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Bushnell General Military Hospital And The Community of Brigham City, Utah During World War II

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BUSHNELL GENERAL MILITARY HOSPITAL
AND THE COMMUNITY OF BRIGHAM CITY, UTAH
DURING WORLD WAR II

by

Andrea Kaye Carter

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirement for the degree

of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

in

History

Approved:

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UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY
Logan, Utah

2008

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ABSTRACT

Bushnell General Military Hospital
and the Community of Brigham City, Utah
During World War II

by

Andrea Carter, Master of Science

Utah State University, 2008

Major Professor: Dr. David Rich Lewis
Department: History

Bushnell General Military Hospital was an Army World War II hospital in Brigham City, Utah from August 1942 to June 1946. It specialized in treating amputations, maxillofacial surgery, neuropsychiatric conditions, and tropical diseases. It was also one of the first hospitals to experimentally use penicillin. Bushnell was a regional facility for wounded soldiers from the Mountain States that provided quality medical care to patients. The community of Brigham City and the citizens of other Northern Utah communities were an integral part of the success of Bushnell. Citizens donated time, supplies, and money to support the facility and to assist in the care and rehabilitation of injured GIs. Celebrities also visited Bushnell to promote morale, and some disabled Americans assisted injured patients. The hospital staff, along with Northern Utahns, played an important role in helping to rehabilitate and reintroduce

injured soldiers into society.

Brigham City was also effected by Bushnell Hospital. One major problem was a shortage of housing in Brigham City, which led citizens to rent to family members of patients in private homes. Another was infrastructure needed to support the hospital. However, the benefits mostly outweighed the problems. The city and surrounding communities benefited from the job growth at Bushnell and in Brigham. Downtown businesses received additional revenue from patrons. Because the hospital came to Brigham City, some citizens also met Japanese Americans and German and Italian POWs in addition to those connected to Bushnell. This led Brigham citizens to develop friendships with people they might have not met otherwise. When the war ended, the subsequent closure of Bushnell General Military Hospital brought these benefits to an end, and Brigham City and other Northern Utahn communities hastened to find a new occupant for the hospital facility to ensure jobs. In 1950, it became the Intermountain Indian School. The school closed in 1984, and now businesses and homes occupy the site.

(140 pages)

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I would like to thank Dr. David Lewis for his guidance with writing this thesis. This document also owes much to committee members, Dr. Victoria Grieve and Daniel Davis. This thesis would have not been possible if Brigham City citizens and other Northern Utahns who were involved with Bushnell Hospital had not been willing to share their experiences. Much is owed to Kathleen Bradford who interviewed many Brigham citizens. Melva Baron and Mary Jeanne Baron were invaluable sources for providing information about the Bushnell Hospital years. The Brigham City Library staff also provided assistance to help me obtain materials. Other Utahns I have mentioned the project to, who had relatives connected to Bushnell, also willingly provided information to help me write this thesis.

I give special thanks to Norma Bailey, my grandmother, who introduced me to the subject as a child. It is likely this thesis would never have been written if she had not volunteered as a nurses' aide at the hospital and shared Bushnell stories with me. My family, friends, and colleagues provided encouragement, suggestions, and patience from the initial thesis proposal to the final document. My mother Gaye Carter also helped me with proofreading. Without all this support this document would not have been written.

Andrea Kaye Carter

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CHAPTER I

BUSHNELL GENERAL MILITARY HOSPITAL

Bushnell General Military Hospital in Brigham City, Utah operated from August 1942 to June 1946. The facility was a World War II Army hospital that specialized in treating amputations. It was also one of the first hospitals to experimentally administer penicillin to patients. Bushnell was a regional facility for wounded soldiers from the Mountain States area. On 30 January 1942, Brigham City won the bid for the hospital, and in May 1942 construction began in earnest at the hospital site on the southern edge of town. When patients began to arrive at the hospital, the Bushnell staff asked civilians to donate supplies which enhanced the hospital's ability to care for and to entertain patients. Throughout the facility's existence, community groups and individual volunteers from Brigham and other Northern Utah cities assisted with patient care and rehabilitation.

The hospital also changed the Brigham City community. The town benefited economically from Bushnell because it employed many local people, and those connected with Bushnell Hospital patronized downtown businesses. Brigham City also made general infrastructure improvements to the town to aid hospital patients, staff, and other newcomers. Visitors connected to the hospital changed the small town of Brigham because of the increase of people from different backgrounds; however, the influx of people caused some growing pains for the town. Perhaps the biggest problem was the housing shortage in Brigham. This led to some visitors, mostly family members of injured GIs, staying in private homes. Despite the difficulties, Brigham City citizens remember the Bushnell General Hospital years as a time when they met people from

diverse backgrounds, and when they helped care for injured soldiers. The Bushnell Hospital years were a unique era in Brigham City's history.

This thesis covers the time period beginning when Brigham submitted its bid to acquire the hospital in December 1941 to the impact Brigham City felt when the hospital closed in June 1946. Bushnell Hospital's mission was to provide injured GIs with quality medical care. This thesis will explore the hospital's efforts to reach its goal, and the support Brigham City citizens and others gave to the facility in order to help it provide quality care to patients. At the same time, Bushnell Hospital's staff, patients, and visitors effected the town of Brigham City and its citizens. This thesis will discuss how the facility changed the community socially, economically, and structurally, and how the coming of Bushnell broadened the views of Brigham's residents about the world outside their city.

Despite the significant impact the hospital had on Brigham City and Northern Utah, the hospital has been largely overlooked in the historiography of Utah military installations. A historiographical examination of Bushnell General Military Hospital re-enforces my thesis's connections to World War II Utah history, medical history, home front history, prisoner of war history, disability history, and women's history.

While the industrial military facilities of Utah, such as, the Ogden Defense Depot and Geneva Steel, have been discussed in theses and journal publications, historians have either ignored Bushnell General Military Hospital or mentioned it only in passing.

Anthony T. Cluff's thesis, "The Role of the Federal Government in the Industrial Expansion of Utah During World War II" mentions the latter installations, but ignores

Bushnell.¹ A series of articles on WWII published by the *Utah Historical Quarterly* hardly mentions Bushnell at all. In particular, Thomas G. Alexander's "Utah War Industry during World War II: A Human Impact Analysis" has two sentences about Bushnell.² Despite the articles on military installations,³ a comprehensive study of Bushnell General, its patients, staff, medical advancements, and its effect on the citizens of Northern Utah, especially Brigham City, has yet to be made. The *Medical Department*

¹Anthony T. Cluff, "The Role of the Federal Government in the Industrial Expansion of Utah During World War II" (Master's thesis, Utah State University, 1964).

²Thomas G. Alexander, "Utah War Industry during World War II: A Human Impact Analysis," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 51 No. 1 (Winter 1983): 77 and 88. One page mentions the acquisition of the hospital, and the other page discusses the hospital's transition to the Intermountain Indian School. Antonette Chambers Noble, "Utah's Defense Industries and Workers in World War II," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 29 No. 4 (Fall 1991): 365–379, does not mention Bushnell at all.

³Leonard J. Arrington and Thomas G. Alexander, "They Kept 'Em Rolling: The Tooele Army Depot, 1942–1962," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 31 No. 1 (Winter 1963): 3–25; Leonard J. Arrington and Archer L. Durham, "Anchors Aweigh in Utah: The US Naval Supply Depot at Clearfield, 1942–1962," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 31 No. 2 (Spring 1963): 109–126; Leonard J. Arrington and Thomas G. Alexander, "World's Largest Military Reserve: Wendover Air Force Base, 1941–1963," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 31 No. 4 (Fall 1963): 324–335; Leonard J. Arrington and Thomas G. Alexander, "Sentinels on the Desert: The Dugway Proving Ground, 1942–1963," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 32 No. 1 (Winter 1964): 32–43; Leonard J. Arrington and Thomas G. Alexander, "Supply Hub of the West: Defense Depot Ogden, 1941–1964," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 32 No. 2 (Spring 1964): 99–121; Leonard J. Arrington, Thomas G. Alexander, and Eugene A. Erb, Jr., "Utah's Biggest Business: Ogden Air Material Area at Hill Air Force Base, 1938–1965," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 33 No. 1 (Winter 1965): 9–33; Thomas G. Alexander and Leonard J. Arrington, "Utah's First Life of Defense: The Utah National Guard and Camp W.G. Williams, 1926–1965," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 33 No. 2 (Spring 1965): 141–156; Leonard J. Arrington and Thomas G. Alexander, "The US Army Overlooks Salt Lake Valley: Fort Douglas, 1862–1965," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 33 No. 4 (Fall 1965): 326–350; Thomas G. Alexander, "Brief Histories of Three Federal Military Installations in Utah: Kearns Army Air Base, Hurricane Mesa, and Green River Test Complex," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 34 No. 2 (Spring 1966): 121–137.

United States Army in World War II series contains some information about Bushnell's medical treatments and advancements, however that information is scattered across nine volumes. Historians have largely ignored Bushnell's connections to the Brigham City community and the residents' contributions to the hospital.

Utah's home front history is an important part of the story of WWII. This thesis will examine the relationships among Brigham City civilians, Bushnell Hospital military personnel, and GI-patients. The housing shortage's impact on Brigham City adds information to the existing discussions of WWII housing problems in Utah. One article on this topic is James B. Allen's "Crisis on the Home Front: The Federal Government and Utah's Defense Housing in World War II." Allen focuses on the housing shortages in Weber, Davis, Salt Lake, and Tooele counties, briefly mentioning the crisis in Brigham City.⁴ *Utah Remembers World War II* by Allan Kent Powell, contains some Utahns' reminiscences about Bushnell. Included are Margaret Atwood Herbert, who worked as a secretary at the hospital, and Verabel Call Knudson, who operated the Idle Isle Restaurant.⁵ My thesis will use additional oral histories to cover other topics such as wartime employment in Brigham City and at Bushnell.

The *Utah Historical Quarterly* article "Fighting the Good Fight" by Jessie Embry explains war-time rationing and the war bond efforts of Utahns. My thesis will add

⁴James B. Allen, "Crisis on the Home Front: The Federal Government and Utah's Defense Housing in World War II," *Pacific Historical Review*, 38 No. 4 (November 1969): 424-425.

⁵Allan Kent Powell, ed., *Utah Remembers World War II* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1991), 169-180.

additional information to this topic by detailing specific donations of hospital supplies and items needed by patients at Bushnell Hospital. It will also discuss volunteer efforts at the hospital facility that aided injured soldiers.⁶ Part of this volunteer effort occurred because Bushnell operated as one of the first national convalescent hospitals during World War II. Some information about the rehabilitation movement during WWII is explained in *The Disability Rights Movement* by Doris Zames Fleischer and Frieda Zames.⁷ Bushnell Hospital established a variety of recreational and occupational therapies to aid patients. Because of the lack of men on the home front, many of the caregivers at Bushnell were women. The involvement of military and civilian women at Bushnell will expand on the familiar stories of “Utah’s Rosies” and “Rosies” throughout the United States.⁸

One exception to the exclusion of Bushnell from Utah WWII history is the history

⁶Jessie L. Embry, “Fighting the Good Fight: The Utah Home Front during World War II,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 63 No. 3 (Summer 1995): 241–267.

⁷Doris Zames Fleischer and Frieda Zames, *The Disability Rights Movement: From Charity to Confrontation* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 46.

⁸Antonette Chambers Noble, “Utah’s Rosies: Women in the Utah War Industries during World War II,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 59 No. 2 (Spring 1991): 123–145; Hartmann, Susan M. *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s* (Boston: Twayne Press, 1982). Noble examined women’s involvement in Utah war industries, but she does not mention Bushnell. Emily Yellin, *Our Mothers’ War* (New York: Free Press, 2004), examines the American women’s experience on the war front and at home. This includes a discussion of home front nurses and volunteers. Judy Barrett Litoff and David C. Smith, *Since You Went Away* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), looks at women’s home front experience through letters. This includes women’s employment during the war. Richard Polenberg, *War and Society: The United States 1941–1945* (Philadelphia: JB Lippincott Company, 1972), also examines the effect of the war on women and American society during the war.

of prisoners of war. Alan Kent Powell's *Splinters of a Nation: German Prisoners of War* details the nature of POW work, their friendships with US citizens, statistics about the number of POWs at Bushnell, and the medical treatment of POWs there.⁹ My thesis expands on the POW interactions with civilians and the prisoners' contributions to hospital efficiency from information received through oral interviews with Brigham City residents.

In my research, I utilized newspaper articles from the *Box Elder News-Journal*, *The Salt Lake Tribune*, the *Bushnell GH Bugle* (the hospital's newspaper), and other Northern Utah papers. They describe activities at the hospital, such as celebrities who visited, and community contributions to the facility. The Annual Report of Bushnell General Hospital 1942–1945 is also available at the Brigham City Library and provides a few insights into hospital activities.

Both the Brigham City Library and the Brigham Young University Library hold oral interviews which make up a large part of my thesis.¹⁰ Also KUED, a Salt Lake City PBS station, produced, *Utah World War II Stories Part 4: The Home Front*.¹¹ The documentary includes interviews with people about Bushnell Hospital. I personally

⁹Allen Kent Powell, *Splinters of a Nation: German Prisoners of War in Utah* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989); Ralph A. Busco and Douglas D. Alder, "German and Italian Prisoners of War In Utah and Idaho," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 No. 1 (Winter 1971): 57, 60, 63, 65–67, mentions similar information.

¹⁰Kathleen Bradford conducted those interviews over a variety of years from the 1980s to the 2000s.

¹¹*Utah World War II Stories Part 4: The Home Front* (Salt Lake City: KUED Television, 7 December 2006) <http://www.kued.org/productions/worldwar2/interviews-homefront.php> (accessed 18 February 2008).

conducted two interviews with Brigham City residents Melva Baron, a secretary at Bushnell, and Mary Jeanne Baron, an assistant in the dental clinic. Each offered insight into her job and Brigham City's involvement with the hospital.

While interviews have had difficulty gaining legitimacy as historical documents, Roger Horowitz in "Oral History and the Story of America and World War II" argues that "it [oral history] has always been central to telling the story of World War II."¹² During the war, historians and journalists started to use:

oral history to celebrate the role of the United States in the conflict and to unravel the complex military and political events of the period. . . [Now] a new generation of social historians started employing oral history to question the heroic picture of the war years and to document the experiences of minorities, women, and working people in wartime.¹³

I use oral interviews to provide information about the community's reaction to the hospital, citizens' involvement with the hospital, and the hospital's effect on Northern Utah, especially Brigham City. Hopefully, the interviews will give a personal touch to the home front experience. Using a variety of oral interviews will, to some extent, "humanize [the] historical processes" and in some small way reconstruct what happened.¹⁴ Often memories are "telescoped" and compacted creating confusion in the chronological dating of events.¹⁵ Few of the oral interviews contain exact dates about

¹²Roger Horowitz, "Oral History and the Story of America and World War II," *The Journal of American History* 82 No. 2 (September 1995): 617.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid., 619.

¹⁵Alice M. Hoffman and Howard S. Hoffman, *Archives of Memory* (Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press, 1990), 148.

when specific events occurred, but given that the operational life of Bushnell was so compact (1942 to 1946), the interviews help to fill in the “gaps” with qualitative information that other sources do not supply.

Chapter II covers the construction and opening of Bushnell, and will explain the medical advances the hospital made during its existence. Bushnell General Military Hospital was a pioneer in the use of penicillin, the use of experimental malaria drugs, and in the rehabilitation of injured GIs. The hospital was a first-class facility of its time that provided excellent care for injured soldiers. Chapter III explores how city residents and others volunteered to aid patients in rehabilitation, in recreational activities, and in reintegrating them into society. In addition, Brigham citizens and groups along the Wasatch Front donated items to the hospital, from bottles to hold medical supplies to magazines and games for patient use. Celebrities came to boost morale, and some disabled people came to teach the injured soldiers how to cope with their disabilities. The community, as well as military personnel and others, worked to make the hospital a success by aiding the patients in their recoveries.

Chapter IV explores Bushnell’s effects on Brigham City. The drastic increase of people living in or visiting such a small town generated an instant housing crisis. While community members opened their homes or rented space to visitors, rental problems were a continuing source of tension between Brigham citizens and outsiders. Bushnell’s existence required sacrifices on the part of Brigham residents; however, the hospital created important economic opportunities for the citizens. Bushnell itself brought much needed jobs to Brigham. The influx of people connected to Bushnell General “widened

the horizons” of Brigham’s citizens by introducing them to people of different ethnic, cultural, and religious backgrounds. A shortage of laborers brought German and Italian prisoners of war to the hospital, and a few Brigham citizens developed some compassion for “enemy” soldiers as they encountered them at the facility. Chapter V, the conclusion, covers the decommissioning of Bushnell and the different uses of the former hospital site until the present.

This thesis will explore the medical care given to patients and contribute to the discussion of the role that Northern Utah residents played in supporting the war on the home front. It will show how the residents of Brigham City and others along the Wasatch Front donated time, possessions, and money to aid the hospital with the care and rehabilitation of injured GIs. In turn, the military hospital’s existence in Brigham brought a variety of financial and community benefits that revolutionized the small town of Brigham City, Utah and benefited surrounding areas.

CHAPTER II

BUSHNELL MEDICAL ARMY HOSPITAL

The United States War Department's announcement that Brigham City, Utah would be the site of Bushnell General Military Hospital appeared in the *Box Elder News-Journal* on 30 January 1942. The article stated that it was "Perhaps the best news to ever be received in Brigham. . . ."¹ The 1,500-bed hospital would be built on 235 acres within the southern limits of Brigham City.

To obtain the bid for Bushnell, Brigham City worked with other Northern Utah cities. At a meeting in Salt Lake City in December 1941, Brigham City Mayor Alf Freeman and chamber of commerce officials from Brigham City, Salt Lake, Ogden, and Logan, committed as a group to lobby the US Army for the proposed western United States military hospital.² The committee felt that Brigham City had a good chance to obtain the installation because their bid included a location with water, accessibility to electricity, and a sufficient labor force to build the facility.³ To purchase land for the site

¹"War Department has Announced Acquisition By Donation of 235-Acre Hospital Site Here," *Box Elder News-Journal* (Brigham City, Utah), 30 January 1942 (hereafter *BENJ*); "Bushnell General Hospital was 'a city within a city,'" *BENJ*, 4 August 1943; "Reports Received Last Night From Strictly Reliable Sources Stated Army Will Bring Hospital Here," *BENJ*, 16 January 1942. Earlier on 16 January 1942, the newspaper speculated that bringing the hospital to Brigham would be, "The greatest boom this city will probably ever experience. . . ."

²"Government Hospital Possibility Looms Bright for Brigham," *BENJ*, 17 December 1941.

³*Ibid.*

Brigham City and Box Elder County put up \$60,000.00.⁴ Walter G. Mann, a Brigham City resident, remembers that half of the money came from the city and half came from the county. However, some city and county leaders worried that tax money should not be used for such a purpose. The county commissioners worried that if they put up the money they might face a lawsuit because “they were giving tax money away to [buy] a place . . . [they] haven’t got any right to.”⁵ Thirty members of Brigham City agreed to advance \$1,000 each to pay legal fees if there was a lawsuit brought by taxpayers against the county, but no suit was ever filed. Ogden, a nearby community, pledged its full support because its train station would transport patients and supplies to the hospital; thus, the hospital’s placement would bring some money into the Ogden economy. Brigham City was the first to send an official bid to Washington DC. Other candidates for the hospital were Price and Cedar City in Utah and cities in Idaho and Texas.⁶ Brigham attributed its

⁴Walter G. Mann and Donna Mann, interviewed by Kathleen Bradford, 20 July 1989, MS 8, transcript, Brigham City Library, Brigham City, Utah (hereafter BCL); Jill Christoffersen, interview by Andrea Carter, 19 May 2008, transcript, in the author’s possession, Ogden, Utah. The city and county bought the land from a local man Able E. Christoffersen.

⁵Walter Mann and Donna Mann, Interview 1989; “Brigham City Republican Candidates,” *BENJ*, 26 October 1943. Later in 1943, Republican incumbent candidate David O. Anderson as part of a campaign ad reminded Brigham citizens that Bushnell Hospital “was an investment, one of [the] finest investments any city ever could make,” and “as for any insinuations that funds have been illegally appropriated or mishandled, we consider these self-evidently absurd. Brigham City’s books are continually audited by a bonded Certified Public Accountant.”

⁶“Utah Cities Would Bring Hospital Here,” *BENJ*, 18 December 1941; “War Department Has Announced Acquisition By Donation of 235-Acre Hospital Site Here,” *BENJ*, 30 January 1942. J. Bracken Lee, the mayor of Price, Utah, and Robert McTavish, a resident of Cedar City, both complained to Utah’s Governor Herbert Maw that Southern Utah “received a lack of support” from the government. Robert McTavish went as far as

winning bid to Northern Utah's combined chambers of commerce support for the project along with area governmental support.⁷

The U.S. Army Corp's district office in Salt Lake City, under the direction of project supervisor Captain A. W. Flandro, worked in conjunction with Cahill Brothers Construction of San Francisco, California to build the facility.⁸ Construction commenced in May 1942, with a predicted initial completion date for the hospital of 15 September 1942. Before construction was completely finished, the Army declared Bushnell open on 21 August 1942. On 2 October 1942, just eleven days before the hospital received its first patients, the Army announced a half million dollar expansion of 422 additional beds. Estimates of original construction costs were \$3 million, but final costs were \$9 million for the 60-building hospital.⁹ The first patients arrived on 13 October 1942 from

to say that "Cedar City gets less than nothing when it comes to securing and allocations for roads, factories, and new enterprises, and especially defense projects. . . . Utah should form a new state and only include territory from Brigham City to Provo. We here in southern Utah should annex our respective counties to Nevada and Arizona." He seems to have had a long standing bias against projects built with taxpayer money (either state or national) in Northern Utah.

⁷"War Department Has Announced Acquisition By Donation of 235-Acre Hospital Site Here," *BENJ*, 30 January 1942.

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹"First Ground Broken at Hospital Site," *BENJ*, 8 May 1942; "Forty Buildings To Be Built Of Brick and Will Extend From Seventh South To Bottom of Hill," *BENJ*, 3 March 1942; "US Hospital Functions are Explained," *BENJ*, 19 June 1942; James H. Miller, *Brigham City Centennial 1867-1967* (Brigham City, Utah: Brigham City Corporation and the Brigham City Chamber of Commerce Peach Days, 1967), 50-51; Kathleen Bradford, "IV Bushnell Hospital," manuscript in Indian School Box #14, BCL; Kathleen Bradford, "Bushnell General Hospital," in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, edited by Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 65; "Local Army Institution is Turned Over To Medical Dept. And Accepted by Gen. Willis," *BENJ*, 19

Ogden's Hill Field Army Air Base and Salt Lake City's Fort Douglas. These military installations already operated infirmaries, and their most difficult cases came to the new facility. On 19 October 1943, the day of Bushnell's dedication, the facility actually celebrated its first anniversary.¹⁰ During its four-year existence the facility treated about 13,000 military patients with various illnesses and injuries. In 1944, Bushnell housed 3,286 GI-patients; at that time, its designated capacity was just 2,577.¹¹

One of sixty-one military hospitals in the United States and the fifth largest Army hospital on the US mainland, Bushnell Hospital was a state-of-the-art facility for its time. It was under the auspices of the Ninth (Army) Service Command.¹² The hospital received its name from George Ensign Bushnell (1853–1924), a World War I US Army tuberculosis specialist, and Colonel Robert M. Hardaway MD became the commanding officer of the facility.¹³ The hospital contained seventeen wards, six operating rooms,

October 1943. Civilian Conservation Corps men cleared orchards from the site. One newspaper article lists the cost of the hospital as \$7 million.

¹⁰"Local Army Institution is Turned Over To Medical Dept. And Accepted by Gen. Willis," *BENJ*, 19 October 1943.

¹¹Norman D. Moore, "A Brief History of Bushnell General Hospital," Walter Reed Army Medical Center, 1967, in *Annual Report of Bushnell General Hospital 1942–1945* (Washington, DC: US Army Medical Service, 1946) National Archives, photocopy in REF 979.2 Bus, BCL (hereafter *Annual Report*), 2.

¹²"Bushnell General Hospital Dedication at Brigham City," *The Salt Lake Tribune* (Salt Lake City, Utah), 17 October 1943. Mather Cleveland and Alfred B. Shands, Jr., eds., *Surgery in World War II: Orthopedic Surgery in the Zone of the Interior*, editor in chief William S. Mullins (Washington, DC: Office of the Surgeon General, Department of the Army, 1970), 46–47.

¹³"Man for Whom Bushnell Hospital Was Named Was Eminent Medical Man and Army Officer," *BENJ*, 11 September 1942; "Commandant Announces Additions To

twelve dental areas, several isolation rooms, and the highest caliber X-ray machines of the day. It also had its own laundry, bakery, heating plant, morgue, and repair areas. The hospital grounds contained soldiers' barracks, nurses' dormitories, officers' housing, military dining halls, and large storage warehouses.¹⁴ The military installed covered walkways between buildings so that during inclement weather anyone traveling between them would remain dry.¹⁵ For added convenience, the completed hospital complex contained a post office, a post exchange (PX), a commissary, a library and a reading room, a 500-seat indoor theater, offices for hospital guards, a field house, and a cafeteria that could seat 1,000 people.¹⁶ The officers' mess had separate areas for officers and nurses; enlisted men, and ambulatory patients had separate eating facilities. Some patients ate meals in their wards because they were not ambulatory.¹⁷ By 1945, Bushnell added bedside telephones for each patient's convenience.¹⁸

All government military services sent injured personnel to Bushnell General

Personnel at Brigham City; Building Progresses on Schedule," *The Salt Lake Tribune*, 8 July 1942. Colonel Bushnell was a former commander at the Fort Bayard, New Mexico tuberculosis hospital.

¹⁴"US Hospital Functions are Explained," *BENJ*, 19 June 1942.

¹⁵"Already Activated Huge Establishment is a Complete City Within Itself," *BENJ*, 11 September 1942.

¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁷Bradford, "IV Bushnell Hospital."

¹⁸*Annual Report*, 12 January 1946, 8; "PX Offers Numerous Christmas Gifts," *Bushnell GH Bugle* (Bushnell General Hospital, Brigham City, Utah), 25 November 1944 (available at The Utah State Historical Society, Records, 1944–1953 by Bushnell General Hospital, MS A1803). The PX also contained a refreshment bar.

Hospital, but the majority of cases came from the Pacific Theater. During the hospital's existence, Bushnell was the only military medical installation located in the Mountain West states; it generally received patients whose home states were Montana, Idaho, Utah, Nevada, or Arizona. Military policy was to locate individuals in need of long-term care as close to their hometowns as was medically feasible. This policy enhanced the rehabilitation of recovering patients because more family and friends were able to visit them. Bushnell maintained a very liberal convalescent visiting policy, and the hospital staff encouraged families to visit their injured loved ones frequently.¹⁹

In relationship to other military medical centers in the United States, Bushnell had several areas of expertise. It was one of three malaria (and tropical disease) centers, one of five amputation centers, and one of seven maxillofacial reconstruction centers. In addition, two other specialties at Bushnell were neurology and psychiatry. Bushnell had one woman doctor in the neuropsychiatric ward during a time when female physicians were unusual. Lieutenant Hilde G. Koppell, who was born in Germany, joined the Army Medical Corp as a physician the day after she received her U.S. citizenship. A year later, she received the Army assignment to join Bushnell's staff.²⁰ The hospital also had a ophthalmic-plastic (eye surgery) center. In 1944, Bushnell also became a center for the

¹⁹Robert D. Smith, interview by Kathleen Bradford, 6 April 1983, transcript, Brigham City Museum-Gallery, Brigham City, Utah. Dr. Robert D. Smith described the daily schedule at the hospital. The day began at 8:00 AM with a recorded bugle call over the sound system. There was little military ceremony, such as review, except for a twice-daily flag ceremony.

²⁰"Bushnell Has Two Women Doctors," *BENJ*, 13 October 1943. The other women doctor, Lieutenant Gertrude Cone, previously practiced in Boston, Massachusetts. She joined the Army because she had two brothers in the military.

study of diagnosing tissue lesions. With this addition, Bushnell had more medical service specialty centers than any other Army general hospital in the US.²¹ Some patients with injuries or diseases outside Bushnell's specialties came to the facility. For example, other diseases the hospital staff dealt with in 1942 were arthritis, gastrointestinal problems, respiratory illnesses (sinus, bronchitis, and classic pneumonia), and allergy problems.²² In addition, medical personnel treated patients for rheumatic fever, ulcers, and even delivered a few babies.²³ Later, when an army hospital with expertise in a soldier's specific problem area had available bed space, the Army might transfer the patient to that

²¹"Histopathological Center," *Bushnell GH Bugle*, 6 April 1944.

²²*Annual Report*, 13 January 1943, 7; "Bushnell Needs Centered in Special Divisions Out-Patient Clinic Serves as 'General Practitioner,'" *The Salt Lake Tribune*, 28 September 1945; M. Elliott Randolph and Norton Canfield, eds. *Surgery in World War II: Ophthalmology and Otolaryngology*, editor in chief John Boyd Coats (Washington, DC: Office of the Surgeon General, Department of the Army, 1957), 10–11. Bushnell also offered a out-patient clinic for military and civilian members stationed at the hospital. It served expectant mothers who were civilian dependents, and it had a pediatric clinic, allergy clinic, and immunization clinic. It gave general military physical exams and provided sick call for prisoners of war.

²³*Annual Report*, 13 January 1943, 7; *Annual Report*, 12 January 1944, 19; *Annual Report*, 12 January 1946, 1; "First Baby Born in Hospital Is Named "Bushnell," *BENJ*, 10 November 1942; "First Twins Are Born At Bushnell—Both are Boys," *BENJ*, 18 January 1944; Don Francis, interview by Andrea Carter, 12 April 2008, transcript, in the author's possession, Ogden, Utah; David Rosser, interview by Andrea Carter, 9 October 2008, transcript, in the author's possession, Ogden, Utah. At least 300 babies were born at the hospital. Those babies included baby boy Bushnell Barrett who came in November 1942, and twins Craiger Carl and Gregory Irwin that came in January 1944. The babies were born to military families. Another baby born at Bushnell was Bobby Francis Welch. His mother, the wife of a deceased soldier, had mumps, and no other area hospitals would admit her. David Rosser was also born at Bushnell because his father, a soldier, worked at the facility.

hospital.²⁴

Malaria, one of Bushnell's specialties, was a menace to soldiers in the Pacific Theater. The Army deemed malaria "public enemy number one" because it was one of the greatest causes of GI casualties.²⁵ In 1943, malaria had neither effective treatments nor a cure. There were no specialists in tropical diseases at Bushnell, so other doctors cared for those with such illnesses.²⁶ The facility participated in a clinical study of malaria treatments, and the Army specified that all malaria patients remain in the hospital for six months even if their symptoms disappeared. For the study, the hospital set aside a certain number of beds for patients with malaria. The staff gave those patients experimental drugs. Then the military compared results among the various hospitals studying the medicines. As many as three hundred different drugs, developed by the American Research Council, received testing at the facilities. Quinine and its derivatives proved to be the most effective treatment for tropical illnesses. The study of "tropical diseases" at Bushnell continued until the hospital closed, but the Army discontinued the treatment of those with malaria at the facility in 1944.²⁷

²⁴Robert Smith, Interview 1983; Eloise Crouse Kauffroth, "The Adventurous Story of an Army Nurse During World War II and the Korean Conflict," Personal History 2002, Nurses at War Project, MS 2606, transcript, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. According to Eloise C. Kauffroth, it took approximately ten days for patients to be evacuated from the battlefield to a US Zone of the Interior hospital.

²⁵"Bushnell One of Four Army, Hospitals Designated For Studies of Malaria," *BENJ*, 28 December 1943.

²⁶*Ibid.*

²⁷Moore, "A Brief History," *Annual Report*, 3.

To ensure complete care of soldier-patients, Bushnell also had extensive dental services provided by eleven Army dentists, two full-time dental hygienists, eleven laboratory workers, and various kinds of assistants in twelve dental areas. Approximately 3,500 patients received treatment each month.²⁸ The Bushnell dental clinic served not only hospital patients, but Army personnel, POWs, Utah State officer cadets, and, in an emergency, military dependents. The clinic's lab made dentures, bridges, and inlays. Two oral surgeons on staff paid particular attention to soldiers with severely damaged jaws; in many cases, such maxillofacial injuries required extensive reconstructive surgery. In extreme cases, maxillofacial plastic surgeons joined dentists to insure the best treatment for patients. The hospital's plastic surgery center transferred to Cushing General Military Hospital in Framingham, Massachusetts in September 1944.²⁹

Since limb amputations are a consequence of war, the treatment of amputees and the fabrication of artificial limbs were important specialties at Bushnell. An orthopedic staff cared for all fractures and deformities of limbs and joints. About twenty members of this staff operated a "brace" shop. There they fashioned metal appliances to increase the

²⁸"Army Gives Vets Best Dental Care," *The Salt Lake Tribune*, 17 October 1943.

²⁹Mary Jeanne Baron, interview by Andrea Carter, 8 February 2008, transcript, in the author's possession, Ogden, Utah; "Amputation, Neuropsychiatric Centers At Bushnell Hospital Are Being Doubled in Size," *BENJ*, 12 September 1944; Merlene Tew Colarusso, interview by Michael Van Wagenen, 12 August 1992, Charles Redd Center for Western Studies Brigham Young University World War II Homefront Oral History Project, MS OH 1462, transcript, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. The dietitians at Bushnell found that it was particularly difficult to feed the patients with wired jaws because their food needed to be ground up in blenders and the machines at that time sometimes produced less than "satisfactory" results.

function and locomotion of patients with limb injuries, as well as prosthetics for amputees.³⁰ Before WWII, prosthetics consisted of heavy metal parts and caused wearers severe blisters because the artificial limbs did not fit well.³¹ Each prosthesis made in the brace shop was at least partly made of new types of plastics available in the 1940s. Plastic was a good substitute for the metal parts previously used, and Bakelite (used at Bushnell) was one of the first plastics utilized in artificial limbs. Mike Nagy of Northrop Aircraft Corporation created Bakelite sockets in the Bushnell brace shop for the prosthetic joints. By 1945, the military made the plastic sockets available to other amputation centers.³² Since the prosthetics were lighter, many of Bushnell's patients progressed quickly through physical therapy. Because the new appliances allowed the patients more physical activity, the general medical view that amputee convalescents should be sedate, changed.³³ Senator Harry Truman (D, Missouri) who was interested in the advancement of prosthetics, visited the orthopedics wards and appliance shop at Bushnell. He was very impressed because, with the hospital's assistance, patients improved quickly. Three US soldiers who endured imprisonment in a Japanese POW camp for thirty-one months received fitted artificial limbs at Bushnell.³⁴ Like other

³⁰"20 Mechanics Aid Patients At Bushnell," *BENJ*, 22 August 1944.

³¹"Margaret Atwood Herbert," in Allan Kent Powell, ed., *Utah Remembers World War II* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1991), 174.

³²Cleveland and Shands, eds. *Surgery in World War II: Orthopedic Surgery*, 996.

³³Robert Smith, Interview 1983.

³⁴"Former NIP Prisoners At Bushnell," *BENJ*, 27 March 1945; Cleveland and Shands, eds. *Surgery in World War II: Orthopedic Surgery*, 934. At Bushnell a

soldiers, all three men did well in Bushnell's amputee rehabilitation program.

Because many World War I veterans experienced psychological problems, the Army implemented innovations in the care of emotionally disturbed patients during World War II. Indeed, helping WWII soldiers deal with their psychiatric problems was a military priority. At Bushnell, nine or ten buildings were part of the neuropsychiatric center (NP). The main wards held about forty patients. The "disturbed ward" held about twenty, and the severely ill occupied separate rooms. Dr. Robert D. Smith (the second in command at Bushnell) recalled that the psychiatrists were extremely well trained for the time, and they treated "several different patients of all degrees and types [of emotional problems]."³⁵ Bushnell was one of the first hospitals to experiment with brain monitoring electrical devices (similar to heart electrocardiography) built by hand at the hospital complex.³⁶ Dr. Smith admitted that the brain monitoring machine's effect on patients with mental illnesses was difficult to judge. In addition to brain scans, Bushnell physicians tested many new psychiatric drugs. Some were discontinued or returned to the manufacturers for further development, but many of the drugs showed good results and improved the behavior of patients. Psychiatric drug testing at Bushnell helped in the development of the new medicines later used in the general population.³⁷ Doctors also

pamphlet written by medical staff "Helpful Hints to Those Who Have Lost Limbs," contained such good information that the Army published it on 15 May 1944, and then distributed it to amputees from the European Theater in January 1945.

³⁵Robert Smith, Interview 1983.

³⁶ "Bushnell Used First Penicillin in Utah's History," *BENJ*, 11 August 1993.

³⁷Robert Smith, Interview 1983.

used electroshock, insulin, hydrotherapy (immersing the patient's body in lukewarm water) and group psycho-therapy as treatments.³⁸ Also, at Bushnell, Lieutenants Harold A. Rashkis and George S. Welsh conducted a study, later published in the *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, to attempt to detect and gauge the level of anxiety of neuropsychiatric patients.³⁹

An insight into Bushnell's psychiatric wards came from Ed Welch, a serviceman assigned as ward master in the unit for two years. In a 1983 interview, Welch indicated that he was nervous about being with the patients in the beginning, but he got used to it. Welch saw many tragic cases. Some patients were so hyperactive that they could not stop moving; others were almost comatose. Eventually, Welch was transferred to a disturbed ward, and he found it extremely difficult working there. One of the psychiatrists told him that a lot of the patients in that area never should have been in the war because they were not stable in the first place. Their experiences in army life, specifically combat, had been too much for them psychologically.⁴⁰ While some of the patients improved a little because of the different treatments, many were far from cured.⁴¹ After being discharged from Bushnell, mentally ill patients who were unable to return to their homes were

³⁸“Wartime Experience Likely Change Neuropsychiatry,” *BENJ*, 12 August 1944; *Annual Report*, 12 January 1946, 7.

³⁹Harold A. Rashkis and George S. Welsh, “Detection of Anxiety By Use of The Wechsler Scale,” *Journal of Clinical Psychology* 2 No. 4 (October 1946): 354–357.

⁴⁰Ed Welch, interview by Kathleen Bradford, 23 January 1983, MS 64, transcript, Brigham City Library, Brigham City, Utah.

⁴¹*Ibid.*

relocated to veterans' hospitals at the end of the war.⁴²

Perhaps the single most important contribution to the field of medicine that occurred at Bushnell was its pioneering use of penicillin.⁴³ The Army designated the hospital as the military's first center for the study of penicillin's possible uses.⁴⁴ On 1 April 1943, the first shipment of the drug arrived by special courier at Bushnell. During the hospital's existence, the facility used the drug more than any other medical institution in the United States.⁴⁵ In the beginning, the drug was a brown crystalline powder dissolved in a saline solution and then injected into or put directly on wounds. Doctors

⁴²One of the most controversial and difficult psychiatric patients ever admitted to Bushnell was Private Clarence V. Bertucci of New Orleans, who was called "Nazi Slayer" in a newspaper headline in the *Box Elder News-Journal*. The 23-year-old prison guard committed the worst massacre at any POW camp in the United States. At the former CCC compound in Salina, Utah, Bertucci, described as "deranged and filled with hatred," fired 250 bullets into a tent of sleeping German POWs. He killed nine prisoners and wounded nineteen others. The incident aroused international indignation because it was such a horrific crime. Bertucci received a psychiatric evaluation at Bushnell in order for the Army to decide if he was competent to stand trial for murder. A board of examiners at Bushnell declared Bertucci insane, and the Army transferred him to Mason General Military Hospital in New York. *Ibid.*; "Nazi Slayer at Bushnell," *BENJ*, 13 July 1945; Thomas G. Alexander, *Utah: The Right Place* (Salt Lake City: Gibson, Smith Publisher, 1996), 348; Allen Kent Powell, *Splinters of a Nation: German Prisoners of War in Utah* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 225.

⁴³"Tells History of Penicillin," *BENJ*, 16 July 1943. In a speech by Captain A.A. Ingram, to the Rotary Club of Brigham City, he explained how the drug was discovered in 1928 by Alexander Fleming, and he extolled its success at the hospital.

⁴⁴Science-Supplement, "The Production of Penicillin," *Science News* 97 No. 2526 (May 1943): 10. Because the new medicine worked so well the military tested it in sixteen more Army hospitals. The Navy also began clinic trials.

⁴⁵"Bushnell General Hospital Makes Use of New Wonder Drug, 'Penicillin,'" *BENJ*, 25 June 1943.

used the medicine to treat deep tissue and bone infections (osteomyelitis).⁴⁶ The standard treatment for such infections in the 1940s was to use maggots to eat the diseased flesh around the bone.⁴⁷ Penicillin changed that, and some patients with serious infections showed dramatic improvements after receiving the drug. In one case, an officer with a chronic mastoid infection that resulted in a high temperature and a coma received penicillin. Less than a day after the administration of the first dose, he regained consciousness, and his temperature dropped dramatically. The next day, he got up from his bed and moved around his ward.⁴⁸ In another case, Lieutenant Llewellyn received the drug topically in a powder form. The medicine worked, and doctors did not need to amputate his leg.⁴⁹ The use of penicillin was not limited to US soldiers. Dieter Lampe, a German POW, received penicillin to treat his injured arm. He explained that in Germany a doctor would have amputated it immediately, and he was delighted because penicillin enabled him to keep his limb.⁵⁰

Unfortunately not all osteomyelitis cases treated with penicillin were successes, and penicillin was not the “miracle drug” for bone infections that doctors hoped it would

⁴⁶“Guadalcanal Survivor Gets Penicillin Treatment,” *The Standard–Examiner* (Ogden, Utah), 5 July 1943.

⁴⁷Robert Smith, Interview 1983.

⁴⁸“Bushnell General Hospital Makes Use of New Wonder Drug, ‘Penicillin,’” *BENJ*, 25 June 1943.

⁴⁹Mary Jeanne Baron, Interview 2008. Baron could not remember the soldier’s first name.

⁵⁰Powell, *Splinters*, 232.

be. However, it was effective to some extent when combined with traditional therapies, and it helped to lessen the time that patients suffered disabilities from bone infections. The hospital staff discovered that penicillin was much more effective for treating muscle, lung, and intestinal track infections. The drug was excellent at combating Vincent's infection (trench mouth) and strep throat, and it also worked very well as a cure for venereal diseases.⁵¹ At least partly because of use of penicillin at the hospital, deaths were low at Bushnell. For example, in 1943, five deaths, including three postoperative deaths occurred out of population of five thousand patients.⁵² According to historian Richard Polenberg, "Wartime advances in medicine, particularly in the production of penicillin (which first became generally available for civilian use in the spring of 1944) saved countless [military and civilian] lives."⁵³ Bushnell's work with penicillin made it a major center for training military medical officers in the proper administration and use of the drug.⁵⁴

Italian and German Prisoners of War assigned to the hospital received treatment

⁵¹James S. Sweeney, "Gleanings From the Medical Service of a General Hospital," *The Military Surgeon* 97 No. 1 (July 1945): 12; Robert Smith, Interview 1983; Merlene Tew Colarusso, Interview 1992. Doctors at Bushnell experimented with several ways to increase the effectiveness of the drug. They thought a special diet or an increased body temperature (from immersing a patient's body in warm water) might improve results. Both methods showed no difference in the effectiveness of penicillin.

⁵²*Annual Report*, 22 January 1944, 19.

⁵³Richard Polenberg, *War and Society: The United States, 1941–1945* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1972), 244.

⁵⁴B. Noland Carter, ed., *Surgery in World War II: Activities of Surgical Consultants*, 2 vols., editor in chief John Boyd Coates (Washington, DC: Office of the Surgeon General, Department of the Army 1962–1964), I:20.

when needed. For example, POWs received eye care at the Bushnell clinic. From October 1944 to April 1945 more than fifty prisoners received eyeglasses.⁵⁵ The prisoners received regular medical care and surgical attention if their conditions required. The effort to treat POWs increased in April 1944 when the Army officially designated the hospital as a POW institution. The first group to arrive after the designation were Japanese POWs. The Army deemed the Japanese to be more dangerous than the POWs from other countries, so, they received care in a locked and guarded section of Bushnell.⁵⁶

Throughout its existence, Bushnell also trained military doctors, including senior medical students from the University of Utah, before their deployment to either the European or Pacific Theaters.⁵⁷ Medical training occurred in clinical groups of eight to fifteen physicians, specializing in the areas of burns, chest wounds, or abdominal wounds. Most physicians spent one to three months at the facility before being sent to their military assignments.⁵⁸ Also Vanderbilt University School of Medicine students interned in radiology at Bushnell where they learned how to use Bushnell's state-of-the-art X-ray machines.⁵⁹ Because of Bushnell's innovations in patient treatment, the facility hosted

⁵⁵Powell, *Splinters*, 68.

⁵⁶“Wounded Japs Arriving at Bushnell Hospital,” *The Standard-Examiner*, 12 April 1944.

⁵⁷Moore, “A Brief History,” *Annual Report*, 2.

⁵⁸Robert Smith, Interview 1983.

⁵⁹Kenneth D.A. Allen, ed. *Radiology in World War II*, editor in chief Arnold Lorentz Ahnfeldt (Washington, DC: Office of the Surgeon General, Department of the Army, 1966): 131.

many visiting physicians. For example, doctors visited from the Soviet Union in 1944 to learn new techniques for treating amputees. They toured the operating rooms and orthopedic shop.⁶⁰ Dr. D’Vargas, a Brazilian orthopedic surgeon, studied the hospital’s reconditioning program and visited with Brazilian Army patients there.⁶¹ The Surgeon General of the Army, Major General Norman T. Kirk, visited Bushnell at least twice during its existence to review the facility.⁶²

Bushnell General Hospital also operated as a Army rehabilitation and convalescent hospital. Volunteers mainly from Brigham and others from Northern Utah areas worked not only to support the hospital itself, but with the Bushnell staff to aid patients. The efforts of hospital staff and the commitment of community volunteers led to achievements in medical care that helped patients recover from illnesses and aided those that needed rehabilitation to progress through their convalescents.

⁶⁰“Soviet Medics Visit Bushnell,”*BENJ*, 29 August 1944.

⁶¹“Bushnell General Hospital,” in *Utah History Encyclopedia*; “South American Makes Study At Bushnell Hospital,” *BENJ*, 3 August 1945; “Brazilian Surgeon Visits Bushnell,” *BENJ*, 3 August 1945. He was also the son of Brazilian President Getulio D’Vargas.

⁶²“Surgeon General To Visit Bushnell Hospital Sat.,” *BENJ*, 17 August 1945.

CHAPTER III

BRIGHAM CITY AND NORTHERN UTAH SUPPORT BUSHNELL HOSPITAL

In order for Bushnell Hospital to care for and rehabilitate injured GIs, the hospital staff and patients needed the support of Brigham residents and other Northern Utahns. Volunteers from Brigham City began by providing supplies to the hospital to aid its patients' progress toward improved health. Then Brigham volunteers and those from surrounding areas joined together to boost morale, assist in rehabilitation, teach injured GIs new skills, and enhance the self-esteem of patients. Celebrities also came to Bushnell to bring cheer to injured GI-patients. Some people with disabilities came to the facility to reassure and assist patients in their rehabilitation. The joint efforts of Brigham citizens, other Northern Utahns, Bushnell staff, and others supported soldiers in the process of integrating them back into society when they left the hospital.

Because of war shortages, Brigham citizens provided some supplies for the hospital early in its existence. Just as Bushnell was opening, a *Box Elder News-Journal* article asked for townspeople to donate wide-mouthed bottles sized from six to thirty-two ounces with tops, lids, or corks. After sterilization, such bottles housed bandages, compresses, and other sterile items. In addition, the hospital staff asked for contributions of any size, color, or type of clean rags that could be used at the facility.¹ In October 1942, the hospital had state-of-the-art X-ray machines but the Army, even after repeated inquiries, failed to provide basic accessory equipment. Local radiologists stepped in to

¹“Unspecified Number of Sick and Wounded Now Being Cared for at Local Army Hospital,” *Box Elder News-Journal*, 13 October 1942 (hereafter *BENJ*).

provide X-ray cassettes, films, and darkroom supplies to enable the Bushnell doctors to examine patients until army supplies finally arrived.² Of even more importance, city residents, in addition to military staff, donated blood for hospital patients when needed. One Brigham City resident Gus Kopinitz, who was previously in the Navy, often gave blood. He estimated that he gave six or seven gallons over the war years at Bushnell. At that time donations were done person to person because whole blood could not be stored. The medical staff required a donor to stay at the hospital for twenty minutes after his or her blood donation, and each person received a glass of orange juice or a shot of whiskey to help him or her recover from donating.³ Blood plasma was also needed by patients; however, after collection, plasma could be stored. On one occasion, the Salt Lake City Board of Health donated two-hundred units of blood plasma (worth \$6,600) to Bushnell. The Board collected it after Pearl Harbor to use in case of emergency. However, the need for plasma in SLC never materialized, and Public Safety Commissioner L.C. Romney explained, “We feel the plasma will do more good in the service.” The hospital accepted

²Kenneth D.A. Allen, ed., *Radiology in World War II*, editor in chief Arnold Lorentz Ahnfeldt (Washington, DC: Office of the Surgeon General, Department of the Army, 1966), 137; Merlene Tew Colarusso, interview by Michael Van Wagenen, 12 August 1992, Charles Redd Center for Western Studies Brigham Young University World War II Homefront Oral History Project, MS OH 1462, transcript, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. Other Army hospitals also obtained medical supplies from civilian sources. One member of the Bushnell staff, Merlene Tew Colarusso, explained that when the hospital opened the dietitian department, Bushnell staff purchased some equipment from Brigham City businesses because the military supplies had not yet arrived.

³Gus Kopinitz, interview by Kathleen Bradford, 11 June 2003, MS 228, transcript, Brigham City Library (hereafter BCL). Kopinitz got to keep some of the glasses that he drank out of at the hospital as a thank you gift; however, he was proud that he could help injured GIs by giving blood.

the donation gratefully. Brigadier General John M. Willis, a Ninth Service Command Surgeon explained, “We need it badly at Bushnell, and it will save countless lives of soldiers returning wounded from active participation in battle on the beachheads of France’s coast.”⁴

Because Bushnell General Military Hospital worked to rehabilitate injured GIs, it was part of the Army’s nationwide rehabilitation project. Doris Zames Fleischer and Frieda Zames in *The Disability Rights Movement* explained, “The convalescent project in the military hospital, the forerunner of rehabilitation, originated as a halfway program between the hospital and the battlefield.”⁵ World War II was the turning point for disability rehabilitation; it helped patients not only gain employment, as in the prewar era, but it aided convalescents in all aspects of their lives.⁶ Dr. Howard Ruck established treatments for the wounded soldier who “needed emotional, social, and educational support as well as training for his family and his friends to accept him in his new

⁴“City Gives Bushnell Plasma,” *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City, Utah), 8 June 1944.

⁵Doris Zames Fleischer and Frieda Zames, *The Disability Rights Movement: From Charity to Confrontation* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 46; “Soldiers ‘Rebuilt’ By Training, Care, Exercises,” *The Standard-Examiner* (Ogden, Utah), 31 March 1944.

⁶Fleischer and Zames, 172. One orthopedic surgeon Henry Kessler was called the “Pied Piper of rehabilitation” and “one of the great pioneers in the field.” He developed a surgery which enabled patients to have better muscle control while using artificial limbs. Doctors also realized that in the pre-World War II era the military often “treated the wound, not the man.”

condition.”⁷ Following Rusk’s general philosophy, by 1944, Bushnell established similar reconditioning, recreational, occupational, and counseling therapies to help its patients.⁸ Whenever possible the reconditioning of soldiers was not only to equip them for civilian life but to employ them in the war industry after their convalescence.

Recreational activities were important to convalescent healing and to the morale of Bushnell patients. The citizens of Brigham participated in recreational rehabilitation in the beginning by donating recreational equipment and supplies. Bushnell staff asked Brigham residents to donate equipment of any kind that would be used by the injured or the sick in the hospital. Such items included:

. . . checkers, checkerboards, jigsaw puzzles (with most of the pieces, at least), chess sets, dominoes, Chinese checkers, softballs and bats, table tennis equipment, quoits [a game similar to horse shoes], darts and dart boards, monopoly, [sic] and other similar games, marble games, all kinds of puzzles and any kind of playing cards.⁹

In addition, hospital staff asked people to supply magazines and books of interest to men.

⁷Ibid.; Reuben Eldar and Miroslav Jelic, “The Association of Rehabilitation and War,” *Disability and Rehabilitation* 25 No. 18 (2003): 1020. “As Howard Rusk put it ‘In its modern concept, rehabilitation was conceived in adversity and born of necessity in WWII.’”

⁸“Bushnell Sets Program to Aid Soldiers,” *BENJ*, 6 June 1944; “Talk Jobs To Patients,” *BENJ*, 10 September 1943; “Disabled Vets Tie In Jobs With Therapy,” *BENJ*, 15 February 1944; “Granger Lauds Bushnell: Says Rehabilitation Ambitious Project,” *BENJ*, 1 September 1944. The hospital held forums in 1943 with experts from the US Employment Service, the State Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation, and the Veterans’ Administration with a view to provide patients with the tools to acquire jobs. The hospital was mindful of innovations in therapy for disabled veterans, and articles on innovations in therapy appeared in the *Box Elder News–Journal*.

⁹“Hospital Calls For Games, Books, Magazines and Equipment For Patients,” *BENJ*, 23 October 1942.

They even requested coat hangers. Citizens searched their attics, and collecting the items become projects for schools and other groups.¹⁰ In 1943, Brigham citizens contributed records, musical instruments, portable phonographs, songbooks, sheet music, and recording equipment to furnish a music library at Bushnell.¹¹ The Weber County American Red Cross Chapter donated a piano to the hospital.¹² Other Northern Utah communities began collecting items as more patients arrived at the facility. In June 1945, The Minute Women of Utah joined *The Salt Lake Tribune* and the *Salt Lake Telegram* in sponsoring a drive to collect waste paper, sell it, and use the funds to buy books to create a library at Bushnell. They collected the paper locally in Brigham City and Box Elder County, as well as Weber, Cache, Davis, Salt Lake, and Utah counties.¹³ The Ogden Business and Professional Women's Club donated several pieces of furniture for a sunroom at the hospital in 1943.¹⁴ That same year the founder of the Utah Gladiola Society, J.C. Henager, donated three thousand tulips to patients.¹⁵ In 1945, the Murray

¹⁰Ibid.; "Bushnell Needs Coat Hangers For Men and Patients," *BENJ*, 6 November 1942; "New Record Player For Hospital Patients," *BENJ*, 4 June 1943. Chi Omega alumnae of Utah State Agricultural College donated a record player for ward patient entertainment.

¹¹"Soldiers Could Use Johnny's Old Fiddle," *BENJ*, 14 February 1943; "Ask Music for Bushnell Soldiers," *BENJ*, 5 March 1943.

¹²"Donates Piano to Bushnell Hospital," *BENJ*, 27 August 1943.

¹³"Minute Women Plan Paper, Book Drive," *The Salt Lake Tribune* (Salt Lake City, Utah), 3 June 1945.

¹⁴"Bushnell Gets Gifts from Ogden," *BENJ*, 18 May 1943.

¹⁵"Garden Club Gives Tulips," *BENJ*, 4 May 1943.

(Utah) Flower Garden Club donated small cacti for patients to plant and tend. The club asked Murray residents to donate “dishes, bowls, deep plates, miniature containers or anything suitable to plant a cactus garden in.”¹⁶ The plants and containers brightened hospital rooms at Bushnell and the lives of patients there.¹⁷

To aid GIs, some citizen volunteers from Brigham City and Northern Utah assisted with recreational and occupational therapies. Ambulatory patients enjoyed field trips throughout Northern Utah aided by staff with volunteer assistance. During the winter months, patients, including sufficiently recovered amputees, with the assistance of Brigham volunteers learned to ski at Snow Basin Ski Resort in Ogden Canyon.¹⁸ However, the most frequently requested trip, according to Dr. Robert D. Smith (the

¹⁶ “Flower Clubs To Help Bushnell,” *Murray Eagle* (Murray, Utah), 8 November 1945.

¹⁷ On at least one occasion donations for Bushnell came from outside of Utah. The citizens of New Jersey donated canes to injured paratroopers at Fort William Henry Harrison in Helena, Montana. However, there was no demand for the canes at the Montana facility, so, the Red Cross sent them to Bushnell. Many of the canes were heirlooms, souvenirs, or products of skilled craftsmanship. “Many of them [the canes] carried brief slogans to bring cheer to the users. Characteristic of the labels were, ‘World’s Fair, 1939,’ ‘Ashbury Park,’ ‘Grandpa’s Cane Handmade 75 Years Old,’ ‘American Legion Convention,’ ‘Keep Walking,’ ‘Good Luck, Soldier,’ ‘Here’s to a Speedy Recovery, Commando,’ and ‘Used at Camp Merritt, World War I.’” “Bushnell Patients Receive Canes From New Jersey,” *The Salt Lake Tribune*, 25 June 1943.

¹⁸ Frederick M. Huchel, *A History of Box Elder County* (Brigham City, Utah: Box Elder Commission, 1999), 268; Allen Kent Powell, *Splinters of a Nation: German Prisoners of War in Utah* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989): 157; Disabled Sports USA, About Disabled Sports USA, <http://www.dsusa.org/about-overview.html> (accessed 4 October 2008). Twenty-five German POWs constructed the run and lift for the disabled patients at Snow Basin. In 1967, the National Amputee Skiers Association (now Disabled Sports USA) formed to serve disabled Vietnam veterans. Bushnell’s amputee skiing program was ahead of its time.

second in command at Bushnell), was to go fishing.¹⁹ Some fishing areas near Bushnell served as ideal locations for day trips. Volunteers assisted amputees in this activity. On at least one occasion, volunteers accompanied patients to hear an organ recital at the Mormon Tabernacle in Salt Lake City. A group of about one hundred orthopedic patients, who often could not leave the hospital because of their disabilities, enjoyed that trip. Handel's "Largo," Stephen Foster's "Old Kentucky Home," and William Clayton's LDS Church hymn "Come, Come, Ye Saints" were some of the songs performed. The Tabernacle concert was unique because there were few concerts there during the war years.²⁰ Other outings included a field trip to Logan Canyon for lunch then a drive

¹⁹Robert D. Smith, interview by Kathleen Bradford, 6 April 1983, transcript, Brigham City Museum–Gallery, Brigham City Utah; Wells Monson, interview by Kathleen Bradford, 12 February 1987, MS 21, transcript, BCL; "Patients at Tony Grove," *BENJ*, 6 August 1943; Frederick Percival Champ, Logan, Utah to Col. Robert Hardaway, Brigham City, Utah 29 October 1943 and 19 January 1944, transcript, Frederick P. Champ Collection (1930–1976), MS 50 Merrill–Cazier Library Special Collections, Utah State University, Logan, Utah (hereafter *Champ Papers*); Col. Robert Hardaway, Brigham City, Utah to Frederick Percival Champ, Logan, Utah 30 October 1943 and 8 November 1943 *Champ Papers*; "29 Veterans Win Tour," *The Salt Lake Tribune*, 25 September 1945. One of the favorite summertime fishing destinations for those who could travel was Tony's Grove Camp in Logan Canyon. It was available each summer. The camp accommodated eighty patients and had a staff of eight to nine including nurses, attendants, etc. Some patients stayed for two weeks. During their visit they fished, played baseball, softball, volleyball, archery, and other outdoor games. Colonel Robert Hardaway and Frederick Percival Champ, a Logan, Utah businessman, considered making Lava Hot Springs, Idaho a recuperation center in October 1943; however, it required additional construction to make the site feasible. Because of war time restrictions on construction materials and the availability of the Tony Grove facility, the Lava recuperation center never developed. Occasionally GI–patients visited Yellowstone Park, and twenty–nine veterans who won a quiz contest received a tour of Bryce Canyon, the Grand Canyon, and Zion's National Park.

²⁰"100 Bushnell Patients Hear Organ Recital," *The Salt Lake Tribune*, 21 May 1944.

through the Utah State Agricultural College (USAC), and an excursion to the University of Utah by twenty–five patients to see a production by Alpha Phi volunteers of Thornton Wilder’s play “The Skin of Our Teeth” at Kingsbury Hall.²¹

The hospital had a variety of recreational facilities where Brigham volunteers aided in the rehabilitation of patients. A year-round swimming pool, available for use by anyone at the Bushnell facility, was the top therapeutic and recreational opportunity at the hospital itself. Special swimming instructors were generally Red Cross volunteers, including those from Brigham City, who learned how to teach injured servicemen. Instruction was under the direction of Don Powers, who taught swimming strokes that helped GI–patients by strengthening muscles and increasing the range of motion of injured limbs. The staff discovered that swimming benefited almost all patients regardless of their disabilities. Even those with psychiatric problems improved when they used the pool.²²

²¹“First Patients’ Tour Termed Large Success,” *BENJ*, 16 May 1944; “The Skin of Our Teeth,” *Bushnell GH Bugle* (Bushnell General Hospital, Brigham City, Utah), 25 November 1944 (available at The Utah State Historical Society, Records, 1944–1953 by Bushnell General Hospital, MS A1803); Gayle Macey, interview by Rick Randle, 7 December 2006, transcript, Salt Lake City, Utah: KUED Television, <http://www.kued.org/productions/worldwar2/interviews-homefront.php> (accessed 5 August 2008). Some patients who lived close to the hospital received passes to return home for weekends. For example, Gayle Macey’s boyfriend, who was from Logan, Utah, received this special privilege occasionally.

²²“Powers Will Instruct Swimming at Bushnell,” *BENJ*, 7 August 1945; Alice Johnson, interview by Kathleen Bradford, 16 February 2005, MS 280, transcript, BCL. Soldiers and Brigham City residents—especially teenagers—sometimes went swimming at the cement plant pond in town. Some Brigham residents discouraged this because they felt it was dangerous. However, city inspectors tested the water and cleared the cement pond for general public use.

The Brigham community and Box Elder organizations increased recreational opportunities for the soldiers when they raised money to build a miniature golf course that enabled amputees and other injured patients to play miniature golf.²³ Athletic activities on the recreational field, on the tennis courts, and in the field house occurred often. The field house contained a special indoor obstacle course designed for amputees to use for both therapy and enjoyment.²⁴ At least one “Field Day” involving 150 patients competing in teams occurred at the field house. Each team did jumping jacks, pushups, and pull-ups; as well as, played volleyball, basketball, and softball with the assistance of staff, Brigham residents, and other volunteers.²⁵ Gayle Macey, a civilian, watched her boyfriend Wooley, who was recuperating from a leg amputation, play basketball from his wheelchair, play volleyball while sitting on the floor, and bowl with his bowling team. Gayle herself participated in several activities.²⁶

²³“Colonel Thanks Staff, Citizens For Course Cash,” *BENJ*, 14 August 1945; “Check For \$1,727 Delivered To Bushnell Hospital Today,” *BENJ*, 25 September 1945. “They Learn To Ride Despite Wounds,” *BENJ*, 1 August 1944; “Picture Series To Feature Bushnell Men,” *BENJ*, 1 August 1944. Horseback riding was a special therapy for amputees because it aided in the “development of body control and balance.” The Army Defense Depot in Ogden provided the horses.

²⁴*Annual Report of Bushnell General Hospital 1942-45* (Washington, DC: US Army Medical Service, 1946), National Archives, photocopy in REF 979.2 Bus, BCL, 10 January 1945, 29 (hereafter *Annual Report*).

²⁵“Patients Show High Spirit At Field Day,” *BENJ*, 24 October 1944.

²⁶Gayle Macey, Interview 2006; Kathleen Bradford, “Bushnell General Hospital,” in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, edited by Allen Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 65; Merlene Tew Colarusso, Interview 1992; “Pool will be Open to Public Swimming,” *BENJ*, 8 June 1943. A baseball team comprised of patients and staff also formed at the hospital to play local and military teams. There were more activities for injured GIs at Bushnell than there were for military soldiers. Merlene Tew Colarusso, the

Citizens from throughout Northern Utah volunteered to aid the hospital and its patients. One way to release soldiers for overseas duty was to use Red Cross nurses' aides to replace some hospital assistants and orderlies. According to the National Red Cross Organization in December 1943, nurses' aides, who came from outside of Brigham City, donated 1,440 hours of service to Bushnell in addition to the hours provided by Brigham nurses' aides.²⁷ Thirty-eight women from Ogden volunteered 744 hours, five Salt Lake women donated 308 hours, and four Provo women worked 146 hours. Even though there is a large distance between Cedar City, Utah and Brigham City, two Cedar City women spent 207 hours assisting patients at the hospital. Also, two women from Price, Utah volunteered thirty-five hours at Bushnell.²⁸ Norma Wallwork Bailey, and

head dietitian at the hospital, explained activities in town for the enlisted at Bushnell consisted of movies at the town theater and an occasional dance. She explained, "I am sure that many were lonely [soldiers] in Brigham City." Military staff activities occurred in the officer's club where, Merlene reported, there was a slot machine. Despite Utah's stance prohibiting gambling, Bushnell, a federal installation, could maintain a slot machine at the club. The enlisted men also had a noncommissioned officers club. During the summer, Box Elder High School opened its swimming pool to military personnel and Brigham residents. This helped to reduce the number of people using the Bushnell pool which allowed more patients to utilize the facility.

²⁷All types of volunteers, including those who were a part of the Red Cross, came from Brigham City because gas rationing restricted most long distance driving. In some cases, buses from the hospital transported volunteers to and from the facility.

²⁸"Praise Work of Nurses' Aides, Volunteer Workers, At Bushnell," *BENJ*, 25 January 1944; American Red Cross, World War II Accomplishments of the American Red Cross, <http://www.redcross.org/museum/history/ww2a.asp> (accessed 8 September 2008); "Annual Report of the Bushnell Hospital Unit of the American Red Cross," *BENJ*, 22 October 1943; "Miss Katherine Hammond New Social Worker," *BENJ*, 14 September 1943. Bushnell, like most military hospitals, had a resident Red Cross staff "that included a medical social worker, a recreation worker, a secretary, and additional workers and volunteers as needed and as they were available." Bushnell followed this pattern with Naomi Riggs becoming the acting field director while also the Red Cross Pacific

four other ladies from North Ogden trained as nurses' aides at Ogden's Dee Hospital, and then reported as volunteers to assist nurses at Bushnell.²⁹ Once a week, a bus picked up the women and took them to the facility; after the work day, it returned them to their homes. One job done by the nurses' aide volunteers was giving bed baths to patients. Myrtle Layton, of the North Ogden group, gave a high-ranking Army officer, hospitalized because of the flu, a bed bath. After she finished, he inquired if she and the other Red Cross nurses' aides were paid for their service. Layton responded by saying it was volunteer work. The officer stated, "This is the best bath I've had since I've been sick; if they don't pay you, do they give you dinner or lunch?"³⁰ Layton said that they ate in the enlisted men's mess. The officer responded, "Not anymore you don't. You all go to the officers' mess from now on," and they did.³¹

Using volunteers not just from Brigham City, but throughout Northern Utah, the American Red Cross provided activities for those at Bushnell. For example, during the week of 23 March 1943 the activities included several movies, an afternoon performance

area supervisor. Also on staff were Jessie Schofield the recreation director, Mary Riedel the secretary, Lory G. Phillips the medical social worker, and Miss Olmstead as an additional recreation director. All of the workers came from out of state. Previously Lillian Wutzel served as the acting field director at the hospital. Later, Katherine Hammond, formerly of California, became the social worker at the hospital. A second claims worker Leona Bunderson Clement of Brigham City also worked for the Red Cross at Bushnell.

²⁹The author's grandmother.

³⁰Norma Wallwork Bailey, interview by Stacy Trent, 21 March 1987, transcript, in the author's possession, Ogden, Utah.

³¹Ibid.

by the Brigham City Community Choir with the Hill Field Orchestra, a carnival, and a dance for men in uniform who were cleared to attend. Dances were important socialization activities. The young ladies who attended that dance were members of Box Elder County's chapter of the American Red Cross.³² The Red Cross required all volunteer workers to attend seven classes on consecutive Monday nights to prepare for the work. Because of this minimal training, the organization restricted the volunteers' service to the recreational hall.³³ Since Brigham City citizen Alice Johnson was a teenager, according to Red Cross rules, she could not dance; however, she served cookies and talked with patients.³⁴ This was not the only opportunity for local women to attend dances at the hospital. In fact, the Red Cross encouraged volunteers to attend bimonthly dances with patients.³⁵ Sometimes Red Cross volunteers from other Wasatch Front communities came to help entertain the GIs. For example, eighteen to twenty-one-year-old LDS girls, called Gleaners, from the Mount Ogden Stake in Ogden, Utah served as dance partners at a Red Cross dance on at least one occasion.³⁶ Either the noncommissioned and commissioned officers' clubs or the local chapter of the USO

³²“Entertainment for Bushnell,” *BENJ*, 23 March 1943.

³³“Elva Gibbs Heads County Gray Ladies,” *BENJ*, 1 October 1943.

³⁴Alice Johnson, Interview 2005.

³⁵“Dancing For Patients Mon.,” *BENJ*, 20 July 1943; *Annual Report*, 12 January 1946, 11. During 1945, 8,340 volunteers attended hospital ward parties and dances. Many volunteers were probably counted more than once.

³⁶“Red Cross Program of Weekly Events at Bushnell General Hospital,” *BENJ*, 28 April 1944.

arranged additional dances for soldiers and patients.³⁷ The Brigham Presbyterian Ladies' Aid also sponsored parties with local girls serving as dance partners.³⁸ A few women from Brigham attended dances only on special occasions like Christmas and Thanksgiving. Mary Jeanne Baron and some of her friends attended only on special occasions because they had boyfriends fighting overseas, and each of them did not want to "mess that up [and lose her boyfriend]." However, they also knew some local woman who attended dances frequently.³⁹

The hospital staff encouraged volunteers and employees to interact with the patients as often as possible to enhance morale and social rehabilitation. Some civilian groups came just to visit, play games, or assist the men with small chores. Women from Box Elder and some from Weber and Cache counties trained as volunteer Red Cross Gray Ladies to provide services to the men including mending their clothing, helping them write letters home, reading to them, shopping for them, and tutoring them.⁴⁰ The Gray Ladies also aided hospital staff and patients in the hospital recreation rooms and at the information desks. Clubs also tried to support the hospital. The Brigham City Union

³⁷Robert D. Smith, Interview 1983.

³⁸"Presbyterian Ladies' Aid Sponsoring Party for Bushnell Soldiers," *BENJ*, 17 November 1942.

³⁹Mary Jeanne Baron, interview by Andrea Carter, 8 February 2008, transcript, in the author's possession, Ogden, Utah. Mary said she, and other Brigham residents, had never heard of a Gray Ladies before Bushnell Hospital came to Brigham.

⁴⁰"Dancing for Patients Mon.," *BENJ*, 20 July 1943; American Red Cross, World War II Accomplishments (accessed 2008); *Annual Report*, 12 January 1946, 11. In 1945, there were on average seventy Gray Ladies who volunteered at the hospital per month.

Pacific Old Timer's Club held weekly bingo competitions for the patients' enjoyment and to enhance their morale.⁴¹ The BLACA (Bilateral Leg Amputee Club of America, Inc.),⁴² a group formed at Bushnell to support double leg amputees, thanked the community of Bountiful and other towns for donating money to fund a national headquarters and a resort for the amputees to use.⁴³ Hospital personnel also socialized with the patients. DeEsta Getz Young Gunther, who worked as a typist at the hospital, said that the Bushnell staff admonished her that "each soldier was very scared and needed someone to laugh with for just a little while;" so, she told the patients a few jokes or some news about Brigham City to help make them feel part of the community.⁴⁴

Brigham residents donated their time to the hospital even though they had other responsibilities to family, work, and the war effort. *A Murray Eagle* (Murray, Utah)

⁴¹"Programs For the Patients," *BENJ*, 12 October 1943.

⁴²"Amputee Club Dinner Is Held At Bushnell," *BENJ*, 28 August 1945; "BLACA Therapy Latest Treatment," *BENJ*, 28 September 1945; Mather Cleveland and Alfred B. Shands, Jr., eds., *Surgery in World War II: Orthopedic Surgery in the Zone of the Interior*, editor in chief William S. Mullins (Washington, DC: Office of the Surgeon General, Department of the Army, 1970), 890–891. This was a national organization during World War II formed at Bushnell because of a desire of double leg amputees to retain fellowship with other double amputees after leaving the hospital. At its founding, BLACA sent a invitation to President Harry S. Truman to attend the club's inaugural dinner. The Bushnell group's fourteen members helped a double amputee to recover from the emotional pain he felt because of his disability. About ten members of the club sent a letter to the Surgeon General of the Army suggesting that they visit other amputation centers to "improve morale among the amputees;" however, the project never materialized. After the hospital closed, the group likely dissolved.

⁴³"Members of BLACA Club Bushnell Hospital Thank Donors To Fund," *Davis County Clipper* (Bountiful, Utah), 7 December 1945.

⁴⁴DeEsta Getz Young Gunther, "Bushnell General Hospital in 1945," Personal History 9 August 2006, MS 310, transcript, BCL.

article praised Thelma Kotter for putting in a full eight hour shift at Bushnell, and still attending to her family duties and keeping a garden that was “one of the best planned gardens in Box Elder County” according to the home extension service assistant director.⁴⁵ Her experience may have been typical of those committed to Bushnell who also attended to other important duties that included caring for family and home.

The military designed on-campus facilities at Bushnell to alleviate the boredom of patients and employees alike. The hospital complex had two theaters. One of them was open every night for movies, and local volunteers staffed the facility. For example, the Red Cross Auditorium Theater had 1,092 showings for 223,206 patients and employees during 1945.⁴⁶ The other auditorium was reserved for live performances, such as an opera or a USO show, and only occasionally used for movies.⁴⁷ Chapters of the Red Cross arranged musical performances for patients in this auditorium. Some performances were entirely patient-directed with some assistance from Red Cross volunteers. For example, injured soldier-patients on 18 May 1943 presented a minstrel show that was entirely written, produced, and directed by patients, and all the cast members were recovering

⁴⁵“Woman at Work,” *Murray Eagle*, 2 May 1943. According to the extension agent, Thelma Kotter’s “victory garden” provided an “adequate amount of vegetables for home consumption, . . . [and for] canned, frozen or stored” vegetables. The article did not state whether Kotter was employed or volunteered at Bushnell.

⁴⁶*Annual Report*, 12 January 1946, 8.

⁴⁷“Public Invited to Opera at Bushnell,” *BENJ*, 27 August 1943; Robert Smith, Interview 1983. Ogden resident, Gladys Rich, wrote the “Aloha Sugar Mill” Opera presented at Bushnell.

GIs.⁴⁸ In March of 1945, the Davis County Red Cross presented a program including community singing, comic readings, whistling solos, and other musical numbers.⁴⁹

Local and national performers also entertained Bushnell patients to boost morale. On 4 August 1943 seventeen-year-old singer Patrice Munsel of the New York Metropolitan Opera, accompanied by the Utah State Agricultural College Orchestra, performed. In a newspaper article, Miss Munsel said, “I am always happy to sing for the men, who have given their all for their country.”⁵⁰ A local radio performer from Salt Lake City’s Hotel Utah Starlite Gardens, Phil Levant and his orchestra, made arrangements for a special performance at the hospital in June 1944. He performed numbers requested by “popular vote” of the patients.⁵¹ A very special musical performance at the hospital occurred on 13 March 1945. A coast to coast radio broadcast of a twenty-five minute Bushnell Hospital concert called, “The Victory Parade of Spotlight Bands” provided information to the public about the hospital, its range of treatments, and activities for patients. This gave the nation a chance to hear about the dedication of hospital personnel, Brigham City residents, and Northern Utahns in supporting the injured troops. The concert included Lillian Lane, nicknamed “The Pin-

⁴⁸“Programs for Patients at Army Hospital,”*BENJ*, 18 May 1943.

⁴⁹“Bushnell Hospital Hears Program,” *Davis County Clipper*, 23 March 1945; “Invite Public to Musicale,” *BENJ*, 8 October 1943. Utah State Agricultural College students and staff preformed a musical in the auditorium in October of 1943.

⁵⁰“Opera Star at Bushnell,”*BENJ*, 30 July 1943.

⁵¹“Hospital Patients Will Hear Levant,”*The Salt Lake Tribune*, 15 June 1944.

Up Voice,” and drummer Gene Krupa.⁵²

Occasionally movie stars and other celebrities visited the hospital; most came as part of USO tours. For example, band leader Tommy Dorsey performed there.⁵³ Nat King Cole and his trio performed for the mental patients in the “disturbed ward.” Ed Welch, who worked at the hospital, reported that because Cole was performing for mentally ill patients, he was shaking as he began his act; however, the patients responded well and enjoyed the performance.⁵⁴ Gayle Macey, a resident of Brigham City, remembered once seeing Gary Cooper and his wife there, and on another occasion Alan Ladd.⁵⁵ Bob Hope and Bing Crosby held a fund-raiser at the University of Utah football stadium in May 1945 to collect money to build a nine-hole golf course at the hospital. Brigham City officials paid for a full-page ad in Salt Lake’s *Deseret News* to promote the event. Tickets sold by Northern Utah local governments raised money for the course.⁵⁶

⁵²“Patients to Hear Band,”*BENJ*, 13 March 1945; Wayne Knight, An Overview of the Spotlight Bands Series, <http://www.nps.gov/spar/historyculture/upload/An%20Overview%20Of%20The%20Spotlight%20Bands%20Series%20307.doc> (accessed 18 February 2008). This was part of a long running radio program sponsored by the Coca Cola Company (1941-1946). From the beginning of 1945 until 16 June of that year, Armed Forces Radio Service (AFRS) broadcasted the program. The performances featured prominent musicians such as Tommy Dorsey and Benny Goodman.

⁵³Ed Welch, interview by Kathleen Bradford, 23 January 1983, MS 64, transcript, BCL.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵“Cooper Scheduled To Arrive At Bushnell,”*BENJ*, 4 August 1944. Cooper visited Corporal Buddy Baer, a patient at Bushnell and former heavyweight fighter.

⁵⁶Kathleen Bradford, *Mayors of Brigham City: 1867 to 2000* (Brigham City, Utah: Brigham City Corporation, 2000), 105–106. Also a local baseball team played a game on

The goal of the golf course was to provide an area where injured GIs, including amputees, would “regain confidence in themselves by playing the game of golf.”⁵⁷ The performance drew 21,000 people with veterans of both world wars, including disabled veterans in attendance. Hope and Crosby also preformed four evening shows at Bushnell, played fourteen holes of celebrity golf at Fort Douglas, and hosted a benefit dinner at the Hotel Utah. The two presented a check for \$31,000 that they collected to Colonel Hardaway to pay for the course.⁵⁸ On another occasion, a special movie premier of Alfred Hitchcock’s *Spellbound* (1945) occurred. Rhonda Fleming, a star in the movie, attended and signed autographs for patients.⁵⁹

the 4th of July 1945 to raise funds for the golf course.

⁵⁷“Murray City Receives 200 Tickets For Bob Hope–Bing Crosby Show June 17,” *Murray Eagle*, 31 May 1945.

⁵⁸“Hope, Crosby Raise Funds For Golf Course At Bushnell,” *BENJ*, 12 June 1945; “Bushnell Hospital Fund Will Aid Children,” *Salt Lake Telegram* (Salt Lake City, Utah), 4 September 1946. Because the Army closed Bushnell in June 1946, the Bushnell golf course never became a reality. The Army donated the money raised for the course in equal amounts to building funds for Shriners’s Crippled Children’s Hospital and Primary LDS Hospital for Crippled Children (now Primary Children’s Hospital). Both hospitals are located in Salt Lake City.

⁵⁹“Red–Haired Star Pleasing To Bushnell Vets,” *BENJ*, 1 January 1946; “Bushnell Patients See Two Movie Actresses and Hear a Big Name Band Yesterday,” *BENJ*, 5 May 1944; “Percy Grainger Gives Concert at Bushnell,” *BENJ*, 14 March 1944; “Patients to See Billiard Artist,” *BENJ*, 19 May 1944; “Bushnell Patients To see Hollywood Cast In Big USO–Camp Show Monday,” *BENJ*, 5 January 1943; “Seen In Girl Musical at Bushnell,” *BENJ*, 26 March 1943; “Shirley Temple Visits Bushnell Hospital,” *BENJ*, 23 October 1945. Other celebrities that visited Bushnell included: Marjorie Reynolds (*Holiday Inn*), Marian Hall (*Lady in the Dark*), Jack Teagarden (and his orchestra), Percy Grainger (pianist and composer), and Erwin Rudolph (a WWI veteran and pocket billiard player). Also Irving Mitchell, Pamela Wright, and Douglas Rutherford, among others, performed the comedy “The First Year” at Bushnell in 1943. June Lorraine, an impersonator, was part of an all-girl revue “Victoria Sweethearts” in March of that year.

The military staff was very aware that their soldier-patients needed job skills when they returned to civilian life; therefore, civilians volunteers taught occupational therapy and educational classes to enhance the injured GIs' skills. During his recovery, a soldier could obtain a high school diploma or receive college credit.⁶⁰ Utah State Agricultural College also offered a variety of classes for patients.⁶¹ Some of the classes taught subjects that soldiers returning to combat could use. Sometimes, when a patient had improved as much as possible but still had severe limitations, the military taught him a new occupation to enhance his employability after he returned home. Brigham volunteers taught some of the job training classes, for example car repair.⁶² One important project to help paraplegic soldiers find jobs was teaching them to drive specially equipped cars. The first paraplegic patient in Utah to receive a driver's licence was Corporal George H. Adolphson of Salt Lake City. The ability to drive allowed a paralyzed patient to become

Shirley Temple visited in 1945. She toured the ward, visited with patients, chatted with officials of the Bilateral Leg Amputee Club of America, and attended a GI's birthday party.

⁶⁰*Annual Report*, 12 January 1946, 9.

⁶¹"Patients will Take Classes," *BENJ*, 13 June 1944; Robert Parson, *An Encyclopedic History of Utah State University* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University) <http://digital.lib.usu.edu/includes/pdfword/universityhistory.doc> (accessed 2 March 2008). Classes included, aircraft engines, automotive engineering, machine shop practice, acetylene, and spot welding. The patients were bused to the USAC campus for the day. In 1942, before Bushnell convalescent patients arrived, enrollment in the Engineering, Science, Management War Training Program (ESMWT) was 108. In 1943, Bushnell patients helped enrollment climb to four hundred. The program involved the study of "soil mechanics, ariel photography, reinforced concrete design, fluid mechanics, cartography, radio fundamentals, and engineer drawing."

⁶²Robert Smith, Interview 1983.

more independent and thus gain more control over his life.⁶³

The *Bushnell GH Bugle* was an extension of the reconditioning education program. The weekly “news–paper–in–miniature” printed by patients, for patients at Bushnell, detailed “the happenings of interest about the post . . . [to] the readers.” With the help of hospital personnel and volunteers, patients published the *Bugle* in the hospital’s print shop and distributed it to those at the facility.⁶⁴ The publication informed GI patients and staff of events, recreational opportunities, and educational classes available at Bushnell.

Also convalescents had “hobby therapy” to help them alleviate boredom during their hospital stays. Brigham City volunteers taught classes including photography, leather craft, needlework, and metal work. For example, Rene N. Dowdle, a patient from Newton in Cache Valley, broke both legs and his neck in an accident in Georgia while training for overseas duty. He spent his recuperating time weaving.⁶⁵ In 1946, patients made block guides to enable blind people to tool leather. This activity allowed the injured soldiers to work on their hand skills and to give back to the community by helping

⁶³Eldar and Jelic, *Disability and Rehabilitation*, 1021. Eldar and Jelic in *The Association of Rehabilitation and War* explain, “. . .of the 2500 casualties with paraplegia sustained by US forces in WWII 70% returned to their homes able to drive a car, and 60% were successful in obtaining employment.”

⁶⁴“Bushnell to Print Paper,” *BENJ*, 17 November 1944; “Personnel Asked to Cooperate,” *Bushnell GH Bugle* (Bushnell General Hospital, Brigham City, Utah), 25 November 1944, (available at The Utah State Historical Society, Records, 1944–1953 by Bushnell General Hospital, MS A1803); “Formal Offering Mark’s Hospital’s New Publication,” *Bushnell GH Bugle*, 25 November 1944.

⁶⁵“The Wounded Speak,” *The Salt Lake Tribune*, 21 May 1944.

blind Utahns including World War I and II veterans.⁶⁶ The hospital hoped the ability to tool leather would allow blind Utah adults to earn a partial income through selling the handmade leather articles to tourists. Miss Elmer an instructor for the blind in Box Elder County assisted in teaching Bushnell patients how to make the blocks. She stated, “It appears that we not only count on our army to settle our battles abroad, but depend on them to help the handicapped in their battle for a happier, more profitable life” at home.⁶⁷

During wartime, Christmas parties and presents could be sparse for homefront Americans because of rationing, but Brigham residents and other Northern Utahns tried to give patients at Bushnell Hospital as happy a holiday as possible. Each Christmas the communities helped to provide gifts for injured GIs. In 1943, the Bushnell staff set a goal to raise \$4,000 to purchase gifts; however, they had already raised about half of the money privately before they asked the citizens of Brigham and surrounding cities to contribute. Additional money came from Ogden’s Military Depot and other military-related installations in the area. A local concert raised more money, and area civic clubs

⁶⁶A Bushnell patient who had a right arm amputation participated in the project.

⁶⁷“Bushnell Helps the Blind with Handicraft Work,”*BENJ*, 19 April 1946; Paul Rosenbaum and Paul A. Rosenbaum, interview by Kathleen Bradford, 25 January 1983, MS 60, transcript, BCL; “Wounded Vet Displays Paintings at ZCMI,” *Murray Eagle*, 20 July 1945. The blocks contained Utah symbols like the beehive. Sometimes individual convalescents received specific, individualized recreational therapies. For example, Northern Utah artist, Howell Rosenbaum, who went to the hospital to recover from dysentery, painted oil paintings as part of his recovery program. Another patient Sergeant Theodore Wassmer had an exhibit of twenty paintings displayed at the ZCMI Tiffin Room Restaurant in Salt Lake. He created scenes of Old Mexico, Texas, Jackson Hole, Wyoming, and Cottonwood Canyon, Utah while he was hospitalized, and others when he was on furlough.

made gifts and filled stockings for injured GIs at Bushnell.⁶⁸ One of the most popular gifts for a recuperating soldier was a subscription to a magazine such as, *Life*, *Time*, *Collier's*, *The Saturday Evening Post*, *Newsweek*, or *Reader's Digest*. Also the Brigham City American Legion auxiliary collected one hundred packages to be distributed to soldiers spending Christmas at Bushnell.⁶⁹ In addition, volunteers sponsored a Christmas party for the children of personnel and patients. Commander Robert M. Hardaway's wife hosted the party, and it included a presentation of three Walt Disney cartoons.⁷⁰ For Christmas 1944, donations totaled \$3,000 for presents, and various groups provided several hundred additional gifts for that year's adult Christmas party. Also in 1944, the Beta Sigma Phi Sororities from Ogden and Salt Lake City decorated Christmas trees for the hospital wards, and Brigham residents donated Christmas lights to the hospital.⁷¹ Christmas carolers entertained the soldier-patients on several nights leading up to Christmas Eve. Carolers came from a variety of Brigham City community organizations including Box Elder High School, the Brigham City Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Brigham City USO, and the Bushnell Army Cadet Nurses.⁷² A year later in 1945, about fifteen Box Elder and Cache organizations donated gifts to the hospital Christmas party

⁶⁸“Red Cross Asks Help in Putting on Christmas Parties for Bushnell Men,” *BENJ*, 23 November 1943; “Bushnell Patients's Christmas,” *BENJ*, 30 November 1943.

⁶⁹“One Hundred Packages Sent to Bushnell Hospital,” *Davis County Clipper*, 15 December 1944.

⁷⁰“Will Give Party for Bushnell Children,” *BENJ*, 24 December 1943.

⁷¹“Chamber Asks Xmas Lights For Bushnell,” *BENJ*, 24 November 1944.

⁷²“Plans Reached at Bushnell for Holidays,” *BENJ*, 22 December 1944.

including fruit, decorations, a Victrola, and a electric tape recorder that enabled soldiers to send greetings home to family and friends.⁷³

The community received encouragement from the staff at Bushnell to attend some of the programs held at the facility. Those events created some comradery between the Brigham citizens and people connected with the hospital. They were also important social rehabilitation activities for the patients. Holding combined events was an effort to blend the hospital activities for patients with those of the citizens of Brigham. For example, on the 4th of July 1943, hospital staff and Brigham City government officials invited everyone in the area to an open house and a patriotic concert held at the hospital to celebrate Independence Day.⁷⁴ The Bushnell Band also gave community concerts throughout that summer for city residents and patient and staff entertainment.⁷⁵ In 1943, the hospital held a boxing match to thank the community volunteers for their efforts in making athletic activities possible at Bushnell.⁷⁶ Such events would not have continued if attendance by civilians had not initially met the Bushnell officials' expectations to help with the social rehabilitation of injured GIs.⁷⁷

Brigham City residents were predominately members of the Church of Jesus Christ

⁷³“Red Cross Thanks Brigham City and Other Northern Utah Groups For Christmas Gifts,” *BENJ*, 18 January 1946.

⁷⁴“Open House at Bushnell Sunday Afternoon,” *BENJ*, 2 July 1943.

⁷⁵“Band Concert at Hospital,” *BENJ*, 16 July 1943.

⁷⁶“Bushnell Stages–Free Boxing Show Saturday In Appreciation to Brigham,” *BENJ*, 16 July 1943.

⁷⁷“Band Concert at Hospital,” *BENJ*, 16 July 1943.

of Latter-day Saints (LDS or Mormon). Church members volunteered and donated items to Bushnell outside of official LDS Church organizations.⁷⁸ An exception occurred in 1942, when the Ladies (LDS) Relief Society and the Presbyterian Ladies' Aid joined forces with the American Association of University Women to invite patients to holiday dinners in the homes of Brigham City citizens.⁷⁹ Also various denominations including the Protestant, Lutheran, and Catholic churches invited those at Bushnell to church services, including special Christmas services, some of which were held on hospital grounds.⁸⁰ David R. Wylie, Bushnell's chaplain, also opened services at the hospital to the public on special occasions, such as Thanksgiving.⁸¹ All denominations provided clergy to minister to patients and their families when needed. Mary Jeanne Baron, a resident of Brigham City, explained that the various religious organizations in

⁷⁸“Garland Ward Cans 15,610 Tins Food,” *BENJ*, 18 September 1942; “Bushnell Has Own Fruit Orchards,” *BENJ*, 25 June 1943; “Bushnell Orchards’ Yield Is Cited,” *BENJ*, 3 November 1944; Wells Monson, Interview 1987. During WWII the LDS Church was mainly focused on the canning of fruits and vegetables for home use by church members. This was an effort the church started during the Great Depression. Bushnell had its own fruit orchard of sixty acres. The peach, cherry, and apricot trees provided canned fruit for winter consumption at the facility. In two seasons, orchard yields reached \$10,000 worth of produce. Local civilian volunteers, patients, employees, and the POWs picked the fruit, and a refrigerator plant, Pringles, froze it for future hospital use.

⁷⁹“Society: Women’s Organizations Urge Invitations to Soldier Guests For Christmas Dinners Either December 25 or Sunday, Dec. 27,” *BENJ*, 8 December 1942.

⁸⁰“Protestant Services at Chapel Xmas Day,” *BENJ*, 24 December 1943; “Catholic Services At Bushnell For Xmas,” *BENJ*, 24 December 1943. The Red Cross acted as the “clearing house” for all invitations.

⁸¹“Services At Bushnell Chapel are Announced,” *BENJ*, 19 November 1943; “Chapel Lists Xmas Services,” *BENJ*, 17 December 1943.

Brigham City worked together to provide hygiene kits for patients. A kit included a toothbrush, washcloth, and comb to enable a patient to possess personal grooming items during his hospital stay.⁸²

Perhaps the most important service that Brigham's citizens, Army staff, and hospital volunteers offered to patients was treating them as normal people. Despite the horrific scars and disabilities some of the patients bore, the citizens welcomed injured patients downtown. The Army doctors considered this an important step in patient rehabilitation. While citizens saw men with missing limbs, visible scars, or other deformities that were particularly hard for civilians to deal with, the community did not ostracize soldier-patients. Often plastic and maxillofacial surgery attempted to fix the scars, but most could never be fully repaired. City and hospital officials issued a plea in the *Box Elder News-Journal* for Brigham citizens to accept GIs as normal despite their appearance. To make this point, a vivid description of an unnamed patient's appearance, and the story of his surgeries appeared in the newspaper. Normal reactions to disabled soldiers by Brigham City's citizens aided GIs in their recoveries. Doctors realized that unconditional acceptance by the public was a stepping stone toward the confidence that the convalescents needed to return to civilian life. Part of the article in the *Box Elder News-Journal* stated, "They [doctors and staff of Bushnell] hope that citizens of Brigham City can prove to these boys [those with deformities] that a grateful people can accept a

⁸²Mary Jeanne Baron, Interview 2008.

man for what he is, not what he looks like.”⁸³ Another editorial by William Long focused on admonishing parents in Brigham City that,

All [children] above a certain age might be given a simple lecture at home or in school on the causes of such blemishes [GI deformities], given an understanding of how they were acquired, what they mean to the man who bears them, and what they mean to the children themselves.”⁸⁴

This would help a child to avoid rudeness when encountering a disabled veteran in town. The article admonished parents to speak to their children even though “It would be well, certainly, if childish eyes never saw such sights. . . . But today’s children are living in wartime, and Brigham City’s children are living in . . . town and must inevitably see some of the war’s most pathetic victims.”⁸⁵ Long wrote the articles because such rudeness occasionally occurred in downtown Brigham, and the town officials wanted the citizens of Brigham City to be more accepting of the injured GIs.

Verabel Call Knudson, Idle Isle restaurant owner, tried to encourage amputees to come downtown and be seen outside of the hospital setting wearing their new prosthetics. She realized the spiritual boost that good food could give a patient, and she gave a free steak dinner to any Bushnell amputee who could walk through Idle Isle’s door on his own with the use of his artificial limb(s).⁸⁶ Other town businesses also provided food to those

⁸³“Trips Uptown Will Be Important Part of Treatment of Disfigured Patients,” *BENJ*, 7 December 1943.

⁸⁴William M. Long, “Editorial: The Scares and Blemishes,” *BENJ*, 14 December 1943.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*

⁸⁶“Verabel Call Knudson,” in Allan Kent Powell, ed., *Utah Remembers World War II* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1991), 180.

connected with Bushnell. For example, two veterans went to the town bakery and told the owner how fond they were of the bakery's donuts. The *Box Elder News-Journal* recounts what happened next:

‘How many of those would a soldier have to eat before it'd be on the house?’ one of them inquired.

‘If you can eat a dozen,’ Dorothy [the owner] told him, ‘the doughnuts and anything else you can eat are on the house.’

May it be said for Uncle Sam's young veterans that they aren't the sort to back down in the face of long odds.

The two soldiers waded through a dozen doughnuts apiece, one of them having two cups of coffee and other two glasses of milk. Then, for the pay-off, they each had a piece of pie a la mode.

‘Would there be anything else?’ Dorothy asked.

‘No, thanks,’ one of them replied. ‘If we ate anything more now, it would spoil our appetite for lunch.’

It was 10 minutes after 11 o'clock [AM].⁸⁷

By publishing such accounts, the staff of the newspaper publically acknowledged the friendly attitude of Brigham businesses toward Bushnell patients even though the ex-soldiers duped the shop owner into providing them with free food.

Another town businessman, Floyd “Snips” Knudsen, owner of Knudsen Floral, also supported the patients by becoming executive secretary of the Bushnell Hospital Wounded Service Men's Fraternity. The group began when a soldier missing one of his feet visited Floyd's shop, and after talking to him noticed chewing gum on the counter. The GI commented that he had not seen a package of gum for two years; he then asked to buy a piece from Floyd. Knudsen responded, “No, you can't. . . . But I'll give you one. In fact, I'll make you a member of the Bushnell Hospital Wounded Service Men's

⁸⁷“The Grin Reaper” Column, *BENJ*, 15 October 1943.

Fraternity. The initiation is a chew on me. . . .You're member No. 1.”⁸⁸ In October 1943, the paper recorded the initiation of the 834th member of the fraternity and speculated that the group would probably number 1,000 by the time the fraternity was a year old.⁸⁹ Knudsen comically noted that he could not get enough gum to keep the fraternity going. Comradery between wounded GIs and civilians in downtown Brigham was an important part of social rehabilitation.

Norma Wallwork Bailey is an example of a nurses' aide who treated a patient as normal despite his disability. She recalled assisting a patient who had lost his ear. The physicians were trying to transfer skin from his arm to create a new outer ear. Because of the procedure, the man's arm was straight up in the air and somehow attached to the side of his head. She said that she felt sorry for him; however, since it hurt the patient more when people pitied him, she treated him as normal. She recalled that she soon came to see him that way. An African–American convalescent Norma Bailey cared for had lost his dominant hand in the war. One day, she observed him trying to tie his shoe, but he was having great difficulty. She offered to help him, but he responded, “No, I can get it.” Norma acknowledged that he wanted and needed to do it himself, and soon after their conversation, he did tie his shoe.⁹⁰

Ora Mae Sorenson Hyatt from Salt Lake City finished her nurse's training at

⁸⁸Ibid. The flower shop was also a beer hall.

⁸⁹Ibid.

⁹⁰Norma Bailey, Interview 1987. She did not mention if he was in a segregated ward or if he received any different treatment by hospital personnel, volunteers, or patients because of his ethnicity.

Bushnell General. During those three months, she received confirmation that nursing injured soldiers brought fulfillment. She was able to “help young men who had returned [from the war] with a battle wound of some kind, and to talk with them, and they were so appreciative of the care that. . . [she] gave them.”⁹¹ Mary Sellers Gray described Bushnell as “a fabulous place.”⁹² She went there from Salt Lake County General Hospital with five other student “cadet” nurses. The hospital ward nurse assigned her to be a friend to an amputee named Ralph Yamaguchi. He had lost one arm and the opposite leg which kept him from using crutches or a wheelchair on his own. Sometimes she took him on a gurney to the movies. They became great friends, and often talked about his life and future. In some small way Ralph Yamaguchi, like other patients at Bushnell, sought reassurance from his nurse that his girlfriend or wife (as well as society in general) would accept him despite his disability. The reassurance helped him regain his masculinity and navigate society’s obstacles. DeEsta Getz Young Gunther from Brigham City became friends with a former football player from Texas named Jack. He wanted to go back to join his football team, but could not because of his disability. She told him that she would not marry him because she could not stand football. They both laughed, and he seemed to accept the fact that “life after football would be better than no life at all.”⁹³

⁹¹Ora Mae Sorenson Hyatt, interview by Rick Randle, 7 December 2006, transcript, Salt Lake City, Utah: KUED Television, <http://www.kued.org/productions/worldwar2/interviews-homefront.php> (accessed 5 August 2008).

⁹²Mary Sellers Gray, interview by Rick Randle, 7 December 2006, transcript, Salt Lake City, Utah: KUED Television, <http://www.kued.org/productions/worldwar2/interviews-homefront.php> (accessed 5 August 2008).

⁹³DeEsta Gunther, Personal History 2006. She did not list his last name.

In a similar situation, Mary Sellers Gray recalled another convalescent she assisted who rarely talked at all. Mary Gray said, “I’d talk to him, and he’d just ignore me. He really was mean and gruffy [sic] to everyone.” When he had surgery to have his stump revised, Mary cared for him while he was in the recovery room. She recalled that he reached out and held her hand, and said, “I’m so glad you’re here.” Mary Gray stated that she felt that she had “touched him even though he never talked to me [again].” Her compassion and caring had “reached him on some level” she recalled.⁹⁴ In order to help another young man regain confidence in his masculinity, Mary “flirted” with him. He lost a leg and felt that no woman would ever talk to him again. She reassured him that he was handsome and would be fine. Mary gave still a different young ex-GI her picture to put on his bed stand so, “Whenever you get down just look at the picture, and know you’ll be fine with any girls because they’ll like you! They won’t hold it against you because you lost your leg.” However, she said it was hard to convince him.⁹⁵

Female companionship and assistance that started with hospital nurses and volunteers was important to World War II’s injured GIs throughout the rest of their lives. After World War II, Hollywood films carried similar themes. For example, a Hollywood film, *The Men* (1950) showed that social expectations meant that a paralyzed veteran would rely on a female companion (a spouse or girlfriend) throughout his life to do everyday activities. A poignant moment at the end of the movie shows,

. . . the hero, a World War II veteran in a wheelchair, [who] asks his wife for

⁹⁴Mary Gray, Interview 2006.

⁹⁵Ibid.

assistance in getting up a step [in his chair]. This scene signals to the audience that the disabled veteran will be all right because he is finally able to ask for help—something he often will have to do to survive in a society with so many obstacles.⁹⁶

An earlier movie *The Best Years of Our Lives* (1946) also examined the issues returning veterans faced in civilian life. One of the film's themes was that women, even though they had grown self-sufficient during the war, should "use their new self-confidence not to break down gender barriers but to re-establish them by deliberately assisting men to reclaim the dominate roles of breadwinners and head of their families."⁹⁷ Each disabled veteran would have to rely on his girlfriend or wife to provide a caring attitude to support him in dealing with a disability throughout his life.⁹⁸ In the movie *The Best Years* Harold Russell, a real life double hand amputee, played Homer Parrish. Because Homer uses hooks for hands, he tries "to salvage his self-respect and create a new masculine identity to fill the void created by the trauma of his amputations."⁹⁹ Homer rejects his girlfriend Wilma's overtures to assist him physically and emotionally while he is adjusting to his life after the war. He finally accepts her assistance, and she gently tucks him into bed because he is unable to adjust the blankets himself after he removed his prosthetics. He

⁹⁶Fleischer and Zames, *Disability Rights Movement*, 47-48.

⁹⁷David A. Gerber, "Heros and Misfits: The Troubled Social Reintegration of Disabled Veterans in *The Best Years of Our Lives*," *American Quarterly* 46 No. 4 (December 1994): 550. Gerber relies on Susan M. Hartmann's work *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s* (Boston: Twayne Press, 1982) for this information.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, 555.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, 559.

admits to her that he feels helplessness and has lost his manhood because of his injury; she responds by telling him his disability did not change her love for him.¹⁰⁰ Wilma accepted him despite his disability. Acceptance was a goal civilians and hospital staff tried to achieve for each Bushnell patient during the hospital's existence.

On a few occasions, people with disabilities visited the hospital to help the patients realize that a normal life was possible for them. For example, DeEsta Getz Young Gunther recalled a meeting amputees had with her father who had lost his right arm in a industrial accident many years before. At the time of the meeting, he used a harness, and was working full-time as a steam shovel operator in Brigham. Since he was able to continue his occupation despite his disability, amputees were very interested in how he had adjusted to life after his accident. They wanted to know how it affected his home life and if a woman would marry a man who was missing a limb. Of the convalescents, DeEsta stated, "They were all really scared that they would not be accepted [at home or in society] and would be looked upon as freaks."¹⁰¹ DeEsta's family often invited convalescents to their home to have dinner.¹⁰² After eating, the group played card games and made popcorn and candy.¹⁰³ A few of these young men began to see DeEsta's mother as a surrogate mom and the family home as their home away from home.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., 565.

¹⁰¹DeEsta Gunther, Personal History 2006.

¹⁰²The men arrived at DeEsta's home by taking a bus or walking.

¹⁰³DeEsta Gunther, Personal History 2006.

Joe Miller was another person who helped the amputees. He was a soldier from Montana who had lost his legs in a train accident at age twelve. He petitioned President Franklin D. Roosevelt “requesting a chance to help the fellows out [who were] coming back from overseas.” The hospital received the letter, and Colonel Hardaway found a position for him teaching the men how to use their artificial leg(s). Joe talked with the patients and showed amputees how he used his prosthetics. He drove his own car; he strolled around the town; and he enjoyed fishing as a hobby. Miller was particularly successful in teaching soldiers how to go up and down stairs which he did on his leg stubs. He also helped the amputees learn how to manage walking in winter snow, and he worked in the brace shop assisting the technicians in making artificial limbs.¹⁰⁴

Lieutenant Bert R. Shepard, a Major League Baseball player and an amputee, visited Bushnell to provide support and suggestions to disabled patients.¹⁰⁵ A below-knee, right leg amputee, he signed a relief pitcher contract with the American League’s Washington Nationals in 1945. At the hospital, Shepard showed films on overcoming above and below knee amputations, including one featuring him walking, playing baseball and basketball, and running the 60-yard dash in 8.5 seconds. In Bushnell’s gym, Shepard personally demonstrated to other amputees his ability to play baseball and basketball. He

¹⁰⁴Alice Johnson, Interview 2005; “Youth Has Grit, Aids Wounded At Bushnell,” *BENJ*, 15 August 1944.

¹⁰⁵He was a member of the Army Air Corp and of the technical information division of the Surgeon General’s office.

also showed them his bowling technique in the hospital's bowling alley.¹⁰⁶

On one occasion, GIs received inspiration from a lecture Helen Keller gave at the hospital. Keller was a remarkable woman who became deaf and blind soon after birth. Because of her experiences in dealing with her own disabilities, she made a coast to coast tour of Army hospitals. Helen Keller had three goals: first, to boost the spirits of the patients; second, to discuss some of the problems the convalescents had with rehabilitation; third, to explain to average citizens how they could assist the disabled with adjusting to their disabilities. She demonstrated how soldiers could use braille watches and how they could play checkers with magnetized checker boards.¹⁰⁷ Although she focused on the problems of the blind, she was a great inspiration for any soldier facing life with a disability. In 1945, Colonel Robert Hardaway wrote in his Annual Report to the Surgeon General of the United States that "Miss Keller's presence left a mark on the hospital that will never be erased."¹⁰⁸ Her presence in the Brigham City community also enabled citizens to realize that disabled patients could achieve greatness despite their

¹⁰⁶"Major Leaguer, An Amputee, To Visit Bushnell,"*BENJ*, 29 January 1946; Matt Schudel, "Bert Shepard; Amputation Didn't Stop MLB Pitcher," *Washington Post* (Washington, DC), 22 June 2008. http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/06/21/AR2008062101603_pf.html (accessed 16 June 2008). Before the Army drafted Bert in 1942, he was a minor league baseball player. After his war injury, he made visits to veterans' and childrens' hospitals throughout the US. Bert played in only one major league game where he pitched against the Boston Red Sox. Later, he was a player-manager in the minor leagues and won the National Amputee Golf Championship in 1968 and 1971. He passed away on 16 June 2008.

¹⁰⁷"Helen Keller To Visit At Bushnell,"*BENJ*, 8 December 1944; "Helen Keller Visiting Bushnell," *BENJ*, 15 December 1944.

¹⁰⁸*Annual Report*, 10 January 1945, 10.

handicaps.

Brigham City residents supported Bushnell General Hospital patients in several ways: they provided medical supplies to the hospital; they gave blood for transfusions; they collected materials for recreation and rehabilitation activities; they volunteered their time to support patients and staff; and they donated money for patient care and rehabilitation. The donation efforts extended to residents along the Wasatch Front, from Logan to Ogden and even as far south as Provo, Utah. Hospital staff, volunteers, and Red Cross nurses' aides also provided listening ears and reassurance to disabled patients that life could still be fulfilling because there were ways to adapt to disabilities. Helen Keller and other disabled Americans visited the hospital, and they provided additional reassurance to the convalescents. Hollywood stars and celebrities entertained and visited patients and staff to boost morale. Brigham City residents and others from the Wasatch Front supported Bushnell General Hospital's staff and patients, and helped the hospital staff provide patients the best possible care and rehabilitation.

Residents of Brigham City and Northern Utah supported Bushnell by volunteering their time and resources because, in the words of Mary Jeanne Baron, "That's the difference between the Big War [World War II] and the wars that have come since then. People . . . knew it was a do or die situation, and they did it. They [the people of Brigham City] said this is something that has to be done, and we're going to do it."¹⁰⁹ She acknowledged that supporting the hospital was a sacrifice but a worthwhile one. The US Army singled out the relationship Bushnell General Hospital had with Brigham City

¹⁰⁹Mary Jeanne Baron, Interview 2008.

citizens and surrounding community members. The Army characterized the relationship as “particularly good [as compared with other Army facilities] because medical care was given to a large number of patients whose homes were nearby [in Utah and neighboring states].”¹¹⁰

One reason citizens supported the hospital was that Brigham City wanted the hospital to succeed and to continue to be a community fixture after the war because it brought economic benefits to Brigham and Northern Utah. Melva Baron explained, “[Brigham City residents] were tickled to death to have it. We felt lucky to get it.”¹¹¹ In addition, residents felt like they were contributing to the war effort by having the hospital in the town and helping the staff, patients, and their families. City residents may have also gotten caught up in the enthusiasm of supporting Bushnell. Melva, and likely others, felt sorry for the patients and their families. Brigham residents, as evidenced in newspaper articles and interviews, felt that supporting the hospital was something they could do to help those soldiers who were injured while serving their country. Although some residents were likely upset about the hospital, it seems that voicing such opinions in a small town, during the war years, may have proved unpopular. If citizens criticized Bushnell, its staff, and patients, such opinions did not appear in the *Box Elder News-Journal*. The tone of the paper throughout the time Bushnell Hospital operated was supportive, stressed sacrifice by civilians, and celebrated the patients’ achievements. It

¹¹⁰Allen, ed. *Radiology*, 144.

¹¹¹Melva Baron, interview by Andrea Carter, 5 February 2008, transcript, in the author’s possession Ogden, Utah.

seems possible that any letters to the editor that were critical of the hospital in any way likely were not published. As Mary Jeanne Baron stated, “I’m sure some people were upset about it [Bushnell]. They didn’t want their little shangri-la changed. But, I think it changed for the better.”¹¹²

¹¹²Mary Jeanne Baron, Interview 2008.

CHAPTER IV
BUSHNELL HOSPITAL'S EFFECT ON BRIGHAM CITY
AND SURROUNDING AREAS

Besides the patients Bushnell General Hospital helped recuperate, the hospital impacted the citizens of Brigham City the most. When construction on the project began, Brigham residents were both excited and apprehensive because they knew they would see many changes in their community. Bushnell not only brought new jobs to an area effected by the Great Depression, but also, because of Bushnell, people with different cultural values and religious faiths than those of the town's citizens moved in.

To help insure a smooth transition for new citizens, the community introduced them to Brigham City through articles in the *Box Elder News-Journal* before the hospital opened. The articles emphasized the history of Brigham City, and it informed new citizens about the area's predominate religion, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS or Mormon). A picture of Box Elder County officials appeared in the newspaper. In the same issue, an ad extolled the county's pleasant surroundings including the "beautiful mountains offering shelter for a fertile valley."¹ Also both county and city officials praised the countywide school system, and extolled the community's "comfortable homes with beautiful lawns and gardens." The ad also elaborated on

¹"Brigham Extends Welcome," *Box Elder News-Journal* (Brigham City, Utah), 2 October 1942 (hereafter *BENJ*); "To Our New Citizens—Welcome to Box Elder," *BENJ*, 2 October 1942.

advantages for all citizens such as cheap, abundant electric power and low tax rates.²

The tone of the advertisement welcomed those connected with Bushnell to the city. The desire to welcome new institutions and people was different fifty years earlier when a conservative attitude existed in Brigham. A William Long editorial on 17 January 1942 reminded “citizens [of a] protest against the proposed location of Utah State Agricultural College in Brigham City. . . . [That occurred because] a few ultra-conservative people [citizens] felt that such a move was too progressive.” After Logan, Utah became the home of the college, Brigham citizens witnessed the economic and cultural benefits USAC brought to Cache Valley. While such fears of change had diminished in Brigham City by 1942, some Brigham residents still felt apprehensive about a large government facility coming to town.³ Brigham City citizens in general looked forward with some hesitation to the economic benefits, the cultural diversity, and the personal interactions that the new residents connected to Bushnell would bring to the area.

When Brigham City’s civic leaders received the contract for Bushnell, they knew that the city faced some significant challenges. One such drawback developed almost immediately. Before construction on the hospital began, the United States Government diverted building supplies from private use to wartime priorities.⁴ Therefore construction

²Ibid.

³Frederick M. Huchel, *A History of Box Elder County* (Brigham City, Utah: Box Elder Commission, 1999), 267.

⁴This was a common problem throughout the United States. See Susan Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s* (Boston: Twayne Press,

of individual dwellings and apartment houses largely stopped. Nationwide housing deficiencies developed in cities near military installations, and “the inevitable quick surges of population” that followed caused immediate additional housing needs.⁵

Northern Utah communities, including Ogden, Layton, Salt Lake City, Wendover, Orem, and Brigham City, experienced housing shortages. To ease this acute situation, in January 1943 the federal government allowed for a remodeling program from Brigham City to Payson which created 10,612 rooms.⁶ However, Weber, Davis, Salt Lake, Utah, and Tooele counties benefited the most from this program, and the government left Brigham City to meet its increased housing problem on its own. While the construction of a few new apartments and a motel occurred in the beginning, the town initially dealt with the housing shortage by remodeling some vacant houses.

In Brigham, the demand to buy homes or rent apartments skyrocketed in April 1942. A few new apartments on the old Pearse Community Hospital site sprung up, but the project hardly solved the crisis.⁷ Editor William Long explained in the *Box Elder News-Journal* that the housing problem was “a headache—to state the obvious—and some of the newcomers are bound to get a bad impression of Brigham because of it.” He

1982), 6.

⁵James B. Allen, “Crisis on the Home Front: The Federal Government and Utah’s Defense Housing in World War II,” *Pacific Historical Review*, 38 No. 4 (November 1969): 408–409. For example in Utah in 1943, 51,840 people worked in defense industries.

⁶*Ibid.*, 424.

⁷“Remodel Hospital to Apartments,” *BENJ*, 7 April 1942.

continued, “I’d like to present here, neatly done up in paper and ink, a solution to the housing problem. I can’t. . . . If the officers at Bushnell and representative groups from the town should get together they certainly could do something to improve the situation.”⁸

Long’s recommendation for solving the housing problem was that Bushnell staff, community officials, and groups, such as the Red Cross, work in conjunction with Brigham City citizens to insure adequate accommodations for the newcomers; his plan encompassed the groups needed to solve the problem. However, in 1942 real estate officials predicted that the city required at least two hundred homes to fill the demand, and in a small town of 5,641 that seemed an almost impossible goal to reach.⁹

Because the lack of living accommodations was so critical, a construction worker at Bushnell solved his personal housing shortage by building a small, two-room house out of broken bricks and other scrap materials. He lived in it during his employment at Bushnell; in fact, he remained living there for several years after the end of World War II.¹⁰ Other construction workers lived in trailer camps because of the lack of more permanent housing.¹¹ The Brigham City Chamber of Commerce obtained US

⁸“Editorial: Bring Them to Brigham,” *BENJ*, 11 September 1942.

⁹US Bureau of the Census, *Number of Inhabitants: Area and Population of Counties, Urban and Rural, 1930 To 1950*. Prepared by the Geography Division in cooperation with the Housing Division, Bureau of the Census, Washington, DC, 1955.

¹⁰Ellen Siggard, interview by Kathleen Bradford, 31 March 1988, MS 30, transcript, Brigham City Library (hereafter BCL). He probably lived near the hospital site.

¹¹“Hospital Workmen Living In Trailer Camps,” *BENJ*, 14 July 1942. There were six such camps in Brigham. The camps were on the outskirts of Brigham City probably near the hospital site.

Government financial aid to create more housing units when it received a defense area designation on 26 May 1942. For example, in September 1943 the federal housing program and the Home Owners Loan Corporation worked to secure four homes in Brigham to be divided into apartments. They did this because “The government leases such homes, remodels them into apartment houses, and operates them, paying profits over the cost of remodeling to the home owner[s].”¹² Also, the building of the Bushnell Motel (still in use today) and Peace City Apartments to house those visiting hospital patients relieved the shortage somewhat.¹³ A local business, Tri-State Lumber Company, published an ad asking Brigham residents to “Share your Shelter, Help House the War Workers.” They suggested adding extra rooms, fixing up old rooms, and converting attics, porches, and basements into “living quarters” for new residents by using FHA Conversion Loans. The advertisement explained such loans would allow landlords to obtain lumber, metal, and other products needed to fix up the new living quarters. The loans gave residents up to \$5,000 for five to seven years, and the ad stated that rental income would “likely far offset your monthly FHA payments.”¹⁴

Arguments between landlords and renters over rental prices and contracts were a source of conflict. For example, on 17 July 1942 the *Box Elder News–Journal*

¹²“Housing Shortage Felt at Brigham,” *BENJ*, 14 April 1942; “Brigham Placed in Defense Area,” *BENJ*, 26 May 1942; “Citizens May Petition For Redress Under Constitution, Declares Area Rent Director,” *BENJ*, 12 February 1943; “Need Homes In Remodelling [sic] Program Here,” *BENJ*, 2 September 1943.

¹³Huchel, *History of Box Elder*, 268.

¹⁴“Share Your Shelter Help House the War Workers,” *BENJ*, 24 July 1942.

mentioned, “For some time past, considerable confusion has existed in the minds of many in this city relative to the rent situation. . . . A number of apartment house owners, [are] feeling that they are justified in raising rents here. . . .” Attorneys investigated the complaints and determined that “landlords still can legally continue to collect rents on the basis of present schedules,” and could also “continue to serve notice to renters to vacate apartments on non-payment of rent.” Long concluded, “[A] Suggestion is made that if a landlord can’t get along with some of his tenants, it is best to invite them now to live elsewhere for the ‘duration.’”¹⁵ In August, eighty-eight persons including both tenants and some landlords signed a petition asking that the rental control program used in other Northern Utah communities be extended to Brigham. The petition to the Salt Lake area rent director Willis W. Ritter at the Office of Price Administration explained that some landlords charged skyrocketing rents and evicted those unable to pay the high prices.¹⁶ That same day William Long recognized the divisiveness of the issue between renters and landlords. He summed up his view of the issue by saying, “Even under rent control some landlords will receive less rent than they are entitled to, and some renters will be paying more than the property they occupy is worth. And, as the law reads, there won’t be much that can be done about it.” Long felt that the government would act, based on the actions of landlords. He stated:

Right now, it’s up to the landlords. It’s ten to one—or name your own odds—that there’ll be a rent investigation by the OPA [Office of Price Administration]. If the

¹⁵“Rental Situation Investigate By Landlords,” *BENJ*, 17 July 1942.

¹⁶“Claim Rentals Skyrocketing, Those Refusing to Pay Being Evicted, and Request Action,” *BENJ*, 7 August 1942.

investigators find local rents ‘out of line’ there’ll be a rent stabilization order. If the investigators find rents here are fair, there’ll probably be no order.¹⁷

Because OPA investigators felt that some rental rates required adjustment, on 18 September rent rates returned to 1 March 1942 levels. After that the only reason for increased rent was if a housing property underwent major capital improvements after the March first deadline.¹⁸

Some prospective landlords created another problem because they procrastinated listing available housing with the Housing Registration Office. The office issued a renewed plea to Brigham residents on 4 September 1942 in order to speed up the process.¹⁹ Just days later, William E. Davis, the area rent director, announced that any Box Elder County residents having any type of housing facilities “including hotels,

¹⁷“Editorial: Housing Headache,” *BENJ*, 7 August 1942.

¹⁸“OPA Announces Rent Rates in Box Elder County Must Be Cut Back to March 1 Levels,” *BENJ*, 18 September 1942; “Citizens May Petition For Redress Under Constitution, Declares Area Rent Director,” *BENJ*, 12 February 1943. The OPA cited the large rise in the population of Box Elder County from its original population of 18,832. Renting was out of proportion in some areas in Utah. For example, landlords charged \$125 or \$150 a month for tourists cabins, \$30 a month for a chicken coop made into 16x12 foot apartments lacking water or indoor toilet facilities, and \$40 for an apartment that previously rented for \$16 now furnished with “ramshackle” second-hand furniture.

¹⁹“New Project Puts Pressure on Housing,” *BENJ*, 4 September 1942; “Homes Registration Places 30 Persons,” *BENJ*, 18 August 1942; “Room Board Major Housing Need Here,” *BENJ*, 25 September 1942; “The Grim Reaper Column,” *BENJ*, 25 January 1944. W. K. McCarty announced that the office was an extension of the Ogden Housing Registration Office. The office covered housing in Box Elder County and Cache County. On the 18th of August, the newspaper reported that the registration office was responsible for placing more than thirty persons, most of them defense workers, in Brigham. Later, in September some Bushnell staff, unable to find housing in Box Elder County, moved to Logan and commuted to Brigham because, “There seems to be nothing else they can do.” Housing for military staff was still scarce in January of 1944. A dentist at Bushnell placed a classified advertisement to find a home for him, his wife, and two children.

rooming houses, apartment houses, auto camps, or any other sort of housing accommodations” should register with the office as soon as possible.²⁰ Landlords responded well to the initial request, but a few continued to ignore the issue and disregard the law. After the 15th of November 1942, the US Government threatened to prosecute anyone who failed to register.²¹ Landlords “packed” the Brigham City Council Chamber to capacity in February 1943. They complained that rental prices in Brigham City were much lower than those in Ogden, Salt Lake, Provo, or Tooele. Landlords argued that before 1 March 1942 other Northern Utah communities had already raised rents in response to the influx of military newcomers. However, Brigham City’s “frozen” rent levels remained lower than those in the other Northern Utah communities.²² The US Government “solved” the divisiveness in the community by closing its Brigham office in the First National Bank and moving it to Ogden’s First Security Bank Building. Even though rumors circulated in Brigham City that the government would soon relax the

²⁰“All Landlords Required to Register Rental Property at Offices in Nat’l Bank,” *BENJ*, 6 October 1942; “Landlords Found Willing to Meet Provisions Most Renters Reasonable,” *BENJ*, 9 October 1942. A clarification for homeowners with boarders stated that they only needed to register if they had more than two boarders. Renters might have procrastinated listing available housing with the government because they did not want the government to control who they rented to and how much they charged for rent.

²¹“Rent Control Director Says Landlords Ignoring Ruling Only Heading for Trouble,” *BENJ*, 30 October 1942; “Landlords Failing to List Property with Rent Control Office Liable to Prosecution,” *BENJ*, 10 November 1942. I was unable to find any cases of landlords being prosecuted for failing to register.

²²“Served with Notice to Cut Rents Back to March 1 Level, Owners Meet to Frame Protest,” *BENJ*, 12 February 1943. The article did not list any specific rental comparisons between Brigham City and other communities.

rules, the Housing Registration Office stressed that rent control still existed.²³

By July 1942, Brigham City officials established one way to ease the housing problem. They called on residents to alleviate the dilemma by allowing new residents and visitors to stay in private homes despite the inconveniences it might cause homeowners. This extreme, partial solution to the difficulty followed a similar edict in Ogden, Utah. Government officials throughout Northern Utah cast the sacrifice of opening one's own home to renters as an act of patriotism.²⁴ For example, in March 1942, J.H. Andrews, the chairman of the Housing committee of the Ogden Chamber of Commerce, asked residents to take in roomers. He stated, "The situation has reached a point now where it is one of the things we must do to aid our community and the nation."²⁵ In Brigham, just as elsewhere, citizens could rent out space in their homes to those needing housing by listing such rentals at the Housing Registration Office.²⁶ The USO and the Red Cross also

²³"Rent Offices in Brigham are Closed," *BENJ*, 16 March 1943; "Rent Control Must Still Be Observed," *BENJ*, 10 August 1943. The director of the Box Elder, Weber, and Davis OPA office, David H. Mann, was in Brigham at the local ration board offices every Tuesday to hear complaints or provide information on renting.

²⁴Allen, "Crisis on the Home Front," 424.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 415, 423. Later, the National Housing Agency assumed control of the Housing Registration Bureau and expanded the bureau's activities. James B. Allen explained, that the government aided homeowners "in remodeling and even leased private property for conversion to war housing. These projects were given official endorsement by Utah Governor Herbert B. Maw whose proclamation of July 22, 1942, clearly spelled out the seriousness of the situation and some of the bitterness it was causing."

²⁶*Ibid.*, 413. In May of 1941, Ogden officials established a Housing Registration Bureau, (a.k.a. Hospitality Center) where community members listed rentals and even their homes as places for new residents to live.

worked to arrange rooms in homes for people.²⁷ The LDS Church Box Elder Stake President Hervin Bunderson supported the concept of residents opening their homes to newcomers. He asked local ward bishops by letter “[to act] with the view of arousing the people of this [Brigham City] and other communities of the pressing need for housing facilities. . . . urging that they aid in finding ways and means of lending their cooperation in solving the housing problem.”²⁸ Because of the pleas from various officials, both LDS and non-LDS Brigham residents responded to ease the housing dilemma. For example, in at least one case, a new resident actually shared a bed with a member of a homeowner’s family.²⁹ DeEsta Getz Young Gunther and her family often slept in the furnace room of their home, enabling hospital visitors to use their bedrooms.³⁰ Melva Baron lived with her family in a big home; her parents made the upstairs into apartments

²⁷Homes Registration And Priority Office Opened Here,” *BENJ*, 7 July 1942; “Editorials: Move Over Again, Please,” *BENJ*, 21 September 1943; “For Sale,” “Wanted To Rent,” and “For Rent,” *BENJ*, 2 November 1943. A handful of people also listed places for rent or homes for sale in the *Box Elder News-Journal*.

²⁸“Bishops Aid Housing Plan,” *BENJ*, 21 July 1942.

²⁹Walter G. Mann and Donna Mann, interviewed by Kathleen Bradford, 20 July 1989, MS 8, transcript, BCL.

³⁰DeEsta Getz Young Gunther, “Bushnell General Hospital in 1945,” Personal History 9 August 2006, MS 310, transcript, BCL; Mary Jeanne Baron, interview by Andrea Carter, 8 February 2008, transcript, in the author’s possession, Ogden, Utah. Mary Jeanne Baron described the ebb and flow of renters at her house as, “Towards the beginning, of course, so many things were rationed that you couldn’t really do it. So, by the time it was over—to me—it seemed to be steady. . . . It was just kind of gradual and kept up.”

where visiting wives of injured GIs lived.³¹ Verabel Call Knudson and her family also responded to the housing need. She opened her home, half of a duplex, to patients' families and other newcomers, including a couple of engineers. She recalled that people often doubled up in each of her beds. At one point, during the war, she noted that there were about twenty-five people staying in her house.³²

Once, Verabel Knudson dropped off a relative at Ogden's train station, and she found a young couple with a two-year-old child huddled on a depot bench. After talking to them, she learned that they were going to Bushnell Hospital where the man expected to receive a new artificial leg. Knudson gave them a lift to Brigham City. However, she told them she doubted that there was an empty bed in town; the couple thought she was kidding. When she returned home, Verabel called the Red Cross who provided cots at Brigham's remodeled Academy building for a few Bushnell visitors. She reiterated,

I've got a young wife and her baby and this patient of the hospital I brought up from Ogden. What am I going to do with them? [The response was,] 'Well, that's your bad luck. . . . Now you take care of them. . . . you brought them to Brigham. . . . Now it's your responsibility.'³³

The Red Cross pressured Verabel Knudson into caring for the family, and she responded by putting the three of them in the bed previously occupied by her relative. During the husband's approximately two year rehabilitation, his wife and child continued to live at

³¹Melva Baron, interview by Andrea Carter, 5 February 2008, transcript, in the author's possession, Ogden, Utah.

³²Verabel Call Knudson interview by Kathleen Bradford, 15 October 1985, MS 10, transcript, BCL.

³³"Verabel Call Knudson," in Allan Kent Powell, ed., *Utah Remembers World War II* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1991), 179.

Verabel's house, and the woman helped out at Knudson's Idle Isle Restaurant in return for housing. A bond developed, and after the young couple returned to Wisconsin, the two families corresponded. After the war, the GI and his family returned to Brigham City at least once for a visit.³⁴ In another instance, Verabel mentioned to a neighbor that a woman who came to Brigham City to visit her recovering husband needed a place to stay. Verabel suggested that the neighbor let the woman use a living room couch. Verabel's neighbor told her that there was not an unoccupied sofa in the house, but the neighbor still found a place for the woman to sleep.³⁵ Like other Americans on the home front during World War II, Verabel sacrificed in order to serve the needs of injured veterans and their families. She contended that many other Brigham City families did what the Knudson family did to aid those visiting injured GIs. Even though Verabel encountered difficulties housing the visitors, years later she looked on that experience as her contribution to the war effort and as a service to Brigham City and Bushnell Hospital. She stated,

It was a different atmosphere, and nobody regretted anything that they were doing to help the boys. It was something that I hope will never be repeated, but I think 100% of the people in Brigham opened up their homes to them [the family members of patients].³⁶

Although Verabel and others had positive renting experiences, other landlords experienced difficulties, and such problems contributed to the housing shortage. Tenant

³⁴Ibid., 177–180.

³⁵Verabel Knudson, Interview 1985.

³⁶Ibid.

problems and OPA restrictions existed in Brigham. Mary Jeanne Baron remembered, “Those that had a hard time dealing with it [housing restrictions and the inconvenience of renters], just didn’t do it.”³⁷ Birdie Smith had a bad experience renting her basement apartment. When she returned from shopping in town, she discovered that her daughter rented the basement to a “colored lady.” The daughter also served the lady lunch on Birdie’s best dishes and silver. Birdie’s husband, Police Chief Harry Smith, kicked the lady out. Earlier in the day he “chased her off” of the Bushnell construction site because the woman “solicited” the “colored” soldiers.³⁸

³⁷Mary Jeanne Baron, Interview 2008.

³⁸Birdie Smith, interview by Kathleen Bradford, 13 December 1982, MS 197, transcript, BCL; “Red Cross Weekly Recreational Program Week of May 15,” *BENJ*, 16 May 1944; “Red Cross Program of Weekly Events At Bushnell General Hospital Monday 7:30-9:30,” *BENJ*, 28 April 1944; Kathleen Bradford, “IV Bushnell General Hospital,” manuscript in Indian School Box #14, BCL; Robert D. Smith, interview by Kathleen Bradford, 6 April 1983, transcript, Brigham City Museum–Gallery, Brigham City Utah; Merlene Tew Colarusso, interview by Michael Van Wagenen, 12 August 1992, Charles Redd Center for Western Studies Brigham Young University World War II Homefront Oral History Project, MS OH 1462, transcript, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; Huchel, *History of Box Elder*, 270. This example of racism crops up later in her interview as Birdie discusses African Americans. Little information about whether African–American soldiers were segregated at Bushnell and in Brigham is available. One listing of Red Cross Weekly Recreational entertainment for 1944 lists a “Wednesday 7:30–Colored patients’ party in the lounge [at Bushnell] with dancing and table games.” Another colored dance on 28 April 1944 stated dancing partners came from the Ogden USO. The USO required the girls to be in uniform and have permission from the ward officer to dance. However, these were the only special activities for “colored” patients that I could find listed. Dr. Robert D. Smith, who was a member of the staff and directed the hospital during the last month of operation stated, “At no time was discrimination practiced in any regard or circumstance.” Merlene Tew Colarusso, a hospital dietitian, explained that the Army assigned African Americans to a particular section of the hospital, and “there was a little bit of prejudice, I suppose, but basically, it was a pretty democratic situation there in Brigham City.” Historian Frederick M. Huchel claimed, “Perhaps the first people of African–American lineage came to Brigham City in conjunction with the hospital when

In November 1943, the negative experiences of a few landlords intensified the housing problem, and city officials delivered another plea to citizens for “civic hospitality” and “patriotic duty” in alleviating the housing shortage. To make room–rental listings cheaper, the *Box Elder News–Journal* offered free ad postings for residents wishing to rent space in their homes. By the end of November, more homeowners rented to family members (usually a mother or a wife) of patients. This increase was at least partially attributed to the head of the local Emergency Housing Rental Office Emma Keller. She personally completed a house–to–house canvas throughout Brigham City, and encouraged (or perhaps pressured) residents to participate in the program. Generally, residents received from \$20 to \$30 a month for renting a heated room to a single person.³⁹ Marva Frost recalled that although rent was low, “even a little bit would have helped the economy” of Brigham City and local residents.⁴⁰ Rudolph Rasmussen agreed that renting paid well, and his family needed the money. “My wife happened to mention jokingly, ‘With rent like that, we’d be happy to move out of our house and live in the garage.’”⁴¹ The money and the Emergency Housing Office’s willingness to aide homeowners in removal of “any roomer who should prove

they worked primarily as domestic help for high–level hospital staff.”

³⁹“Committee Outlines Drive for Housing,” *BENJ*, 19 November 1943. The article listed no specific numbers of how many families were renting out rooms.

⁴⁰Marva Frost, interview by Kathleen Bradford, 6 January 2005, MS 276, transcript, BCL.

⁴¹Rudolph Rasmussen, interview by Kathleen Bradford, 1982, MS 198, transcript, BCL.

undesirable” eased homeowners’ fears about renting rooms in private residences to strangers. Also the money from rent partly offset the sacrifice and inconvenience of having a stranger reside in a private home.

Both landlord–tenant tensions and a lack of accommodations eased somewhat until January 1945 when another housing shortage developed. The new housing crisis followed a rapid increase in the number of patients entering the hospital.⁴² The USO and the Box Elder Chamber of Commerce’s housing committees again pleaded with residents to open their homes to “these important guests,” who came from all parts of the US to visit Bushnell patients. To encourage this action, Emma Keller reported that homeowners “almost without exception, have been entirely pleased at the high type of sojourners now coming to Brigham City as a result of the hospital.”⁴³ A later article explained that earlier rent control problems had nearly disappeared by January 1946. Brigham officially announced the end of the housing shortage after the completion of Bushnell Homes Incorporated, an apartment complex. Even though the need for housing increased slightly in February 1946, the closure of the housing office soon followed the announcement.⁴⁴

⁴²“Brigham City At Peak Housing Need—Rooms Wanted For Patients’ Families,” *BENJ*, 12 January 1945.

⁴³“Local People are Providing More Housing,” *BENJ*, 30 November 1943. Most family members rented a room for a week to several months.

⁴⁴“Housing Shortage No Longer Factor in Bushnell Staying,” *BENJ*, 16 January 1946; “Local Housing Office To Be Closed Jan. 31,” *BENJ*, 18 January 1946; “Need for Emergency Rooms Continuing,” *BENJ*, 20 February 1946. They were completed at a cost of \$250,000 and contained sixty–four apartments. Another complex was also under construction, but rumors that the Veterans’ Administration would abandon Bushnell in favor of a Salt Lake facility led to speculation about when, or even if, it would be completed. The city council and Chamber of Commerce voted on the closure of the

The city officials thanked residents for their response to housing visitors by stating, “Much could be said in appreciation of the liberal way people have responded to the repeated appeals for rooms, many of which were given up with much inconvenience and sacrifice on the part of the householders.”⁴⁵

Brigham City experienced other problems as the rapid influx of people stretched the resources of some businesses in town and, in some instances, their labor supply. The Idle Isle Restaurant owned by Verabel Call Knudson is an example. When the hospital was still under construction, Verabel got up at five o’clock in the morning in order to open the restaurant by seven o’clock so that construction laborers could eat breakfast before reporting for work. Knudson spent a lot of her time putting up daily lunches (somewhere around a hundred) for the workers. Since Idle Isle was so busy, Verabel closed the restaurant for two or three hours each afternoon in order to prepare for the dinner rush. To relieve the hectic pace at Idle Isle, the restaurant closed on Mondays; however, the Knudson’s home was “open,” and Bushnell “boys” could get a meal if they came to “visit.”⁴⁶ On a few occasions, Knudson cooked special order meals for GIs. For

housing office. Emma Keller directed the operations of the Emergency Housing Office during its more than three year existence, and records indicate that the office placed more than eight thousand people in homes, rooms, and apartments. The office was originally funded by the State of Utah, but Brigham City took over when state appropriations ran out. Residents with apartments or rooms for rent could still contact the Howard Hotel after the closure of the referral office.

⁴⁵“Local Housing Office To Be Closed Jan. 31," *BENJ*, 18 January 1946.

⁴⁶“Verabel Call Knudson,” in Powell, ed., *Utah Remembers*, 180; Melva Baron, Interview 2008. Idle Isle was also closed on Sundays. Most Brigham businesses were closed on Sunday because it was a largely LDS community, and the church’s teachings stressed the standard of not operating businesses on Sunday. Today, a few restaurants in

instance, one young soldier from the East Coast wanted a spaghetti dinner like his mother made. Verabel replied, “Well, I don’t know how that is. [The soldier answered] ‘I do. . . . You let me come down and cook it.’ [Verabel continued] So, he came and cooked, and we had a spaghetti dinner for all of them [the soldiers].”⁴⁷

Of the Idle Isle business, Verabel Knudson explained,

Oh, we weren’t in business to make money at that time. We’d have fed them for free as long as we could. They’d given their lives for us, You never thought of making money. Anything you could do to help those boys, the people of Brigham City went out of their way to help in whatever way they could.⁴⁸

Idle Isle was “probably the nicest,” most accommodating restaurant in town.⁴⁹ Verabel cast her sacrifice as a patriotic duty, and she gave any amputee newly fitted with an artificial limb a free steak dinner the first time that he walked into Idle Isle using his new prosthesis. However, military staff, other patients, and hospital visitors paid for their meals. The increase in business from these groups may have offset money she lost from feeding special patrons for free. The busy restaurant had a shortage of labor, and women in the community donated hours to keep up with the large lunch and dinner crowds. Many of the volunteer workers put in their regular shifts elsewhere first, and then did whatever Verabel needed done at the cafe including washing dishes. So many people wanted to donate time at Idle Isle that Verabel actually turned away volunteers because

the Brigham City area are still closed on Sundays and Mondays.

⁴⁷Verabel Knudson, Interview 1985.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Melva Baron, Interview 2008.

there was limited space in the kitchen. Other restaurants in Brigham City also utilized volunteers because of a shortage of experienced workers.⁵⁰

Verabel Knudson also received help from a Japanese–American family sent from the Topaz, Utah Japanese–American Internment Camp to work at Idle Isle. Since the Knudson family accommodated the hospital personnel and patients, Colonel Hardaway arranged for the family to come and assist Knudson in feeding restaurant patrons. The Japanese–American family came from a wealthy background. Knudson said of them, “We had millionaires as dishwashers.”⁵¹ In addition to working at Idle Isle, the family did laundry, and labored on the Knudson’s farm. According to Verabel, they did anything else that she needed done. Thankful for their service during that time, Knudson said, “I don’t know what we’d have done without them.”⁵²

Brigham residents accepted the Japanese Americans from Topaz with some tolerance because Box Elder County had a long history of Japanese–American citizens

⁵⁰Verabel Knudson, Interview 1985; “Training May Help Solve Cafe Problem,” *BENJ*, 12 March 1943; “Housewives And Other Called To Work Part–time to Relieve Restaurant Crisis,” *BENJ*, 6 April 1945. On 12 March 1943 the Utah State Board of Health, division of sanitary engineering, held a meeting to discuss how restaurants in Brigham could better serve customers despite a shortage of experienced workers. The department could teach courses on the matter if restaurant owners and employees requested it. Also the Chamber of Commerce asked housewives and others to “help out a few hours a day, a few days a week” to volunteer for part–time or full–time jobs at restaurants enabling them to “stay open longer hours daily or serve more meals to more people.”

⁵¹“Verabel Call Knudson,” in Powell, ed., *Utah Remembers*, 178–179.

⁵²*Ibid.*, 179. Verabel did not list the names of the family. She did explain that the family consisted of six members including the couple and their daughters, and that they previously owned land in California. The Knudson’s sponsored the family, and they lived in Verabel’s family home.

living in the area. Many came originally in the early 1900s to work on the railroad or in the sugar industry; thus, some ethnic Japanese established roots in the area before WWII.⁵³ Other internees from Topaz arrived in September of 1942. About one hundred Japanese Americans harvested crops in Box Elder County fields and orchards.⁵⁴ As a result of the longtime residence of Japanese Americans in the county, Brigham citizens tolerated the interred workers, but prejudice existed against them because they remained under internment status.⁵⁵ One article in the *Box Elder News–Journal* explained that the residents of Brigham needed the Japanese to help fill the shortage of labor in the fields brought on by the establishment of the hospital.

The labor situation in Box Elder county, which has taken a shameful kicking around since Pearl Harbor and the location of Bushnell General hospital in Brigham, may be

⁵³Huchel, *History of Box Elder*, 230.

⁵⁴“Patriotic Housewives Turn to Relieve Shortage Labor, But More Needed,” *BENJ*, 11 September 1942; “Japanese May Buy Kindling At Hospital,” *BENJ*, 21 August 1942; Helen Z. Papanikolas and Alice Kasai, “Japanese Life in Utah,” *Peoples of Utah*, http://historygo.utah.gov/people/ethnic_cultures/the_peoples_of_utah/japanese_lifeinutah.html (accessed 5 March 2008); “Patients Will Be Honored: Wounded U.S.–Japanese To Be Feted,” *BENJ*, 22 August 1944. To thank the Japanese Americans in the area for their support in working in the Box Elder fields, Bushnell offered spare firewood to Japanese Americans, who proved their US citizenship. The wood was \$1 a load. Japanese US citizens showed their birth certificates at the Bushnell entrance to verify citizenship. Wounded Japanese Americans also received treatment at Bushnell Hospital. *Nisei* soldiers that were part of the *Nisei* Victory Committee, organized by the USO, visited other injured Japanese–American GIs receiving treatment in the hospital.

⁵⁵Mary Jeanne Baron, Interview 2008; Antonette Chambers Noble, “Utah’s Defense Industries and Workers in World War II,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 59 No. 4 (Fall 1991): 373. Mary Jeanne Baron explained that she grew up with many Japanese Americans, “They had their own church, they had their own culture, but they came to school with us, and they were wonderful friends.” Japanese Americans also worked at other Utah military installation facilities, and the “effort proved quite successful, and large numbers were working in Utah military installations by the war’s end.”

picked up, brushed off and set on the right track at a meeting this evening [21 August 1942], held in the court room at the court house.⁵⁶

The article contended that the solution to labor shortages in Box Elder was “. . . with fatal irony, or perhaps its poetic justice, it is likely that a race of small, brown-skinned men and women which brought the ill [the war] may provide the cure.”⁵⁷

Other businesses also benefited economically from the establishment of Bushnell in the community. A *Box Elder News–Journal* article on 12 September 1944 declared, “Since the coming of Bushnell General Hospital to Brigham City, there has been scarcely one vacant building, . . . in the business . . . sections of town.”⁵⁸ Because Brigham City was a largely LDS community until the introduction of the hospital, it was difficult for the new residents to find a place that could serve them alcohol. To help solve this problem, J. Floyd Knudsen opened a beer hall next to Idle Isle.⁵⁹ After purchasing beer at the bar next door, a patron of the Idle Isle Cafe then could consume the beer on the restaurant’s premises while eating a meal. To make the beer hall as economical as possible, it also

⁵⁶“The Japs, Whose Cousins Cause It All, Seen As Cure To Box Elder’s Labor Ills: Labor Camps May Be Established in County to Relieve Pressure Caused By War Jobs and Selective Service, During the Autumn Harvest Season,” *BENJ*, 21 August 1942 as cited in Huchel, *History of Box Elder*, 277–278.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*

⁵⁸“A Main Street That Welcomed Everyone,” *BENJ*, 12 September 1944.

⁵⁹Wells Monson, interview by Kathleen Bradford, 23 January 1983, MS 64, transcript, BCL; William Long editor, “The Grin Reaper,” *BENJ*, 15 October 1943. To serve alcohol, an establishment needed a special permit from the State of Utah. Floyd Knudsen became a honored guest at several sporting events and athletic banquets. The interview lists him as Floyd Knudson. The newspaper article lists his name correctly. To my knowledge he was not related to the Idle Isle owners.

operated as Knudsen Floral. While a combination beer hall and flower shop sounds a little strange, Mary Jeanne Baron explained that “he did very well with it” because he was able to serve drinkers alcohol and sell non-drinkers flowers.⁶⁰ Peach City Ice Cream, a cafe still in business today, reportedly made more money during the Bushnell years than it did at any other time in its history because of increased foot traffic from the hospital staff, patients, and people visiting patients.⁶¹ Irvin B. Maddox came to the Brigham City area because of Bushnell, and he started a “chili-counter” in Brigham at the end of WWII. Then on 11 August 1949 he and Wilma K. Maddox, his wife, opened a one-room log cabin kitchen in Perry, Utah.⁶² A dining room opened in 1950, and the Maddox Restaurant continues today as a Box Elder County institution with patrons from throughout Northern Utah and elsewhere.⁶³ During the war another local business, Baron Woolen Mills profited because of Bushnell. The store sold blankets to military wives and hospital personnel.⁶⁴ Even area farmers sold produce to Bushnell which led to increased farm revenue in the area.⁶⁵ Mary Jeanne Baron stated that one of the financial benefits of

⁶⁰Mary Jeanne Baron, Interview 2008.

⁶¹Mary Jeanne Baron, interview by Kathleen Bradford, 1 April 2005, MS 284, transcript, BCL.

⁶²Perry is a small town next to Brigham City.

⁶³Huchel, *History of Box Elder*, 377–378. The source did not list if Irvin Maddox was a patient or if he worked at the hospital.

⁶⁴Mary Jeanne Baron, Interview 2008.

⁶⁵Kathleen Bradford, “Brigham City,” in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, edited by Allen Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994).

increased working opportunities and farm revenue was that some area residents were able to purchase washers, refrigerators, and stoves for the first time.⁶⁶

The main influx of income into the area came from the hospital itself. Bushnell's needs increased employment opportunities in Brigham City and the surrounding areas; thus, the hospital enhanced Northern Utah economically.⁶⁷ The increase in jobs began when hospital construction started. For example, local laborers laid rail for a railroad extension to the hospital grounds.⁶⁸ The US Employment Service, located at the First National Bank Building in Brigham City, hired them for the work. The military awarded the hospital construction contract to Kahill Brothers of San Francisco, and the company soon became the largest employer in Box Elder County.⁶⁹ Curtis Zarr Roofing, a local company, received the roofing construction contract for the facility.⁷⁰ There was a shortage of civilian labor during the construction of the hospital. In a newspaper article, the reporter noted that forty-five military men stationed at the facility helped to relieve the lack of manpower in order to complete construction on time.⁷¹ This was not the general

⁶⁶Mary Jeanne Baron, Interview 2008.

⁶⁷Melva Baron, Interview 2008.

⁶⁸"Hundreds to Be Employed at Hospital," *BENJ*, 20 March 1942; "Civilians are Needed at Bushnell," *BENJ*, 23 January 1945; "Folks Urged to Register for Employment," *BENJ*, 24 April 1942.

⁶⁹"Good Folks of Box Elder and Other Cities of Utah," *BENJ*, 2 October 1942; "Contract Let on Hospital," *BENJ*, 1 May 1942; "Col. Hardaway to Direct Hospital Work," *BENJ*, 7 August 1942.

⁷⁰"Repairs on USO Building," *BENJ*, 8 October 1943.

⁷¹"Bushnell General Hospital Hiring Civilian Personnel," *BENJ*, 21 July 1942.

military plan because part of the push to use civilian workers was to free soldiers for military uses. The increase in employment at Bushnell reduced the number of Brigham citizens available to man necessary jobs in both the city and the county. For example, Deputy Sheriff John Burt resigned his county position to become the Fire Chief at Bushnell General.⁷² In such cases, the county and city may have done without the valuable, qualified personnel needed to fill important civilian positions.

By dedication day, 19 October 1943, Bushnell had six hundred civilian employees with a yearly payroll of \$1,250,000.⁷³ At the end of 1943, the hospital employed 534 civilians.⁷⁴ Jobs included general laborers, hospital attendants, laundry workers, stenographers, typists, ward attendants, kitchen helpers, auto mechanics, and registered nurses. For example, typists received a starting salary of \$1,260 per year; however, some openings for highly qualified typists were \$1,440 to \$1,620 a year.⁷⁵ Women did a variety of jobs and were in high demand as men left for military service.⁷⁶ For example, Melva Baron took shorthand classes at Utah State Agricultural College, but left school to

⁷²“Jack Burt to Hospital Job,” *BENJ*, 22 October 1943.

⁷³“1,000 Local Citizens Attend Bushnell Dedication: Local Army Institution is Turned Over to Medical Dept. And Accepted by Gen. Willis,” *BENJ*, 19 October 1943; Melva Baron, Interview 2008.

⁷⁴“Workers are Needed Now,” *BENJ*, 25 January 1945; “Vets Get Top Chance At Jobs At Bushnell,” *BENJ*, 15 January 1946. In January 1946, job openings were filled by discharged veterans.

⁷⁵“Civil Service Exam Monday For Typists,” *BENJ*, 4 December 1942. There was an opportunity to advance in most jobs.

⁷⁶“Need Workers at Bushnell,” *BENJ*, 12 January 1945.

become a secretary to the director of civilian personnel because it “paid so well.”⁷⁷ Mary Jeanne Baron began working at the hospital in the fall of 1942 because her father was a construction inspector at Bushnell. She did the typing for the inspectors, and later she began to work as a secretary in the dental clinic when her construction job ended. Due to a shortage of dental chair assistants, she trained under a dentist at the clinic to become an assistant.⁷⁸ The dental clinic also hired a few family members of military employees stationed at Bushnell. For example, Ida Fish became a X-ray technician at the dental clinic after her brother (a doctor) began work at Bushnell.⁷⁹ A few men worked in civilian service at the facility. One, Wells Monson, a young Brigham resident, drove a hospital bus to locations such as the Tony Grove “convalescent” camp in Logan Canyon.⁸⁰

Good pay, quality working conditions, and friendship appear to have encouraged the workers to continue to work at Bushnell. Mary Jeanne Baron explained, “It was an exciting place to work; it was a fun place to work because most of the girls that were

⁷⁷Melva Baron, Interview 2008. She also visited most of the hospital’s buildings to collect papers from suggestion boxes.

⁷⁸Mary Jeanne Baron, Interview 2008.

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰Wells Monson, Interview 1983; Rudolph Rasmussen, Interview 1982. Another resident Rudolph Rasmussen explained how his boss Butler and Colonel Hardaway heard of a dry cleaning plant that was going out of business in Malad, Idaho, and they bought the equipment and a pressing machine. This improved hospital efficiency. Later, an inspector general praised the two, “That’s the best idea I’ve ever heard. We’re going to see that you get better than what you’ve got and we’re going to try and put it in all our army hospitals.”

[dental] assistants were from Brigham.”⁸¹ The Bushnell Annual Report for 1943 explained the military’s view of the new workers,

Most of the unskilled workers were recruited from local sources; housewives coming in as ward and mess attendants; common laborers and farm hands were accepted in the warehouses and routine labor jobs. [A] Satisfactory working relationship was established through training the man for the job on the job.⁸²

Despite the fact that most employees were suited to their jobs, some workers experienced difficulty with their placements. For example, Nola Bowring Watkins’s first assignment was in the PX cigarette department. She was LDS, and the LDS Church’s standards discouraged the practice of smoking. Nola told her boss that she didn’t “feel good, there.” Her boss transferred her to the candy department which alleviated her anxiety.⁸³

Melva Baron estimated that at least one member of every family worked at the hospital at one time or another during its existence.⁸⁴

At Bushnell General Hospital, the treatment of civilian employees and volunteers seemed to be generally fair. Wells Monson said that he heard that Commander Hardaway told one of the officers not to push the civilians too hard because “We’re one big happy

⁸¹Mary Jeanne Baron, Interview 2008.

⁸²*Annual Report of the Bushnell General Hospital, 1942–1945* (Washington, DC: US Army Medical Service, 1946) National Archives, photocopy in REF 979.2 Bus, BCL (hereafter *Annual Report*), 22 January 1944, 4.

⁸³Nola Bowring Watkins, interview by Kathleen Bradford, 31 October 1987, MS 20, transcript, BCL; “Good Chance of Assignment in Brigham,” *BENJ*, 13 October 1942. Bushnell also eased some Brigham City parents’ nerves because their sons ages eighteen to nineteen, who enlist in the Army, received assignments at the facility. Many of them worked in the medical corp, military police, quartermaster corp, ordnance, and chemical warfare fields.

⁸⁴Melva Baron, Interview 2008.

family here, and I want it to stay that way.”⁸⁵ Many civilian employees were new to the job market and anxious about joining the hospital workforce. For example, DeEsta Getz Young Gunther took a test in her typing class during her senior year in high school. Officials from Bushnell corrected the test and hired her and three other woman “on the spot.” She recalled, “They were so nice to work for, and they had a great deal of understanding with me, being a Greenie.”⁸⁶ The Army and the hospital worked to encourage good job performance and employee satisfaction. One way to thank a civilian worker for dedicated service was to present him or her with a ribbon emblem award after six months of consecutive service in the War Department. Four hundred and sixteen employees received this government honor in December 1943.⁸⁷ Bushnell also participated in a statewide “Work and Win Week” to recognize workers in war industries. During this week, the hospital chose a “war queen” to participate in a Utah beauty pageant to acknowledge civilian employees.⁸⁸ The pageant appealed to the young, single women workers.

The hospital added conveniences for its civilian employees. In 1944, Bushnell

⁸⁵Wells Monson, Interview 1983; “Soldier Backs Bond Drive with \$10,000 investment,” *BENJ*, 15 June 1945; “Bushnell Drive For Mercy Fund Begins,” *BENJ*, 2 March 1945. Civilian employees and staff members also participated in hospital bond campaigns to buy war bonds and “mercy fund” drives to send Red Cross parcels to US POWs in German camps.

⁸⁶DeEsta Gunther, Personal History 2006.

⁸⁷“Awards to 416 Employees at Bushnell,” *BENJ*, 17 December 1943.

⁸⁸“Work and Win Week to Honor War Employes [sic],” *BENJ*, 5 October 1943. Miss Bonnie Higgins represented Bushnell; the contest looked at workers’ appearance, personality, and work record to evaluate eligibility to participate in the pageant.

provided special transportation to Logan to accommodate Cache Valley residents working at the complex, and Bushnell allowed some civilian workers to eat in the mess for \$0.28 a meal.⁸⁹ The military also opened the mess hall to volunteers who worked at Bushnell. For example, the volunteer nurses' aides enjoyed the food in the officer's dining room.⁹⁰ What they did not eat they could take home. Leftovers like butter and other food items that the government rationed were an added luxury that they could feed their families.⁹¹ Civilian workers and some volunteers qualified to purchase scarce items at the PX since it carried both rationed and luxury taxed items such as cameras, sporting gear, clothing, toys, perfume, stationary, cosmetics, and jewelry.⁹² A special lounge opened in October 1944 to enable approximately eight hundred civilians to rest, write letters, read, eat, or participate in recreation.⁹³ As another convenience, a special branch of the First Security Bank of Utah opened at the hospital. Both civilian employees and military personnel

⁸⁹*Annual Report*, 10 January 1945, 3. The distance from Logan to Bushnell was approximately 20 miles.

⁹⁰Ed Welch, interview by Kathleen Bradford, 23 January 1983, MS 64, transcript, BCL. Ed Welch, who worked in the neuropsychiatric ward, remembers that soldiers stationed at Bushnell had the "best Army food I had anywhere, especially the pineapple upside down cake and having access to horse back riding, ski equipment, and a swimming pool [was a bonus for working at Bushnell]."

⁹¹Norma Wallwork Bailey, interview by Stacy Trent, 21 March 1987, transcript, in the author's possession, Ogden, Utah.

⁹²Robert D. Smith, Interview 1983. Nurses aides' and others were allowed to shop there.

⁹³"Hospital Has New Lounge," *BENJ*, 17 October 1944. This probably included workers, volunteers, and family members of patients.

used the bank to cash or deposit their checks on the premise.⁹⁴ A day nursery for children ages two through five–years–old allowed parents working at Bushnell access to in-house childcare.⁹⁵ This was especially helpful for working mothers.

Brigham City officials made citywide improvements because of specific hospital needs.⁹⁶ The city’s actions made the town accessible to its new residents. Road workers removed snow from around the hospital complex; previously snow removal was unnecessary because the hospital area on the edge of town contained only orchards. Also patients’ physical and social rehabilitation often included trips to town, so Brigham City installed more sidewalks. To enable patients still in wheelchairs to make a trip

⁹⁴“A Branch of the First Security Bank of Utah . . . ,” *BENJ*, 7 August 1945; “New First Aid Classes Open to the Public,” *BENJ*, 28 March 1944; “Bushnell Sets Physical Therapy Class,” *BENJ*, 23 June 1944. Specialized training was another benefit that many civilians received from the placement of Bushnell in Brigham. For example, the Red Cross trained three hundred people, both men and women, in first aid and home nursing. A physical therapy aid school taught civilians already working in the hospital’s unit advanced courses including a six–month apprenticeship at the facility or another Army hospital. This allowed each of the trainees to receive a second lieutenant rank in the physical therapy corp if he or she desired to join the Army.

⁹⁵“Day Nursery For Brigham City Approved,” *BENJ*, 30 April 1943.

⁹⁶“Brigham City Republican Candidates,” *BENJ*, 26 October 1943; “Brigham City Financial Statement 1943,” *BENJ*, 2 February 1945; “Financial Statement Brigham City 1944,” *BENJ*, 28 January 1944. The city acquired some debt to purchase the hospital site and to make city improvements, such as the installation of an electric power plant and water works, to support Bushnell Hospital. In four years from 1939–1943 the city decreased its overall debt from \$101,000 to \$50,000. While some of the debt was likely a result from the Depression, the city improvements also caused some financial burden to Brigham. The city spent \$804.41 on the facility and \$2,013.28 on the hospital expansion in 1943. In the Brigham City financial report for the year ending 1944 there was no mention of any Bushnell related debt.

downtown, the city constructed sidewalk access ramps.⁹⁷ This allowed many GI patients to attend movies, eat at restaurants, and visit friends in Brigham City. In order to allow wounded soldiers to cross at intersections safely, the city installed blinking lights to stop traffic and a sign to alert motorists that they were in a “military hospital zone [to]–reduce speeding.”⁹⁸ Another difficulty for newcomers to Brigham City was unlabeled streets. Before Bushnell arrived, the city did not need street signs because residents of the town grew up knowing the street grid. According to *Box Elder News–Journal* Editor William Long, the city council installed the signs somewhat reluctantly because “the strangers who are now flocking to our gates complain that they can’t find their way around. . . . [The street signs will insure that the] 3,000 expected new residents can locate themselves and know what street, or what part of the city they reside in.”⁹⁹ Another city project assigned street numbers to each building in the community for the first time in order to accommodate new residents.¹⁰⁰ Because of the additional culinary water required to

⁹⁷Huchel, *History of Box Elder*, 268; “Brigham City to Lay Sidewalks,” *BENJ*, 16 February 1945; Doris Zames Fleischer and Fridea Zames, *The Disability Rights Movement: From Charity to Confrontation* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 39–40. Making the town wheelchair accessible was an advanced idea for the time. For example, Berkeley, California sidewalks were some of the first curb cut wheelchair accessible sidewalks in the country and this did not occur until the 1970s.

⁹⁸“Street Safety Sought For Wounded Vets,” *BENJ*, 13 July 1945.

⁹⁹“City to Identify Brigham Streets with Markers,” *BENJ*, 12 May 1942. By calling the new residents “strangers” the community might have sensed that the new residents were going to make some changes to the traditional life of their hometown.

¹⁰⁰“City Is Ready To Begin Assigning Proper Number To All Houses Here,” *BENJ*, 21 November 1945; “Home Number Project Now Is Completed,” *BENJ*, 15 August 1944; “Benches At Bus Stops To Be For Service Men’s Use,” *BENJ*, 21 August 1945; “UIC Puts New Air Conditioned Buses On Run Through Here,” *BENJ*, 25

accommodate Bushnell, Brigham City constructed a new culinary well. The Army provided the city with a \$17,000 interest free loan to connect a new water line to Bushnell. The new water system provided an “ample stock” of water for the town and the hospital. In September 1944, the city completely repaid the loan. Even though the hospital used twice as much water as originally anticipated, the newspaper did not record any complaints about Bushnell’s overuse of water.¹⁰¹

Demands on law enforcement increased when Brigham City’s population doubled during Bushnell’s existence. Four or five officers comprised Brigham’s entire police force, and until July 1945, they lacked communication radios.¹⁰² Before radio access, the city strung an electric wire near the city hall that allowed police or city officials to turn on a light which called officers to the northern part of town.¹⁰³ During the war years, Brigham City experienced very little crime, and most police incidents involving people connected to the hospital appear minor. Birdie Smith, wife of Police Chief Harry Smith,

September 1945. However, due to wartime restrictions on metal, the city did not provide permanent metal numbers. It was each resident’s responsibility to number his home using some other means. Also, the health officer at Bushnell, Henry A. McIntire, gained permission from the city’s health department councilmen, Ernest Freeman, to install benches for use by service men only at three bus stops operated by the Utah Idaho Central Railroad Corporation. The bus service operated between Ogden and the Cache Valley, and it made stops in Brigham City.

¹⁰¹“No Shortage of Culinary Water Here: City Has A Million Gallons A Day In Reserve From Well,” *BENJ*, 11 August 1944.

¹⁰²Mary Jeanne Baron, Interview 2008; Birdie Smith, Interview 1982; “Police Radio In Brigham City Will Be In Operation Friday,” *BENJ*, 10 July 1945. Birdie Smith, wife of the Chief of Police says there were about four on the force. She possibly did not include her husband.

¹⁰³Mary Jeanne Baron, Interview 2008.

recalled that crime increased during the construction of the facility, but it then decreased when the servicemen came.¹⁰⁴ This decrease probably resulted because the military had MPs to keep the peace at the Bushnell facility. However, one incident involved a group of patients whose partying off-post went too far. A military man living in town “heard a rumor of someone running a midnight party, . . . [and] he [the soldier] came over there and took up the fight and put the other guy in his place [by engaging in a fist fight].”¹⁰⁵ On another occasion Police Chief Harry Smith escorted three “colored” men from a Bushnell beer and sandwich shop because the owners claimed that they could not “handle the men.”¹⁰⁶ Smith arrested and jailed the men himself since he could not locate the other officer on duty. Gus Kopinitz, a Brigham City resident, remembered soldiers sitting on “Boozer Hill,” a mountainside above the hospital where they went to get drunk.¹⁰⁷ Another episode, observed by Gus, his wife, and two children involved some disabled GIs fighting with their canes at a town cafe. Gus called Box Elder County Sheriff Warren

¹⁰⁴Birdie Smith, Interview 1982.

¹⁰⁵Rudolph Rasmussen, Interview 1982.

¹⁰⁶This could be an example of discrimination toward African Americans. A former streetcar housed the beer and sandwich shop.

¹⁰⁷Gus Kopinitz, interview by Kathleen Bradford, 11 June 2003, MS 228, transcript, BCL; Kathleen Bradford, “The Home Front: Brigham City During the World War II Years (1941–1945),” Brigham City, Utah: Museum Gallery, 2006, typescript MS, Brigham City History Box #3, BCL. This is the hill where today there is an “I” representing the Intermountain Indian School, the institution that took over the Bushnell site after the hospital’s closure. Robert D. Smith, a doctor at the hospital, could not recall any court martials convened at the facility.

Hyde, and he resolved the situation.¹⁰⁸ A few more incidents described in the paper involved Lawrence Steady, a twenty-year-old Native American tuberculosis patient. The police arrested him for stealing vehicles, joy riding, and house break-ins. One incident resolved by the Army because it took place solely on hospital grounds was the fatal stabbing of Lieutenant Glen Cunningham by a patient in the Bushnell mental ward.¹⁰⁹ The murder received attention in the *Box Elder News-Journal* because it was an anomaly in an otherwise peaceful and safe Brigham City.

Other police matters involving the military included traffic accidents. One accident occurred when a speeding car driven by a Bushnell patient caused a three car crash that injured several hospital employees. Another accident involved a bus transporting patients to Tony Grove convalescent camp that failed to negotiate a turn, rolled, caught fire, and plummeted into a shallow reservoir. Fifteen passengers escaped injury; one woman (possibly a nurse or volunteer) received a minor injury, and a man suffered first degree burns on his hands.¹¹⁰ Even though the police department received complaints about Bushnell-connected citizens, crime and accidents in general remained minor in Brigham City during the Bushnell years.

¹⁰⁸Gus Kopinitz, Interview 2003.

¹⁰⁹“Patient Stabs Lieutenant at Hospital Here,” *BENJ*, 11 May 1943. The mental patient was not named. Lieutenant Cunningham and his wife befriend the patient, and hospital officials attributed the stabbing to the mental patient’s resentment of Cunningham because he progressed through therapy more quickly than the other patient.

¹¹⁰“Chief Prowler is Arrested Say Officers,” *BENJ*, 13 October 1943; “Texan and Indiana Youth Reportedly were Speeding,” *BENJ*, 22 February 1946; “Bushnell Bus Crashes in Logan Canyon,” *BENJ*, 18 August 1944.

When Bushnell Army officers brought their families to settle in town, the community's educational system and civic groups expanded and improved. Military parents wanted their children to receive quality educations, and the parental involvement increased the educational quality of area schools.¹¹¹ Cooks from Box Elder County's school lunch program participated in a tour of the hospital's food preparation facility in order to improve their own lunch program.¹¹² Military personnel and their dependents became active in clubs such as the Civic Club, Rotary Club, and Kindergarten Club.¹¹³ Hospital personnel and patients also helped the community celebrate patriotic holidays. For example, Armistice Day 1942 included a program held at the Box Elder High School auditorium featuring Major Olin V. Chamberlain speaking about "developing loyal citizens [of the government]." Box Elder High's girls' ensemble and three cornetists from the school band provided the music.¹¹⁴ For Peach Days, an annual Brigham City celebration, the hospital personnel provided parade and street dancing music to enhance the special activities.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹Mary Jeanne Baron, Interview 2008.

¹¹²"Cooking Staff Visits Hospital," *BENJ*, 1 January 1946; "About 100 Women Make Up Party To Go Through Hospital Grounds and Inspect Buildings At Bushnell General Sunday," *BENJ*, 22 September 1942; "Utah Young Demos Visit Bushnell Today," *BENJ*, 9 June 1944. The hospital also invited local civic groups and LDS Relief Society women to tour the hospital grounds. Fifty-six Young Democrats from Utah, Carbon, and Weber counties also visited the facility.

¹¹³Mary Jeanne Baron, Interview 2008.

¹¹⁴"Armistice Program at High School," *BENJ*, 10 November 1942.

¹¹⁵"Rasmussen Reports Activities of Chamber of Commerce For Past Year At Meeting Friday," *BENJ*, 18 January 1944.

Army doctors and medical personnel assisted community members in a few emergency medical cases. On 31 December 1944, Bushnell joined Wasatch Front area hospitals to extend assistance to victims of a train derailment that occurred about eighteen miles west of Ogden. With other hospital ambulance crews, Bushnell's emergency group traveled to the crash site to care for the injured. Four doctors, four nurses, and three medical corpsmen along with Colonel Henry G. Hollenberg, Chief of the Surgical Service, arrived on a relief train equipped with blood plasma, surgical instruments, ether, narcotics, splints, and bandages. Nine ambulances and twenty-eight corpsmen from Bushnell also went to the Ogden train station to render aid to the injured transferred there from the crash site. At Bushnell, doctors, nurses, and seventy-five enlisted medical corpsmen stood ready to treat the victims sent to the facility. Despite everyone's best efforts, fifty people died. The 170 injured went to various area facilities. From that group, all the military wounded went to Bushnell Hospital for care.¹¹⁶ Bushnell General officials also assisted with the necessary arrangements for those service members who died in the train wreck.¹¹⁷ The tragic event proved that local civilian and military medical personnel could work together when the need arose. In another incident, Dr. Stimson, who was a patient at the Bushnell facility, saved a woman's life by tying off a severed artery above her ear after a car caused her auto to run off the road. He happened upon the

¹¹⁶ "Bushnell Acts Swiftly on Emergency," *BENJ*, 2 January 1945.

¹¹⁷ *Annual Report*, 10 January 1945, 30.

scene soon after the incident.¹¹⁸ Also the hospital assisted in the delivery of Bobby Francis Welch. Because his mother Shirley Francis Welch, the wife of a deceased soldier, had the mumps, no area civilian hospitals would admit her for the delivery. It occurred at Bushnell because the facility had a isolation room available. A military doctor and a nurse assisted in the delivery, and mother and child spent several days at the facility before returning home to Ogden.¹¹⁹

Brigham City's civilian community generally got along well with Bushnell officers and their wives. Verabel Call Knudson said the wives of the "really important doctors, who were colonels, were really delightful and appreciative [of the assistance the civilians provided to the hospital staff]."¹²⁰ One woman, Colonel Leander Riba's wife, was a particular asset to the community.¹²¹ Because she stayed in the LDS Third Ward Meetinghouse, she got to know the janitor well. During deer hunting season, she realized that he could not go hunting because he had to care for the church's furnace. Mrs. Riba took over his work in exchange for a deer steak, and he enjoyed a few days relaxation. She also personally contributed to and helped raise money for a fund to repair the roof of

¹¹⁸"Doctor Saves Woman's Life on Highway," *BENJ*, 15 October 1943. The doctor's first name is not given. He was listed as patient at the facility not a doctor at Bushnell.

¹¹⁹Don Francis, interview by Andrea Carter, 12 April 2008, transcript, in the author's possession, Ogden, Utah. The hospital even arranged for a ambulance to pick up the mother-to-be. Because of rationing, her family could not obtain enough gasoline to make the trip from Ogden.

¹²⁰"Verabel Call Knudson," in Powell, ed., *Utah Remembers*, 178.

¹²¹Mrs. Riba's first name was not listed.

the Presbyterian Church in Brigham City.¹²² However, relationships between military wives and civilians were not always so congenial. For example, at least one military wife did not appreciate the service she received at the Idle Isle Cafe. Verabel Knudson recalled that a woman told a waitress that she wanted a certain food item. The restaurant was out of it, and Ardell, the waitress and Verabel's sister-in-law, apologized. The woman stated that the restaurant should provide it for her anyway. "Don't you know who I am? My husband is Lt. So and So, and I'll see that you'll be sorry if I don't get the service I want." Ardell informed the woman that she should "act like a lady," or she would be refused service because rank meant nothing at the Idle Isle.¹²³

Bushnell Hospital helped citizens from the secluded LDS community of Brigham City to expand their understanding of the world outside of Utah. With the advent of the hospital, many non-LDS visitors came to Brigham. Exposure to people of other faiths helped increase religious tolerance in the area. Melva Baron recalled, "It opened our eyes. . . . [to the fact that] there were other churches besides us [LDS]."¹²⁴ The Presbyterian Church came to Brigham in 1890; however, it was not until the Bushnell era brought more members to the congregation that the church began to thrive.¹²⁵ St. Henry's Catholic Church came to the community in 1943 as a result of new Catholic residents in

¹²²"Verabel Call Knudson," in Powell, ed., *Utah Remembers*, 178.

¹²³Verabel Knudson, Interview 1985.

¹²⁴Melva Baron, Interview 2008.

¹²⁵Huchel, *History of Box Elder County*, 169.

town.¹²⁶ Mary Jeanne Baron remembered when the small Catholic church opened there were not enough members to form a Christmas choir, and the hospital recruited LDS teenagers to complete the singing group. She recalled that approximately ninety percent of the singers in the choir were not Catholic. Today, there is still a Catholic church in Brigham at least partly because the hospital brought people of other faiths to Box Elder County.¹²⁷

The LDS community itself changed because of Bushnell Hospital. An increase in the area's LDS population led to the formation of the North Box Elder Stake. This separated the LDS Box Elder Stake (Brigham City area) from church members in northern Box Elder County, creating two ecclesiastical units.¹²⁸ In 1943, local LDS officials began a program to introduce the new residents of Bushnell to the church's teachings. Church officials invited members of all faiths and creeds to weekly discussions that the newspaper announcement stated were not "sanctimonious sermons, but are designed to be general free-for-alls, and they have resulted in a great deal of fun as well as being educational."¹²⁹ The meetings were a forum for discussing *Bible* history, *The Book of Mormon*, and LDS Church doctrine. The Box Elder LDS mission also opened a bureau of information and a study center in the backroom of the Brigham LDS

¹²⁶Kathleen Bradford, *Mayors of Brigham City: 1867 to 2000* (Brigham City, Utah: Brigham City Corporation, 2000), 104.

¹²⁷Mary Jeanne Baron, Interview 2008.

¹²⁸William Long "Editorial: Box Elder Is Growing," *BENJ*, 14 November 1944. The article did not explain how much the LDS Church's population increased.

¹²⁹"Public Invited to Religious Discussions," *BENJ*, 7 December 1943.

Tabernacle “to promote friendship and better understanding between the native residents of Brigham City” and those connected with Bushnell.¹³⁰ Also during June of 1943 Mormon missionaries held a proselyting open air meeting in front of the county courthouse with speakers and music.¹³¹ A series of displays about *The Book of Mormon* appeared in the south store window of Robbins Bakery; the Box Elder stake president was responsible for the display.¹³²

With the coming of the hospital, the community foresaw problems facing its young people. Community officials feared that their youth might become romantically involved with GIs, so they began maturation and sex education assemblies at Box Elder High School. Maurine Holladay, a student at the high school, explained, “We were so sheltered around here the youth did not know what was going on in other parts of the world. That [the assembly] was very informative for the young people to be made aware of these things.”¹³³ At the other end of the spectrum, Bushnell effected Brigham City because the hospital became a “destination for prominent” celebrities, including Bob Hope, Bing Crosby, Alan Ladd, Gary Cooper, Tommy Dorsey, and Helen Keller. For the small, previously-secluded town, the celebrities generated excitement among the

¹³⁰“Mission Opens Study,” *BENJ*, 2 November 1943.

¹³¹“Mormon Street Meet Tomorrow Night,” *BENJ*, 25 June 1943.

¹³²“Display of the Book of Mormon,” *BENJ*, 18 May 1943.

¹³³Maurine Holland, interview by Kathleen Bradford, 13 February 2004, transcript, BCL.

residents. Citizens felt celebrity visits to the city brought “class” to the town.¹³⁴

Longtime Brigham citizens became acquainted with people attached to Bushnell, and sometimes friendships developed. Alice Johnson remembered babysitting for Dr. Lewin, a plastic surgeon, and occasionally helping his wife with light housework. The young woman and the Lewin family became good friends.¹³⁵ Alice also knew Tom Hardaway, the son of Colonel Robert M. Hardaway, the commander at Bushnell, because they both attended Box Elder High School. After Tom died in the Korean conflict, the Hardaway family returned to Brigham City to establish a scholarship at the high school in his memory. The scholarship enabled the family to remember Tom and thank the Brigham City community for their friendship and kindness during the Bushnell years.¹³⁶ Other interactions between nurses and soldiers created comradery. In one case, Barbara Jean Bowman Mace from Kanab, Utah, who was a cadet nurse at Bushnell, received support from the injured soldiers in her care. She learned that her brother was

¹³⁴Melva Baron, Interview 2008. Many people interviewed about the hospital discussed how Bushnell brought famous celebrities to Brigham. See chapter 3.

¹³⁵Alice Johnson, interview by Kathleen Bradford, 16 February 2005, MS 280, transcript, BCL. His first name was not listed.

¹³⁶Ibid.; Annual Bushnell Christmas Letter, Kay and Henry Hollenberg of Arkansas to Dr. and Mrs. Frank Queen Portland, Oregon, December 1948, transcript, Records of Bushnell General Hospital 1944–1953, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah; Greetings and Best Wishes for a Happy and Prosperous New Year, Helen and Claude Butler of Morristown, Pennsylvania to Dr. and Mrs. Frank Queen Portland, Oregon, December 1953, transcript, Records of Bushnell General Hospital 1944–1953, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah. Lieutenant Thomas Hardaway received the Silver Star posthumously. In May of 1953, the family presented the first award to an “outstanding boy in the senior class of Box Elder High School, in Tom’s memory.”

missing-in-action after a plane crash over Hungary. Many soldiers in the Bushnell unit where she worked spent time in the German-occupied areas of Europe. Barbara explained, “The boys [soldiers] could see that I was crying. I told them my sad news. They all tried to reassure me that he would be okay.” Their reassurance and compassion helped; however, Barbara learned a short time later that her brother died in a prison hospital.¹³⁷

Occasionally some people who came to Brigham because of Bushnell married locals and remained as permanent residents of the town. Mary Sellers Gray knew of several nurses who married paraplegics or other Bushnell patients who were quite ill.¹³⁸ It took a lot of commitment for a woman to accept the difficult road her disabled husband faced. For example, Virginia Kay transferred to Bushnell from LDS Hospital in Salt Lake City in order to complete her nurse’s training. The Bushnell staff assigned her to care for Edwin Rawley who lost both arms just below his elbows when his B-24 Bomber crashed and burned on a training mission. Edwin recalled, “They [the hospital] said that Miss Virginia K. would be taking care of me—and she’s been taking care of me ever since [59 years].”¹³⁹ Also Doreen Walker of Chicago wrote to Floyd Walker, a Colorado man,

¹³⁷Barbara Jean Bowman, *Autobiography 2000*, MS 2691, transcript, Nurses at War Collection, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

¹³⁸Mary Sellers Gray, interview by Rick Randle, 7 December 2006, transcript, Salt Lake City, Utah: KUED Television, <http://www.kued.org/productions/worldwar2/interviews-homefront.php> (accessed 5 August 2008).

¹³⁹“Merry Matrimony: Local Couples Honored for Lives Together,” *The Standard-Examiner* (Ogden, Utah), 4 February 2006; Virginia Kay Rawley, *Autobiography 2002*, MS 2715, transcript, Saints at War Collection, L. Tom Perry

whose name she found originally on a list of deploying soldiers. After he was injured, she visited him at Bushnell. At their first meeting, he showed her his leg stump, and she declared right there, “Floyd, I love you, and if you’ll have me, I promise I’ll be a good wife to you.” The two celebrated their fifty-seventh wedding anniversary in 2001.¹⁴⁰ In at least two cases, marriage between a soldier and a local woman led the soldier to change his religious affiliation as well. Merlene Tew, a dietician at the hospital and a member of the LDS Church, met her husband Tom Colarusso at Bushnell. He was a pharmacist and a Catholic. Tom, who previously only knew about the LDS Church’s Mormon Tabernacle Choir, joined the church five days before they were married.¹⁴¹ In another example, Martha Atkinson of Franklin, Idaho and her friends attended dances at Bushnell. At one dance, she met Wilbur (Bill) Rosser previously of Denver, Colorado. Bill injured his hand in an accident in Alaska and the Army sent him to Fort Lewis for surgery and then

Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. The couple received recognition from the 2006 Utah Commission on Marriage. Rawley enjoyed bowling, golfing, and carpentry work with the use of prosthetic limbs. He explained that his wife encouraged him throughout their married life, and “she never made me feel like she was superior to me.”

¹⁴⁰Doreen Walker, “How We Met: He Would Never Hobble Away Without Me,” *Cycles: Utah Retirement Systems*, 19 No. 2 (Summer 2001): 4; “Wounded Infantryman and Sweetheart Are Wed,” *BENJ*, 8 January 1946; Marianne Matney Linford, “Thomas W Matney,” in *Veterans of Bear River Valley: World War I, World War II, and Operation Iraqi Freedom*, ed. Tamera Newman, Lana Archibald, and Emerene Anderson (Tremonton, Utah: Leader Publishing Co., 2004) I: 215–216. In another marriage instance, a patient was so ill from a spinal cord injury he exchanged his vows in bed. Hospital officials hoped he would be able to walk within eighteen months. Also Thomas W. Mantney, a injured soldier from Washington, met his future wife Tremonton resident Shirley Watland (who worked in the hospital’s admitting office) during his nineteen month stay at the hospital.

¹⁴¹Merlene Tew Colarusso, Interview 1992.

to Bushnell for rehabilitation. After treatment, the hospital employed him to help other soldiers in rehabilitation and to escort some recovering soldiers home via the train.

Martha and Bill married and their son, David, was born at Bushnell in 1944.¹⁴² Bill later joined the LDS Church.

Because of a labor shortage, World War II Prisoners of War (POWs) worked at Bushnell to enable it to run more smoothly.¹⁴³ This meant that some Brigham residents became acquainted with men from “enemy” countries. Both German and Italian POWs labored at the hospital although the two groups never overlapped in their internments there.¹⁴⁴ POWs worked around the hospital grounds, in the kitchens, laundry, and hospital wards; they also picked fruit in the orchards surrounding Bushnell.¹⁴⁵ Language was not a big problem because many POWs spoke some English. At Bushnell, the POWs slept in barracks similar to those used by the GIs; however, a wire fence surrounded the POW encampment. Wells Monson worked directly with the POWs. They helped him unload the commissary truck he drove. He explained that because there was little security

¹⁴²David Rosser, interview by Andrea Carter, 9 October 2008, transcript, in the author’s possession, Ogden, Utah. The couple moved to the Ogden area after the closure of Bushnell.

¹⁴³Allen Kent Powell, *Splinters of a Nation: German Prisoners of War in Utah* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 59 and 65. German POWs began arriving in June of 1945, and 348 lived there in November of that year.

¹⁴⁴Ibid., 119–120; Ralph A. Busco and Douglas D. Alder, “German and Italian Prisoners of War in Utah and Idaho,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 No. 1 (Winter 1971): 60. The 280 Italians were only at Bushnell from January to April of 1945. Earlier in 1943, nineteen mentally ill Italians arrived at the hospital. The facility reserved forty beds for POWs with medical problems.

¹⁴⁵Powell, *Splinters*, 59.

(often only one guard with a shotgun) the prisoners could probably have escaped, but Wells never recalled anyone doing so. In his view, the approximately fifty POWs that he worked with seemed to enjoy their work. They endured their incarceration well because it kept them away from the battlefield, and the military guards disciplined very few of them.¹⁴⁶ However, Monson felt that the Italians were “kind of lazy on the job.” He went on to say, “They [the guards] had to keep prodding them all the time to keep them going. If you weren’t watching, they’d sit down, and you’d have to do the work [unload the truck without POW help].” However he stated, “There was a big difference between them [the Italians] and the German’s [sic] and their help. The Italians were complaining a lot where the German prisoners didn’t.”¹⁴⁷ Rudolph Rasmussen, a foreman in the hospital’s laundry, agreed that the German prisoners of war worked hard. Of one German POW he explained, “I put him on a press machine, and he never had anything to say. . . . He was a very good worker. We had several of them working in the laundry and different places.” In contrast, Rasmussen said the Italian POWs were “happy-go-lucky” perhaps because “I’m sure they were happier where they were [since it enabled them] to get out of where they’d come from [the war].”¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶Wells Monson, Interview 1987.

¹⁴⁷Ibid.; Rudolph Rasmussen, Interview 1982. Rudolph Rasmussen stated the attitude of the Italians was “I can do what I want, and nobody will say anything.”

¹⁴⁸Bradford, “IV Bushnell Hospital;” Powell, *Splinters*, 193; Busco and Alder “German and Italian Prisoners,” 65. Some of the German POWs attended evangelical church services conducted by Lutheran minister Clement Harms, a Brigham pastor who spoke fluent German. He became the chaplain for POWs in Ogden, the Clearfield Naval Depot, branch camps in Tremonton, Logan, and occasionally in Preston, Idaho.

Although the military advised Americans not to “fraternize” with the POWs, they often did. Wells Monson liked being around the German POWs because they were polite, hard workers who treated him like a little brother, and they enjoyed a good joke. Once when a shipment of bananas came in, one POW put a bunch under his apron, and he shared the bananas with Wells. They then “carefully” destroyed the evidence by dumping the banana peels in the garbage.¹⁴⁹ A similar relationship developed between Frank Woods, an amputee, and Paul Hupfer, a German POW. Because they became close friends, whenever Frank needed something, he called for Paul to help him. Frank indicated that Paul once stated that he “loved me [Frank] like a little brother.”¹⁵⁰ Paul also became friends with a American soldier who “insisted that the German accompany him into Brigham City [,] and even gave him his spare uniform to wear [for the trip].”¹⁵¹

At least some women who worked at the hospital observed prisoners of war there, and it changed their perception of the “enemy’s” role in WWII. Margaret Atwood Herbert, a secretary at the hospital, saw German POWs cleaning wards and operating rooms. She believed that the POWs helped to control the spread of bacteria because of their continual cleaning. Since they were so friendly and kind, she stated, “I can’t really be angry at those guys because I thought they were victims of their situation as much as

¹⁴⁹Wells Monson, Interview 1987.

¹⁵⁰Huchel, *History of Box Elder*, 271.

¹⁵¹Powell, *Splinters*, 202.

our guys were victims of their situation.”¹⁵² Margaret’s sister Maxine agreed that she could not hate the German POWs despite the fact that Nazi Germany caused their brother’s death in Europe. She realized that the POWs were doing important jobs to help the hospital succeed.¹⁵³ DeEsta Getz Young Gunther, a typist at Bushnell, remembered some POWs liked being in the United States so much that they expressed a desire to stay in the country “partly because they had been so kindly dealt with [at Bushnell].”¹⁵⁴

Bushnell Hospital effected Brigham City in a variety of ways. The establishment of the hospital brought “growing pains” to Brigham because of a strain on the community services and businesses. The housing problem caused the most stress between the United States Army and Brigham citizens. However, in many ways the benefits outweighed the problems. The most important benefit was the increased job growth that Bushnell brought to the town and surrounding communities. Financially the hospital enabled northern Wasatch Front area citizens as well as Brigham residents to increase their incomes. The enlarged population revitalized businesses in downtown Brigham. The

¹⁵²“Margaret Atwood Herbert,” in Allan Kent Powell, ed., *Utah Remembers World War II* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1991), 173–174.

¹⁵³*Ibid.*, 174; Marva Frost, Interview 2005. Maxine’s last name was not listed. Marva Frost worked at the hospital PX. She recalled waving to the POWs through the fence. She explained when a German POW met an American, he would ask that person to write his or her name on a piece of paper; this enabled the POW to call each person by name. She also recalled the POWs washing the windows of the office where she worked. They often knocked on the windows to get her attention.

¹⁵⁴DeEsta Gunther, Personal History 2006; Powell, *Splinters*, 59. She also remembers that when they learned she was of German descent the POWs worked hard to please her and spelled her name Geotz, the German form of Gunther. Those Germans detained at Bushnell were some of the last to leave the US in June 1946.

hospital, it appears, treated the civilian staff and the community well. Also Brigham citizens met new residents, often of a different religious affiliations, and this “opened their eyes” to a larger world. Because the hospital came to Brigham City, some citizens also met Japanese Americans from Topaz and German and Italian POWs in addition to the hospital staff, patients, and their visiting relatives. This led Brigham citizens to developed friendships with many people they might have not met otherwise. When the war ended, the subsequent closure of Bushnell General Military Hospital brought many of these benefits to an end, and Brigham City, Box Elder County, and other Northern Utah counties hastened to find a new occupant for the hospital facility to ensure jobs in the communities.

CHAPTER V

THE CLOSURE OF BUSHNELL HOSPITAL

The end of World War II brought excitement and changes to both Bushnell and Brigham City. On V-J Day, citizens and soldiers celebrated by purchasing the town's supply of bathroom tissue and using it to decorate Main Street. A newspaper article reported that before local women could protest Bushnell soldiers kissed them. Both soldiers and civilians literally danced in the streets with music from a jukebox that was moved onto the sidewalk from a downtown business. Police rerouted traffic away from Main Street to allow this spontaneous celebration to continue. The Bushnell staff gave passes to all patients who were mobile, and they joined the revelers celebrating in downtown Brigham.¹

Even before the excitement of World War II's end, Bushnell's post-war continuation seemed uncertain. On 29 May 1945, the *Box Elder News-Journal* reported that "Congress has approved construction of a 500-bed veterans' hospital for neuropsychiatric cases [in Utah], . . . [United States] Senator [Elbert D.] Thomas's [D, Utah] telegram did not state where the hospital, will be built"² In August, construction on new additions to Bushnell's surgical building and a new occupational therapy building were already underway.³ As fears of the hospital's closure increased, a

¹"Brigham City And Bushnell Jubilant But Well-Behaved," *Box Elder News-Journal* (Brigham City, Utah), 17 August 1945 (hereafter *BENJ*).

²"Utah To Have New 500 Bed Vets' Hospital," *BENJ*, 29 May 1945.

³"New Buildings Are Going Up At Bushnell," *BENJ*, 28 August 1945.

September editorial by William Long stated, “Even if in years to come, the army or the government feel that Bushnell General hospital is no longer necessary, Brigham City and Box Elder County probably will retain the additional population gained during the war years.”⁴ The newspaper commented on rumors of the hospital’s closure with another editorial on the 16th of October: “Since the end of the war, rumors that Bushnell would be closed, sooner [sic] or later, have been rifeWhen the time comes that Bushnell’s existence here actually is endangered, naturally our city fathers and the Chamber of Commerce and everyone here with political influence will wage an all–out war to retain it.” Long argued strongly that “it would be more economical and practical to continue operating Bushnell as an army or as a veterans’ hospital than to accede to the politics–backed demands of some other city or area [probably Salt Lake City]. . . .”⁵

Beginning just days later on 19 October 1945, politicians started to weigh in on the fight to keep Bushnell open. At that time, “Mayor Carl Wold and Scott Horsley, president of the Chamber of Commerce, headed a delegation which called on the Ogden Chamber of Commerce, the Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce, and [Utah] Governor Herbert B. Maw in an effort to secure their support for retaining Bushnell.”⁶ However,

⁴“Editorial: A Good Place to Live,” *BENJ*, 11 September 1945.

⁵William M. Long, “Editorial: And What Have We Got?” *BENJ*, 16 October 1945. However, Long expressed hope that “we don’t hear, ever, anywhere, . . . that closing Bushnell would be ‘the death of the town.’”

⁶“Brigham City Gets Support Of State Leaders On Hospital,” *BENJ*, 19 October 1945. Bushnell had three thousand patients, and Gus Backman, executive secretary of the SLC Chamber of Commerce “gave the Brigham City group his whole–hearted and enthusiastic support in their effort.”

Brigham City residents understood that more injured soldiers would be returning to civilian life because of the end of the war, and that the US Government would need fewer military hospitals.⁷ By 11 December 1945, it seemed apparent that the US Government had chosen Salt Lake City as the site for a new permanent veterans' hospital. The *Box Elder News–Journal* tried to downplay what the loss of Bushnell meant to Brigham City. The newspaper also noted that “Salt Lake City’s loud sounding of the death–knell for Bushnell General hospital, simultaneous with the announcement of the selection of Salt Lake City as the location for a new 500–bed Veterans’ Administration hospital is premature,” given that Logan and Ogden leaders continued to fight along side Brigham City’s officials for Bushnell’s continuation.⁸

One of those working to save Bushnell was Frederick P. Champ, the Logan director of the US Chamber of Commerce. Champ questioned the soundness of a plan to build a new, duplicate veterans’ hospital “less than 60 miles” from Bushnell because Bushnell was an established facility “which was constructed by the army at an approximate cost of \$12,000,000.” He also argued that economically it supported Northern Utah by employing 950 civilians from Cache, Weber, and Box Elder counties.⁹ The Vernal (Eastern–Central Utah) Lion’s Club supported the proposal to retain Bushnell and agreed with Champ that it was a “waste of money” to build a duplicate hospital in

⁷Ibid.

⁸“Building New Vets’ Hospital At Salt Lake, Closing Bushnell, Seen As Huge Waste,” *BENJ*, 11 December 1945.

⁹Ibid.

Salt Lake.¹⁰ Ogden City Commissioner Harold L. Welch also supported the retention of Bushnell for economic reasons. He stated, “there is ‘outrageous waste in the plan to spend three to five million dollars for a new veterans’ hospital in the Salt Lake area while reports are current that the expensive Bushnell hospital is to be abandoned.’” He also stated that “we want our veterans to have every bit of the best of care,” and explained that if Bushnell was maintained and improved, it “would serve in a far better manner than any new hospital could.”¹¹ The Utah County Officers’ Association joined the cause when they unanimously approved a resolution urging the continuation of the facility.¹² In a effort to get Utah congressional representatives involved, Mayor Carl Wold of Brigham City urged *Box Elder News–Journal* readers to join the battle by writing to US Congressman Walter K. Granger (D, Utah), US Senator Elbert D. Thomas (D, Utah), and US Senator Orice Abraham (Abe) Murdock (D, Utah).¹³ Patients from Bushnell joined the letter writing campaign when they, perhaps on own their initiative, circulated and signed petitions addressed to Granger, Thomas, and Murdock asking that the hospital

¹⁰“Lions Protest Hospital Move,” *Vernal Express* (Vernal, Utah), 24 January 1946.

¹¹Ibid. The Logan Chamber of Commerce also supported the effort to retain the facility. “Logan Urges Retention Of Bushnell,” *The Salt Lake Tribune* (Salt Lake City, Utah), 3 February 1946.

¹²“Utah County Officers’ Association Unanimously Approves Resolution For Retention of Bushnell,” *BENJ*, 25 January 1946.

¹³“Building New Vets’ Hospital At Salt Lake, Closing Bushnell, Seen As Huge Waste,” *BENJ*, 11 December 1945.

continue operation.¹⁴ Senator Abe Murdock responded to the inquiries when he toured the hospital on 11 January 1946. After the tour, he explained that he “believe[d] the Veterans’ administration [sic] had its mind practically made up.” Congressman Walter Granger agreed with Murdock, but thought the hospital would remain open at least through the summer.¹⁵

One problem with Bushnell’s retention, according to Carol B. Williams, secretary–manager of the Box Elder Chamber of Commerce, was that a unnamed high ranking US Army officer said “the hospital situation in that territory [Box Elder County] depends almost entirely upon the availability of doctors and they [the Army] doubt that they could secure sufficient professional personnel [with the war over] in the area to man a hospital as large as Bushnell.”¹⁶ In a effort to continue the campaign, the hospital committee and members of Box Elder’s Chamber of Commerce circulated petitions in Salt Lake City, and the groups claimed, perhaps overly optimistically, that “everyone contacted seemed in enthusiastic agreement with us in opposing the needless waste” of

¹⁴“Patients Petition Solons To Retain Bushnell Hospital,” *BENJ*, 1 February 1946. The paper reported that “virtually every patient to whom it was shown” signed the petition.

¹⁵“Senator Murdock Afraid Vets Administration Mind Made Up,” *BENJ*, 11 January 1946; “Granger Sees Hope for Bushnell; Urges Continued Fight: Gives Assurances Here Today Army To Hold It Thru Summer,” *BENJ*, 11 January 1946.

¹⁶Carol B. Williams secretary–manager Box Elder Chamber of Commerce Brigham City, Utah to Frederick Champ, Logan, Utah 18 February 1946, transcript, Frederick P. Champ Collection (1930–1976), MS 50 Merrill–Cazier Library Special Collections, Utah State University, Logan, Utah.

closing Bushnell.¹⁷ By the end of March 1946, the decision on the future status of Bushnell was attributed to “certain groups and individuals in and of Salt Lake City [who] have been making a deliberate effort to scuttle Bushnell hospital’s chances for future operation by the Veterans’ administration in hope that it [the efforts] would help secure the new hospital [for SLC].”¹⁸

On 5 April 1946, the Army blocked the transfer of any additional patients to Bushnell. The announcement that the Army Medical Corp would discontinue operation of the hospital by the end of June arrived on 17 April.¹⁹ However, the Veterans’ Administration still gave Brigham residents hope that the hospital might be a Veterans’ domiciliary home or operate as a small hospital to support a domiciliary home. The likelihood of the hospital operating as a veterans’ home gained some credence in May when General Omar N. Bradley, a Veterans’ Administration official, proclaimed, “Because of the extreme isolation, the Bushnell facility probably could be used only for domiciliary care of patients.”²⁰ In June 1946, another event that indicated the hospital’s impending closure occurred when Lieutenant Colonel Robert D. Smith, a native of Phoenix, Arizona, replaced Robert M. Hardaway (now a Brigadier General) as

¹⁷“Petitions Prove Salt Lake Wants Hospital Left Here,” *BENJ*, 6 March 1946.

¹⁸“Consideration of Bushnell For V.A. Operation Called ‘Red Tape,’ But Vet’s Groups Want It,” *BENJ*, 27 March 1946. Several Weber County veterans groups passed resolutions to continue Bushnell.

¹⁹“No More New Army Patients For Bushnell,” *BENJ*, 5 April 1946; “Army Will Move Out Of Bushnell At End of June,” *BENJ*, 17 April 1946.

²⁰“Bushnell Hospital Probably Can Be Use Only For Domiciliary Care, Says General Omar N. Bradley,” *BENJ*, 15 May 1946.

commandant of Bushnell Hospital. Smith explained on the 19th of June that the fate of Bushnell General Hospital as a temporary or permanent veterans' hospital was still undecided by the Government.²¹ However, the decommissioning of the hospital occurred shortly after Bushnell released its last combat patient, Private First Class Felix J. Gomez only a few days later.²²

Townpeople expressed disappointed at the closure of Bushnell, especially since "army officials had given promises that the facility would continue as an army hospital long after the war."²³ Wells Monson explained, "quite a few people were sad when they closed it up because they figured they had a good place there, and they couldn't see any reason why [sic] they did close it up, but that was the government, and that's what they had in mind to do."²⁴

Since the Bushnell site remained vacant for several months, in December 1946 the State of Utah discussed buying the site from the federal government and making it either the state mental hospital, the state industrial school, the school for the deaf and blind, the tuberculosis sanatorium, the state polio hospital, or the state home for the "indigent" and "aged." However, Utah government officials deemed the Bushnell buildings only

²¹"Fate of Bushnell Hospital Is Still Undecided, Says Officer," *BENJ*, 19 June 1946.

²²"Bushnell Hospital Discharges Last US Army Patient," *Davis County Clipper* (Bountiful, Utah), 21 June 1946.

²³Frederick M. Huchel, *A History of Box Elder County* (Brigham City, Utah: Box Elder Commission, 1999), 281.

²⁴Wells Monson, interview by Kathleen Bradford, 12 February 1987, MS 21, transcript, Brigham City Library, Brigham City, Utah (hereafter BCL).

temporary structures, not suitable for more than twenty years of use, not fireproof because the medical ward area of the hospital contained wooden floors, and not up to Utah uniform building codes. In the end, Utah government officials labeled it unacceptable to house any state institutions.²⁵ The site remained vacant for several years “becoming a empty ‘white elephant.’”²⁶ A later Brigham City mayor Rulon Baron and the city council took several trips to Washington DC to talk to government officials about the future of the site, but nothing materialized.²⁷

In 1949, after the hospital site remained empty for about three years, Colonel

²⁵“Expert Holds Bushnell Facilities Are Unfit for Mental Cases,” *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City, Utah), 4 December 1946; Bushnell Research Architectural Committee, “Report of the Legislative Bushnell Committee,” 15 January 1947, Richard Wright Young Papers, MS 536 Special Collections, Marriott University of Utah Library, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter *Young Papers*); Bushnell Hospital Committee Meeting Minutes, 12 September 1946, Brigham City, Utah Idle Isle Restaurant, *Young Papers*; Ward C. Holbrook to Mr. Bigelow, President Intermountain Electrical Association Salt Lake City, Utah, 14 December 1946, transcript, *Young Papers*. By 1 July 1946, Bushnell’s housekeeping staff consisted of twenty officers, one hundred enlisted men, and two hundred and fifty civilians. Amendment Eight was a proposed Utah Constitutional Amendment to give the Utah State Legislature the right to delegate locations of the state’s welfare institutions. In the October election a “Utah Citizens Committee Favoring Amendment 8” urged Davis County residents to vote for the amendment to make “it possible for Utah to buy the \$14–million Bushnell Hospital for \$1.00.” Because the “100 fully equipped brick–concrete–steel buildings on 400 acres of irrigated farm land–[were deemed] ideal for housing State institutions.” However, the State of Utah never purchased the Bushnell site. “Vote Yes! on Amendment 8,” *Davis County Clipper*, 21 June 1946; “Bushnell Unit Endorses 8 Amendment,” *The Salt Lake Tribune*, 26 October 1946; “Committee Opposes Bushnell for Utah Industrial Center,” *Deseret News*, 16 December 1946; “Voting for Amendment No. 8 Does Not Mean Approval of Bushnell Plans,” *The Salt Lake Tribune*, 1 November 1946.

²⁶Huchel, *History of Box Elder*, 281.

²⁷Melva Baron, interview by Andrea Carter, 5 February 2008, transcript, in the author’s possession, Ogden, Utah.

Joseph A. Hill of Portland, Oregon proposed to make the site a co-educational military academy.²⁸ Frederick Champ, the Box Elder Chamber of Commerce, Utah congressional representatives, Utah Governor Maw, and US President Harry Truman all supported this idea; however, the deal fell through one week before it was to close because of a failure to obtain financial backing from the US Government.²⁹ Another reason for the failure of the co-ed military academy developed because US Senator Arthur V. Watkins (R, Utah) discussed with the Bureau of Indian Affairs his idea to convert the old hospital site into a Navajo boarding school.³⁰ The school would be “where they [the Navajo children] could be taken from their improvised circumstances on the reservation and given the vocational training of main-stream American society.”³¹

Congress approved US Senate Bill 170, and President Harry Truman signed it on 9 March 1949. The bill granted \$3,750,000 to remodel the site for the school’s use and transferred the property to the US Department of the Interior which oversaw the Bureau of Indian Affairs.³² The idea became a reality in January 1950 when five hundred Navajo

²⁸Kim K. Maughan, “An Experiment That Worked: Intermountain Indian School” (Master’s thesis, Utah State University, 1999), 11-12.

²⁹Lewis A. Williams, “The Intermountain Indian School” (Master’s thesis, Utah State University, 1991), 3.

³⁰Ralph Kent Rich, “History of Intermountain Indian School Brigham City, Utah 1946-50” (Master’s thesis, University of Utah, 1968), 12.

³¹Ibid.; Huchel, *History of Box Elder*, 281.

³²“Bushnell’s Transfer Great Gain for Utah,” *Salt Lake Telegram* (Salt Lake City, Utah), 24 March 1949.

students arrived at the new school.³³ The school campus encompassed many of the hospital's facilities including "3,000+ beds, 100+ buildings, a new pool, [a] 300 seat theater, four bowling alleys, two gyms, four tennis courts, four baseball diamonds, and a small golf course."³⁴ When Navajo students began to attend schools nearer the Navajo Reservation in 1974, the Bureau of Indian Affairs expanded the student body at Intermountain to include Indian children from other tribes.³⁵ The Intermountain Inter-Tribal School continued until May 1984 when, according to historian Frederick M. Huchel, "the Native American nationalist movement came out in opposition to U.S. government boarding schools and the taking of Native American children away from their homes and seeking to purge them of the culture of their ancestors."³⁶

After the closing of Intermountain, a search by city officials of the Brigham City archives rediscovered that the City of Brigham and Box Elder County together purchased the original land site that Bushnell, and later the Intermountain Indian School, occupied. The city and county had donated the land to the US Government "as an enticement" to the US Army to award Bushnell General Military Hospital to the city.³⁷ Now that the site

³³Rich, "History of Intermountain," 12–13.

³⁴Williams, "The Intermountain," 2.

³⁵Kathleen Bradford, *Brigham City Historic Tour* (Brigham City: Brigham City Museum-Gallery, 1995), 34.

³⁶*Ibid.*; Huchel, *History of Box Elder*, 281-282.

³⁷Kathleen Bradford, *Mayors of Brigham City: 1867 to 2000* (Brigham City: Brigham City Corporation, 2000), 143; Walter G. Mann and Donna Mann, interviewed by Kathleen Bradford, 20 July 1989, MS 8, transcript, BCL.

had no occupant, Brigham officials worked to regain the land, and city officials presented a master plan for the site to the United States Government. Such a master plan met a requirement for the land to be deeded back to Brigham. As a result of the plan, “The Intermountain properties were transferred to Brigham City. Items from the buildings were sold for \$100,000, and the property and the old city golf course were sold to Lilly Pond developers for \$2,500,000. This money was used to build the new municipal golf course [on the Bushnell site].”³⁸ Today, at the Bushnell General Hospital site several original Bushnell building areas have met the wrecking ball, and fast food establishments, retail stores and Eagle Mountain Golf Course occupy several acres of the site. One new store, The Room Loft Furniture and More, reclaimed an old Bushnell Hospital warehouse. The building contains the original reinforced beams and rejuvenated original wooden floors.³⁹ A few other World War II buildings still stand in varying degrees of decay. Some new homes and townhouses are also located on part of the original site. City plans for the area include the possibility of adding other stores.

Bushnell General Military Hospital served an important role in US military medical operations during World War II, and had a positive effect on the citizens and economy of Northern Utah, especially Brigham City. The hospital’s patients received state-of-the-art care. The citizens of the USA, in general, benefited from the improved treatment methods for amputees and for those with psychological problems pioneered at Bushnell. More importantly, Bushnell provided the basic medical data on the uses of the

³⁸Bradford, *Mayors*, 143.

³⁹I personally visited the business.

“miracle drug” penicillin that benefited people throughout the world. The expertise of dedicated doctors and staff in these and other areas provided the patients at the hospital with excellent care.

Brigham citizens and Northern Utahns supported Bushnell General Military Hospital staff in the care and rehabilitation of injured GIs. Townsfolk and others throughout the Wasatch Front donated their time, money, supplies, and friendship to Bushnell patients. Women volunteered through the American Red Cross to aid GIs in their physical and emotional recoveries. Brigham residents joined other Northern Utahns to decorate the hospital wards at Christmas and donated presents to cheer the patients. Civic groups and celebrities supported the hospital by entertaining the GI-patients with plays and other musical programs. More importantly Brigham’s residents also donated blood needed to treat patients, and some citizens taught soldier-patients new skills to help them obtain employment after their hospitalizations. Hospital volunteers, Brigham citizens, and disabled Americans visited Bushnell’s injured GIs, and helped to enable patients to heal physically, emotionally, and socially. As part of the treatment for soldiers with deformities, townspeople tried to ease their adjustment to society by treating them as normal despite their physical problems.

Bushnell General Hospital precipitated changes in Brigham City and Box Elder County. In fact, the hospital produced some of the biggest changes in the area since its founding by Mormon pioneers in 1850. The benefits to the citizens of Brigham came in the areas of economic development (jobs) and tolerance of people’s differences. City businesses gained financially from the increased foot traffic in town, and many businesses

and citizens benefited from the payroll Bushnell infused into the area. Brigham residents also met groups of people from outside the state, including Japanese Americans from Topaz Internment Camp, German and Italian POWs, and newcomers from different cultural and religious backgrounds. Some of these people “came to work or be treated at Bushnell, then stayed in Brigham City and merged with the descendants of the Mormon settlers.”⁴⁰ The citizens extended a welcome to patients, hospital staff, and their families. Such contacts broadened the Brigham residents’ views of life outside Northern Utah. However, Brigham citizens also experienced difficulties dealing with Bushnell. Additional public services for the new residents and the hospital itself challenged city resources. Such new services included drilling a culinary water well and piping the water to Bushnell for the hospital’s use. Townspeople also had to confront housing and resource shortages caused by the influx of new citizens. Even though townspeople received rental income from rooms rented to hospital visitors, the homeowners sacrificed personal privacy by allowing the renters to reside in private homes.

Despite the difficulties, residents remember the Bushnell Hospital period in the history of Brigham City as special. Citizens recall it fondly. The Bushnell era was a time that changed Brigham City’s community for the better. Brigham citizens, Army staff, and patients experienced a special comradery that those from Brigham City remember to the present day. It was a unique time for Northern Utah as Eloise Crouse Kauffroth, a Salt Lake native who worked as a nurse at the hospital, explained: “We [hospital employees and Brigham City citizens] were faced with the reality of the war and the reality of good

⁴⁰Bradford, *Historic Tour*, 9.

people coming with life-changing wounds. Our lives, as well as theirs [,] would be changed.” Eloise stated that from her interaction with the injured GIs, “I witnessed bravery during that time that I simply have not experienced since. . . . We learned of perseverance and positive attitude, and of humor and always looking for happiness.”⁴¹

Two examples of special thanks to Brigham residents appeared as anonymous letters to the editor in the *Bushnell GH Bugle*, the post newspaper for patients at Bushnell, and in the *Box Elder News-Journal*. In November 1944, the *Bugle* published a letter expressing gratitude toward the town’s acceptance of the hospital, its patients, and staff: “It took a lot of cooperation . . . and the obstacles in the soldier’s [sic] and the Brighamite’s [sic] minds slowly gave way for a better understanding.” The writer continued, “Now we can say that Brigham has accepted us [,] and we are looked at, not as a meal ticket, but as a institution created by the exigencies of war, and a welcome addition to the community.”⁴² The writer acknowledged that residents and soldiers both took some time to understand each other and to develop friendships. The letter reflected what at least some citizens of Brigham also believed. The civilians came to see the soldiers as not just an asset to the economy but as friends. On 11 February 1946, about four months before Bushnell closed but while its fate was still uncertain, another

⁴¹Eloise Crouse Kauffroth, “The Adventurous Story of an Army Nurse During World War II and the Korean Conflict,” Personal History 2002, Nurses at War Project, MS 2606, transcript, Nurses at War Project, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

⁴²“A Look at Brigham Utah USA,” *Bushnell GH Bugle* (Bushnell General Hospital, Brigham City, Utah), 25 November 1944, (available at The Utah State Historical Society, Records, 1944–1953 by Bushnell General Hospital, MS A1803).

newcomer to Brigham expressed a similar view when she recalled fondly her time in Brigham City in an anonymous letter to the editor of the *Box Elder News-Journal*:

No matter where we go to live I shall never forget our happy months here. True there have been a few unpleasant, infuriating and inconsiderate individuals to deal with, and our relations with these few have been disappointing, but was there ever a basket of tomatoes that didn't have a few rotten ones in it?

As I look out my window and see the little town twinkling, I know the picture of Brigham, in my heart, will always be that of a lovely little village nestled at the base of beautiful, majestic and most friendly mountains. . . .

Where have I found that friendly neighborliness since childhood—never, 'till Brigham. Where else can you find a man like Walt Mann, County Attorney, . . . who calls you on the phone and says, 'Well, just called to say I'm sorry your horse died, know how you loved him, but I brought one of mine in for you to ride 'til you get one. . . .'

Never shall I forget the time I called Jim Brown (as we were new here and knew but few people) 'Where could I hire a truck, we need coal and they are not hauling today?' His 'Don't worry, I'll see you get the coal' still rings in my ears.

I say with a heart full of gratitude 'Thanks for bringing us to Brigham!'⁴³

⁴³“What They Think: *Dear Box Elder Journal*—,” *BENJ*, 11 February 1946.

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