

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations of eligibility for individual properties or districts. See instructions in *Guidelines for Completing National Register Forms* (National Register Bulletin 16). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the requested information. If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, styles, materials, and areas of significance, enter only the categories and subcategories listed in the instructions. For additional space use continuation sheets (Form 10-900a). Type all entries.

1. Name of Property

historic name Ha.19 (Japanese Midget Submarine)
other names/site number Japanese Midget Submarine "C"

2. Location

street & number NAS Key West not for publication
city, town Key West vicinity
state Florida code FL county Monroe code 087 zip code N/A

3. Classification

Ownership of Property	Category of Property	Number of Resources within Property	
		Contributing	Noncontributing
<input type="checkbox"/> private	<input type="checkbox"/> building(s)	_____	_____ buildings
<input type="checkbox"/> public-local	<input type="checkbox"/> district	_____	_____ sites
<input type="checkbox"/> public-State	<input type="checkbox"/> site	_____	_____ structures
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> public-Federal	<input type="checkbox"/> structure	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u> objects
	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> object	_____	_____ Total

Name of related multiple property listing: _____
Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 0

4. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria. See continuation sheet.

Signature of certifying official Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria. See continuation sheet.

Signature of commenting or other official Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

5. National Park Service Certification

I, hereby, certify that this property is:

entered in the National Register.
 See continuation sheet.

determined eligible for the National Register. See continuation sheet.

determined not eligible for the National Register.

removed from the National Register.

other, (explain:) _____

Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions (enter categories from instructions)

Defense-Naval

Transportation-Water-Related

Current Functions (enter categories from instructions)

Museum

7. Description

Architectural Classification

(enter categories from instructions)

N/A

Materials (enter categories from instructions)

foundation N/A

walls N/A

roof N/A

other N/A

Describe present and historic physical appearance.

Midget Submarine Haramaki (Ha.) 19, a prize of war and for 24 years an exhibit of the Key West Art and Historical Association at the Key West Lighthouse Museum in Florida, has been returned to its owners, the United States Navy, and is currently in storage at NAS Key West. The submarine awaits transfer to the National Park Service and transportation to the USS Arizona Memorial at Pearl Harbor, Honolulu, Hawaii. There the submarine, which achieved international notoriety for its part in the events of December 7, 1941, will be stabilized, possibly restored and publicly displayed.

MIDGET HA.19 AS BUILT AND MODIFIED

As built in 1938, Ha.19, designated as "Midget C" by the U.S. Navy, was a Type-A class two-man midget submarine of the Imperial Japanese Navy. Constructed of four longitudinally welded, cold-rolled, 10-inch steel strakes reinforced by welded transverse angle-iron frames; Ha.19 is 78.5 feet in length overall, with a 6.1-foot breadth and a 6.1-foot draft. Ha. 19 displaced 46 tons submerged. [1] Two bolted joints allow the submarine to be separated into three sections. There is a single 93-inch long, 50-inch high, and 20-inch wide conning tower welded and mechanically attached to the pressure hull. The hull, originally coated with yellow zinc-chromate primer, a bitumastic tar and then painted with a finish coat of black and red enamel, is now painted with a gray gloss enamel finish coat. [2]

The vessel was equipped with a single Type 92 periscope manufactured by the Japan Optical Manufacturing Company in May 1941. Raised by electrical winch, the periscope was 10 feet long, 3 5/8 inches in diameter, and had magnification settings of 1.5 and 6.0. The periscope was removed by the U.S. Navy after

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8. Statement of Significance

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:

nationally statewide locally

Applicable National Register Criteria A B C D

NHL 1, 4

Criteria Considerations (Exceptions) A B C D E F G

Areas of Significance (enter categories from instructions)

Period of Significance

Significant Dates

Military
NHL VIII-B: World War II: The
War in the Pacific
NHL VIII-D: World War II: The
Home Front

1941
1941
1942-1945

1941
1941

Cultural Affiliation
N/A

Significant Person

Architect/Builder

Ensign Kazuo Sakamaki

Kure DY

State significance of property, and justify criteria, criteria considerations, and areas and periods of significance noted above.

The 1938-built, Type-A Japanese midget submarine Ha. 19 is a unique vessel significant to both the history of Japan and the United States. Built as part of Japan's expansion of its armed forces in the 1930s, Ha. 19 is an early example of a specific type of craft made famous by the Imperial Japanese Navy's use of it during the Second World War, namely the midget submarine. Ha. 19 is of exceptional significance in American history as well.

The capture and subsequent display of prizes of war has been a common feature of most societies; among the more notable prizes are the enemy's warships. For example, Antony and Cleopatra's vanquished fleet's bronze rams were displayed in a special memorial built by Augustus at Actium. The U.S. Navy toured several captured U-Boats in American port cities after World War I. Ha. 19's public display in the United States was a more modern example of the same behavior.

A participant in the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, Ha. 19 was the only Japanese vessel captured intact from the attack and is representative of the successful U.S. defense against this type of "secret weapon." One of Ha. 19's sisters was the first confirmed kill of the United States Navy in the

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See continuation sheet

9. Major Bibliographical References

PLEASE SEE FOOTNOTES IN TEXT.

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____

See continuation sheet

Primary location of additional data:

- State historic preservation office
- Other State agency
- Federal agency
- Local government
- University
- Other

Specify repository:

US Naval Historical Center, Washington DC

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of property .1

UTM References

A

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Zone Easting Northing

C

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B

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Zone Easting Northing

D

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

See continuation sheet

Verbal Boundary Description

All of that area encompassed within the extreme length, beam, and draft of the vessel, incorporating the entire area of Ha.19 as it rests on dry land.

See continuation sheet

Boundary Justification

The boundary incorporates the entire area of the vessel.

See continuation sheet

11. Form Prepared By

name/title James P. Delgado, Maritime Historian date December 27, 1988
organization National Park Service (418) telephone (202) 343-9528
street & number P.O. Box 37127 city or town Washington state D.C. zip code 20013-7127

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the submarine's capture in December 1941. [3] The armament consisted of two 18-inch torpedo tubes mounted one over the other. During the submarine's participation in Japan's "Hawaii Operation," it was armed with two torpedoes, each with approximately 1,000 lbs. of explosive in the warhead. [4]

The submarine was propelled by a single-shaft electric motor of 600-h.p. Powered by acid-cell batteries, the submarine carried no generator and required recharging by a mother submarine or tender. At top speed (23 knots surfaced and 19 knots submerged) the submarine's battery charge would last only 55 minutes. However, at a submerged speed of 2 knots, the submarine had an effective range of 100 miles. [5] The shaft connected to two tandem-mounted, counter-rotating propellers, the forward propeller turning right and the after propeller turning left. [6]

The submarine is divided into seven compartments--a free-flooding bow tank; torpedo room, forward battery room; control room; after battery room; motor room; and a free-flooding tail section. The battery rooms and control room, separated by riveted watertight bulkheads with doors, are integral to the center section of the submarine; the torpedo room and motor room comprise two separate sections that are bolted to the center section. The submarine carried 534 lead pigs weighing 5,899 lbs. as ballast equally loaded throughout; these pigs were shifted by the crew on December 7, 1941 to correct trim and help work the craft off a submerged reef after grounding. [7]

The torpedo room, in addition to the two 18-inch tubes and ballast, also carried a 7.5-foot ballast tank, two low pressure air tanks, two impulse tanks, and the torpedo tube firing valves. The forward battery room carried air and oxygen flasks, a 90.5-gallon trim tank, air purification equipment, and 12 battery cells. The control room carried the depth and control instruments, periscope, a small crystal radio, torpedo tube controls, gyro compass, electrically actuated directional gyro, a small electric trim pump, a low-pressure air manifold, a small regulator tank, and a hydrogen detector. The after battery room contained 36 battery cells, sound equipment, air conditioning apparatus, air purification equipment, and one 56.5-gallon trim tank. The motor room carried the motor and control panels. The free-flooding tail section housed the gear box. [8]

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The submarine's exterior equipment and accoutrements were few and consisted of a vertical rubber-sheathed 32-inch radio antenna, the periscope, two white running lights, the forward light blanked off, probably for the "Hawaii Operation," the battery ventilation exhaust, a jack for telephone communication with the mother submarine while still tethered, the mounting studs for attaching the midget to the mother submarine's deck, and a U-frame fairing sheer that supported two 3/4-inch diameter 3-strand steel wire rope net cutters running fore and aft. [9]

Upon its capture on December 8, 1941, the submarine was examined and found to be damaged as a result of several groundings. This included damage to the rudders, torpedoes, propellers, and the bow net cutter. Other than this, the vessel was in good condition and was hauled ashore, dismantled, and subjected to exhaustive documentation by the U.S. Navy. The vessel was then reassembled to be an exhibit without periscope, motor, ballast, batteries, armament, and most of the equipment. Outfitted with "dummy" wood and sheet metal air tanks and equipment, sheet metal cones to simulate the torpedo warheads, and with U.S. Navy-issue electrical light fixtures added to illuminate the interior, a mounting pad welded to the bottom, and 6-inch wide, 6-foot long "windows" for viewing cut into the hull and covered with plexiglass, the submarine, complete with two mannequins dressed as the crew, was mounted atop a trailer and toured the United States. In 1947, following the submarine's transfer to the then US Submarine Base at Key West, the viewing windows were blanked with welded filler plates.

CURRENT CONDITION AND APPEARANCE OF HA. 19

Ha. 19 has been displayed out-of-doors since 1942. After 1947, the submarine was displayed in a corrosive salt-air environment in the Florida Keys. As a result, serious localized corrosion on the exterior and lower interior of the hull has resulted. Nonetheless, an April 1988 professional marine survey of the submarine summarized its condition as "fair," with ultrasonic testing finding no weakened or failed structural welds or mechanical joints and a loss of less than 10 percent of hull plate original thickness.

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The survey noted most of the original equipment is no longer present. This includes the interior watertight doors. The survey did note the presence of the torpedo tubes, portions of the arming mechanisms, control rods, and compressed air tubes, the control rod and angle drive for the ballast tank valve, and two dummy air cylinders in the torpedo room. The forward battery room houses the battery racks, two dummy air cylinders, and an oxygen flask. The control room holds the periscope housing, winch and cable for raising and lowering the periscope, water ballast transfer pump, steering gear cylinder, emergency steering gear, an electrical fuse panel, and two tanks integral with the hull. The after battery room contains the battery racks, wiring brackets, the control rod for the ballast tank, and elevator and rudder control rods. The motor room holds the shaft, with a steady bearing and bearing mount, the mounting beds for the motor, elevator and rudder control rods, lube oil tank, oil transfer device, oil tubes, and hull penetrations for through-hull valves. [10]

While no longer possessing all of the equipment and the armament with which its crew intended to attack the United States Fleet at Pearl Harbor as part of Japan's "Hawaii Operation" on December 7, 1941, Ha. 19 retains its basic integrity of design and form. The interior, modified during WWII by the US Navy, retains the "dummy equipment" and lighting fixtures installed for public exhibition, and the hull penetrations for viewing, now blanked, also remain. The vessel possesses a good level of integrity for its 1942-1945 configuration as a touring prize vessel used to sell War Bonds.

NOTES

1

Hansgeorg Jentschura, Dieter Jung and Peter Mickel, Warships of the Imperial Japanese Navy, 1869-1945 (Annapolis, Maryland: United States Naval Institute, 1986) p. 183.

2

Don Birkholz, Tri-Coastal Marine, Inc., "Draft Survey and Assessment of Historic Japanese Attack Submarine MIDGET "C" for ARIZONA Memorial Museum Association," (April 1988), pp. 3-5.

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3
"Japanese Midget Submarine, No. 19, Description of," Memorandum,
Commander Submarine Squadron Four to Chief of Naval Operations,
Submarine Base, Pearl Harbor, T.H., December 26, 1941, p. 3,
manuscript, Operational Archives, Naval Historical Center,
Washington Navy Yard, Washington, D.C.

4
Ibid.

5
Lt. Cmdr. A.J. Stewart, "Those Mysterious Midgets," US Naval
Institute Proceedings, December 1974, p. 55, and Jentschura et
al, op.cit., p. 183.

6
"Japanese Midget Submarine, No. 19, Description of," op.cit.

7
Ibid., pp. 1-3.

8
Ibid.

9
Ibid. and Birkholz, op.cit., p. 6.

10
Birkholz, op.cit., pp. 1-15, passim.

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Second World War. Yielding significant intelligence information as well as the United States' first prisoner of war, Ens. Kazuo Sakamaki, pilot and commanding officer, Ha. 19's story is a significant aspect of the "day of infamy" at Pearl Harbor and its immediate aftermath. Ha. 19 is also of exceptional significance because of her role as a display used to good effect to sell war bonds during a nationwide tour that lasted from 1942 to 1945. Visited by millions in the major cities of the United States, Ha. 19 played a significant part in helping win the war against Japan as she raised funds, helped make an image of a clever, perfidious enemy, and helped ensure that the nation remembered Pearl Harbor.

The preceding statement of significance is based on the more detailed statements that follow.

JAPANESE MIDGET SUBMARINES AND THE PEARL HARBOR ATTACK

The development of submersible craft as weapons for naval warfare began with the construction of small vessels. From Bushnell's "Turtle" and Capt. Horace Lawson Hunley's Confederate David, through John Holland's Fenian Ram and Holland I, submersibles grew larger, achieving greater size and effective use by the time of the First World War. The success of the "submarine" during the war led to increased programs of development and construction by various nations. In Japan, submarine development included "midget" submarines; "while some scoffed at the potential of small undersea craft, others were deadly serious in a belief in their capability of dealing destructive blows to the enemy." [1] In 1933, Capt. Kishimoto Kaneji, I.J.N., designed two torpedo-shaped midgets as auxiliary weapons to be carried by fast surface vessels. Built in 1934 at Kure Navy Yard and known as "A-Hyoteki," or "A-Target," these vessels, with conning towers fitted as a result of experimentation, led to a later version, "A-Hyotelei," wherein two submarines, Ha. 1 and Ha. 2, were built in 1936. The midget program, operating under stringent security, commenced in earnest in 1938 as Ourazaki and Kure DY began the construction of 49 Type A vessels, Ha. 3 through Ha. 52. Among the vessels built during this initial burst of construction was Ha. 19, which would later participate in the attack on Pearl Harbor. The beginning of the Second World War led to increased midget construction, including Type-A, Type-B, Type-C, and Type-D boats, several experimental prototypes, and Kaiten type manned torpedoes. [2]

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Following Adm. Isoruko Yamamoto's determination to attack the United States Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor as the opening blow of a war with the United States, military and naval planners began assembling the plan for the attack, which was designated "Operation Hawaii." Initially conceived as an air strike, the plan was modified to combat test the hitherto untested Type A midget submarines. The crews of the midgets, readying for war but not yet knowing their target, were notified in mid-October 1941 to concentrate their training on Pearl Harbor and Singapore while the Sixth Submarine Fleet's large submarines were modified to carry the midgets, piggy-back, across the Pacific. Doubts about using the midget submarines plagued the Japanese planners, and as late as November 14, the final decision to employ them was not made. On November 18, 1941, the mother submarines, each with a midget directly aft of the conning towers, attached to the deck by steel belts, departed Kure Navy Base for Pearl Harbor. [3]

Five I-class fleet submarines, I-16, I-18, I-20, I-22, and I-24 of the First Submarine Squadron, Sixth Submarine Fleet, each carrying a Type A midget, were designated as the "Special Attack Force." The midget submarines' mission was to covertly slip into Pearl Harbor, wait until the attack, and then each launch their two torpedoes. They would then navigate submerged, counterclockwise around Ford Island, escape, and meet up with their mother subs some seven miles west of Lanai Island. Reaching their destination on December 5, 1941, the five submarines fanned out in their deployment pattern off Pearl Harbor, closing to within 10 miles of the harbor entrance. [4]

The first midget submarine launched was from I-16. Manned by Ens. Masaharu Yokoyama and Petty Officer 2nd Class Tei Uyeda, the midget left at midnight. At 1:16, I-22 released the midget commanded by Lt. Naoji Iwasa, leader of the midget submarines. At 2:15, I-18 launched the third midget, that of Ens. Shigemi Furuno and Petty Officer 1st Class Shigenori Yokoyama. At 2:57, the fourth midget submarine was launched from I-20. This midget was commanded by Ens. Akira Hiroo and Petty Officer 2nd Class Yoshio Katayama. Last to launch was Ha. 19 from I-24 at 3:33. Commanded by Ens. Kazuo Sakamaki and Chief Warrant Officer Kiyoshi Inagaki, Ha. 19 slipped off the deck of I-24 some 10-1/2 miles off Pearl Harbor and headed for the lights of Honolulu. [5]

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One of the fears of the planners of the attack was that the presence of the submarines would give away the Japanese intent. The fear was justified; however, U.S. forces did not understand the significance of sighting, firing upon, and sinking a submarine within the Pearl Harbor defensive zone until too late. The first midget submarine sighting was by the minesweeper USS Condor. At 3:42, one and three-quarter miles south of the Pearl Harbor entrance buoys, Condor spotted a periscope. The minesweeper notified the destroyer USS Ward, whose commander, Capt. William Outerbridge, searched without success until 4:45. The next sighting came one hour later. At 5:45, USS Antares' crew, towing a target into the harbor, spotted a submarine following them in. The submarine's conning tower was exposed. A seaplane spotter dropped smoke pots off the submarine at 6:33, giving USS Ward a fix. At 6:37, Ward spotted the midget behind Antares at 12 knots, obviously making a run for the harbor. Captain Outerbridge made a decision in just three minutes to attack. Sounding general quarters at 6:40, Ward's engines surged full ahead as the gun crews loaded the deck guns. No. 1 gun opened fire and missed at 6:45; immediately No. 3 gun fired, hitting the submarine at the conning tower's junction with the hull. The submarine heeled to starboard, slowed, and sank. Ward depth-charged the sinking vessel as it plunged into some 1200 feet of water, and at 6:46 ceased fire. The United States Navy, which had traded shots with German U-Boats in the Atlantic and probably had sunk one, had just made its first confirmed kill in World War II; the opening shots of the war preceded the air attack at Pearl Harbor by an hour. Outerbridge sent a message to CINCPAC at 6:51; "We have dropped depth charges upon sub operating in defensive sea area." An amended message was sent at 6:53; "We have attacked, fired upon, and dropped depth charges upon submarine operating in defensive sea area." Advance warning of an attack was unfortunately not heeded, and at 7:50, the first wave of Japanese planes hit Pearl Harbor and other military bases on the island of Oahu. [6]

At 8:17, the destroyer USS Helm's crew spotted a midget submarine hung up on the starboard side of the channel entrance. The submarine submerged but immediately popped up again at 8:18. Helm fired upon the submarine, but it submerged again and slipped away. Meanwhile, inside the harbor, USS Zane, a minesweeper, spotted another midget submarine 200 yards aft of USS Medusa at Berth K-23 at 8:30. Zane's report was noted, and at 8:32,

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CINCPAC sent out the alert "Japanese submarine in harbor." The seaplane tender USS Curtiss opened fire at a midget submarine inside the harbor at 8:36; the submarine fired a torpedo at Curtiss that missed. As Curtiss brought additional guns to bear, the destroyer USS Monaghan spotted the submarine and ran full speed toward it in an attempt to ram. Just as the submarine surfaced, damaged by Curtiss's shot to the conning tower, Monaghan struck it a glancing blow as a second torpedo passed harmlessly beneath the destroyer and exploded on the bank. Dropping two depth charges, Monaghan finished off the midget submarine. [7]

Outside the harbor, other Navy vessels were busily depth charging numerous submarine "contacts." At 10:04, for example, the cruiser USS St. Louis was missed by two torpedoes. Spotting a midget submarine, the crew fired upon and apparently sank it. USS Ward, whose crew claimed first blood at Pearl Harbor, depth charged four separate "contacts" between 10:20 and 11:50. At 17:15, USS Case depth charged another target. Meanwhile, aboard the mother submarines, the Special Attack Force awaited news from their comrades. At 22:41, I-16 received a radio message from the midget submarine commanded by Ensign Yokoyama, "successful surprise attack." [8] According to historian Gordon W. Prang:

On this slender evidence the Japanese Navy concluded that at least three midget submarines had penetrated Pearl Harbor and, after the air raid, had inflicted severe damage, including the destruction of a capital ship. Quickly the word spread that the minisubs had sunk the Arizona. During the spring of 1942, the Japanese Navy released this to the press, and the midget submariners were venerated as veritable gods, to the resentment of the fliers, who knew exactly when and under what circumstances the Arizona had exploded. [9]

While the submariners were venerated as the "heroes of Pearl Harbor" by Japanese and German propagandists, the actual record was dismal; the midget submarines did not achieve any success at Pearl Harbor. On the evening of December 7 and 8, the mother I-submarines met at the Lanai Island rendezvous, but the midgets did not return. The last contact was by radio at 1:11 on December 8 when I-16 heard from Ensign Yokoyama once again. By

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that time, Yokoyama and his crewman, and Ensign Kazuo Sakamaki and Chief Warrant Officer Inagaki in Ha. 19 were probably the last midget submariners left alive.

Designated "Midgets A through E" by the United States Navy (for the order in which the U.S. encountered them), the midget submarines were or have been gradually accounted for. "Midget A," sunk by USS Ward, has possibly been located in 850 feet of water by a joint U.S. Navy/National Park Service submerged cultural resources survey of Pearl Harbor in the Summer of 1988. Immediately after the attack, "Midget B," rammed and sunk by USS Monaghan, was raised and buried in landfill at the Submarine Base in 1942. Subsequently disinterred and then reburied again, the midget still lies in coral and sand fill as a permanent part of the base it attacked. "Midget C," Ha. 19, washed ashore on December 8 and was captured. That midget submarine is the subject of this study. "Midget D" was located by Navy divers on a training exercise in 1960. Raised, it was returned to Japan and is now a memorial at the Submarine School at Eta Jima. Only "Midget E"'s location is unknown; if Ensign Yokoyama slipped out to sea in a failed attempt to rendezvous with the mother subs, "E" might hold his remains. [10]

THE MISADVENTURES OF HA. 19 AND ENSIGN KAZUO SAKAMAKI

The last midget submarine launched by a mother submarine was Ha. 19, commanded and piloted by Ensign Sakamaki and crewed by Chief Warrant Officer Inagaki. While still aboard I-22, Sakamaki and Inagaki had learned that Ha. 19's gyro compass, a critical navigational aid, was out of order. Defying attempts at repair, the compass was still out of order as the time to depart for Pearl Harbor approached! Lt. Cmdr. Hiroshi Hanabusa, commanding I-22, asked what Sakamaki intended to do. "We will go," Sakamaki declared firmly, whereupon Hanabusa, fired by the young man's enthusiasm, shouted with him, "On to Pearl Harbor!" [11] The midget, with Sakamaki and Inagaki aboard, launched at 3:33 hours. Dec. 7th, and almost immediately began to sink, nose down. As the midget approached the 100-foot limit of its pressure hull, Sakamaki and Inagaki hauled the lead ballast pigs aft in an effort to correct the trim. Succeeding, they surfaced, took bearings of Honolulu's lights, and headed toward Pearl Harbor's entrance. Fighting to keep the submarine from surfacing, and navigating in circles because of the malfunctioning gyro compass, Sakamaki and Inagaki finally reached the harbor entrance at 7:00.

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Running at periscope depth, Sakamaki managed to navigate the entrance without being spotted by patrol craft, but nonetheless could not make Pearl Harbor before the air attack commenced. Striking three times on submerged coral reefs at the entrance, Sakamaki surfaced just after 8:00. There, Ha. 19, aground and with propellers spinning in reverse, was spotted by USS Helm. The shots fired by Helm missed but blasted the midget off the reef, disabled one of the torpedo firing mechanisms, and knocked Ensign Sakamaki unconscious. [12]

Regaining consciousness, Sakamaki saw billows of smoke from the burning ships in the harbor and pressed forward, only to run aground again. Backing off without being spotted, Ha. 19 once again ran for the harbor and grounded. Attempts to back off failed, and Sakamaki and Inagaki were forced to shift ballast one more time. Damaged, partially flooded, smoke-filled and reeking fumes from the batteries, the midget's interior was a shambles. Free at last, the midget would not answer its helm. Depth charged several times as it drifted through the defensive zone, Ha. 19's aborted role in the attack was over. The other torpedo's firing mechanism was now useless; as the midget swung in circles and drifted out of the harbor entrance, Sakamaki wept bitterly before he and Inagaki passed out from the bad air. Reviving in the evening, Sakamaki opened the hatch. Noting he was near land, the hapless ensign tried to beach his craft, but the engines died and Ha. 19 grounded on yet another coral reef. Ordering Inagaki to abandon ship, Sakamaki lit the fuses of the self-destruct charges and leapt into the surf. Calling to Inagaki, Sakamaki realized with despair that the charges had not exploded and his vessel was to fall into enemy hands. Separated from Inagaki, whose body washed ashore the next day, Sakamaki was battered into unconsciousness. On the morning of December 8, 1941, he woke on the beach with Sgt. David Akui standing guard over him. Ens. Kazuo Sakamaki, I.J.N., was the United States' first Second World War prisoner of war. [13]

The submarine, aground on the reef, was bombed by Army planes. The bombs missed, but once again U.S. forces succeeded in freeing the vessel. Drifting ashore, Ha. 19 was captured by a salvage party from the Submarine Base at Pearl Harbor. Lines were secured to the vessel, and "...plans for salvage were made. A demolition bomb in the after battery compartment was removed. It was found that the submarine consisted of three sections bolted together. By the aid of a jury mast, a heavy sled of 12" by 12"

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timbers, and an army tractor, the submarine was hauled higher on the beach. After considerable effort, the three sections of the submarine were unbolted, placed on trailers, and hauled to the Submarine Base." [14]

At the same time, naval investigators recovered several documents, including a navigational chart of Pearl Harbor from the sub's interior. Ensign Sakamaki, imprisoned at Fort Shafter, was interrogated by Naval Intelligence. While "his revelations were less than earthshaking," the captured submarine provided allied intelligence with its first view of Japan's secret submersible weapon. The initial report on the captured midget submarine was produced on December 26, less than three weeks after the attack. [15] Shamed by his capture, and censured by his colleagues for that reason, Sakamaki briefly returned to Japan after his release. He now lives in Brazil.

HA. 19 AND WAR BOND DRIVES

Very quickly after its capture and studies to assess the capabilities of the midget submarine, Ha. 19 was pressed into another duty. Shipped to the mainland in January 1942, mounted on a trailer and modified for public display, the midget submarine toured the United States in 1942-1945 as a promotion for war bond sales. Admission to the "Japanese suicide" submarine was secured by the purchase of war bonds and war stamps. [16] The war bond drives were an integral part of the nation's effort to win the conflict and were a marked aspect of life in the United States during the war years. The war bond drives were major campaigns "in which just about every promotional stunt the combined brains of Madison Avenue, Hollywood and the Treasury Department's War Finance Division--plus hundreds of thousands of local drive chairmen--could dream up was employed." [17] Ha. 19 was employed for such stunts--including the enlistment of Chinese-American naval recruits in San Francisco on Navy Day in January 1942. [18]

More importantly, however, the captured midget was a potent symbol. "As a symbol of that government which had caused the death and destruction attendant to America's entry into World War II, it helped perpetuate the electrifying phrase, 'Remember Pearl Harbor.'" [19] The midget submarine, a seeming "epitome of the Japanese preoccupation with smallness and precision--the

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mechanical counterpart of a bonsai tree," was also a potent symbol of Japanese perfidy and American rage at a "little people" who presumed to attack "a white giant." "People here are wild at the insolence of the 'little Japs,'" wrote one correspondent at the end of 1941. The concept of littleness remained a preoccupation and means of belittling the enemy for many Americans, a concept supported by editorials such as Time magazine's December 30, 1941, statement that the Japanese, "big only in their fury..." were advancing down Malaya "in miniature scale," using "tiny one-man tanks and two-gun carriers. The British even said that their doctors cut miniature Japanese bullets out of miniature British wounds." [20] The disclosure of the role of the midget submarines two weeks after Pearl Harbor and the national tour of Ha. 19 was another part of this unique sociological aspect of the war as seen in America.

POST-WAR DISPLAY OF HA. 19

Ha. 19 ended the war in Chicago, lying at the Navy Pier until transferred, at the request of the commanding officer, to the Submarine Base at Key West, Florida. Arriving at Key West on January 20, 1947, five years after its arrival on the mainland, Ha. 19 was a stationary outdoor exhibit at the base until 1964, when the submarine was asked for, and loaned to, the Key West Art and Historical Association. On December 2, 1964, the submarine was placed on indefinite loan to the Association and put on outdoor display at the Key West Lighthouse Museum on Whitehead street. [21] In 1987 the Association decided to focus the effort of the museum on the lighthouse and other aids to navigation, and to favor a request from the National Park Service, USS Arizona Memorial, to relinquish the submarine back to the Navy so that it could then be transferred, on indefinite loan, to the USS Arizona Memorial, for public display and interpretation at Pearl Harbor, where a very significant aspect of its brief career was played out in the hours of December 7 and 8, 1941.

NOTES

1

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8

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10

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Prange et al., December 7, 1941...., pp. 373-364; also see "Japanese Midget Submarine, No. 19...." and Stewart, "Those Mysterious Midgets," p. 61.

16
Jarvis M. Morse, Paying for a World War: The United States Financing of World War II (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1971) pp. 214-215. Also See Laurence M. Olney. The War Bond Story (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1971) p. 53.

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19
Stewart, "Those Mysterious Midgets." p. 61.

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John W. Dower, War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986) pp. 110-111.

21
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