11: Upper Deck Hatch of USS *Arizona* (Brett Seymour, National Park Service, https://www.nps.gov/perl/learn/locating-access-points-into-the-uss-arizona.htm)
Figure 12: Preserved Naval Uniform Located in One of the Lower Decks Aboard the USS Arizona as Seen in the Film, “Pearl Harbor: Inside the USS Arizona” (Time Magazine, https://time.com/5745058/uss-arizona-after-pearl-harbor/)
Figure 13: Map Showing Location of USS Arizona Memorial (Google Maps)
Figure 14: USS *Missouri* and USS *Arizona* Memorial, Pearl Harbor, 2021 (Photo by Author)
“A Date Which Will Live in Infamy”: Community Engagement at the World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument

Introduction

In 1941, being stationed in Honolulu, Hawaii was a dream for any Marine or Naval soldier enlisted in the United States military. Entry into World War II seemed light years away and no one could imagine a direct attack being carried out on US soil. To those stationed there, Pearl Harbor was so far from the action of the Eastern Front that there was little chance of them going into battle. In the early morning on December 7, 1941, though, all of that changed when Pearl Harbor was attacked by Japanese bombers. The attack, which lasted less than 2 hours, destroyed a majority of the US military’s air power and almost the entire main line of the Pacific fleet. By the end of the attack, 2,403 service men were killed in addition to 49 civilians.

Today, the USS Arizona Memorial and the World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument is the top tourist destination in Hawaii. Visitation records indicate that World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument has had upwards of one million visitors each year, with the exception of 2020 when COVID-19 shut down visitation to the Hawaiian islands and to almost all National Park Service sites. The largest number of visitors, besides Americans and Europeans, are comprised of Asian tourists, in particular those from Japan. Furthermore,

---

117 Tim Gray, Remember Pearl Harbor, Documentary, 2016.
118 Nelson, Pearl Harbor: From Infamy to Greatness.
119 “Submerged Cultural Resources Study: USS Arizona Memorial and Pearl Harbor National Historic Landmark.”
121 NPS Statistics, https://irma.nps.gov/STATS/SSRSReports/Park%20Specific%20Reports/Annual%20Park%20Recreation%20Visitation%20(1904%20-%20Last%20Calendar%20Year)?Park=PERL.
122 Yaguchi, “War Memories Across the Pacific: Japanese Visitors at the Arizona Memorial.”
Honolulu itself is considered the most Japanese city outside of Japan largely due to the impressive size of its Japanese-American population.\textsuperscript{123}

World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument contains two sunken battleships, both of which could be considered underwater archaeological sites as well as submerged cultural resources. It is no surprise that fewer and fewer survivors from the attack on Pearl Harbor still remain today (only two USS Arizona survivors are alive and they are well into their 90s/early 100s). With the only living witnesses to the events disappearing, the visitor center and museums have begun to use video recordings and audio files of interviews in place of physical interpreters.\textsuperscript{124} National Park Service officials have committed to telling a complete history of Pearl Harbor while also maintaining the legacy and memory of those who perished on that day.\textsuperscript{125} However, as argued by Edward T. Linenthal in his 1995 article, “Can Museums Achieve a Balance Between Memory and History?” it is often an uphill battle when trying to preserve memory while telling an accurate history in a museum space.\textsuperscript{126}

By using the example of the Smithsonian Institute’s battle over displaying the Enola Gay, the plane that dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, Linenthal explains that memory and accurate history often clash, making it extremely difficult to tell a complete and accurate history in a museum space if some stakeholders disagree with the narrative being told. In the case of the Smithsonian and the Enola Gay, the Air Force and other critics felt that the Smithsonian’s decision to include photographs of victims” in the exhibit instead of providing “the context crucial to explaining the decision to drop the bomb: the horrors of combat in the Pacific” was a

---

\textsuperscript{123} Nelson, Pearl Harbor: From Infamy to Greatness, 417.
\textsuperscript{124} Daniel Martinez, Personal Conversation.
\textsuperscript{125} Daniel Martinez.
\textsuperscript{126} Edward T. Linenthal, “Can Museums Achieve a Balance Between Memory and History,” in The Chronical on Higher Education (February 10, 1995).
form of “revisionist history.”\textsuperscript{127} Similar struggles over the narrative conveyed in the exhibits may be ahead for the World War II Valor in the Pacific National Memorial.

Using examples of engaged archaeology practices from across the globe as well as my own visit to the museum exhibits, I will show how the National Park Service has, in some ways, provided an engaged experience to those visiting Pearl Harbor. Engaged archaeology is the practice of interacting with and including communities, commonly referred to as stakeholders, whose histories are being uncovered during archaeological excavations. However, while the National Park Service does interact with some critical stakeholders, such as veterans, overall it struggles to tell a complete and accurate history due to lack of engagement with minority critical stakeholders such as the Japanese American population in Hawaii and the Native Hawaiian population. I will also explain how the National Park Service is presently making efforts to include a more diverse and accurate narrative to accompany the USS Arizona memorial and educate visitors on not only the attack on Pearl Harbor, but also the impacts the attack had on life on Oahu and across the United States. If the NPS is successful in this endeavor, it could help promote healing for the Japanese Americans who were wrongfully interred by the U.S. government shortly after the attack as well as their descendants.

\textbf{Site and Exhibit Walkthrough}

Before engaging with the impact of the attack on Pearl Harbor as well as the scholarship on engaged archaeological efforts, it is important to walkthrough the site in order to understand how World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument Visitor Center is designed. This description includes the layout of the exhibits in order to point out what information is displayed.
and what is not. I have also provided figures as a visual aid to accompany the textual walkthrough.

Upon arriving at the World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument Visitor Center, visitors are greeted by Park Service rangers and instructed to drop off any bags that are not transparent at a bag check stand. Because the USS Arizona is a military memorial and there are shuttles to museums on the neighboring Ford’s Island, which is still an active military base, safety precautions are taken by the NPS. After entering through the gates, there are several different spaces for visitors to explore either before or after visiting the centerpiece of the park, the USS Arizona Memorial (Figure 15). Along the waterfront is a walking path with interpretive signs for visitors to read. The signs vary from historical facts about the attack on Pearl Harbor to maps showing the locations of each ship on December 7 (Figure 16). Also located along this path is the Remembrance Circle. The circle is comprised of several plaques containing the names of all military and civilian victims of the attack on Pearl Harbor (Figure 17). In the center, is a 3-D map of the island of Oahu.

To the left of the Pearl Harbor Memorial Theater where, during pre-COVID times, visitors were shown an orientation film before boarding the boats for the USS Arizona Memorial, are the two museum exhibit galleries, “Road to War” and “Attack” (Figure 15). When walking through both exhibits, visitors will find an abundance of interpretive material. Both exhibit galleries contained video and audio recordings of survivor stories, photographs, objects, and written panels containing various historical narratives, facts, or descriptions. “Road to War” highlights the factors that lead to the attack on Pearl Harbor. It also includes information about the U.S. Navy as well as the Japanese Imperial Navy. “Attack” begins its interpretation with the attack on Pearl Harbor. Slowly, the exhibit works its way from the beginning of the attack to the
aftermath in the following days and weeks. A majority of the information included in the exhibit consists of small informational paragraphs about several survivors and victims of the attack. Only one panel in “Attack” had limited information about Japanese American soldiers during World War II. Other than a few very small examples, there was very little engagement with the attack’s impact on Native Hawaiians, Japanese Americans, and civilians. Instead, the focus remains on the attack’s impact on military lives and infrastructure.

The exhibits themselves appear to be an attempt to contextualize the attack on Pearl Harbor in the international conflicts and policy decisions leading to U.S. entry to World War II for visitors who may not be familiar with the historical details and facts of the event. While the exhibits do in fact add context to the events, any visitor seeking more information beyond what is included in the exhibits either has to pay an added fee for an audio tour to supplement the information in the exhibits or do the research themselves. The audio tour itself includes a more detailed historic narrative of the attack and the United States’ entry into World War II. At the present moment, only a few rangers have the necessary training and knowledge to answer visitor questions due to a lapse in original park requirements that required all incoming rangers to read two key works on Pearl Harbor and the attack.128

**Population of Hawaii during the 1940s**

As mentioned in the Introduction, Hawaii has a fairly diverse population, including several different ethnicity groups, the largest of which is Japanese. In 1885, just before the United States annexed Hawaii, large scale migrations began occurring from Japan to Hawaii.129

---

128 Personal Meeting with Dan Martinez and Scott Pawlowski on site at the USS Arizona Memorial Visitor Center.
129 “Japanese Americans in Military during World War II,” in *Densho Encyclopedia*. 
Overtime, the Japanese population in Hawaii continued to grow until Hawaii had the largest concentration of Japanese people outside of Japan.\textsuperscript{130} According to the 1940 census, taken just one year before the attack, the total population of Hawaii was 423,330 people.\textsuperscript{131} Of those 423,330 people, only 255 were considered African American or Black.\textsuperscript{132} The top three ethnicities in Hawaii were as follows: Japanese with 157,905 people, Caucasian with 112,087 people, and Native Hawaiians with 64,310 people.\textsuperscript{133}

Beyond a diverse ethnic history, Hawaii also has a long-standing U.S. military history. Shortly after being annexed and becoming a territory of the United States in the early 1900s, Hawaii became a home to many military bases.\textsuperscript{134} The largest of these bases in Hawaii was what became known as Joint Base Pearl Harbor-Hickam, the main target of the attack on Pearl Harbor.\textsuperscript{135} Because Hawaii had such a large number of bases located across the islands, a majority of the population were military members or associated with the military in some way.

**Immediate Impacts on Life on Oahu Following the Attack on Pearl Harbor**

The attack on Pearl Harbor had a devastating impact on not only the U.S. military presence in Hawaii, but also on the local communities, peoples, and infrastructure.\textsuperscript{136} In regards to military infrastructure, the attack damaged almost the entire Pacific fleet as well as a large

\textsuperscript{130} Nelson, *Pearl Harbor: From Infamy to Greatness*.
\textsuperscript{132} Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA).
\textsuperscript{133} Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA).
\textsuperscript{135} Heckathorn.
number of air crafts, airplane hangars, and military buildings. The impact on military lives went beyond the 2,403 casualties to include hundreds more injured. While each individual casualty has their own life story that deserves to be heard and told, there is one man whose story is told in the “Attack” exhibit, albeit very briefly and with minimal detail.

The first Japanese American soldier killed in World War II was also killed during the attack on Pearl Harbor. Private Torao Migita was drafted and assigned to the 298th Infantry Regiment in June 1941, only a few months before the attack. On December 7, the day of the attack, he was home on leave for the weekend with his family, who lived in Honolulu. In 1943, Migita’s brother who recalled his memory of the day, “Torao rushed out to the (nearby) Army and Navy YMCA for transportation back to Schofield Barracks where his company was stationed.” That afternoon Migita’s name was listed on the casualty list in local newspapers. He was posthumously awarded the Purple Heart, which his family received in July 1943, for being “a loyal and faithful soldier and one of the first to give his life in the war.” Although it was originally believed that he lost his life during the bombing of Wheeler Air Field, it was discovered decades after the attack that he was killed by friendly fire in downtown Honolulu during the attack on Pearl Harbor.

The devastation did not end with the destruction of U.S. military property and loss of military lives. By the end of the day on December 7, 1941, it was determined by the Hawaiian

\[\text{137} \text{ Nelson, Pearl Harbor: From Infamy to Greatness.}\]
\[\text{138} \text{ Nelson.}\]
\[\text{140} \text{ “PVT Torao Migita, First Japanese American Soldier Killed in WWII.”}\]
\[\text{141} \text{ “PVT Torao Migita, First Japanese American Soldier Killed in WWII.”}\]
\[\text{142} \text{ “PVT Torao Migita, First Japanese American Soldier Killed in WWII.”}\]
\[\text{143} \text{ “PVT Torao Migita, First Japanese American Soldier Killed in WWII.”}\]
government and U.S. military that 49 civilians were also killed by both Japanese bombers and friendly fire.\textsuperscript{144} Those that were killed by friendly fire, including Migita, were killed by 5-inch anti-aircraft rounds that were fired at Japanese pilots and either did not detonate correctly or completely missed their targets.\textsuperscript{145} The civilian casualties varied in age from as young as three months to as old as 66 years.\textsuperscript{146} While the ethnicity of these victims varied, a majority were Japanese Americans, which was to be expected since they made up the largest portion of Hawaii’s population.\textsuperscript{147} The male civilians that were killed during the attack were, in large part, civilian military employees who were killed while working on base at Pearl Harbor-Hickam.\textsuperscript{148}

There were, however, many civilian victims who were simply in the wrong place at the wrong time. This includes restaurant owner, Jitsuo Hirasaki, his three children, his nephew, and seven customers all of whom were killed by a Navy round that fell on his restaurant.\textsuperscript{149} According to an article from the \textit{Journal of Combative Sport}, four of the civilians killed were also well-known boxers. Massayoshi “Freddy” Higa, Seizu “Paul” Inamine, Daniel LaVerne, and James Koba.\textsuperscript{150} LaVerne succumbed to injuries he received while working at Pearl Harbor’s Red Hill on the day of the attack.\textsuperscript{151} The other three men were killed on their way to a weigh-in in Honolulu by an improperly fused U.S. anti-aircraft shell that exploded when it made contact with the ground instead of in the air as it was designed to do.\textsuperscript{152}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{144} National Park Service (NPS), “Civilian Casualties.”
  \item \textsuperscript{145} National Park Service (NPS), “Civilian Casualties.”
  \item \textsuperscript{146} National Park Service (NPS), “Civilian Casualties.”
  \item \textsuperscript{147} National Park Service (NPS), “Civilian Casualties.”
  \item \textsuperscript{148} National Park Service (NPS), “Civilian Casualties.”
  \item \textsuperscript{149} “PVT Torao Migita, First Japanese American Soldier Killed in WWII.”
  \item \textsuperscript{151} Svinth.
  \item \textsuperscript{152} Svinth.
\end{itemize}
Much of the physical damage done to the infrastructure of Oahu, and in particular, Honolulu, was not caused by Japanese bombers, but by U.S. attempts to protect the city of Honolulu and the surrounding area from Japanese planes.¹⁵³ Many of the civilians killed were victims of improperly set or malfunctioning U.S. military equipment and munitions.¹⁵⁴ The stories of civilians like the four boxers are not told in the exhibits. Instead, only military casualties are depicted.

The attack on Pearl Harbor also had an immediate effect on the governing of the territory of Hawaii. Within hours of the attack, martial law was declared by the U.S. military for the islands of Hawaii.¹⁵⁵ The territory of Hawaii remained under martial law until October 24, 1944, the longest period of martial law in American history.¹⁵⁶ Depending on their respective ethnicities, the declaration of martial law meant several things for the people of Hawaii. For Hawaiian residents with Japanese ancestry, the declaration of martial law came with some particularly harsh consequences such as internment and stricter regulations than those imposed on other Hawaiians.¹⁵⁷ For Native Hawaiians, it came in the form of stolen land used for military testing.¹⁵⁸

After the attack on Pearl Harbor, the U.S. military along with President Franklin D. Roosevelt felt that martial law was fully justified because those with Japanese ethnicity made up

---

¹⁵³ “PVT Torao Migita, First Japanese American Soldier Killed in WWII.”
¹⁵⁴ Svinth, “Boxing: Fatalities in Hawaii, December 7, 1941”; “PVT Torao Migita, First Japanese American Soldier Killed in WWII.”
¹⁵⁶ “Martial Law in Hawaii.”
¹⁵⁷ “Martial Law in Hawaii.”
close to 40% of the Hawaiian population and thus they could not be trusted if the Japanese military ever invaded Hawaii.\textsuperscript{159} The Japanese population was broken down into two different categories by both the Japanese community and the Hawaiian government: The Issei and the Nisei.\textsuperscript{160} Issei and Nisei are Japanese words meaning first generation and second generation respectively.\textsuperscript{161} The Issei consisted of 37,000 people.\textsuperscript{162} The government classified them as alien residents, making them ineligible for citizenship since they migrated to Hawaii prior to the legalization of Japanese immigration by the U.S. Immigration Act of 1924.\textsuperscript{163} The Nisei, which made up the rest of the Japanese population in Hawaii, were legally American citizens.\textsuperscript{164} The Nisei could also be broken down into another category, the Kibei.\textsuperscript{165} The Kibei were people of Japanese descent who received part of their education in Japan.\textsuperscript{166} Because of their education in Japan, they were the least trusted and were considered the highest security threat.\textsuperscript{167} Regardless of their status as Issei, Nisei, or Kibei, those with Japanese ethnicity were monitored more closely by the new martial government. All Japanese language schools and newspapers were shut down until further notice, both Issei and Nisei were not allowed to meet in groups larger than 10 people, and they also were not allowed to carry firearms, flashlights, portable radios, cameras, or any other items that could be used for espionage.\textsuperscript{168}

\textsuperscript{160} “Martial Law in Hawaii.”
\textsuperscript{161} “Martial Law in Hawaii.”
\textsuperscript{163} “Issei.”
\textsuperscript{164} “Martial Law in Hawaii.”
\textsuperscript{165} Scheiber, Scheiber, and Jones, “Hawaii’s Kibei Under Martial Law: A Hidden Chapter in the History of World War II Internments.”
\textsuperscript{166} Scheiber, Scheiber, and Jones.
\textsuperscript{167} Scheiber, Scheiber, and Jones.
\textsuperscript{168} “Martial Law in Hawaii.”
Native Hawaiians were also significantly impacted by the introduction of martial law. According to the work of one Native Hawaiian scholar, Doulton-Lee Ho, there were many acts of violence committed against the Native Hawaiian people by the U.S. military, the most common of which was the stealing of land to be used for military exercises.\textsuperscript{169} In his essay, Ho describes the acquisition and use of Kaho’olawe, one of the eight Hawaiian Islands named after the Hawaiian deity, Kanaloa.\textsuperscript{170} Because Kaho’olawe’s geography was similar to that of Japan, the U.S. military felt it would be useful in preparing soldiers for combat on Japanese soil.\textsuperscript{171} Kaho’olawe was and still “remains a culturally and ecologically significant place for Native Hawaiians due to its unique historical, religious, environmental, and archaeological importance.”\textsuperscript{172} To the U.S. army, the island was the ideal setting for mass training sessions that would mimic actual combat situations.\textsuperscript{173} To the Native Hawaiians, the island was filled with vital natural resources as well as culturally significant sites that dated back to the early Pacific migrations.\textsuperscript{174}

During and after World War II, Kaho’olawe became “the most shot island in the world” because of relentless attacks on the island for U.S. military training and testing.\textsuperscript{175} The U.S. military initially promised Native Hawaiians that the island would be returned to them after the war and that all unexploded ordnances would be removed; however, the island was not returned nor was bombing ceased until the 1990s.\textsuperscript{176} The cultural significance of Kaho’olawe was

\textsuperscript{169} Ho, “Lessons from the World War II Bombings of the Island of Kaho’olawe.”
\textsuperscript{170} Ho.
\textsuperscript{171} Ho.
\textsuperscript{172} Ho.
\textsuperscript{173} Ho.
\textsuperscript{174} Ho.
\textsuperscript{175} Ho.
\textsuperscript{176} Ho.
completely disregarded simply because the U.S. military needed it more than the local Hawaiians, at least in the eyes of the U.S. government. According to Ho, Native Hawaiians have been fighting the U.S. government over stolen lands since Hawaii’s annexation in an effort to reclaim the heritage and culture that was stolen from them. Kaho’olawe was not the only Hawaiian island stolen from the Hawaiian people for this purpose, but this is a poignant example of the effects that martial law had on the Native Hawaiian identity and culture, furthering the damage that had been previously done during the colonization and annexation of Hawaii. The exhibits at World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument Visitor Center only take into consideration the effects of the war on military personnel; however, the enactment of martial law is left out of the exhibits entirely.

**Impact of the Attack on Pearl Harbor on Hawaii and the Continental U.S.**

Another aspect of the attack on Pearl Harbor that is discussed very little in the exhibits is wide scale effects of the attack such as the internment of Japanese Americans in both Hawaii and the continental U.S. While there is a section on the impact the attack on Pearl Harbor had on Japanese American servicemen at World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument Visitor Center, it has minimal information about the struggles of Japanese American servicemen and is also denoted as being a temporary exhibit on the exhibit panel. From my observations, it does appear as if it is a permanent fixture and not temporary. After the attack on Pearl Harbor, suspicions towards those of Japanese descent extended far beyond the islands of Hawaii and into the continental United States.

---

177 Ho.
When martial law was put into effect in Hawaii, with it came the internment of the Japanese population. However, internment in Hawaii functioned differently from internment in the continental U.S. The population of Hawaii consisted of close to 40% Japanese people. Because they made up such a large percentage of the population and thus were crucial to the Hawaiian economy, it was virtually impossible to remove and incarcerate the entire Japanese and Japanese American population. Instead of mass incarceration, the U.S. military instituted a policy known as selective internment. Selective internment meant that most Japanese Americans would be free to live in their own homes and continue life the best way they could under martial law; however, some Japanese Americans, in particular the Kibei, were identified, investigated, and selected for internment. Unlike in the continental U.S. where Japanese Americans were forcibly moved to internment camps in other states, many of those selected were sent to one of the fifteen internment centers across the Hawaiian islands. In total, 2,270 people of Japanese descent were interned in the Hawaiian internment camps. Of the fifteen internment camps, the two largest were the Sand Island Detention Camp and Honouliuli Internment Camp, both of which were located on the island of Oahu. In contrast, it was much simpler for the U.S. government and military to evacuate and incarcerate the 110,000 Japanese Americans.

---

179 “Martial Law in Hawaii.”
183 Japanese Cultural Center of Hawaii.
184 Japanese Cultural Center of Hawaii.
American residents of California, Washington, Oregon and Arizona because the Japanese American population in the continental U.S. simply did not make up as large of a percentage of the overall population as it did in Hawaii.\textsuperscript{185} Therefore, removing Japanese Americans from their communities and home states would not have as huge of an economic impact.

Although the experiences of Japanese American servicemen after the attack on Pearl Harbor are mentioned very briefly, the exhibits at World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument Visitor Center do not go into much depth on the topic. When the military draft was reinstated in November of 1940, about 5,000 Nisei were drafted into the U.S. military.\textsuperscript{186} With tensions rising against Japan, it was clear to the U.S. government that American soldiers needed to be trained in the Japanese language to serve as translators and interpreters in the event war broke out.\textsuperscript{187} In fact, just prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor, 600 Japanese Americans began training at Schofield Barracks on Oahu as members of the 298\textsuperscript{th} and 299\textsuperscript{th} Regiments of Hawaii’s National Guard.\textsuperscript{188} In addition, the Military Intelligence Service Language School was opened in November of 1941 in San Francisco.\textsuperscript{189} There a class of 60 students, 58 of whom were Japanese Americans, were taught the Japanese language and how to serve as translators and interpreters by four Nisei instructors.\textsuperscript{190}

During the attack on Pearl Harbor, the members of the Hawaii National Guard were called to action in order to fight against the Japanese attack. Many, including Torao Migita,
rushed to Pearl Harbor-Hickam in order to do their part in protecting Hawaii.\textsuperscript{191} When fears of another Japanese attack began to rise in Hawaii, the military governor, Delos Emmons, was extremely concerned that if Japanese troops invaded Hawaii, they would be confused for Japanese American soldiers.\textsuperscript{192} The entire U.S. government and military held similar concerns and therefore it was decided that all Japanese American soldiers would either be sent to the Eastern Front, honorably discharged from the U.S. military, or given menial tasks while remaining on bases in the continental U.S.\textsuperscript{193} The only Nisei servicemen that were allowed in the Pacific were translators and interpreters.\textsuperscript{194} Regardless of the extreme racism and terrible treatment towards Japanese American servicemen, an estimated 33,000 Japanese Americans fought in World War II.\textsuperscript{195} Together these Japanese American servicemen, earned 4,000 Purple Hearts, 8 Presidential Unit Citations, 559 Silver Stars, 52 Distinguished Service Crosses and an additional 20 Medals of Honor after a military service review in the 1990s.\textsuperscript{196} These multiple histories and accomplishments are not presently represented in the museum exhibits with which thousands of visitors interact at Pearl Harbor.

**Scholarship on Community Engagement**

Over the past twenty years or so, there has been a global shift in professional and academic archaeological practices and especially a new orientation towards engaged research. Archaeology is more than just a way to uncover physical signs of trauma or horror. It is also, in

\textsuperscript{191} “PVT Torao Migita, First Japanese American Soldier Killed in WWII”; “Japanese Americans in Military during World War II.”  
\textsuperscript{192} “Japanese Americans in Military during World War II.”  
\textsuperscript{193} “Japanese Americans in Military during World War II.”  
\textsuperscript{194} “Japanese Americans in Military during World War II.”  
\textsuperscript{195} “Japanese Americans in Military during World War II.”  
\textsuperscript{196} “Japanese Americans in Military during World War II.”
part, a way for communities to interact with uncomfortable truths as well as allow those truths to be understood by other involved communities.\textsuperscript{197} Archaeologist Mark Hauser argues that archaeology is a way to bear witness.\textsuperscript{198} While Hauser does not explicitly explain what bearing witness means, it can be inferred that bearing witness is to give an account of important events for both present and future generations. In the same way that human accounts preserve memory of trauma and injustice, the objects uncovered through archaeological excavations can function in a similar manner. Hauser believes that “cultural resilience, risk preparedness, post-disaster recovery and mutual understanding between people will be best enhanced by an increased ability to accept loss and transformation.”\textsuperscript{199} When communities document and face the difficult truths of their pasts, they, in turn, become more resilient and have an increased capacity for change and adversity.

Ethically speaking, the field of archaeology has a responsibility to bridge the gap between academia and communities.\textsuperscript{200} For far too long, archaeologist have imposed western ways of archaeological practice upon non-western groups. The western way of archaeology includes standardized practices that may not fit the circumstances of a project, imposing personal academic research goals instead of respecting the research goals of the community, and drawing conclusions about cultural practices based on western norms and ideals. This also includes not working closely with the necessary community stakeholders. By imposing these western methods of archaeology, archaeologists have colonized the record, making it largely focused on

\textsuperscript{197} Hauser, “Introduction.”
\textsuperscript{198} Mark Hauser, “Introduction” in \textit{American Anthropologist: Archaeology as Bearing Witness}.
historical narratives that foreground the interests of dominant groups rather than those revealing histories and serving the interests of marginalized communities. As it is often said, “history is written by the victors.” Archaeologists cannot function as entirely separate entities from the communities they are working in. They must engage with the communities in order to create more productive and beneficial excavations for all parties involved. Simply put, better cooperation between the archaeologists and involved communities would lead to more productive research and better dissemination of knowledge gained from the excavations.

Scholar Anna Agbe-Davies argues that archaeologists must engage with the communities they are working with in order to better understand the wants and needs of that community. She believes there must be a sincere relationship between archaeologists and community members. Without that relationship, community archaeology should be considered illegitimate. If archaeologists understand and respect the wants and needs of the community they work in, community archaeology can be extremely effective. This conclusion has also been supported by Alison Wylie; however, she recognizes that there is still much progress to be made with community engagement and archaeology. In her article, Wylie “traces the trajectory of critical responses to collaborative archaeology since the early 1990s and uses this as a frame for thinking with contributors about the nature of the threshold.” All communities deserve the respect of the archaeological community, regardless of their backgrounds or culture. Their wishes should

202 Agbe-Davies, “Inside/Outside, Upside Down: Including Archaeologists in Communities.”
be respected and heard, regardless of the project. This is something both Wylie and Agbe-Davies as well as many other community archaeologists are arguing for as a way to decolonize the practice of archaeology.\textsuperscript{206}

Most of the practice of engaged archaeologies has been directed toward decolonization of the record and discipline as well as encouraging of indigenous groups to use archaeology as a way to tell their version of history from their point of view. Scholars like Joe Watkins and Martin Gallivan, Danielle Moretti-Langholtz, and Buck Woodard have argued that collaborative archaeology, especially in the context of indigenous groups, can serve as a tool for empowerment.\textsuperscript{207} Although most scholarship advocating for decolonized practices in archaeology focus on work with indigenous groups, this work also offers many lessons that can be applied to other histories and communities, including those involved in the 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor.

**Engagement at World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument**

The one form of community engagement that the World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument has successfully pursued is in peacemaking. The USS Arizona Memorial and World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument has served as a meeting ground for U.S. military veterans and Japanese military veterans who were both present during the attacks on Pearl Harbor. Beginning in the late 1950s, several reconciliation efforts and meetings between

\textsuperscript{206} Agbe-Davies; Wylie; Riveria-Callazo et. Al.
Japanese pilots who bombed Pearl Harbor and U.S. military survivors from that day have occurred. The World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument provided an environment that fostered reconciliation and peace.

Archaeologist and scholar Audrey Horning explains that there are massive challenges to practicing engaged archaeology when conflict is or has been present in a community. For example, Horning has conducted a large portion of her archaeological research in Northern Ireland where relationships between Irish Catholics and Protestants have been tense and violent for several decades.\(^{208}\) Some of her challenges in working in this setting include having to jump the hurdle of telling an accurate history based on archaeological evidence that may not tell the preferred version of history of one or another stakeholder, fostering a positive environment where all stakeholders can be involved, and avoiding any violence towards her archaeological crew or the site itself. The best approach, as suggested by Horning’s work in Northern Ireland where the community is still deeply divided, is to listen to all of the stakeholders and their opinions, take them into consideration, and then make decisions that meet in the middle of the various stakeholders wants and needs.\(^{209}\) The hope, according to Horning’s conclusions, is to foster an environment where the troubles and violence can be set aside in order to provide better hope and new information for future generations.\(^{210}\) Archaeologists have a moral obligation and imperative to respect those perspectives while at the same time, presenting and listening to the facts being provided by physical evidence.


\(^{209}\) Horning.

\(^{210}\) Horning.
The interactions between Japanese pilots and US veterans can be seen as physical evidence of Horning’s argument that peacebuilding can be encouraged and rooted in community engagement in a way that makes both sides feel heard and respected.\textsuperscript{211} The interactions between Pearl Harbor survivors and Japanese pilots were encouraged by both sides, but facilitated by the Park Service.\textsuperscript{212} By giving both groups the opportunity to speak about their individual experiences, it allowed both sets of veterans to come to the same conclusion: that they were teenagers being used as pawns in the larger chess game of war.\textsuperscript{213} This form of listening and peacebuilding between past enemies soldiered in a new era of understanding about the attack on Pearl Harbor, making the site not one of hatred and contempt, but one of understanding and forgiveness.\textsuperscript{214}

Generally speaking, World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument has not struggled with engagement with veterans. The biggest stakeholder at Pearl Harbor was, until the past few years, the veteran survivors of the December 7 attacks. Any decisions made about the museum or the memorial were always shuffled through the various associated veteran societies first in an effort to gain approval.\textsuperscript{215} In doing so, however, the National Park Service has perpetuated behaviors that scholar Siân Jones warns against.\textsuperscript{216} She argues that if a greater social value is given to the interests of the majority group, which in this case is the veteran group, it

\begin{flushright}
213 Gray, *Remember Pearl Harbor*. The comparison between war and a game of chess is paraphrased from the words of one of the Pearl Harbor survivors that met with the Japanese pilots during one of the facilitated meetings.
214 Nelson, *Pearl Harbor: From Infamy to Greatness*.
215 Daniel Martinez, Personal Conversation.
\end{flushright}
makes it more difficult for the other stakeholders to have their opinions and interests taken into consideration.\textsuperscript{217}

According to archaeologists Peter Schmidt and Alice Kehoe, there is a great importance in “listening and learning from others who may hold distinctive and important knowledge about the places and objects that we so highly value in the abstract world we inhabit.”\textsuperscript{218} While much of their arguments are based on Western applications of archaeology being imposed on non-Western communities and cultures, their general argument for the importance of listening when interpreting a site or objects still rings true for a place like Pearl Harbor. Currently, the story being told at Pearl Harbor is a military story. It is highly focused and centered around the stories and experiences of veterans who survived the attacks. At the same time, as pointed out by Pearl Harbor scholar Geoffrey White, NPS personnel gave little thought to the perspectives of Native Hawaiians or Japanese-Americans when considering what changes were to be made when the current visitor center underwent renovations in the 2000s.\textsuperscript{219} Although White does not mention the results of those renovations, my own visit has shown that the NPS did end up including information about how both Native Hawaiians and Japanese-Americans were effected within the exhibit. What is now included, though, is miniscule in comparison to the stories told about the U.S. military within the exhibits. There is also little to no evidence that Native Hawaiian and Japanese American communities were consulted during the renovations.\textsuperscript{220} By embracing the “archaeologies of listening,” World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument could begin

\textsuperscript{218} Peter Schmidt and Alice Kehoe, “Archaeologies of Listening,” in \textit{Archaeologies of Listening} (2019), 1.
\textsuperscript{219} White, \textit{Memorializing Pearl Harbor: Unfinished Histories and the Work of Remembrance}.
\textsuperscript{220} White.
taking steps towards being inclusive of and engaging with two important stakeholders whose lives were also affected by the attacks.\textsuperscript{221}

According to Daniel Martinez, NPS Historian at Pearl Harbor, there are current conversations about expanding and creating a newer museum: one that would include the stories of Native Hawaiians and Japanese-Americans as well as the effects of the attack on Pearl Harbor.\textsuperscript{222} If I could encourage the Park Service to do one thing when considering the creation of the new museum, it would be to follow Schmidt and Kehoe’s advice of listening to as many voices as possible in order to avoid missing any crucial information. I would also recommend that they consider the way in which Audrey Horning approached community talks during the excavations she led in Northern Ireland.\textsuperscript{223} By holding town-hall style meetings, Horning created an opportunity for all stakeholders to state their opinions, regardless of their affiliation, providing a safe space for discussion. Dealing with a variety of different stakeholders, all of whom undoubtedly have very different opinions about what should be done in terms of interpretation at Pearl Harbor, is not going to be an easy task; however, Horning’s approach may be useful in helping defuse some of the tensions that could occur. Since there are over 1,000 human remains at the center of this discussion, there are delicate steps that need to be taken to ensure that the families of those men do not feel like their deaths are being overlooked or disrespected. At the same time, however, there cannot be more value put on the lost lives of servicemen when there were also many civilians killed in the attack and hundreds of others whose lives and

\textsuperscript{221} Schmidt and Kehoe, “Archaeologies of Listening”.
\textsuperscript{222} Daniel Martinez, Personal Conversation.
communities were disrupted, none of whose stories have yet been included in the narrative that should be shared with visitors to World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument.

Another useful example for handling such a delicate conversation over embracing the heroes of December 7 while telling the stories of what happened to Japanese American’s and Native Hawaiians after the attacks is the work of Rebecca Schumann.224 Schumann’s examines the lack of archaeological investigation into the enslaved population at Mount Vernon.225 She writes, “Our physical and sensual experiences of the landscape, coupled with the meaning we imbue upon elements of the past, help shape memories and ideas of history.”226 For Pearl Harbor, the physical landscape (the wreckages of the Arizona and Utah) is used to shape the narrative of the dangers military members face and military lives lost in war while the active presence of military personnel and United States flags serve as reminders of nationalism and patriotism. In doing this, it buries the effects of December 7, such as the internment of Japanese Americans, in the sand and virtually ignores it in an “out of sight, out of mind” fashion. Similar to how Mount Vernon is described in Schumann’s work, Pearl Harbor is struggling to tell the true experiences of Japanese Americans living on the island of Oahu and the enormous impact the attacks had on their everyday life.227

Scholar Cornelius Holtorf argues that cultural resilience increases with cultural heritage because it allows for multiple stakeholders to have their voices be heard.228 I believe that Siân

227 Personal Meeting with Dan Martinez and Scott Pawlowski on site at the USS Arizona Memorial Visitor Center.
Jones arguments on social value can provide an opportunity for World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument to take into consideration the social values of including stories of resilience for all stakeholders.\textsuperscript{229} There are three affects: Japanese Americans feeling betrayal since many were sent to internment camps without warrant, Native Hawaiians feeling angry for having land stolen from them by the U.S. military, and Americans feeling a sense of pride and patriotism for being able to rebuild after the attacks. It would be of the greatest social value to show not only the resilience of America as a nation, but also the resilience of military veterans, Native Hawaiians and Japanese Americans who were all affected, albeit very differently, by the attack on Pearl Harbor.

**Conclusion**

Although Pearl Harbor is not similar in many ways to archaeological sites such as those at Colonial Williamsburg or Jamestown Settlement, for example, the lessons learned from archaeologists such as Horning or Schumann are still applicable to this site as NPS staff move forward with plans to incorporate a broader history and a wider community of stakeholders in its work. Since World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument is such an impressive cultural heritage site, it is important to include all stakeholders in conversations over the development of new interpretations in an effort to tell the complete and accurate history of Pearl Harbor. There is still much work to be done in the coming years in order for Pearl Harbor to include the stories of Native Hawaiians and Japanese Americans who were affected by that day.

Figure 15: Visitor Map of World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument
Figure 16: Visitors Looking at Interpretive Signs, Pearl Harbor, 2021 (Photo by Author)
Figure 17: Remembrance Circle, Pearl Harbor, 2021 (Photo by Author)
Bibliography

Primary Sources

Secondary Sources
“Japanese Americans in Military during World War II.” In *Densho Encyclopedia*, n.d.
https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Japanese_Americans_in_military_during_World_War_II/#:~:text=After%20the%20attack%20chaotic%20hours%20after%20the%20attack.


Pawlowski, Scott. Personal Correspondence. Email, April 2021.


