San Diego County Graves of Pearl Harbor Defenders who died on December 7, 1941 or in the immediate days thereafter

"To shield from neglect the graves, past and future, of those who served at Pearl Harbor on such day."

The Federal charter for the Pearl Harbor Survivors Association, Sec. 3, para. 3

Burials in Hawaii of the Pearl Harbor Defenders took place within days of the attack. Initially, their caskets came to rest in three nearby cemeteries--Halawa Cemetery, Nuuano Cemetery, and the Schofield Barracks Cemetery. The attack at Pearl Harbor pulled the United States into a global war that lasted from December 1941 until August 1945. As casualties mounted in the Pacific Theater, more temporary burials took place, many on small islands far from Pearl Harbor. In Hawaii, some Pearl Harbor Defenders were reinterred more than once over the course of six years. It was not until September 1947 that a ship carrying the first caskets of military personnel who died in the Pacific Theater departed for the United States mainland. Some of the caskets belonged to those who were casualties in the December 1941 enemy attack. Families of Pearl Harbor Defenders had waited six years to receive the remains of their sons and husbands. Some waited even longer.¹

The Solemn Voyage of the Honda Knot, October 1947

Over one thousand people formally bid goodbye to the caskets that left Honolulu on September 30, 1947. Everyone understood the gravity of the moment--the first servicemembers killed in World War II were beginning their trip home. A converted army transport, the *USAT Honda Knot*, carried 3,027 bodies; of that number, a newspaper reported that 585 were Pearl Harbor Defenders. A formal ceremony began at 10:00 a.m. as the territorial governor, a Navy admiral, and an Army major general spoke. Large wreaths could be seen atop the *Honda Knot's* hatch covers. The music and sky reflected the somber mood of the crowd. An Army band, at two different points in the program, played Chopin and Beethoven's funeral marches. Forty Air Force, Navy, and Marine Corps planes flew over the ship. A drizzle started just before the gangway moved away from the *Honda Knot*. The Army band played taps as the ship prepared to cast off. When the *Honda Knot* left the dock, six Navy planes flew low over her and dropped leis in one final farewell. A Navy escort accompanied the vessel on the journey to the West Coast.²



The USAT Honda Knot prepares to leave Honolulu.

When the ship arrived in San Francisco on October 10th, a local newspaper estimated that the welcoming crowd may have numbered up to 6,000 people. As in Honolulu eleven days earlier, the weather fit the occasion with an overcast sky. According to *The San Francisco Examiner*, "Everywhere about the city and across the Nation flags dropped to half-staff." Even the flag that flew over the United States Capitol in Washington, D.C. flew at half-mast in honor of the first war dead finally returning home. As reported by the local newspaper, never had that flag been so lowered except in honor of a president or a member of Congress. Around noon, the *Honda Knot* moved through the waters of San Francisco Bay and under the Golden Gate Bridge. It stopped at one point in the Bay, at Marina Park, where it remained during the receiving ceremony. A twenty-one-gun salute could be heard throughout the immediate area. The Secretary of the Navy, California's governor, and various military officers spoke. A Jewish rabbi and a Catholic archbishop offered prayers. The Army-Navy band played Verdi's "Requiem" and later, taps.³



The army transport Honda Knot, bearing bodies of 3,028 war dead from Pearl harbor, passing beneath Golden Gate bridge at San Francisco yeaterday.

Once the ceremony ended, the *Honda Knot* proceeded to a pier at the Oakland Army Base where the caskets were unloaded. The military had established fifteen distribution centers, one being the Army base in Oakland. Others, throughout the United States, prepared to receive the remains. Special trains, reconverted from hospital cars, held the caskets as they made their journey to the distribution centers. Military escorts never left the coffins of the fallen servicemen. One hundred and twenty-four of the dead, from Northern California, did not have far to go on the final leg of their journey home. Others, on a train to Southern California, traveled somewhat further.⁴

Ensign John Henry Leon Vogt, Jr., USS Enterprise

On her voyage across the Pacific, the *Honda Knot* carried the caskets of two Pearl Harbor Defenders from San Diego County, Ensign John Henry Leon Vogt, Jr. and Seaman First Class Charles Elijah Swisher. On December 7, 1941, Vogt was a member of a squadron assigned to the aircraft carrier *USS Enterprise*. Swisher was stationed on the battleship *USS Arizona*. Both had family members who lived in various parts of San Diego County. Ensign Vogt's parents moved to San Diego in 1911. The future Navy airman had been born on September 18, 1915 in Julian, a mountain community about fifty miles northeast of San Diego. Over the next years, the family lived in Ramona (also tucked away in the northeastern part of the county), the city of San Diego, and Vista (a town in what is known today as North County). In 1930, when he was only fifteen, John graduated from San Diego High School where he was a decorated member of the ROTC. He attended the state college in San Diego before going to the naval training academy in Pensacola, Florida. In 1939, John graduated from there as an ensign in the naval reserve. About a year later, he received a regular commission in the United States Navy. In March 1941, John married Lorna Haskins of San Diego; six months later, she joined him in Hawaii where he was stationed.⁵

The Navy assigned Ensign Vogt to Scouting Squadron Six on board the *Enterprise*. The carrier was about two hundred miles west of Pearl Harbor on the morning of December 7,



1941. SBD Dauntless dive bombers from Vogt's squadron left the *Enterprise* at 6:37 a.m. for a scheduled patrol. When they reached the area around Honolulu, the pilots encountered Japanese planes that began their raid on Pearl Harbor around 7:50 a.m. The enemy shot down three aircraft from the squadron and three others went missing; Vogt's was one of the latter. Enemy fire had probably hit the San Diegan's SBD. Five days later, on December 16th, the Navy notified Vogt's parents in Vista, California that their son "was lost somewhere in the

Pacific Ocean in performance of his duty and in the service of his country." The young ensign's body was later located at Pearl Harbor's Naval Hospital. Today, Ensign Vogt rests at Fort Rosecrans National Cemetery.⁶

Seaman 1st Class Charles Elijah Swisher, USS Arizona

The second casket that the *Honda Knot* returned home to San Diego County in October 1947 held the remains of Seaman 1st Class Charles Elijah Swisher. He had been born in Orange County on October 23, 1922. By the time he was nine, however, his parents moved to Fallbrook, California, in San Diego's North County. Swisher had only one sibling, a younger sister, Mildred, born in 1928. At first, his father Leon worked his own farm, located, in Leon's words, "just off Hiway 395 1 mi NE of Fallbrook..." Young Swisher's formal education ended after his first year of high school, which was not unusual for his generation. Just two weeks after Swisher turned eighteen, on November 7, 1940, he enlisted in the Navy. He went through boot camp at the San Diego Naval Training Center. On January 11, 1941, Swisher reported for duty on board the battleship *USS Arizona*.⁷



Charles E. Swisher

Eleven months later, of the 2,403 who died in the attack at Pearl Harbor, almost half of that number came from the USS Arizona. It sustained the greatest casualties and the greatest damage to any ship that day. Out of a crew that numbered around 1,500, only a few hundred survived. Charles E. Swisher was one of the 1,177 who died. A bomb dropped by one of the enemy planes set off explosions in the ship's powder magazine. An estimated one hundred tons of explosives blew up less than a minute after the bomb hit the battleship. One vivid description attempted to describe the horror that followed for the men of the Arizona. "With a huge blast and searing heat, the Arizona heaved and bucked, the bow twisted up out of the water and the sides of the hull near the bow blasted out as the decks collapsed into an almost volcanic crater of twisted, melting steel." The battleship burned for three days until, basically, there was nothing left to burn. The Arizona sunk into mud, water covering her decks. Some who made it off the ship by jumping into the water died later of their burns at the Naval Hospital. Over the course of the next weeks and months, divers recovered some of the bodies on the ship. Around December 22, 1941, Swisher's parents received word from the Navy that their son was "missing in action." They knew Swisher was on the Arizona. The weeks after the attack

must have been the most difficult ones, up to that point, in their lives. A December 31, 1941 Muster Roll of the *Arizona's* crew listed Swisher as still "missing."⁸



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Note entry #25 for "Swisher, Charles Elijah" on both the upper and the bottom part of the December 31, 1941 muster roll. In the last week of October 1947, though, Seaman 1st Class Charles E. Swisher came home to Fallbrook. Even though his parents had moved from Fallbrook to Escondido, a nearby city, during the war years, they decided his funeral would take place in the town in which he had grown up. From Tuesday, October 28th through Friday, the 31st, his casket laid in state at a Fallbrook mortuary so the community could pay its respects. Services took place the next day, November 1st, at what was then called the Loma Vista Cemetery in Fullerton, a city in Orange County. Swisher's parents chose to bury him near his maternal grandmother, Isabelle Ingraham, who had also lived in Fallbrook. In fact, her residency there preceded the move the Swishers made to Fallbrook in 1931; Isabelle could have been the reason why the Swishers moved there. She died in November 1943. Isabelle and her grandson's graves are near each other in what is now the Loma Vista Memorial Park. On that November day in 1947 when Swisher was laid near his grandmother, the Charles E. Swisher VFW Post 124 in Fallbrook oversaw the military rites at the service. Veterans of the First World War had established the post. They had taken its name from one of their own, killed at Pearl Harbor. Swisher's father was one of the founding members.⁹

The USS Vestal, December 7, 1941

The USS Vestal was a repair ship. Her crew numbered just over 600 men on December 7, 1941. On that day, she was tied up right next to the USS Arizona--"The port side of VESTAL was moored to the port side of ARIZONA." About ten minutes into the Japanese attack, enemy dive bombers scored two direct hits on the Vestal. In the words of a Navy report on the ship written five months later, "The first hit was forward near frame 43, penetrating three decks and detonating in a storeroom. The second hit was aft at about frame 110. It passed completely through the ship and exploded under water close aboard. Both bombs travelled at least 10 meters (36 feet) beyond the first point of impact before exploding." Fires began in the forward storerooms. The massive explosions on the Arizona impacted the Vestal as even more fires broke out on the repair ship.¹⁰

But in the words of one historian, "Strangely enough, the explosion that destroyed *Arizona* saved *Vestal*. The concussion put out her fires as though a giant candlesnuffer had been clapped over her." Debris from the explosion on the battleship, along with body parts, fell on the deck of the *Vestal*. The force of the explosion hurled some 100 men from the repair ship into the water. The *Vestal* got under way about 8:45 a.m., not quite an hour after the attack had begun. A tug pulled the repair ship away from the burning *Arizona*. Two months later, a preliminary report by the *Vestal's* Commanding Officer explained that 7 crewmen were "missing" and 19 "hospitalized," with about 20% of those men "seriously injured, suffering primarily from burns and fractures." Additionally, in respect to the number identified dead," it was not clear, when the February 1942 report was written, if they were crewmen from the repair ship or from the battleship. "These men may have been either *Arizona* personnel blown

over by [the] magazine blast or members of *Vestal* after gun crews; they were burned beyond recognition."¹¹

Chief Boatswain's Mate William Duane, USS Vestal

William Duane was 44 years old when he died in defense of Pearl Harbor. Born on October 26, 1897 in San Francisco, his parents immigrated to the United States from Ireland. His father, also named William Duane, worked as a laborer. He immigrated in 1880, and the woman he married, Ella, came over in 1888. Duane's parents probably met in an Irish community where they lived. The two married in 1897. We know little of their son's early life. But with Duane's enlistment in the U.S. Navy on August 5, 1918, he entered military records. As such, his time in the Navy can be followed from 1918 to his death in 1941. It appears Duane had chosen the Navy as his career for he reenlisted more than once. His last reenlistment was on June 25, 1941 when he served on the *USS Vestal*, a ship he first boarded on December 12, 1939.¹²

In his twenty-three years in the Navy, Duane sailed the Pacific, not other areas of the world. Depending on the vessel, his ships claimed Portland, Oregon and San Pedro, California as their home ports. When not at sea, Duane lived in Portland at one point. He probably met his wife, Edna Price, in that Oregon city. Both identified Portland as their home when they applied for a marriage license in December 1926. Shortly thereafter, the couple moved to San Pedro. It appears they had no children. A reporter from The Los Angeles Times interviewed Edna the week after the attack at Pearl Harbor. A few years older than her husband, Edna was then about 46. The reporter thus opened his article with the following--"A quiet motherly woman, one of hundreds of bereaved United States Navy wives, sat quietly yesterday and looked at pictures of her husband, Chief Boatswain's Mate William Duane." The Navy had just notified her, hours before, that William "had died a hero's death." Edna shared with the reporter what her holiday planes had been. "I was going to Honolulu to spend Christmas with him, but the war stopped that. Now I've got to make other arrangements." By the time Duane's remains came back to the mainland, Edna had moved to San Diego. She decided on Holy Cross Cemetery, in that city, as her husband's final resting place. It was an appropriate choice. William Duane was, after all, the Catholic son of Irish immigrants, and the cemetery is in a community associated with the Navy, the career he had chosen for his life's work.¹³



The USS California, December 7, 1941

Japanese torpedo bombers, dive bombers, and fighters all attacked the battleship USS California. Machine gun fire strafed it. Two torpedoes and a five-hundred-and-fifty-one-pound bomb hit the ship. Both torpedoes struck the California almost simultaneously, around 8:05 a.m., one landing forward of the bridge and the other aft, below Turret No. 3. The nearby bulkheads were not completely ruptured, but the ship's "unbuttoned condition" magnified the



damage. In the conclusion of a prominent historian, who himself was a World War II naval officer, "Although the last of the battleships to be hit, she was less prepared than any for the blows." This was because the *California* was scheduled for a Monday inspection. Many hatches or "voids" below deck were open Sunday morning in preparation for the inspection. That compromised the ship's watertight integrity since flooding spread more easily from one deck to another. The battleship started to "list to port" after the torpedoes hit. In addition to torpedoes, Japanese planes dropped armor-piercing bombs. One that weighed five-hundred-and-fifty-one pounds hit the *California* at 8:30 a.m.; it went

through the main deck and exploded on the second deck. The crew of the *California* had numbered 120 officers and 1,546 enlisted. On December 7th, the battleship lost at least 98 men (6 officers and 92 enlisted), and 64 were wounded. Five of the 98 deaths were sailors from San Diego County.¹⁴

Pharmacist's Mate 1st Class Henry Wilbur Blankenship, USS California

By December 1941, Pharmacist's Mate 1st Class Henry Blankenship appears to have decided to make a career out of the Navy. He was married, with a family, and had earned a Navy rate that allowed him to provide for them. Born on September 30, 1909, Blankenship turned thirty-two three months before his death. He came from Nebraska, far from any ocean, where he was one of five children. Blankenship's father was a farmer. By the time he was twenty, Blankenship had moved to San Diego where, in 1930, he worked in the Naval Hospital as an "apprentice." It appears, however, that Blankenship did not enlist until September 10, 1938, although that could have been a reenlistment date. The Navy assigned him to the *USS California* a year later. He boarded the battleship on September 17, 1939. By then, Blankenship was married. He probably met his wife, Hazel Ruth Egan Blankenship, somewhere in San Diego

when he worked at the Navy hospital. She lived in the city with her parents and siblings. They married on December 16, 1930. When Blankenship first boarded the *California* nine years later, the couple had three children, ages seven, three, and five months. The family lived in San Diego, not far from the home of Ruth's parents. On December 7, 1941, one can imagine them gathering with Ruth near a family radio as it announced news of the attack at Pearl Harbor. On the *California's* muster roll for December 31, 1941, Blankenship was first listed as "missing," the word itself typed onto the muster roll. But at one point, the word "DEAD," handwritten, corrected the original entry. PhM 1st Class Henry Wilbur Blankenship was interred at Fort Rosecrans National Cemetery on August 18, 1949.¹⁵

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Note entry #7 for "Blankenship, Henry W." on both the upper and the bottom part of the December 31, 1941 muster roll.



Boatswain's Mate 1st Class Elmer Lemuel Carpenter, USS California

Just six days after Blankenship's burial, Boatswain's Mate 1st Class Elmer Lemuel Carpenter came to rest, too, at Fort Rosecrans. Both served on the battleship *USS California*. Like Blankenship, Carpenter grew up in the central part of the United States, an area often described as "the Heartland of America." Born in North Dakota's South Valley on October 5, 1907, Carpenter, too, grew up on a farm. In the 1930s, he made his way to Bremerton, Washington and enlisted in the Navy. Late in 1936, Carpenter married a woman from North Dakota, Edith Jean Hunt; by then, he was already a crewman on the *California*. The couple settled in Long Beach, where they had wed and where the *California* regularly came into port. That is where Edith Jean awaited news of her husband after the attack at Pearl Harbor.¹⁶



Seaman 1st Class Robert Leroy Brewer, USS California

Another USS California wife who must have anxiously listened to those same broadcasts from her home in Long Beach was Edith Ione Brewer. Her husband was Seaman 1st Class Robert Leroy Brewer. He enlisted in the Navy on November 18, 1938 in Long Beach. Perhaps the couple met in that town whose harbor offered a natural home to Navy ships. Born on November 11, 1911 in Beloit, Wisconsin, Brewer came to permanently rest in Fort Rosecrans National Cemetery, interred there on July 18, 1949.¹⁷



Ensign Herbert Charpiot Jones, USS California, Recipient of the Medal of Honor

Ensign Herbert J. Jones married six months before the attack at Pearl Harbor. After the wedding, his wife, Joanne, moved to Coronado, California, a Navy community in San Diego. The ensign's father was a retired Navy captain who also made his home in Coronado with Jones' mother. Unquestionably, the captain must have been proud of his son who followed his career path. In a way, Herbert C. Jones' life was bookended by two world wars. Born in Los Angeles, California on January 21, 1918, he entered the world in the very year when the First World War ended. Jones was killed in action at Pearl Harbor twenty-three years later. That attack brought the United States into the Second World War. Jones spent his teenage years in Coronado where he graduated from the local high school. He then went to Menlo Junior College and to UCLA for three years before he joined the military. (He met his wife while in college.) Jones enlisted in the Naval Reserve in May 1935 when he was seventeen. After midshipman's training on the East Coast, the Navy commissioned him an ensign in November 1940. Jones' assignment to the *USS California* soon followed. With the Pacific Fleet based at Pearl Harbor, he and Joanne married there in June 1941.¹⁸



The highest award bestowed upon a member of the military is the Medal of Honor. Since 1861, it has been awarded only 3,527 times. Most were posthumously conferred. Ensign Herbert C. Jones received the award under that condition. His Medal of Honor citation read, "For conspicuous devotion to duty, extraordinary courage, and complete disregard of his own life, above and beyond the call of duty, during the attack on the Fleet in Pearl Harbor, by Japanese forces on 7 December 1941." During the aerial raid on the USS California, the effort to



get ammunition topside for the anti-aircraft guns led to Jones' death. Since the United States was officially at peace until that day, most ammunition was store below. As the enemy planes flew overhead, dropping their bombs on the battleship, Jones commanded an anti-aircraft battery. The group of sailors he had organized, however, soon ran out of ammunition. More shells were needed. Five-inch shells, for example, had to be brought up to the main deck. A hoist to do that was put out of commission when the ship's power went out. That meant the ammunition had to be brought up by hand from the magazines, located several decks below. Each 5-inch shell alone weighed over fifty pounds. Jones put together a party to go below and bring up more ammunition. Jones had already distinguished himself by rescuing a seaman stuck in a compartment filled with smoke. The ensign's effort to bring up the ammo was successful

until a massive bomb hit the *California*. Two sailors attempted to get Jones, mortally injured, out of the compartment where they were. But it became engulfed in flames. Jones refused any help, ordering his men to leave him to save themselves. Ensign Jones is buried in Fort Rosecrans National Cemetery.¹⁹

Seaman 2nd Class Gordon William Stafford, USS California

When Gordon Stafford's siblings arranged for his burial in 1949, they decided not to lay him to rest in a national cemetery. Rather, they chose a small, public one--the San Marcos Cemetery. It is in San Diego's North County. Stafford's parents are buried there. Gordon lies next to his father, William, who died in 1943, and near his mother, May, who predeceased her husband and her sailor son. She passed away in 1933. A brother of Gordon's, who died in 1922 at age six, is nearby. Other Stafford headstones stand close by, proof of the family's ties to San Marcos. For example, the grave of Gordon's paternal grandmother, Mary Stafford, is there. She immigrated to the United States from England, married a Civil War veteran from Indiana, and settled in the San Marcos area where she made her home until her death in 1920.²⁰

Based on a newspaper article at the time of his burial, Gordon himself lived in the adjacent town of Escondido for a short period, from 1933 to 1939. He may have attended Escondido Union High School. Still, he spent many years in nearby Orange County where his parents lived at the time of the 1920, 1930, and 1940 Federal censuses. The third of six children, Gordon was born in Orange County on September 19, 1922. His father worked in various jobs, such as one in the citrus packing industry and another in retail groceries. By the time Gordon enlisted in the Navy on September 23, 1940, his widowed father, William Alonzo, was seventy years old and no longer employed. Gordon reported for duty on board the *USS California* on November 28, 1940.²¹

Gordon's marker at the San Marcos Cemetery is not a military one, so the family could write on it what they wanted to. Clearly, from the words his siblings chose, they decided to emphasize three facts--Gordon was killed in action, and he was only nineteen years old when



that happened. They also chose to put the date of his death on the marker as "Dec. 7, 1941." The family probably did that to associate him with one of the most famous dates in American history--the attack at Pearl Harbor. A newspaper article at the time of Gordon's 1949 burial in San Marcos stated that he "died ten days after he was injured aboard the USS California." A December 31, 1941 muster roll for the battleship reported that he had been transferred to the Naval Hospital at Pearl, supporting the fact that he died some days after the attack of injuries he sustained on the 7th. Gordon had been in the service for just over fourteen months.²² In June 2015, a letter Gordon wrote seventy-four years earlier appeared on a militaria website. The piece of correspondence, with two pictures, had been purchased, apparently by a former F-106 Air Force pilot. He bought the items on eBay. Dated August 27, 1941, Gordon hoped the two-page letter would be the beginning of what he called a "pen pal" exchange with a young woman in Cleveland, Ohio, Alice Marcelia. It is not clear how the two first came into contact with each other. With the country still at peace, Gordon freely identified his ship and where it was docked, at Pearl Harbor. Most of his letter, however, did not share details of his life on board the battleship. Rather, Gordon described to Alice the geography and weather conditions on Oahu and the town of Honolulu. He wrote of an island that "is very mountainous,



with shear cliffs everywhere. Naturally, the climate is very tropical, and the water is never cold. So you have lovely swimming year around, surf board riding, boat riding, etc." Gordon's observations on the mild weather would have contrasted greatly with what Alice was used to in Ohio---"Hardly a day passes that it doesn't sprinkle, at least for a few minutes." Gordon also told her

what the nights were like--"It is very beautiful in the evening when the sun sets on the sea, and dusk begins to fall." He detailed, too, his impressions of Honolulu's buildings, streets, and native residents. Gordon shared with Alice the fact that photography was one of his "hobbies." He enclosed two pictures with the letter. One was of the beach at Waikiki and the other a snapshot of Gordon with Diamond Head in the background. He promised to send Alice "a picture of the California in my next letter." We may never know how many more letters followed. It is not difficult to imagine Alice's shock, just a few months later, when she heard the news of what had happened at Pearl Harbor. She must have hoped her new pen pal was not a casualty. Throughout the month of December 1941, if not even later, Alice undoubtedly looked at the photograph Gordon had sent her of himself. It showed a young sailor on a beach, one summer day in 1941, with a hint of a smile on his face.²³

The USS Nevada, December 7, 1941

The USS Nevada, at age twenty-five, was the oldest battleship in Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. The response of her men and crew illustrated the spirit of all who served that day at the naval base and other nearby military bases. It also explains why the men should be identified as "Pearl Harbor Defenders," not the passive phrase "Pearl Harbor Survivors." The Nevada counted 1,484 men in her crew that December day. Admiral Samuel Eliot Morison, a Harvard historian who served in the United States Navy during World War II, described an activity on board the battleship just minutes before the Japanese attack. "Color guard began making morning colors and the band struck up 'The Star Spangled Banner' before anything lethal came her way." Morison continued by explaining that a Japanese plane that had torpedoed the USS Arizona "skimmed across" the Nevada's stern "during the ceremony." Its rear gunner "tried to strafe the sailors" who were standing at attention. As Morison movingly concluded, "A second strafe came in, but the band finished the national anthem without a pause; nobody broke ranks." Crewmen on the *Nevada* fired the ship's guns, the 5-inch ones as well as the .50-caliber machine guns. At 8:02 a.m., machine guns on the *Nevada* targeted Japanese torpedo planes approaching the battleship. One enemy plane fell. Another went down, too, but not before it released a torpedo that tore a hole in the side of the *Nevada*. The gash measured 45 by 30 feet, flooding some compartments. The battleship began to list, but crewmembers executed a counter flooding action.²⁴

In the next hour, as the first wave of enemy planes attacked, the *Nevada* became the only battleship that got underway, despite bomb hits and the torpedo strike. Admiral Morison pointed out that what helped give the ship mobility was the fact that the *Nevada* had no other vessel tied up alongside her to restrict her movements. The battleship was forced to get underway when fuel oil, burning on the water's surface, threatened the *Nevada*. She moved out at 8:50 a.m., during the second wave of the attack. According to Morison, four tugs were usually used to get a battleship under way from its mooring quays. On that morning of



December 7th, however, the *Nevada* did it on her own. As Morison described the scene, she "limped past" the burning Arizona. In the moving battleship, Japanese pilots saw a valued target. If they could sink the Nevada, the bonus would be that the ship would bottle up the harbor. Japanese bombers thus "swarmed down," in Admiral Morison's words, on the damaged battleship. Five enemy bombs had already hit the Nevada. After several "near misses," another bomb struck the ship, killing some of the crew. The Japanese planes did not let up in

their attack on the vessel. The *Nevada's* Commanding Officer received orders not to leave the harbor; the Command above him understood that if the battleship sustained more damaged, the harbor could be blocked. Just as she began to drop anchor off Hospital Point, more enemy dive-bombers attacked her. The *Nevada* ran aground at 9:10 a.m. Altogether, 50 members of her crew were killed on December 7th and 109 were wounded.²⁵

Seaman 1st Class Herbert Charles Schwarting, USS Nevada

The Navy and its base in Honolulu were familiar to Pearl Harbor Defender Herbert C. Schwarting. Born on February 16, 1923, he was named after his father who was a sailor in the United States Navy. Herbert Senior had been stationed at Pearl Harbor for a few years when Herbert was a boy. Young Herbert, his mother Irene, and his sister Beverly joined Herbert Senior there in 1933. The family appears to have remained in Hawaii for two years. Herbert thus spent the years from when he was ten to twelve swimming the warm waters that surround Honolulu. He must have delighted in the exotic location his father drew as his new duty station, however temporary it was. The family returned to San Diego in the summer of 1935. At one point, Herbert decided to follow in his father's footsteps and join the Navy, too.²⁶

He did so on December 27, 1940. The family lived in National City at that time. After boot camp in San Diego, the Navy assigned Herbert to the *USS Nevada*. He reported for duty on the battleship on March 8, 1941. The *Nevada's* muster roll dated December 31, 1941 identified him as "killed in action." His parents had moved to Ocean Beach in San Diego by then. When young Herbert's remains came home early in 1949, Herbert Senior had already left the Navy. He and his wife probably did not have to think long as to where they would bury their only son. They chose Fort Rosecrans National Cemetery as his final resting place.²⁷



Coxswain Ivan Irwin Walton, USS Nevada

In 1911, one Fred Walton immigrated to the United States from England. He settled in San Diego soon after he arrived, and he filed papers for naturalization eight years later. By then, Fred had married. At various times in their life together, Fred and Velma Walton raised their family in the City of San Diego and in National City, Chula Vista, and Palm City. (The last three communities are within the greater San Diego area.) The family was a large one, with six sons and one daughter. Over the years, Fred held various jobs before working at, and later owning, his own dairy. On December 7, 1941, three of the Walton sons served in the United States Navy. All three were stationed at Pearl Harbor. And all three were sailors on board the USS Nevada.²⁸

San Diego being a Navy town, the fact that Vernon, Bruce, and Ivan all chose to enlist in the Navy is not surprising. Vernon Walton, born in November 1919, enlisted first; he signed up on July 8, 1938. He boarded the battleship *USS Nevada* on November 4, 1938. When Pearl Harbor was attacked three years later, Vernon held the rate of Gunner's Mate 2nd class. His brother Bruce Walton, born on September 5, 1923, enlisted on August 21, 1941. The Navy first assigned him to the USS *Tangier*, a cargo ship, at Pearl Harbor. Bruce reported for duty on the ship in November 1941, but he soon transferred to the *USS Nevada* where he joined Vernon and another brother, Ivan. On December 31st, Bruce held the rate of Seaman 2nd Class.²⁹

Ivan Irwin Walton, born November 14, 1920, grew up in Chula Vista. He graduated from Southwest Junior High School and went on to Sweetwater Union High School. Ivan left school, however, to join the Navy. He enlisted on December 9, 1938, just five months after his brother Vernon had done so. Ivan reported for duty on board the *USS Nevada* on May 19, 1939, joining his brother Vernon as a crewmember. Bruce later became the third brother in the Navy and the third Walton brother on board the *Nevada*. Ivan and Bruce had probably requested assignments to the battleship because Vernon served on it. On the day of the attack, more than two years after Ivan boarded the *Nevada*, he had risen to the rate of coxswain. On the morning of December 7, 1941, all Americans agonized over the news from Hawaii. For those families who had members in the military stationed at Pearl Harbor, their anxiety would have been even greater. More than one family had multiple sons at Pearl Harbor. The Waltons was one of them. Ivan is buried at Glen Abbey Memorial Park in Bonita, a small community just east of Chula Vista where he had been born.³⁰



The USS Dobbin, December 7, 1941

The USS Dobbin was a destroyer tender, meaning its job was to provide maintenance for destroyers. As such, on December 7, 1941, the *Dobbin* was moored next to five of those vessels. Since she was not a battleship, the *Dobbin* was not a main target of the Japanese planes. Nevertheless, at 9:10 a.m., three enemy planes attacked the ship. They dropped three bombs, apparently 300-lb. ones. They all just barely missed the *Dobbin*. Fragments from the bombs struck the ship's stern, resulting in five fatalities. All were members of the No. 4 three-inch anti-aircraft gun "located on the after end of the boat deck." Of the five crewmen, two survived their shrapnel wounds, two died later in the day as a result of their injuries, and one was killed in action. This last sailor was Coxswain Howard Frederic Carter. He received multiple wounds to his chest during the attack.³¹

Coxswain Howard Frederick Carter, USS Dobbin

Born on July 31, 1917 in Medford, Oregon, Howard Carter entered this world as United States soldiers and Marines prepared to fight on European battlefields in the First World War. America had entered the conflict three months earlier. At Pearl Harbor, he became one of the first casualties in the Second World War. His father worked for the railroad, so the family moved from one city and state to another. In 1920, when Howard was a toddler, the Carters lived in Berkeley, California. Ten years later, Howard's parents had divorced. Harold Carter, Howard's father, lived in Ogden, Utah, his birth state in 1930. Mabel, Howard's mother, lived in San Diego with her two sons, Glen and Howard. (Glen was two years older than Howard.) In the 1930 Federal census for that year, Mabel is identified as "widowed." That could have been an innocent error on the part of the census taker, or perhaps Mabel wanted to avoid the stigma of the era by identifying herself as divorced. To support herself and her two sons in 1930, she worked as a waitress in a hotel.³²



Howard enlisted in the U.S. Navy on December 11, 1936 when he was nineteen years old. It is not clear where he attended school or for how long. Howard went through boot camp in San Diego, a city that had become his hometown. It appears his first ship assignment was the *USS Dobbin*. Howard reported for duty on the tender on March 26, 1937. By the time of the Pearl Harbor attack, he had risen to the rate of coxswain. After the war, when the remains of those who died at Pearl Harbor came home, Howard's mother chose the Greenwood Memorial Park in San Diego as her son's final resting place.³³



The USS Downes, December 7, 1941

During the attack, the location of the destroyer USS Downes severely hampered her ability to strike back at the enemy. She was secured in Drydock No. 1 with the USS Cassin, another destroyer. The two ships were undergoing overhaul. In the words of one of the officers on board the Downes, the two destroyers "occupied the southern end of the dock with the Downes to starboard." The battleship USS Pennsylvania was with them at the dock, "astern of the two destroyers." Because of the overhaul, the Downes' 5-inch guns were inoperative, parts having been removed, and the .50-caliber machine guns had been dismantled. Also, as the destroyer's after-action report explained, "Large sections of the shell plating had been removed on both sides forward preparatory to replacement with heavier plates." Simply put, the Downes was more disadvantaged than most ships when the enemy attacked. One study of the Downes concluded that the drydock itself acted as "a trap for the three vessels, especially when an incendiary bomb struck between the two destroyers."³⁴

Still, the 142 enlisted men and 5 officers on the *Downes* that morning took offensive actions in defense of Pearl Harbor. Around 7:55 a.m., just minutes after the attack began, several crewmembers saw Japanese planes descending from the clouds above. For about an hour, a "huge curtain" of anti-aircraft fire from the *USS Pennsylvania* protected the drydocked destroyers. The *Pennsylvania* and the *Cassin* fired their machine guns at the hostile aircraft. Crews on the *Downes* quickly assembled their guns, which allowed the *Downes* to begin returning fire about fifteen minutes after the enemy raid had started. In the first hour of what became about a two-hour Japanese attack, the *Downes* was not hit. Battleship Row was the enemy's target. As bombs dropped on the battleships, "The Downes opened fire with machine guns, but the range was too great for effectiveness and fire was stopped." Minutes before 8:30 a.m., enemy dive bombers attacked the destroyer. The *Downes'* machine guns responded then and again minutes later as planes staffed the dry dock. The major damage to the *Downes* came

from an incendiary bomb that fell between the *Downes* and the *Cassin*. The bomb set oil, already in the water from a ruptured, nearby fuel tank, on fire. The flames reached the ammunition and torpedo warheads on the two destroyers. The resulting explosions forced crews from both vessels to abandon ship. Two crewmen died as a result of the incendiary bomb's blast. One of them was Coxswain Edward Daly.³⁵

Coxswain Edward Carlyle Daly, USS Downes

Edward C. Daly came to call San Diego home even though he spent his early years in North Carolina. Born in the very small community of Pink Hill on April 27, 1914, Daly entered the world four months before the First World War began in Europe. By the time he was six, his parents had moved to the somewhat larger, nearby town of Moseley Hall. His father, Edward Daly, worked there as a merchant. When Daly was twelve, however, his father died. Willie, his mother, supported the family as a dressmaker; she probably also had help from an older son.³⁶

Daly, at age nineteen, enlisted in the Navy in 1934. He did so in Raleigh, North Carolina. After graduating from boot camp in Norfolk, Virginia, Daly served on more than one ship. When his initial four-year enlistment was up, Daly extended his enlistment. After joining the crew of the destroyer *USS Downes* in January 1937, only once did Daly serve on another ship; that was from May 1940 - March 1941 when he was assigned to the destroyer tender *USS Dobbin*. When Daly was on leave late in October 1941, he proposed to a woman he had met in San Diego, Lea Frances Doerck. They married before he shipped out. Edward C. Daly is buried today in San Diego's Greenwood Memorial Park.³⁷



In the summer of 1942, the Navy awarded Edward Carlyle Daly the Navy Cross posthumously for his actions on the *Downes* during the enemy attack at Pearl Harbor. His citation pointed to his "distinguished service and devotion to duty when, on December 7, 1941, after an oil fire forced the abandonment of his station in the forward part of the ship, he gave up his life in a courageous and daring attempt to save a badly wounded shipmate who had been trapped in a flaming compartment of the ship." One year after his widow received this news, the Navy sent her another notification in April 1943. The Navy named a destroyer escort vessel in his honor, the *Edward C. Daly*. ³⁸

San Diego County Graves of Pearl Harbor Defenders who died on December 7, 1941 or in the immediate days thereafter

"To shield from neglect the graves, past and future, of those who served at Pearl Harbor on such day."

The Federal charter for the Pearl Harbor Survivors Association, Sec. 3, para. 3

Cemeteries and Locations of Graves:

Fort Rosecrans National Cemetery

- Pharmacist's Mate 1st Class Henry Wilbur Blankenship, USS California; Section H, Site 142
- Seaman 1st Class Robert Leroy Brewer, USS California; Section H, Site 522
- Boatswain's Mate 1st Class Elmer Lemuel Carpenter, USS California; Section H, Site 433
- Ensign Herbert Charpiot Jones, USS California--recipient of the Medal of Honor; Section G, Grave 76
- Seaman 1st Class Herbert C. Schwarting, USS Nevada; Section G, Site 68
- Ensign John Henry Leon Vogt, Jr., USS Enterprise; Section OSB, Site 2

Glen Abbey Memorial Park

• Coxswain Ivan Irwin Walton, USS Nevada; Lot 5, Section 68, Block 68, near West Entrance

Greenwood Memorial Park

- Coxswain Howard Frederick Carter, USS Dobbin; Eugenia, Lot 27, Grave 7
- Coxswain Edward Carlyle Daly, USS Downes, awarded the Navy Cross; Eugenia, Lot 27, Grave 11

Holy Cross Cemetery

• Chief Boatswain's Mate William Duane, USS Vestal; Our Lady of Guadalupe, Plot 1280, Grave 2

San Marcos Cemetery

• Seaman 2nd Class Gordon William Stafford, USS California; Section 7, Lot 15, Grave 2

Additionally,

Former Fallbrook resident Seaman 1st Class Charles E. Swisher, USS Arizona, is buried in the Loma Vista Memorial Park in Fullerton,

and

Former Chula Vista resident Robert H. Tyce, one of the first if not the first civilian killed in the attack, is buried in Glen Abbey Memorial Park.

³ Steere and Boardman, *Final Disposition*, p. 663; "Program for War Heroes," *The San Francisco Examiner*, October 10, 1947, p. 1; "First of War Dead Paid Solemn Tribute On Arrival in S.F.," *The San Francisco Examiner*, October 11, 1947, p. 1; "The Bodies of Escondido and Vista War Dead Returned to U. S. On Funeral Ship From Hawaii," *Times-Advocate*, October 10, 1947, p. 1.

⁴ "First of War Dead Paid Solemn Tribute On Arrival in S.F.," *The San Francisco Examiner*, October 11, 1947, p. 1.
 ⁵ "San Diego Naval Officer 'Lost Somewhere in Ocean,' " *The Los Angeles Times*, December 16, 1941, p. 18; "Two Bodies of Escondido and Vista War Dead Returned to U.S. On Funeral Ship From Hawaii," *Times-Advocate*, October 10, 1947, p. 1; "Parents at Vista Told of Son's Death," *The Los Angeles Times*, December 20, 1941, p. 2; "John H. L. Vogt," *Times-Advocate*, April 26, 1970, p. 2.

⁶ Scouting Squadron Six Action Report, December 7, 1941; "San Diego Naval Officer 'Lost Somewhere in Ocean'," *The Los Angeles Times*, December 16, 1941, p. 18.

⁷ Ancestry.com, California Birth Index for Charles E. Swisher (accessed November 9, 2021); "Funeral Rites Set For Leon Swisher," *Times-Advocate*, November 4, 1958, p. 5 gives 1931-1943 as Leon's years in Fallbrook; Leon William Swisher WW II Draft Registration card gives the location of the Swisher farm (ancestry.com, accessed November 16, 2021); the 1940 Federal Census for Leon Swisher has farming as his occupation, although his name appears as "Leon Leisher" on the census record (ancestry.com, accessed November 9, 2021); "Charles Leisher" (another entry error on the surname) in the 1940 Federal Census records the first year of high school as the highest grade he completed (ancestry.com, accessed November 9, 2021); T. J. Cooper, *The Men of the USS Arizona (BB-39)* (no publisher listed, 2008; 2016 edition), p. 351.

⁸ The number killed at Pearl Harbor can vary slightly depending upon the source used; the number cited here is taken from "Remembering Pearl Harbor, A Pearl Harbor Fact Sheet," nationalww2museum.org (accessed November 23, 2021); Joy Waldron Jasper, James P. Delgado, and Jim Adams, *The USS Arizona, The Ship, The Men, The Pearl Harbor Attack, And The Symbol That Aroused America* (New York, 2001), p. 147; announcement on the information the Swishers received about their son's "missing in action" status, *Times-Advocate*, December 22, 1941, p. 4.

⁹ "Swisher's Body Arrives Here For Last Rites," *Times-Advocate*, October 31, 1947, p. 8; fallbrookvfw.org/aboutcharles-e-swisher (accessed November 16, 2021); November 16, 2021 phone call by author to the Loma Vista Memorial Park for the proximity of the two graves.

¹⁰ Gordon W. Prange, *At Dawn We Slept, The Untold Story of Pearl Harbor* (New York, 1981), p. 469; *U.S.S Vestal Bomb Damage, December 7, 1941, Pearl Harbor*, Bureau of Ships, Navy Department, May 25, 1942 (available online at researcheratlarge.com/Ships/AR4/PearlHarborDamageReport, accessed November 24, 2021).

¹¹ Prange, *At Dawn We Slept*, pp. 514, 536; "USS Vestal, Report of Action on December 7, 1941" by Commanding Officer to the Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Pacific Fleet, dated February 15, 1942 (available online at more than one website, accessed November 24, 2021).

¹² The following documents are found on ancestry.com (accessed November 24, 2021): 1900 U.S. Federal Census for William Duane and for Ella Duane; U.S. Headstone Applications for Military Veterans, 1925-1970 for William Duane; *USS Vestal* Muster Roll for June 30, 1940 and June 30, 1941 in World War II Navy Muster Rolls, 1938-1949 for William Duane.

¹³ The following documents are found on ancestry.com (accessed November 24, 2021): in Washington, U.S., Marriage Records, 1854-2013 for William Duane; 1940 U.S. Federal Census for Edna Duane (no children are listed as part of the Duane household); U.S. Headstone Applications for Military Veterans, 1925-1970 for William Duane.

¹ Pearl Harbor Defender and California State Chaplain in the California Pearl Harbor Survivors Association (PHSA) Glenn Hoyt's letter to President Bill Clinton, July 4, 1995 identifies the three cemeteries.

² "World War II Dead Sailing For Home Today," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, September 30, 1947, p. 1; "World War II Dead Sail On Honda Knot," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, October 1, 1947, p. 1. Both articles cite 2,992 as the number of caskets on the *Honda Knot*. However, when the ship arrived on the West Coast, other newspapers used the number "3,028." (See, for example, "Two Bodies of Escondido and Vista War Dead Returned to U.S. On Funeral Ship From Hawaii," *Times-Advocate*, October 10, 1947, p. 1.) However, a Quartermaster publication from 1957 probably has the accurate number--3,027--since the Quartermaster Corps oversaw the burials and return home of those who died in the war (Edward Steere and Thayer M. Boardman, *Final Disposition of World War II Dead, 1945-51* (Washington, D.C., 1957), pp. 532, 663.

"Mass Arranged For Hawaii Dead," *News-Pilot* (San Pedro, California), December 18, 1941, p. 1; "News of Death Comes to Wife," *The Los Angeles Times*, December 18, 1941, p. 35.

¹⁴ Samuel Eliot Morison, *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II, Volume Three, The Rising Sun in the Pacific, 1931-April 1942* (Boston, 1948), pp. 111-112; Prange, *At Dawn We Slept,* p. 510. See also the *USS California's* December 22, 1941 report of the attack, written by Captain Bunkley, sent to the Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Pacific Fleet (available online). A concise summary of what happened to the *California* on December 7th is at <u>https://pearlharboroahu.com/battleship-uss-california-at-pearl-harbor/</u> (accessed October 25, 2016). A detailed account of the *California* that day is the November 28, 1942 report by the Bureau of Ships, Navy Department, *U.S.S. California, Torpedo and Bomb Damage, December 7, 1941, Pearl Harbor*; it is at

www.researcheratlarge.com/Ships/BB44/PearlHarborDamageReport (accessed October 25, 2016). USS California casualties vary slightly depending upon the source consulted; the numbers cited here are taken from Commander Walter Karig and Lieutenant Welbourn Kelley, Battle Report, Pearl Harbor to Coral Sea (New York, 1944), p. 66 and Pat Martin, USS California (BB-44) (Paducah, Kentucky, 1995), p. 23, with a higher death count of 105 or 102 from www.pearlharbor.org/history/casualties/pearl-harbor-casualties/ (accessed April 27, 2016) and

https://pearlharboroahu.com/battleship-uss-california-at-pearl-harbor (accessed October 25, 2016) respectively. The California State Military Museum's web site cites 98 killed, with 61 wounded

(www.militarymuseum.org/usscalif.html, accessed January 19, 2014).

¹⁵ The following documents are found on ancestry.com (accessed November 17, 2021): U.S., Veterans' Gravesites, ca. 1775-2019 for Henry Wilbur Blankenship; 1920 U.S. Federal Census for Henry Blankenship; 1930 U.S. Federal Census for Henry W. Blankenship and Hazel R. Egan; *USS California* Muster Roll for September 30, 1941 in World War II Navy Muster Rolls, 1938-1949 for Henry W. Blankenship; California, U.S., County Birth, Marriage, and Death Records, 1849-1980 for Henry W. Blankenship; 1940 U.S. Federal Census for Henry Blankenship; California Birth Index, 1905-1995 for Barbara B. Blankenship, Eileen Blankenship, and Pierce Egan Blankenship; U.S., City Directories, 1822-1995, Henry Blankenship, for 1932 and 1941. Obituary for M.D. Blankenship, *The Schuyler Sun* (Schuyler, Nebraska), February 11, 1937, p. 5.

¹⁶ The following documents are found on ancestry.com (accessed November 17, 2021): U.S., Veterans' Gravesites, ca. 1775-2019 for Elmer Lemuel Carpenter; 1910 U.S. Federal Census for Elmer Carpenter; *USS California* Muster Roll for September 30, 1941 and December 31, 1941 in World War II Navy Muster Rolls, 1938-1949 for Elmer L. Carpenter and Elmer Lemuel Carpenter respectively. "Long Beach Office," *The Long Beach Sun*, December 9, 1936, p. 9.

¹⁷ The following documents are found on ancestry.com (accessed November 17, 2021): U.S., Navy Casualties Books, 1776-1941 for Robert Leroy Brewer; *USS California* Muster Roll for December 31, 1941 in World War II Navy Muster Rolls, 1938-1949 for Robert L. Brewer; U.S., Find a Grave Index, 1600s-Current for Robert Leroy Brewer; 1920 U.S. Federal Census for Robert Brewen [sic]; U.S., National Cemetery Interment Control Forms, 1928-1962 for Robert L. Brewer.

¹⁸ "Retired Navy Officer Notified of Son's Death at Honolulu," *The Los Angeles Times*, December 15, 1941, p. 8; history.navy.mil/our-collections/phtography/us-people/j/jones-herbert-c.html (accessed November 18, 2021); national ww2museum.org/war/articles/u---california-pearl-harbor-medal-honor-recipients (accessed November 18, 2021). The following documents are found on ancestry.com (accessed November 18, 2021): U.S., World War II Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard Casualties, 1941-1945 Navy Casualties for Herbert C. Jones.
¹⁹ cmohs.org/medal (accessed November 19, 2021).

²⁰ The following documents are found on ancestry.com (accessed November 20, 2021): California, U.S., Death Index, 1905-1939 for Guy E. Stafford (Gordon's brother who died in 1922), May Stafford, and William A. Stafford; for Gordon's paternal grandparents, Otis S. and Mary Stafford, see U.S., Civil War Soldiers, 1861-1865 and the 1920 U.S. Federal Census for Mary Stafford (Otis died in 1908 and is buried in Indiana) as well as Find A Grave for both grandparents. "Mrs. Stafford To Her Reward," *Weekly Times-Advocate*, September 24, 1920, p. 6 mentioned her many years living in the San Marcos area.

²¹ "Youth Killed At Pearl Harbor Will Be Buried in S.M.," *Times Advocate*, April 15, 1949, p. 4; the following documents are found on ancestry.com: *USS California* Muster Roll for July 31, 1941 in World War II Navy Muster Rolls, 1938-1949 for Gordon W. Stafford (accessed December 7, 2019); and the 1920, 1930, and 1940 U.S. Federal Censuses for William A. Stafford (accessed September 22, 2019). Gordon's 1940 census entry gives his "highest grade completed" as the second year of high school.

²² "Youth Killed At Pearl Harbor Will Be Buried in S.M.," *Times Advocate*, April 15, 1949, p. 4. The following documents are found on ancestry.com: *USS California* Muster Roll for December 31, 1941 in World War II Navy Muster Rolls, 1938-1949 for Gordon W. Stafford (accessed December 7, 2019).

²³ This author is indebted to "F 106 Pilot" for his June 30, 2015 posting of Gordon Stafford's letter and photographs at the U.S. Militaria Forum website (accessed June 20, 2017). He preserved Stafford's memorabilia and shared it with those interested in history.

²⁴ Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Two-Ocean War, A Short History of the United States Navy in the Second World War* (New York, 1963), p. 63; Morison, *Rising Sun*, p. 109; Prange, *At Dawn We Slept*, p. 515.

²⁵ Prange, *At Dawn We Slept*, pp. 535, 536; Morison, *The Two-Ocean War*, p. 63; Morison, *Rising Sun*, p. 110.
 ²⁶ The following documents are found on ancestry.com (accessed November 21, 2021): Honolulu, Hawaii, U.S., Arriving and Departing Passenger and Crew Lists, 1900-1959 for Herbert Schwarting; California, U.S., Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists, 1882-1959 for Herbert Schwarting; 1940 U.S. Federal Census for Herbert Schwarting [the father].

²⁷ The following documents are found on ancestry.com (accessed November 21, 2021): 1940 U.S. Federal Census for Herbert Schwarting; *USS Nevada* Muster Roll for March 18, 1941 and March 31, 1941 and December 31, 1941 in World War II Navy Muster Rolls, 1938-1949 for Herbert C. Schwarting; U.S., Navy Casualties Books, 1776-1941 for Herbert Schwarting.

²⁸ The following documents are found on ancestry.com (accessed November 21, 2021): U.S., World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918 for Fred Walters [Walton]; U.S., Naturalization Records, 1840-1957 for Fred Walton; 1920, 1930, 1940 U.S. Federal Censuses for Fred Walton. "Former Dairyman's Rites," *Chula Vista Star-News*, March 12, 1967, p. 5.

²⁹ For Vernon F. Walton, see the following documents on ancestry.com: *USS Nevada* Muster Roll for March 31, 1940 and December 31, 1941 in World War II Navy Muster Rolls, 1938-1949 (accessed November 21, 2021). For Bruce J. Walton, see the following documents on ancestry.com: *USS Tangier* Muster Roll for November 4, 1941 and *USS Nevada* Muster Roll for December 31, 1941 in World War II Navy Muster Rolls, 1938-1949 (accessed November 21, 2021). For November 21, 2021).

³⁰ "Ivan Walton First Casualty Victim In Naval Service In Hawaii From This Area," *The Chula Vista Star*, December 19, 1941, p. 1. For Ivan Irwin Walton, see the following documents on ancestry.com (accessed November 21, 2021): *USS Nevada* Muster Roll for June 30, 1939 and December 31, 1941 in World War II Navy Muster Rolls, 1938-1949 for Ivan Irwin Walton and Ivan I. Walton respectively; U.S. Headstone Applications for Military Veterans, 1925-1970 for Ivan Irwin Walton; in U.S., Find a Grave Index, 1600s-Current for Cox Ivan Irwin Walton; U.S., National Cemetery Interment Control Forms, 1928-1962 for Irwin Ivan Walton.

³¹ The USS Dobbin's December 22, 1941 report of the attack, written by its Commanding Officer, sent to the Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Pacific Fleet (available online); pearlharbor.org/ships-of-pearl-harbor-uss-dobbin/ (accessed November 22, 2021).

³² The following documents are found on ancestry.com (accessed November 22, 2021): U.S., Find a Grave Index, 1600s-Current for Howard Frederick Carter incorrectly gives his birth year as 1918 (Howard's grave marker has 1917 as his birth year as does the U.S. Headstone Applications for Military Veterans, 1925-1970 for Howard F. Carter); 1920 and 1930 U.S. Federal Census for Harold Carter; 1930 U.S. Federal Census for Mabel R. Carter.

³³ The following documents are on ancestry.com (accessed November 22, 2021): *USS Dobbin* Muster Roll for September 30, 1939 and December 31, 1941 in World War II Navy Muster Rolls, 1938-1949 for Howard F. Carter; U.S. Headstone Applications for Military Veterans, 1925-1970 for Howard F. Carter.

³⁴ Theodore Roscoe, *United States Destroyer Operations in World War II* (Annapolis, 1953), pp. 46-47; the Action Report of the *USS Downes*, written after the attack, is available online at more than one website;

destroyerhistory.org/goldplater/ussdownes/ (accessed November 23, 2021). The quotation on "a trap" is taken from pearlharbor.org/the-ships-of-pearl-harbor-uss-downes/ (accessed November 22, 2021). ³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ history.navy.mil/research/histories/ship-histories/danfs/e/Edward-c-daly-de-17 (accessed November 7, 2021). The following documents are on ancestry.com (accessed November 22, 2021): 1920 U.S. Federal Census for Edward F. Daly; U.S., Find a Grave Index, 1600s-Current for Edward Franklin Daly; 1930 U.S. Federal Census for Willie Daly; Edward C. Daly listed San Diego as his residence on a marriage application in October 1941 (Arizona, U.S., County Marriage Records, 1865-1972). ³⁷ history.navy.mil/research/histories/ship-histories/danfs/e/Edward-c-daly-de-17 (accessed November 7, 2021). Lea Frances Daly signed the application for a headstone for her husband on November 14, 1947 (U.S. Headstone Applications for Military Veterans, 1925-1970 for Edward Carlyle Daly on ancestry.com).

³⁸ "7 Carolinians Are Cited for Bravery," *The State* (Columbia, South Carolina), July 18, 1942, p. 5; "Ship Is Named For Wayne Man," *The News and Observer* (Raleigh, North Carolina), April 29, 1943, p. 16;

history.navy.mil/research/histories/ship-histories/danfs/e/Edward-c-daly-de-17 (accessed November 7, 2021).