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# Objects of Remembering: Material Culture, Oral Histories, and Historic Sites in Utah's World War II Story

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# OBJECTS OF REMEMBERING: MATERIAL CULTURE, ORAL HISTORIES, AND HISTORIC SITES IN UTAH'S WORLD WAR II STORY

by

Sara Watkins

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# ABSTRACT

Objects of Remembering: Material Culture, Oral Histories, and Historic Sites in Utah's World War II Story

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The Second World War was a war of stuff and stories. Families from all over the state of Utah sent sons, husbands, brothers, and fathers to faraway lands to fight for their freedoms. Many of them did not come home. Those who did return came back with experiences that forever changed them. The war touched those on the home front as well. Women went to work in the defense industry, manufacturing parachutes that would save lives and bullets that would take them. German and Italian prisoners of war, as well as Japanese Americans, were imprisoned within the borders of the state, some of whom chose to stay in Utah after their eventual release. A military hospital even provided prostheses to servicemen who lost limbs while serving their country.

This essay builds on the works of Utah historians, including Thomas G. Alexander, Leonard J. Arrington, Antonette Chambers Noble, and Allan Kent Powell, as it examines the experiences of Utah servicemen and women and Utahns at home to show how the memory of World War II has evolved since the end of the war. It relies on the

theories and methods of historians and anthropologists such as Leora Auslander, Dolores Hayden, and Michel-Rolph Trouillot to demonstrate how objects, oral histories, and historic sites shape the memories of Utahns who lived during the war, and how younger generations can learn from those memories.

(86 pages)

# PUBLIC ABSTRACT

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Sara Watkins

The Second World War was a war of stuff and stories. Much of this stuff still exists today in the form of objects, oral histories, and historic places. They remind people of the families from all over the state of Utah who sent sons, husbands, brothers, and fathers to faraway lands to fight for their freedoms. Many of these men did not come home, and those who did return came back with experiences that forever changed them. Objects, stories, and places also show how the war touched those on the home front. Women went to work in the defense industry, manufacturing parachutes that would save lives and bullets that would take them. German and Italian prisoners of war, as well as Japanese Americans, were imprisoned within the borders of the state, some of whom chose to stay in Utah after their eventual release. A military hospital even provided prostheses to servicemen who lost limbs while serving their country. As veterans and others who lived through World War II pass away, their stuff remains to tell their stories.

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I must thank my family, of course, for their patience, love, and amazing ability to tune me out. I especially want to thank Anna, whom I dragged around the state and up and down my emotional roller coaster. Without you to standing next to me, everyone would have thought I was crazy. (This is the part where she points out that there is no evidence proving I'm not.)

Finally, I wish to thank the heat vent behind the couch, the heat vent under the old pew, and the heat vent next to the piano. *You* are the real MVPs.

Sara Watkins

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## Introduction

The mountain stretches into the sky above me. The sun has disappeared behind its tallest peaks, but the light will remain for a few hours yet. I study the two paths I can take to my destination. Neither one looks painless. Landon Wilkey, the curator of the Historic Wendover Airfield, begins climbing the mountain, and I am quick to follow, dragging my sister behind me.

Landon knows where all the interesting places in the area are, so when he offered to show us around, I could not say no. I had not realized hiking up a mountain would mean *hiking up a mountain*, even if we are not going all the way to the top.

As we climb higher, pieces of metal begin to appear every few feet. Some still shine, but most have rusted over. Landon bends to pick up a piece. I know he will carry it until we stop.

With every step my legs burn and my breaths shorten. My foot slips in the rocks, but I keep going. I am climbing for a reason. There is something near the top that I need to see.

The Bonneville Salt Flats stretch out behind me, and I know when I turn, I will see the curvature of the earth. But I am not thinking about that right now. My mind is on a different group of people who made this same climb almost eighty years ago to retrieve the dead bodies of their comrades.

I am about to use my hands to pull myself up the nearly vertical mountain, when finally, the ground beneath my feet flattens out, and there it is. My sister gulps in the air as she sits on a rock while Landon takes a drink from his water bottle, and I pull out my camera.

A pile of rusted metal pieces stares back at us, a small American flag waving from the top. It is a memorial to the soldiers who died there during World War II when their B-24, plane #396, crashed into the side of the mountain we have just scaled.

When the airmen embarked on their flight on February 7, 1944, the weather "consisted of an 8000 foot ceiling and five miles visibility," with "a low stratus deck lying above the salt flats about six or seven miles from the field to the east and northeast." Eighteen airplanes flying in formation took off from the Wendover Army Air Base that morning, only to discover that the stratus layer had "moved with remarkable rapidity from the point first observed." Approximately four minutes after takeoff, #396 disappeared in the clouds.[1]

As the plane behind #396 finally emerged above the stratus layer, the crew members were unable to locate the other plane, only seeing "black smoke rising from a point about ten miles northeast of the field." Number 396, they soon discovered, "had crashed into a projection of the Desert Range" and gone up in flames, killing all nine crew members on board. None were able to use their parachutes.[2]

Landon carefully adds the piece of metal he picked up to the pile, explaining that visitors to this site have placed a handful of the pieces together to form this monument. Many of the remaining pieces stay scattered where they fell during the crash, those who make the hike leaving them undisturbed. There is an unspoken understanding that the glass and metal still littering the mountain belong to the family members of the dead. The

[1] Report of Aircraft Accident, Wendover Army Air Base, War Department, U.S. Army Air Forces, February 7, 1944, courtesy of Historic Wendover Airfield.
[2] Report of Aircraft Accident.

airmen did not live to tell their story, but these pieces of the B-24 that carried them remain to tell it for them.

A dented box, a rusted pipe, the wire frame of a parachute that never opened. These objects tell a story in and of a place where a group of men served their country. But why, some may wonder, do objects like these pieces of metal matter to people today? Why do people make this excruciating climb just to see a pile of rust? And why, of all places, was a B-24 flying over the western Utah desert?

Since the end of World War II, diverse people with many different agendas have shaped the memory of the war. We can find memories of the war in many places: veterans' memoirs, Hollywood dramatizations of so-called epic battles, memorials like the USS *Arizona* still lying at the bottom of the ocean, and the stories our elderly neighbors told us about this hat or that place. Perhaps we can even find them in the stories our grandparents did not tell us. Our collective memory tells us that World War II was a glorious victory, one that should inspire national pride. That version, however, both eliminates the ugly side of war and fails to account for the diversity of the individual stories.

In Utah, places such as the Historic Wendover Airfield, the Topaz Museum, and other museums throughout the state begin to tell Utah's version of World War II. Whether or not "significant" events happened in these places, their museums preserve and present objects related to the war. By doing so, they give people the chance to see history. These objects are not only important to us today, but they were also important to the men and women who used them. During the war, the Clearfield Naval Supply Depot in Utah served as "a depository for the personal effects of Navy, Coast Guard, and Marine

personnel who were lost in action or otherwise separated from their property. These materials were sorted, inspected, and sent to the next-of-kin or returned to the rightful owners."[3] Many people might argue that objects are just things that people can reuse or throw away. Why, then, did the Navy make an effort to return the objects to the sailors and their families?

This project examines how the Second World War affected the state of Utah and Utahns themselves; it includes this essay and an accompanying digital exhibit. It cannot tell Utah's complete World War II story, as that is much too vast. Instead, I have designed it to give viewers a broad understanding of some of the diverse ways Utah and Utahns participated in the war, as seen through the objects, historic sites, and oral histories they left behind. Not everyone can travel to different places around the state, so a digital exhibit serves to present these items together to tell Utah's World War II story. Using objects, places, and oral histories from World War II as primary sources helps us learn about Utah history and better understand our individual and collective memories.

## Memory in Objects, Places, and Oral Histories

In *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, Michel-Rolph Trouillot claims that "history begins with bodies and artifacts."[4] How, then, can we learn history without looking at bodies and artifacts? Over the years, historians have placed a large emphasis on written text, often overlooking material culture. However, material

[3] Leonard J. Arrington and Archer L. Durham, "Anchors Aweigh in Utah: The U.S. Naval Supply Depot at Clearfield, 1942-1962," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 31, no. 2 (1963), 113.
[4] Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1995), 29.

culture—the objects people use—can tell us a great deal about the past if we are willing to learn from it.

Many disciplines outside of history study material culture. Psychologists, archaeologists, and literary scholars use different techniques to understand how people interact with material culture. Leora Auslander, one of the leading historians of material culture, believes that historians should draw on the methods of other disciplines to understand what objects tell us about the past.[5] As other historians follow her example, the emerging field of material culture history continues to grow.

Most of the existing historiography related to objects in World War II focuses on Jewish and Soviet experiences. Multiple historians examine the objects that Jews left behind during the Holocaust. They argue that these objects stand as witnesses to the atrocities the Nazis committed. These objects create strong emotions as they remind us of what the Jews suffered. Historians, including Auslander, Magdalena Waligorska, and Ina Sorkina, argue that clothing causes powerful emotions because of the intimate nature clothes have to the body.[6]

Museums that showcase clothing and other objects help remind the public of the past. Jeffrey Wallen and Aubrey Pomerance look at items presented in the Jewish Museum Berlin to show how the migration of objects and the transition of ownership affect the way people view objects. They argue that objects in museums have the ability to take people "back to the life of the individual, the home, the family, or the group in

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[5] Leora Auslander, "Beyond Words," *American Historical Review* 110, no. 4 (October 2005): 1015, https://doi.org/10.1086/ahr.110.4.1015.

[6] Auslander; Magdalena Waligorska and Ina Sorkina, "The Second Life of Jewish Belongings—Jewish Personal Objects and Their Afterlives in the Polish and Belarusian Post-Holocaust Shtetls," *Holocaust Studies* published online (March 17, 2022), https://doi.org/10.1080/17504902.2022.2047292.

which these items were embedded."[7] They explain that these objects inspire questions, such as who manufactured the objects, how people used them, and the significance they held for the owners and their descendants.[8] Questions lead people to further investigate the past, which then gives them the opportunity to learn not only about their own history, but about the larger context as well.

Not everyone agrees that museums should display objects. Auslander and Tara Zahra pose the question of who should own the rights to certain objects today: museums or those whom the violence affected? They explain, "Those to whom violence was directly done have a right to the things that serve to connect them to the people and places of their pasts, but society also has a need and a right to the things that serve to educate and remind."[9] The Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum and Memorial lent the suitcase of a Holocaust victim to a museum in Paris. While in Paris, the son of the victim, Michel Levi-Leleu, identified the suitcase as his father's and asked that it remain in France. The museum refused, claiming that the suitcase needed to stay in Poland to "bear witness to what had happened there."[10] Because both the museum and the son had rightful claims, they found no easy way to settle the dispute. After a four-year-long lawsuit, Levi-Leleu renounced his claims, and the museum agreed to leave the suitcase in Paris.[11]

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[7] Jeffrey Wallen and Aubrey Pomerance, "Circuitous Journeys: The Migration of Objects and the Trusteeship of Memory," in *Objects of War: The Material Culture of Conflict and Displacement*, ed. Leora Auslander and Tara Zahra (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018), 249.
[8] Wallen and Pomerance, 254.
[9] Leora Auslander and Tara Zahra, "The Things They Carried: War, Mobility, and Material Culture," in Auslander and Zahra, *Objects of War*, 17.
[10] Auslander and Zahra, "The Things They Carried," 17.
[11] "Settlement Reached over Auschwitz Suitcase," News, Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum, June 4, 2009, https://www.auschwitz.org/en/museum/news/settlement-reached-over-auschwitz-suitcase,568.html.

The museum at Auschwitz-Birkenau wanted to ensure that we will not forget our collective memory. Within museums, the presentation of objects affects how a group of people remembers the past. Auslander and Zahra believe that "the birth of the modern museum reconfigured relationships between objects and individual and collective memory."[12] Seeing objects displayed in certain ways in museums gives people the chance to learn about the past, but it also gives curators the power to control the narrative.

In *The Stuff of Soldiers: A History of the Red Army in World War II through Objects*, Brandon M. Schechter looks at the objects that turned civilians into soldiers.[13] Within the Soviet Union, the government issued soldiers nearly every object they carried, leaving them with little personal property.[14] Despite this, soldiers formed connections with their objects, personalizing them and using them as if they owned them.[15] These objects were part of the soldiers' war experience, and looking at them closely can tell us how soldiers lived. For example, in a short essay, Schechter examines the objects of Red Army soldier Bato Damcheev. The Soviet government awarded him different medals based on his actions, such as killing Germans or liberating cities.[16] These objects, Schechter argues, tell us part of Damcheev's story without the use of words.

Although historians privilege words, objects tell stories people cannot verbally express. In cases of extreme violence, people are often unable to use words to explain what happened. Paola Filippucci argues that where words fail, objects remain to tell the

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[12] Auslander and Zahra, "The Things They Carried," 6.
[13] Brandon M. Schechter, *The Stuff of Soldiers: A History of the Red Army in World War II through Objects* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019), 1.
[14] Schechter, *The Stuff of Soldiers*, 4.
[15] Schechter, *The Stuff of Soldiers*, 5.
[16] Brandon M. Schechter, "Embodied Violence: A Red Army Soldier's Journey as Told by Objects," in Auslander and Zahra, *Objects of War*, 149-50.

story.[17] Not only are objects witnesses to the same events, but they often "act as proxies for the people who went through them."[18] The objects of people thus can carry the same memories and experiences as their owners.

People use objects to recall memories, whether the memories are violent or not. Gerdien Jonker explains that objects "provoke images, memories, and emotions."[19] Using the objects of people who died creates a connection between the deceased and the new owner, usually a relative.[20] Filippucci also believes that objects can create strong connections to those who passed away.[21] Objects connect people to their loved ones as they remember the lives they lived. Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, however, argue that because objects continue through time, they can take on different memories and meanings for different people and generations.[22]

In examining how psychologists think about objects and memory, Auslander declares that "human beings need objects to effectively remember and forget."[23] Auslander and Zahra argue that objects are "bridges between old and new homes and communities as well as transmitters of memory" for people whom war displaced.[24] They explain that objects acquire different meanings in the context of war and displacement.[25] How people use objects and why people take certain objects with them, but choose to

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[17] Paola Filippucci, "*Morts pour la France*: Things and memory in the 'destroyed villages' of Verdun," *Journal of Material Culture* 25, no. 4 (October 2020), https://doi-org.dist.lib.usu.edu/10.1177/1359183520954515.
[18] Filippucci.
[19] Gerdien Jonker, "Lisa's Things: Matching German-Jewish and Indian-Muslim Traditions," in Auslander and Zahra, *Objects of War*, 231.
[20] Jonker, 242.
[21] Filippucci.
[22] Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, "Writing Material Culture History," in *Writing Material Culture History*, ed. Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 9.
[23] Auslander, 1019.
[24] Auslander and Zahra, "The Things They Carried," 9.
[25] Auslander and Zahra, "The Things They Carried," 4.

leave others behind, changes as people face violence. Objects that they take often have both practical uses and are full of memories.[26] Holding the objects in their hands connects them to the past and brings back memories that are inherently connected to the objects.

People can also find connections to the past in places. Although it is difficult to hold a place in one's hands, many places have objects and structural remains that remind people of the past. Filippucci looks at the destroyed villages of Verdun to explain that the remains of a place can help people connect to the past. Although the villages of Verdun had a life before the Germans destroyed them during the First World War, the French government chooses to preserve the villages in their destroyed state to remind visitors of the battles, losses, and heroism that occurred there. Filippucci argues that "the damaged remains of the village help *descendants* to remember in the sense of evoking and reinhabiting imaginatively the once-living village, but also in the sense of giving voice to their elders' painful silences at having to abandon and lose their places." People who visit the remains can connect with and remember the lives of their ancestors. Although visitors should remember the suffering at Verdun, the strong focus on loss makes it difficult for them to create new memories of Verdun or recall memories disassociated from the destruction. "The space and time of this landscape," Filippucci explains, "was, and continues to be, that of national mourning and death." Despite this, many people visit the villages to remember the past.[27]

Dolores Hayden also considers the importance of place in her book, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*. She explains that "it is place's…assault on

[26] Auslander and Zahra, "The Things They Carried," 15.
[27] Filippucci.

all ways of knowing (sight, sound, smell, touch, and taste) that makes it powerful as a source of memory, as a weave where one strand ties in another."[28] All aspects of a place have the power to help us remember both our own personal memories and our collective memories—the memories we share as citizens of the United States of America. Margaret E. Farrar agrees, explaining that "[t]he built environment serves as a storehouse for social and collective memory: memories of our family lives, our work lives, and our lives as citizens."[29] Although we cannot and should not preserve all places, learning about and visiting historic sites can help us remember and feel connected to the past.

While objects and places often inspire memories, oral histories can also help people remember certain events. In 1984, Studs Terkel compiled *"The Good War": An Oral History of World War II* because "the disremembrance of World War Two is as disturbingly profound as the forgettery of the Great Depression."[30] As people began to forget the war, he recognized the importance of recording the memories. This "memory book" contains over one hundred oral history interviews from men and women who served in and grew up during World War II.[31] The memories Terkel captured help us view the war through the eyes of those who experienced it. They give us the chance to learn about the war before we forget it. Since the release of *"The Good War"*, many authors and oral historians have turned to oral histories to remember World War II.[32]

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[28] Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1997), 18.
[29] Margaret E. Farrar, "Amnesia, Nostalgia, and the Politics of Place Memory," *Political Research Quarterly* 64, no. 4 (December 2011): 727.
[30] Studs Terkel, *"The Good War": An Oral History of World War II* (New York: New Press, 1984), 3.
[31] Terkel, 3.
[32] See Svetlana Alexievich, *The Unwomanly Face of War: An Oral History of Women in WWII*, trans. Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky (New York: Random House, 2018); Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore F. Cook, *Japan at War: An Oral History* (New York: New Press, 1992); Louis Fairchild, *They Called It the War Effort: Oral Histories from World War II Orange, Texas* (Austin, TX: Eakin Press, 1993); Stacy Enyeart, *America's Home Front Heroes: An Oral History of World War II* (Santa Barbara,

Oral histories not only provide information about the war, but they also offer insights into how individuals remember experiencing the war. This is especially important as the individual's recollection can differ from what history has recorded, and thus alter what we know about the past. For example, while examining the memories of Holocaust survivor Marianne Ellenbogen, Mark Roseman discovered that what she shared in oral histories just before her death did not always line up with what she had recorded in diaries and letters from World War II. He argues that rather than being disrespectful, comparing oral histories to other sources actually "helps illuminate the very process of memory which we are seeking to understand."[33] He believes that "the changes [in Marianne's memory] were related to moments of great trauma."[34] Marianne, who "was never in a Nazi camp," left her family and spent most of the war on the run.[35] Roseman explains that her "trauma was related to guilt…inspired by having left her family, and having allowed others to leave her."[36] Although trauma changed her memories of the past, the changes do not invalidate her oral histories. Rather, they show the impact that war can have on a person's mind.

In his book, *Memory, War and Trauma*, Nigel C. Hunt also examines how war, trauma, and narratives affect how people recall and share their memories. He explains that war creates "psychologically damaged people, many of them civilians, who have had

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CA: Praeger, 2009); Lewis H. Carlson, *We Were Each Other's Prisoners: An Oral History of World War II American and German Prisoners of War* (New York: BasicBooks, 1997); Gillian Mawson, *Evacuees: Children's Lives on the WW2 Home Front* (South Yorkshire, UK: Pen & Sword History, 2014); Svetlana Alexievich, *Last Witnesses: An Oral History of the Children of World War II*, trans. Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky (New York: Random House, 2020).

[33] Mark Roseman, "Surviving Memory: Truth and inaccuracy in Holocaust Testimony," in *The Oral History Reader*, 3rd ed., ed. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (Oxon, UK: Routledge, 2016), 332.

[34] Roseman, 327.

[35] Roseman, 322.

[36] Roseman, 327.

to live with their memories for the rest of their lives—memories of torture, massacres, death of family members, starvation, exile and rape."[37] Although people share their memories through personal narratives, Hunt argues that "[w]e use and manipulate our memories, consciously and unconsciously, in order to present ourselves to the world in a particular way."[38] People often adjust their stories to fit the needs of their audience, which changes what each person who hears the story learns about the past.

Social discourse can also determine how people remember and interpret certain events.[39] The word "Holocaust," for example, generally refers to Hitler's extermination of the Jews. Hunt points out that "holocaust" could also describe "the Stalinist era of the USSR, the Maoist massacres in China," or even "the destruction of the native people of North America."[40] Today, "Holocaust" reminds people of a single event in history because of how people labeled and chose to remember the mass murder of Jews during the World War II.

Bernice Archer provides another example of how social discourse affects the way people remember. Although published nearly fifteen years before the release of Hunt's book, Archer's essay, "'A Low-Key Affair': Memories of Civilian Internment in the Far East, 1942-1945," looks at how fifteen British women who spent the majority of World War II in the Japanese-run Stanley Internment Camp in Hong Kong remembered the war.[41] When the war began, the British government ordered its citizens to evacuate

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[37] Nigel C. Hunt, *Memory, War and Trauma* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1.
[38] Hunt, 3.
[39] Hunt, 4.
[40] Hunt, 5.
[41] Bernice Archer, "'A Low-Key Affair': Memories of Civilian Internment in the Far East, 1942-1945," in *War and Memory in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Martin Evans and Ken Lunn (Oxford, UK: Berg, 1997), 45.

China. Some were unable to evacuate, and many simply chose not to do so.[42] They soon found themselves behind enemy lines, forced into an internment camp.

Throughout the interviews, Archer realized that "the civilian internees interviewed devalued their experiences to conform with public expectations, and their memories were constructed and reconstructed accordingly."[43] The British did not want to admit that the Japanese had captured their women because they found it "politically and socially embarrassing as it denotes defeat and undermines masculine ideals."[44] Embarrassment for not having evacuated made the women reluctant to admit their capture, as well.[45] During the interviews, the women tended to remember the pleasant experiences of the camp, rather than the negative and stressful ones. Although multiple reasons for this exist, including avoidance and embarrassment, Archer argues that "[t]he overriding reason for the unheroic picture painted by the interviewees was the influence of dominant social discourses which not only existed during internment, but awaited them after liberation and have remained up to recent times."[46] The dominant social discourse did not include their experiences since the painful experiences of others often aligned better with what society wanted to remember about the war.

Society's focus on the atrocities, and heroic acts, performed in Europe and the Pacific during World War II leads people to overlook the interior states of the US. During the war, the US worried about its enemies attacking the east and west coasts. Because of

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[42] Archer, 48-9, 52.
[43] Archer, 46.
[44] Archer, 46.
[45] Archer, 49.
[46] Archer, 52.

this, most of the attention given to the war in the US today focuses on coastal states. Utah, however, played an important, if often forgotten, role in World War II.

## The Utah Story

From Utah, over 70,000 men served in World War II, approximately forty-one percent of all men fifteen years old or older. Over 3,600 of them did not come home alive.[47] Stories and objects of both the living and the dead, however, did come home to Utah. Allan Kent Powell examines how World War II affected Utahns in his book, *Utah Remembers World War II*, which is a compilation of first-hand accounts from Utah men and women who served on the front lines and the home front. He explains that "Utah's remembrance of World War II is a collective memory of individuals, groups, events, places, and of all those feelings that make us human."[48] Although people around the world experienced the same events as Utah soldiers and felt the same emotions as families at home, Powell argues that "because it is our [Utahns'] experience, the legacy of our fathers, mothers, and their fathers and mothers, it is worth remembering, recording, commemorating, and passing on."[49] Utah's World War II story is a part of Utah history that we should not forget.

In order to tell Utah's experience, Powell includes the stories of men who served in different parts of the world. Jack Mead, who was at Pearl Harbor the day Japan

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[47] KUED, *Utah WWII Stories: Archive Catalog* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 2008); "World War II Veterans By The Numbers," Department of Veterans Affairs, VA Fact Sheet, Office of Public Affairs, Washington, D.C., accessed October 21, 2023, https://dig.abclocal.go.com/ktrk/ktrk_120710_WWIIvetsfactsheet.pdf; Allan Kent Powell, *Utah Remembers World War II* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1991), xii.
[48] Powell, *Utah Remembers World War II*, xii.
[49] Powell, *Utah Remembers World War II*, xiii.

attacked, recalled "guys running around trying to stuff their entrails back into their stomach. Men trying to run on their bloody stumps."[50] Despite the gruesome aspect of war, Utah boys quickly enlisted in the military after the attack on Pearl Harbor. The military sent them all over the world to fight, including to Europe, the Pacific, China-Burma-India, North Africa, and the Aleutian Islands. George Platis contributed a few pages of his diary to Powell's book, in which he wrote of seeing "the Stars and Stripes" on Mount Suribachi during the Battle of Iwo Jima.[51] A few months later, on the other side of the world, Dr. Quinn A. Whiting posed for a picture sitting atop Adolf Hitler's desk shortly after Germany surrendered.[52] These men, and many others, brought their stories home to Utah. Their stories add to Utah's World War II memory as they help Utahns make connections to the larger, global conflict.

While soldiers served around the world, Utahns at home experienced their own war stories. They planted victory gardens, bought war bonds, and rationed sugar, gasoline, nylons, and other commodities to support the war effort. During the war, modern medicine, prisoners of war (POWs), Japanese internment, chemical testing, the Navy, and the Army and its Air Corps all made an appearance in Utah. Utahns at home remembered amputees wounded in war coming to the Bushnell General Military Hospital in Brigham City, paratroopers coming to Alta to learn how to ski in preparation for mountain warfare in Germany and Italy, and German and Italian POWs working on farms throughout Utah.[53]

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[50] Powell, *Utah Remembers World War II*, 8.
[51] Powell, *Utah Remembers World War II*, 73.
[52] Powell, *Utah Remembers World War II*, 111.
[53] Allan Kent Powell, "Utah and World War II," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 73, no. 2 (Spring 2005): 116, 123, 124; Powell, *Utah Remembers World War II*, 60, 160, 172.

Historians have written little regarding Utah's involvement in World War II because it was a global event. Although the Utah Centennial County History series briefly discusses how the war affected the different counties in Utah, it begins before the Mormon Pioneers settled in Utah and continues until the 1990s, which leaves little room to explore World War II in depth. Various articles about Utah in World War II also appear in the *Utah Historical Quarterly*. Rather than showing the overall experience in Utah, many of these histories focus on specific aspects of the war, such as the defense industry, prisoners of war, or women.

**Artificial Limbs, a Miracle Drug, and a Free Steak Dinner**

A significant military instalment in Utah that historians have overlooked is the Bushnell General Military Hospital. When historians have mentioned the Bushnell Hospital, they do so with a brief sentence or two in passing. It appears that the most extensive research regarding the Bushnell Hospital is Andrea Kaye Carter's 2008 master's thesis, "Bushnell General Military Hospital And The Community of Brigham City, Utah During World War II."

In her thesis, Carter relies heavily on oral histories and newspaper articles to show how the Bushnell Hospital affected Brigham City. The Bushnell Hospital "specialized in treating amputations, maxillofacial surgery, neuropsychiatric conditions, and tropical diseases. It was also one of the first hospitals to experimentally use penicillin."[54] Wounded soldiers from the surrounding Mountain States went to the Bushnell Hospital

[54] Andrea Kaye Carter, "Bushnell General Military Hospital And The Community of Brigham City, Utah During World War II" (master's thesis, Utah State University, 2008), iii, https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/etd/162.

for treatment, partly so that they could be closer to their homes.[55] Both family members of patients who came to visit and the employees at the Bushnell Hospital had a difficult time finding housing, so Brigham City residents opened their homes to those in need.[56] Aside from meeting wounded soldiers and their families, Brigham City residents also met German and Italian POWs and Japanese Americans from the Topaz Internment Camp who came to work at the Bushnell Hospital and in the Brigham City community.[57]

Prominent celebrities, such as Bob Hope, Bing Crosby, Helen Keller, and Shirley Temple, visited the Bushnell Hospital to offer encouragement to the wounded.[58] However, "[s]ome of the visitors were surprised by the good cheer of the amputee patients who, for the most part, exhibited gratitude to have survived and to have visitors come and entertain them."[59] Verabel Call Knudsen, owner of the Idle Isle Restaurant in Brigham City, also hoped to encourage morale among patients. She offered a free steak dinner to any amputee who "had artificial legs and could walk through that door on their own."[60]

In June 1946, the Bushnell Hospital closed its doors, despite promises from the Army that it "would continue as an army hospital long after the war."[61] Brigham City residents were disappointed, and the buildings sat empty for four years until Utah and federal officials reopened it as the Intermountain Indian School for Navajo children, and

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[55] Carter, 15.
[56] Carter, 1.
[57] Carter, iv, 24-5, 81-3, 105.
[58] Carter, 43, 101; "Bushnell Days," Utah State University Digital Exhibits, last modified 2023, http://exhibits.usu.edu/exhibits/show/bushnelldays.
[59] "Bushnell Days."
[60] Powell, *Utah Remembers World War II*, 180; Carter, 79-80.
[61] Frederick M. Huchel, *A History of Box Elder County* (Brigham City: Utah State Historical Society, 1999), 281.

later children from other tribes.[62] The school closed in May 1984, and the buildings once again sat empty and became subject to both the elements and vandalism.[63] Over the years, Brigham City sold some buildings to private business, and in 2010, they sold the majority of the buildings to Utah State University, who tore down the remaining "dilapidated buildings."[64]

**Imprisoned**

While the Bushnell Hospital made many positive contributions to the war effort, other places throughout Utah tell a darker side of the war. Although the War Department placed over fifteen thousand German and Italian POWs in twelve camps throughout Utah, historians have written little regarding their experience.[65] In *A History of Cache County*, F. Ross Peterson explains that many POWs in Cache County found the area "a pleasant environment in which to be incarcerated."[66] Powell's book, *Splinters of a Nation: German Prisoners of War in Utah*, documents the experiences of German POWs in Utah. In general, the US treated POWs very well.[67] In Utah, POWs labored both in the agricultural industry, specifically in sugar beet fields, and at military installations.[68] Powell argues that most Utahns treated them with kindness and learned about their cultures, partly because "Utahns have always been interested in other peoples and cultures" due to "the international missionary program of the Church of Jesus Christ of

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[62] Carter, 117-9.
[63] Carter, 119; "Bushnell Days."
[64] "Intermountain Indian School," Utah State University Digital Exhibits, last modified 2023, http://exhibits.usu.edu /exhibits/show/intermountainschool.
[65] Powell, "Utah and World War II," 57, 124.
[66] F. Ross Peterson, *A History of Cache County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1997), 296.
[67] Allan Kent Powell, *Splinters of a Nation: German Prisoners of War in Utah* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 3.
[68] Powell, *Splinters of a Nation*, 6, 262.

Latter-day Saints."[69] When not working, POWs spent time reading books and magazines, listening to the radio, watching motion pictures, participating in theatrical performances, doing arts and crafts, and playing sports.[70] POWs also participated in a "reeducation program," where the War Department taught them democratic principles.[71]

For the two-hundred fifty prisoners in the camp in Salina, Powell claims, life was generally good.[72] They worked in the sugar beet fields and became friends with members of the community. However, on the night of July 8-9, 1945, two months after the war in Europe ended, Pfc. Clarence V. Bertucci, a young prison guard from Louisiana who had been "subject to military discipline on three different occasions," opened fire on the sleeping Germans.[73] He killed nine POWs in what is still the largest massacre of enemy POWs on US soil. Both Powell and Mike Rose, author of *Salina Utah Massacre*, examine this event, noting the experiences of both the surviving German POWs and the citizens of Salina. One citizen remembered hearing shots and screams coming from the camp, adding, "I jumped out of bed and ran out to the front porch in my underwear."[74] He later saw "the blood-soaked and bullet-ridden mattresses," some of which were possibly among those the POWs "threw…against the tent walls in the desperate hope that it would offer some protection from the machine gun bullets."[75]

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[69] Powell, *Splinters of a Nation*, 10.
[70] Powell, *Splinters of a Nation*, 178-87.
[71] Powell, *Splinters of a Nation*, 92-9; Nicholas Demas, "German and Italian Prisoners of War in Utah," Utah Stories from the Beehive Archive, Utah Humanities, last modified 2008, https://www.utahhumanities.org/stories/items /show/155.
[72] Powell, *Splinters of a Nation*, 223.
[73] Powell, *Splinters of a Nation*, 223-4.
[74] Sharp Rassmussen, interview by Allan Kent Powell, Salina Utah, June 17, 1986, quoted in Powell, *Splinters of a Nation*, 227.
[75] Powell, *Splinters of a Nation*, 227.

Powell explains that after the shooting, a truck transported the wounded and dead to the Salina hospital, where many of the wounded lay "in the hallway and the waiting room" and on the lawn outside because "[t]here were only four empty beds in the hospital."[76] Willi Klebe, one of the wounded, remembered a woman giving "each of us a cigarette. I cannot describe how good it seemed," he stated, even though he did not smoke.[77] Some of the wounded later agreed to speak with the press, although one admitted, "We probably did not conduct ourselves as very good press agents."[78] On July 12, a delegation of fifteen POWs from the Salina camp "attend[ed] the burial service for their eight dead comrades" at the Fort Douglas Cemetery.[79] Powell explains that "[a] second service was held for Friedrich Ritter, who died in the Kearns hospital on July 14."[80]

The Salina Massacre was a tragedy that left a blemish on the US. The US government was slow to notify the family members of the dead, and many relatives remained unaware of their deaths for two or three years after the shooting, some only learning about the massacre from POWs who returned to Germany. The government avoided the issue of compensation for both family members of the deceased and for the survivors of the massacre. Powell states, "Americans were both incensed and pained by the deaths of the nine German prisoners. Also, had Americans known of the delays in notifying the next of kin and the callous way in which inquiries about money due and

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[76] Powell, *Splinters of a Nation*, 228.
[77] Willi Klebe, interview by Allan Kent Powell, Hannover, Germany, April 28, 1978, quoted in Powell, *Splinters of a Nation*, 228.
[78] Herbert Barkhoff, manuscript history, 39, copy at Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, quoted in Powell, *Splinters of a Nation*, 229.
[79] Powell, *Splinters of a Nation*, 230-1.
[80] Powell, *Splinters of a Nation*, 231.

possible indemnification payments were handled, it is hoped they would have felt an even deeper shame."[81] The fact that historians have given little attention to the massacre shows that although the incident upset Americans, many people either tried to hide the blemish or just simply forgot it ever happened.

Utah became the temporary home not only to POWs, but to Japanese Americans, as well. After the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066, which forced all individuals who might pose a threat to national security into so-called "relocation centers."[82] Instead of relocating peoples of German and Italian descent, or many of the Japanese Americans living in Hawaii, this order specifically targeted Japanese Americans living on the West Coast.[83] Leonard J. Arrington argues that it likely would have cost less for the FBI to "individually investigate them and segregate the potentially disloyal than it cost the government to feed, clothe, house, and guard all 110,000 of them in detention camps for the duration of the war."[84] However, the government insisted on sending Japanese Americans to internment camps. As the War Relocation Authority relocated Japanese Americans to interior states, Governor Herbert B. Maw of Utah argued, "If the federal officials think they are dangerous on the coast, they would be here."[85] Nevertheless, the War Relocation Authority established ten camps

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[81] Powell, *Splinters of a Nation,* 234-8.
[82] A note on terminology: During the war, people referred to these camps as "relocation centers." In more recent years, the term "concentration camp" has become a popular and accurate way to discuss the camps. Many historians, me included, use the term "internment camp." I also use the term "Japanese American" to refer to Japanese immigrants (first generation), and their children (second generation) and grandchildren (third generation) born in the US.
[83] Leonard J. Arrington, *The Price of Prejudice: The Japanese-American Relocation Center in Utah during World War II* (Delta, Ut: Topaz Museum, 1997), 15.
[84] Arrington, 14. The actual number of internees was likely over 120,000.
[85] "Maw Reveals Stand on Jap Evacuees: Opposes Settling Of Groups in Defense Areas," *Salt Lake Tribune,* March 10, 1942, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s666xq92.

in the states of California, Arizona, Idaho, Utah, Wyoming, Colorado, and Arkansas for Japanese Americans.

Similar to the literature concerning POWs, there is limited secondary scholarship regarding Japanese Americans interned at the Topaz camp in Delta, Utah. Although some historians have written about the overall experience of Japanese American internment, they tend to explore the camps as a whole, rather than providing extensive information about individual camps.[86] For a closer examination of Topaz, Alyson Griggs's digital exhibit, "Convicting the Innocent: Japanese American Youth at Topaz," explores how Japanese American youth struggled to make a life for themselves while "living behind barbed wire."[87] Sandra C. Taylor's article, "Interned at Topaz: Age, Gender, and Family in the Relocation Experience," also looks at the effects of internment on Japanese American youth, arguing that their experience "demonstrate[s] how the human spirit survives in adversity."[88] Although most Japanese Americans survived internment, life was not always easy.

In a speech that the Topaz Museum eventually published as a short book entitled *The Price of Prejudice: The Japanese-American Relocation Center in Utah during World War II*, Arrington examines the experience of Japanese Americans interned at Topaz,

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[86] For examples, see Allan R. Bosworth, *America's Concentration Camps* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1967); Donna K. Nagata, *Legacy of Injustice: Exploring the Cross-Generational Impact of the Japanese American Internment* (New York: Plenum Press, 1993); Wendy Ng, *Japanese American Internment During World War II: A History and Reference Guide* (Westport: CT: Greenwood Press, 2002); Klancy Clark de Nevers, *The Colonel and The Pacifist: Karl Bendetsen, Perry Saito, And the Incarceration of Japanese Americans During World War II* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2004); Jane E. Dusselier, *Artifacts of Loss: Crafting Survival in Japanese American Concentration Camps* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008).

[87] Alyson Griggs, "Convicting the Innocent: Japanese American Youth at Topaz," Utah State University Digital Exhibits, last modified 2023, http://exhibits.usu.edu/exhibits/show/topazrelocationcenter.

[88] Sandra C. Taylor, "Interned at Topaz: Age, Gender, and Family in the Relocation Experience," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 59, no. 4 (Fall 1991): 393.

portraying them as being generally happy. They lived in hastily built barracks that let the dust in, ate in a central dining hall, and used communal facilities for washing, bathing, and going to the bathroom. However, they also had community activities, attended school, and elected members to serve on the Community Council, which served as "[t]he central governing body" in Topaz.[89] Some internees even received wages for work they completed both inside and outside the camp. Arrington further argues that most Japanese Americans at Topaz supported the war effort, despite their internment. They held wartime drives to salvage "scrap-paper, scrap-metal, and clothing."[90] Young men from Topaz and other relocation centers also volunteered to serve in the military, joining the all-Japanese American 442nd Regimental Combat Team, which became "the most decorated unit in United States history."[91] Four hundred service star flags hung from the barrack windows at Topaz, each one representing a family member serving in the military.[92]

Taylor takes a different approach from Arrington in her book, *Jewel of the Desert: Japanese American Internment at Topaz*. She includes many of the struggles through which Japanese Americans suffered, making it clear that Topaz was not a "summer resort," but "a concentration camp in the desert holding people whose only crime was the fact that they had the faces—not the minds—of the enemy."[93] She views "the Japanese American experience through the framework of community," focusing specifically on the experience of the Japanese Americans imprisoned at Topaz.[94]

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[89] Arrington, 23, 36.
[90] Arrington, 44.
[91] Arrington, 47-8.
[92] Arrington, 48.
[93] Sandra C. Taylor, *Jewel of the Desert: Japanese American Internment at Topaz* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1993), 164.
[94] Taylor, *Jewel of the Desert*, xii.

In 1943, the War Relocation Authority began relocating internees from Topaz into outside communities both for work and permanently. Although many Japanese Americans left the state after the war finally ended, those who took up permanent residence in places such as Ogden, Salt Lake City, Brigham City, Tooele, and Clearfield more than doubled the number of Japanese Americans living in Utah before the war.[95]

**Ambition and Ammunition**

In addition to people, the war contracts that Governor Herbert B. Maw obtained brought new jobs to Utah as the defense industry exploded.[96] Powell examines the defense industry in Utah in his 2005 article, "Utah and World War II." He argues that "Utah was destined to play a vital role in the United States war effort" for a variety of reasons.[97] He explains that the federal government deemed Utah safe from enemy attacks because of its inland location. It was also "an excellent location for logistics support operations because…it was equidistant from the three major West Coast shipping points of Seattle, San Francisco, and Los Angeles."[98] Utah's vast, "unoccupied federal land could be used for artillery and bombing training without threat to the civilian population."[99] Utah also had many natural resources to use for "wartime production demands," and it was prepared to "absorb both military and civilian newcomers who came because of the war."[100] Utahns wanted to help in the war effort, and the geographic position of their state gave them the opportunity to do so.

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[95] Arrington, 50.
[96] Antonette Chambers Noble, "Utah's Rosies: Women in the Utah War Industries during World War II," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 59, no. 2 (March 1991): 124.
[97] Powell, "Utah and World War II," 110.
[98] Powell, "Utah and World War II," 110.
[99] Powell, "Utah and World War II," 110.
[100] Powell, "Utah and World War II," 110-1.

In the 1994 *Utah History Encyclopedia*, Thomas G. Alexander and Rick J. Fish further examine the changes the war brought to the defense industry. Fort Douglas, established in Utah during the Civil War, "became an induction center, a finance office, and the regional headquarters which directed operations in the Ninth Service area, including the Mountain and Pacific Coast States."[101] Young men from states in the Rocky Mountains thus passed through the doors of Fort Douglas "as they were inducted" into the Army.[102] Fort Douglas also served as a separation, or discharge, center.[103]

The Ogden Arsenal, established after World War I, expanded from a munitions manufacturing plant "to include a bomb and artillery plant while also becoming a master depot and distribution center for all ordnance to the western United States."[104] Hill Field in Ogden supplied, stored, maintained, and repaired aircraft, including the B-24 Liberator.[105] Hill's B-24 modification line overhauled one B-24 a day and became famous throughout the country.[106] Women who worked at Hill Field remembered "clean[ing] blood, skin, and hair out of the insides of cockpits" and off other salvaged equipment.[107]

Although some military installations already existed in Utah before World War II, the military built even more during the war. At the Manti parachute plant, women made parachutes that saved the lives of many soldiers.[108] Near Tooele, "the War Department

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[101] Thomas G. Alexander and Rick J. Fish, "The Defense Industry of Utah," in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 130.
[102] Leonard J. Arrington and Thomas G. Alexander, "The U.S. Army Overlooks Salt Lake Valley: Fort Douglas, 1862-1965," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (1965): 344.
[103] Arrington and Alexander, "The U.S. Army Overlooks Salt Lake Valley," 344-5.
[104] Alexander and Fish, 130.
[105] Alexander and Fish, 130. The authors refer to the base as Hill Air Force Base, as that is its current name. During the war, Hill Field and the Ogden Arsenal worked as separate units that eventually merged to become Hill Air Force Base.
[106] "World War II on the Home Front," Hill Aerospace Museum, Hill AFB, UT, accessed May 2023.
[107] Noble, "Utah's Rosies," 142-3.
[108] Alexander and Fish, 131; Maurine Draper, interview by Rick Randle, Salt Lake City, UT, April 13, 2005, *Utah World War Two Stories History Project of KUED-TV*.

acquired 25,000 uninhabited acres" that became the Tooele Ordnance Depot, which stored "high explosives, vehicles, small arms, and munitions."[109] The Chemical Warfare Service also tested chemical munitions near Tooele at the newly created Dugway Proving Grounds.[110]

In Salt Lake City, Kearns Air Base served "as a training field for Air Corps Personnel," and the Remington Arms plant manufactured .30 caliber and .50 caliber bullets.[111] Women who worked at the plant often wrote notes of encouragement and their names on the boxes of bullets before sending them to troops in the Pacific.[112] Other plants in Salt Lake City included "the Kalunite Aluminum processing plant…, an oil refinery…, [and] a radio tube plant."[113] Utah also housed a refractory plant in Lehi, a vanadium plant in Monticello, and the Geneva Steel plant in Orem, which continued to operate as a peacetime steel plant until 2002.[114] These military installations provided both jobs and volunteer opportunities for Utahns, especially women, around the state.[115]

As men joined the war, women joined the workforce. According to Antonette Chambers Noble, the large religious presence of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints might cause some to assume that Utah women's experiences differed from that of the nation because "[t]he patriarchal church discouraged women from participating in the

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[109] Alexander and Fish, 130-1.
[110] Alexander and Fish, 131.
[111] Alexander and Fish, 131; Thomas G. Alexander and Leonard J. Arrington, "Utah's Small Arms Ammunition Plant during World War II," *Pacific Historical Review* 34, no. 2 (May 1965): 189. The Remington Arms plant is also known as the Utah Ordnance plant and the Small Arms Ammunition plant.
[112] Norma Day, interview by Rick Randle, Salt Lake City, UT, April 14, 2005, *Utah World War Two Stories History Project of KUED-TV*; Alexander and Arrington, 186.
[113] Alexander and Fish, 131.
[114] Alexander and Fish, 131; Roger Roper, "Geneva Steel Plant," in Powell, *Utah History Encyclopedia*, 216; Aubrey Glazier, "United States Geneva Works," Labor, Industry, and Economics, Intermountain Histories, last modified 2023, https://www.intermountainhistories.org/items/show/82.
[115] Peterson, *A History of Cache County*, 233, 292.

work place and strongly encouraged them to remain at home."[116] During the early 1980s, Noble contacted 133 women, who worked in war industries during World War II, through surveys and interviews to "enhance our understanding of how the war work affected their lives."[117] Their responses to the survey show how they remembered their experiences. One woman recalled "[finding] notes from American G.I.s between gun parts."[118] Others remembered the difficulties both they and returning veterans faced after the war ended.[119] After analyzing the data, Noble found that Utah women's experiences were similar to those of other women around the nation.[120] She states, "Their desire to contribute patriotically to their country and their need for a paycheck outweighed the Mormon church's message not to work outside the home."[121] Utah women wanted to support the war effort the best they could despite their religion.

Many people in Utah welcomed the war industry and eagerly supported the war effort. However, a few farmers in Clearfield "opposed the loss of 1,600 acres of choice sugar beet and vegetable cropland" when the Navy insisted on building a depot in Clearfield.[122] Arrington and Archer L. Durham examine the history of the Clearfield Naval Supply Depot, explaining that Utahn's opposition to the Navy building in Clearfield led Governor Maw, Senator Murdock, "and certain officials of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints…to find an alternate Utah site."[123] The Navy insisted on Clearfield, however, and after "President Franklin D. Roosevelt authorized Secretary of

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[116] Noble, "Utah's Rosies," 144-5.
[117] Noble, "Utah's Rosies," 133.
[118] Noble, "Utah's Rosies," 142.
[119] Noble, "Utah's Rosies," 144.
[120] Noble, "Utah's Rosies," 145.
[121] Noble, "Utah's Rosies," 145.
[122] Glen M. Leonard, *A History of Davis County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1999), 335.
[123] Arrington and Durham, 111.

the Navy Frank Knox to acquire the property," Clearfield residents agreed to step aside, and the Navy compensated them for the crops they were unable to harvest.[124]

With men at war, the Naval Depot needed workers. It relied on the elderly, women, teenagers, and the physically disabled to handle the ever-increasing workload.[125] The Depot "provide[d] a reservoir of materiel in support of West Coast supply points and the advance bases of the Pacific Fleet."[126] As mentioned earlier, it also stored the personal effects of missing and dead sailors and Marines until the Navy could return them to either the sailors and Marines themselves or their families.[127] After the war, the Depot "became a part of the peacetime Navy supply system" until it closed in 1962.[128] Today, it is known as the Freeport Center and functions as "a major western hub for manufacturing, warehousing, and distribution" for private companies.[129]

Although many Utahns worked in the defense industry, most did not know the full extent of the military's involvement in their state. At the Wendover Army Air Base along the Utah-Nevada border, bomber pilots trained to drop the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki as part of the Manhattan Project. Today, the Wendover Airfield "is the most original remaining Army Air Base."[130] Ouida Blanthorn briefly mentions the Wendover Airfield in *A History of Tooele County*, while Arrington and Alexander explain that Wendover's remote location on the Bonneville Salt Flats away from civilians and the

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[124] Arrington and Durham, 111.
[125] Depot Command History, 5, quoted in Arrington and Durham, 114.
[126] Arrington and Durham, 113.
[127] Arrington and Durham, 113.
[128] Arrington and Durham, 118; Mary Peach, "Clearfield," in Powell, *Utah History Encyclopedia*, 99-100.
[129] Peach, 100.
[130] "Where They Walked," Historic Wendover Airfield, last modified 2023, https://wendoverairfield.org/.

Pacific Coast, as well as its general lack of cloud cover, made it the perfect place for a bombing and gunnery range.[131]

The Army Air Corps originally established the base to train the pilots and bomber crews of B-17, B-24, and B-29 bomber aircraft, and it eventually became home to the 509th Composite Group.[132] Under Colonel Paul W. Tibbets, Jr., many consider the 509th "the most spectacular unit to assemble and train at Wendover."[133] Due to the secret nature of the Manhattan Project, very few people knew of Wendover's connection to the atomic bombs. In fact, most soldiers at Wendover did not know the significance of what they were doing; they simply did their assigned jobs and hoped their work would shorten the war. [134] Those allowed on base did not speak of the work they did to outsiders or even to each other. A sign on base read,

> What you hear here-
> What you see here-
> When you leave here-
> Let it stay here![135]

To make sure the troops kept their mouths shut, four hundred FBI agents and the 1395th Military Police Company also worked at Wendover.[136] The 509th left Wendover in May 1945 and headed for Tinian Island where, on August 6, 1945, they loaded the atomic bomb into the *Enola Gay*, a B-29 they flew over from Wendover. Colonel Tibbets and his crew dropped this bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima, killing over 66,000 Japanese

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[131] Leonard J. Arrington and Thomas G. Alexander, "World's Largest Military Reserve: Wendover Air Force Base, 1941-63," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 31, no. 4 (Fall 1963): 325.
[132] Arrington and Alexander, "World's Largest Military Reserve," 327-9.
[133] Arrington and Alexander, "World's Largest Military Reserve," 329.
[134] Norris Jernigan, Hill Aerospace Museum Plane Talk, Hill Aerospace Museum, Hill AFB, UT, September 9, 2023; Landon Wilkey, conversation with author, June 22, 2023.
[135] Historic Wendover Airfield, Wendover, UT.
[136] Arrington and Alexander, "World's Largest Military Reserve," 330.

citizens.[137] Three days later, on August 9, a second crew loaded a second atomic bomb into another B-29, *Bockscar*, and dropped it on Nagasaki, Japan. This bomb killed approximately 39,000 Japanese citizens.[138]

Although the most well-known member of the atomic missions is Colonel Tibbets, Darrell F. Dvorak argues that another commander played just as vital a role at Wendover. Army Major General Leslie Groves assigned Colonel Clifford J. Heflin as commander of the Wendover Army Air Base, which "covered 1.8 million acres and was understood to be the world's largest gunnery and bombing range."[139] Dvorak thus argues that "Heflin's task was akin to being responsible for all the government municipal and business activities of a small city."[140] He was also in charge of the "ballistics testing of the atom bombs," for which the air base used "cement-weighted, dummy bombs," also known as pumpkin bombs.[141] Dvorak goes on to argue that Heflin's "contributions to the atomic bomb project, while not as glamourous as dropping the bombs, arguably were as important to the project's success."[142]

## Why It Matters

Wendover's contribution to the Manhattan Project arguably helped end World War II. Utah's contributions more generally provided the war effort with soldiers, sailors, women workers, bullets, scrap metal, gasoline, and a plethora of other resources. This

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[137] "The Atomic Bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki," Atomic Archive, last modified 2023, https://www.atomicarchive.com/resources/documents/med/med_chp10.html.
[138] "The Atomic Bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki."
[139] Darrell F. Dvorak, "The Other Atomic Bomb Commander: Colonel Cliff Heflin and his 'Special' 216th AAF Base Unit," *Air Power History* 59, no. 4 (Winter 2012): 19.
[140] Dvorak, 19.
[141] Dvorak, 19; Wilkey.
[142] Dvorak, 25.

project brings these contributions together in a digital exhibit that shows how Utahns worked together to help the war effort. It focuses not only on the history of places and objects around the state, but also emphasizes the memories contained within these places and objects that tell Utah's World War II story.

For example, in 1998, the Jensen family began purchasing some of the remaining Bushnell Hospital buildings. The three buildings that the Jensens own as of 2024 once served as warehouses for the hospital. The Jensens have kept the buildings in their original condition, because their furniture store, The Room Loft, fits within the structure of the buildings. Over the years, the Jensens and their employees watched the other buildings fall, but they have learned more about the history of the buildings as people, mostly Native Americans who attended the Intermountain Indian School, stop by to share their memories. Courtney Jensen explains that although she is not usually attached to buildings, these now have a sentimental meaning to her because of the time she has spent there and the memories others have shared with her.[143]

Farrar explains that "place is not static or fixed…but is more along the lines of a memory trace: modifying and modified by our actions in the present."[144] The Bushnell Hospital is a perfect example of this. It provides many memories for many different people. Some have happy memories of visiting loved ones in the hospital or attending the school.[145] For one woman, the buildings remind her of the nights she and her friends would sneak into the abandoned, scary buildings with broken windows just to see what it

[143] Courtney Jensen, phone conversation with author, October 7, 2023.
[144] Farrar, 732-3.
[145] Gayle Macey, interview by Rick Randle, Salt Lake City, UT, July 27, 2006, *Utah World War Two Stories History Project of KUED-TV*; Jensen.

was like inside.[146] This site, with its few remaining buildings, has changed what it means and represents over the years. To preserve some of the memories associated with this site, signs surround the now empty lot to tell the story of both the World War II hospital and the Intermountain Indian School.

Other sites in Utah, however, strive to tell their own World War II story. After the war, the property at Topaz became surplus, and multiple universities and private citizens bought the remaining buildings, leaving nothing but dust on the site of what was once the fifth biggest city in Utah.[147] One barrack became part of the War Memorial Fieldhouse at Southern Utah University until the university tore it down in 1986. A plaque in the Sharwan Smith Student Center briefly acknowledges the origins of the building that once stood as a memorial, but it focuses on "the service men who had given their lives."[148]

Because Japanese internment was an ugly time in US history, many people chose to forget it. However, in 1982, Jane Beckwith, a high school teacher in Delta, Utah, began the long process of bringing the memory of Topaz back to Utah. While interned at Topaz, Harry Yasuda had worked for Beckwith's father as a typesetter, which placed Beckwith in a unique position to carry out the project.[149] She and her students interviewed Delta community members who remembered the camp, met Japanese Americans who suffered at Topaz, and collected artifacts.[150] Since then, Beckwith pushed for the construction of a museum that now displays artifacts such as the art that Japanese Americans made with

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[146] Paula Eliason, phone conversation with author, September 8, 2023.
[147] Arrington, 55; Taylor, *Jewel of the Desert*, 221; Griggs.
[148] Sharwan Smith Student Center plaque, Southern Utah University, Cedar City, UT.
[149] Arrington, 55; Jane Beckwith, conversation with author, July 6, 2023. The War Relocation Authority charged Harry Yasuda rent to live in a Topaz barrack because he made $16 an hour working for Frank Beckwith, which was more than the Japanese Americans working at Topaz made.
[150] Jane Beckwith, "From a Classroom Assignment to the Topaz Museum," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 86, no. 2 (Spring 2018): 154.

the shells they found while in camp, chairs they constructed from old crates, and even an original barrack.

The actual site of the Topaz camp, located fifteen miles from Delta, is now a National Historic Landmark. It is hot and barren. Dust swirls up from the dry ground as visitors drive and walk down the same paths the internees tread so many years ago. Although the barracks are gone, the occasional button surfaces next to a broken piece of pipe just a few feet from the remaining cement foundation of the latrine at Block 22. Standing in the wind in the desert reminds people of what Japanese Americans suffered during World War II, which will hopefully help people "be more vigilant making certain a similar denial of civil rights will never happen to any other Americans."[151]

The Historic Wendover Airfield also endeavors to help visitors feel connected to the past. The Wendover Airfield hosts both a museum and a handful of original buildings. The museum employees are working to restore the buildings to their World War II glory, in the hopes that the site will become a place where people can spend the night in the same barracks and eat in the same mess hall as the soldiers who served there long ago. The most famous building at Wendover is the "Enola Gay" Hangar, which the Army Air Corps built specifically to house the B-29 airplane, *Enola Gay*, as the plane was too big to fit into the other aircraft hangars. The museum employees also offer tours around the base to give people the chance to "walk where they walked."[152] With little rain and a lot of salt, the base helps people better understand the significance of what took place in

[151] "Topaz Museum," Topaz Museum, last modified 2023, https://topazmuseum.org/.
[152] "Where They Walked."

Wendover—and why some soldiers thought the Army was punishing them when they arrived at the desolate place.[153] The remains of the base tell their story.

The B-29 airplanes themselves represent an important part of Wendover and Utah history. Although the Historic Wendover Airfield does not currently have a B-29, the Hill Aerospace Museum in Roy, Utah, does. The B-29 on display at the museum resembles the *Straight Flush*, which flew weather reconnaissance over Hiroshima hours before the *Enola Gay* dropped the atomic bomb. Although the Air Force "[d]ropped [the actual *Straight Flush*] from inventory as salvage…in July 1954," the museum director, Aaron Clark, explains that the museum chose to paint their B-29 to resemble the S*traight Flush* to show its connection to Utah, specifically to Wendover.[154] At over twenty-seven feet tall and ninety-nine feet long, with a wingspan of over one hundred forty-one feet, the B-29 is the impressive center display in the museum's gallery. The left side of the nose depicts Uncle Sam's arm flushing a Japanese man down a toilet. The museum warns that during the war, nose art often depicted "[n]egative stereotypes of people and cultures, as well as other offensive imagery," and that they "acknowledge its harmful impact and hope to encourage mindful discussion about misrepresentation and negative stereotypes, and use these lessons from the past to create a more inclusive future."[155] Painting the aircraft after the *Straight Flush* allows the museum to determine both what people learn about the B-29 and Utah history, as well as the connections people make to the past when they visit

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[153] Jernigan.
[154] Richard H. Campbell, *The Silverplate Bombers: A History and Registry of the Enola Gay and Other B-29s Configured to Carry Atomic Bombs* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2005), 179; Todd Cromar, "Hill Aerospace Museum's B-29 Superfortress gets historical makeover," Hill Airforce Base, August 29, 2019, https://www.hill.af.mil/News/Article-Display/Article/1947717/hill-aerospace-museums-b-29-superfortress-gets-historical-makeover/.
[155] "Introduction & Disclaimer," Hill Aerospace Museum, Hill AFB, UT, accessed September 2023.

the aircraft. It also gives visitors the chance to have discussions about difficult topics. This, in turn, can help them evaluate their own understanding of biases they may have about the past.

Throughout the war, B-29s dropped bombs that killed hundreds of thousands of people. Because they also helped the Allies win the war, they cause conflicting emotions for many people. In 1994, the Smithsonian made plans to exhibit the *Enola Gay* along with "a balanced look at the bombings."[156] This included "questions about the need to use nuclear weapons against Japan" and "images of melted and carbonized objects along with life-size photographs of victims and words of survivors recalling the horror of the bombs."[157] As the exhibit warned that "parental discretion is advised," the *Air Force Magazine* Editor-in-Chief, John T. Correll, argued that "this was not the objective setting that many World War II veterans envisioned when they petitioned for the display of the historic aircraft."[158] Due to the controversy, when the "*Enola Gay*" exhibit finally opened, it offered "no interpretation, no graphic images, and no melted objects. Only the fuselage was on display, accompanied by basic facts and information about the plane's restoration."[159] Since museums have the power to control what people see, they also have the power to control our collective memory.

Objects that cause conflicting emotions for people today also caused conflicting emotions for soldiers during the war. Roy Tew, a soldier from Utah, served as a navigator on a B-29 aircraft in the Pacific and had orders to bomb Japan, though he did not

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[156] Jennifer Wright, "Exhibiting the Enola Gay," Smithsonian Institution Archives, June 25, 2020, https://siarchives.si.edu/blog/exhibiting-enola-gay.
[157] Wright.
[158] Wright.
[159] Wright.

participate in the atomic bombings. In an oral history interview sixty-one years after the war, he explained that once he realized he and his crew were bombing Japanese civilians, he began to hate the B-29 because he hated what they were using it to do. After the war ended, his crew flew a mission over Japan to locate a POW camp. As the B-29 flew over the camp, the American POWs stood on the ground waving. His crew and their B-29, he realized, were the POWs' "first signs of freedom." The B-29 represented different things for different people, and Tew came to understand that. During the interview, he acknowledged that the B-29 contributed to the war, but he believed that if the US had continued bombing the Japanese regularly, they would have surrendered without the need for the atomic bombs. The controversy and conflicting emotions surrounding the atomic bombs and the B-29s that dropped them show how the memories and feelings attached to these objects can complicate the objective facts of history.[160]

During the war, objects also helped soldiers move forward through unpleasant times. While helping liberate France shortly after D-Day, a soldier received a small, handmade French flag from a young French girl. After years of occupation, the Allies had finally pushed the Germans out of her town. In gratitude, she gifted the flag to Jim Jones and asked him to tie it to his rifle, which he did. Throughout the war, the flag helped give him the strength he needed to carry on. Seventy-eight years after receiving the flag, he held it in his hands and remarked, "I'm proud of this. That's how I kept my senses….It didn't throw me. You know? I was okay."[161] His son, Eric, added, "[T]his flag has been

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[160] Roy Tew, interview by Rick Randle, Salt Lake City, UT, April 20, 2006, *Utah World War Two Stories History Project of KUED-TV*.

[161] Katie White, "Bringing War Home: How a handmade French flag kept an American soldier going," Bringing War Home, Utah Public Radio, April 14, 2023, https://www.upr.org/show/bringing-war-home/2023-04-14/bringing-war-home-how-a-handmade-french-flag-kept-an-american-solider-going.

part of family lore and we've always known the story of the girl that made the flag, Suzanne Benoît. So for me, this is a story of hope and gratitude. And that was really the only story from the war that was told. The other aspects of the war were contained and not shared. So this is what we knew of the war—and a more hopeful side of the war."[162]

Thanks to this flag, Jones was able to share a small part of his wartime experience with his family. The object told a story he *could* talk about when there were so many others he could not discuss. In 2014, this object prompted his family to take him back to France to find the girl. She had passed away, but the rest of the town came together to celebrate the veteran and share their memories. This object connected both generations and people around the world. It allowed Jones, his family, and the people in a small French town to remember World War II.[163]

While this French flag holds a special place in the private collection of a family, a different flag, one with forty-eight stars and a tattered edge, hangs proudly on the wall of the restored officers' club that now serves as the Wendover Museum. Throughout the war, this forty-eight-star flag flew over the Wendover Army Air Base. When the base decided to retire it, Wendover's fire chief realized how much history the flag contained and asked if he could have it. He later gave the flag to his son, who donated it to the museum so that others can learn about its history. During an interview, his son explained, "[The] 509th, May the eighth, August sixth, August ninth, all of that. That [flag] was flying over the base." Because this flag flew during major historic events and witnessed the experiences of the troops at Wendover, it can remind people of the past and connect them to those

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[162] White.
[163] PID_00040, Object Story Interview, October 22, 2022, Utah State University Moab, Moab, UT, Bringing War Home Digital Archive, Utah State University, digitalcommons.usu.edu/bwh_collection/.

who served at Wendover. The fire chief's son also mentioned that he wants people who see the flag to remember the sacrifice of the good men and women who helped win the war.[164]

During the war, the flag of the United States of America became a common sight in more places than Wendover. It hung in homes, in businesses, and in conquered enemy lands, displaying forty-eight stars since Alaska and Hawaii were not yet states. It lay over the caskets of the fallen and reminded those who survived of what they were fighting for. When speaking of the flag in oral history interviews, many veterans become emotional.[165] For them, the flag is more than a piece of fabric. It represents freedom, sacrifice, and home. After escaping from a Japanese POW camp in China, William Taylor claimed that the American flag was "one of the most beautiful sights I had ever seen….I started to cry. I could hardly believe that I was in American hands again."[166]

## From the Public, For the Public

As a land-grant university, Utah State University strives to "provide readily available, research-based programs and educational resources with the goal of improving the lives of the individuals, families, and communities within the state."[167] One way to do this is through public history projects. Academic articles and books are generally geared to the specific audience of academics. This makes it difficult for the general public to

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[164] PID_00053, Object Story Interview, November 5, 2022, Historic Wendover Airfield, Wendover, UT, Bringing War Home Digital Archive, Utah State University, digitalcommons.usu.edu/bwh_collection/.
[165] *Utah World War Two Stories History Project of KUED-TV*.
[166] William Taylor, *Rescued by Mao: World War II, Wake Island, and My Remarkable Escape to Freedom Across Mainland China* (Sandy, UT: Silverleaf Press, 2007), 287-8.
[167] "The Purpose and Benefit of Land-grant (Extension) Universities," Extension, Utah State University, February 14, 2022, https://extension.usu.edu/news/purpose-and-benefit-of-land-grant-extension-universities.

learn about the topics that are so dear to historians' hearts. Additionally, many academic articles are locked behind paywalls or otherwise unavailable to the public. Public history projects, however, take these topics and present them to the public in engaging and easily accessible ways, such as through books, films, and museums. According to the National Council on Public History, "public history describes the many and diverse ways in which history is put to work in the world."[168] Putting history to work in the world allows history to reach wider audiences who are also interested in and wish to connect to the past.

The StoryMaps platform, for example, works "to combine maps, 3D scenes, embedded content, multimedia, and more into an interactive narrative that can create awareness, influence opinion, and affect change."[169] My project uses StoryMaps because this media—interactive maps, photographs, videos, and audio segments—supplements the written text and provides the public with different methods to understand Utah's World War II story. Multimedia, in conjunction with my project's availability online, makes this story available to a wider audience. StoryMaps also allows me to emphasize the importance of place so that I can highlight both the local and global aspects of World War II. It provides a space to connect the global war with the people, places, and objects that tell Utah's story.

In addition to making history available to the public, public history also encourages collaboration with members of the community.[170] As public historians reach out to and communicate with the public, they can work together to collect and present the

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[168] "About the Field," What is Public History?, National Council on Public History, last modified 2024, https://ncph.org/what-is-public-history/about-the-field/#0.
[169] "ArcGIS StoryMaps: Inform and inspire with digital storytelling," Overview, ArcGIS StoryMaps, accessed April 18, 2024, https://www.esri.com/en-us/arcgis/products/arcgis-storymaps/overview.
[170] Hayden, 229.

stories that matter to people. For example, the USU-based Bringing War Home project, with support from the National Endowment for the Humanities, has invited people across Utah to bring their war objects and share their memories so that we will not forget these experiences. The project documents the objects and oral histories that veterans and their descendants want to share, then makes them available in an online collection.[171] My involvement with the project has allowed me to see what stories the Utah community wants to tell. I present some of these stories and the objects connected to them in my digital exhibit to show, in part, how future researchers and educators might use the collection.

Community members' personal stories help convert the war from a global event, often too big to fully comprehend, into a personal experience to which people can connect. As my project presents oral histories, objects, and historic sites to the public on an easily accessible platform, it also preserves them in a digital format so that future generations can understand and make connections to World War II and their own communities long after the people, places, and objects who witnessed the war are gone.

## Conclusion

Objects, places, and oral histories can encourage people to learn about Utah history. Each of the objects and places highlighted in this project tells a different story of Utah and World War II. Some objects have deeply personal memories, which their owners pass down from generation to generation. Others serve to connect local Utah

[171] This collection is available through Utah State University Libraries at https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/bwh_collection/.

communities to important global events. Some of the sites tell the stories of the men who trained to fight overseas and the women who took their places in the workforce. Others show how the war connected Utah to Japanese American internment and the atomic bombs, two very controversial issues in US history.

This project brings these stories, along with many others, together to create a deeper and more complex picture for those unable to travel to the historic sites and museums around the state. Although museums display some of their objects, many remain in storage. Other objects belong in private homes and are not openly available to the public. A digital exhibit thus gives people the chance to virtually explore these sites and objects. The oral histories and personal stories that supplement many of the places and objects bring attention to the history of the war in Utah and the connections people have to places and objects throughout the state.

Presenting these objects and places in a digital exhibit allows people to see many sides of World War II. They can learn not only how Utah participated in the war, but how objects, places, and oral histories can tell stories, as well. They connect people to the past in ways they might not have thought of before. World War II was a global war, and learning about how it affected Utah can in turn show how Utah affected it. One veteran explained, "Some people went through hell to keep this country free, and some made it and some didn't. Those that made it can tell the story for those that couldn't."[172] Each of their stories is like a pixel in a photograph—we might not need them all to see the big picture, but the more we have, the clearer that picture becomes.

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[172] Charles Ellis Edwards, in *Utah World War Two Stories*, "Untold Stories," 2010, KUED, accessed on DVD.

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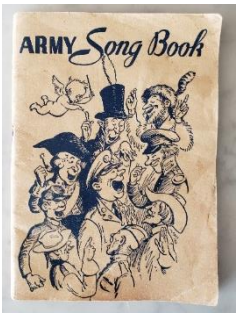
# APPENDICES

## Appendix A. Objects

Listed below are brief descriptions of the objects I discuss in my digital exhibit.

**48-Star Flag**: This 48-star flag flew over the Wendover Army Air Base and now hangs in the museum at the Historic Wendover Airfield. Because it saw and experienced the same things as the troops at Wendover, it reminds people of the base's history. This flag also represents the many American flags that flew throughout the country and in conquered enemy lands, and lay over the caskets of fallen soldiers. Many people today are unfamiliar with the 48-star flag, as Alaska and Hawaii were not yet states during the war. For many veterans, the American flag, whether displaying forty-eight or fifty stars, represents freedom, sacrifice, and home.[173]




**Army Song Book**: Music played an important role in World War II as it helped boost the troops' morale. On the front lines, troops sang songs and the United Service Organization provided live entertainment from singers like Marlene Dietrich and Ella Fitzgerald. In military hospitals, music provided occupational therapy through learning how to play instruments. Patients could also write songs, participate in bands, and learn to sing. Song books such as this one contained the lyrics to multiple songs that gave troops the strength they needed to carry on.[174]

**B-29**: The B-29 aircraft is most well-known for dropping the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The pilots who dropped these bombs trained at the Wendover Army Air Base in Wendover, Utah. The B-29 on display at the Hill Aerospace Museum resembles the *Straight Flush*, which flew weather reconnaissance over Hiroshima hours before the *Enola Gay* dropped the atomic bomb. Painting the B-29 after the *Straight Flush* reminds people of its connection to Utah. B-29s in general are controversial because of the death and destruction they brought to Japan. But for some American

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[173] PID_00053, Object Story Interview, November 5, 2022, Historic Wendover Airfield, Wendover, UT, Bringing War Home Digital Archive, Utah State University, digitalcommons.usu.edu/bwh_collection/. Photo courtesy of Bringing War Home.

[174] Margaret Ann Rorke, "Music and the Wounded of World War II," *Journal of Music Therapy* 33, no. 3 (1996): 189-207; Sandi Gohn, "USO Camp Shows, D-Day and Entertaining Troops on the European Front Lines in WWII," Stories, USO, May 31, 2023, https://www.uso.org/stories/2368-uso-camp-shows-d-day-and-entertaining-troops-on-the-european-front-lines-in-wwii; "First Lady of Song: Ella Fitzgerald and World War II," The War, The National WWII Museum, February 29, 2020, https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/first-lady-song-ella-fitzgerald-and-world-war-ii. Photo courtesy of author, 2024.

POWs of the Japanese, B-29s flying over their camps after the war were their "first signs of freedom."[175]

**Canteen**: After the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, they attacked the Philippines and captured approximately 75,000 American and Filipino soldiers. The Japanese forced the prisoners to march sixty-five miles with little food, water, or rest, killing between 7,000-10,000. One soldier who died on the march left his canteen at home, probably while there on leave. His nephew discovered it and claimed it as his own, carrying it with him to scout camps and campouts throughout his life. The canteen connects him to an uncle he never knew and reminds him of his uncle's sacrifice. He has promised to give the canteen to his grandson. As the canteen's life continues, it will carry the memories of a soldier who gave his life and a man who did his best to remember him.[176]

**Chase J. Nielsen's Uniform**: Shortly after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, Jimmy Doolittle led seventy-nine men in a raid on Tokyo. They flew their B-25s off the USS *Hornet*, bombed Tokyo, and landed in China. The Japanese captured eight of them, three of whom they executed. One man died in captivity, and the remaining four spent the rest of the war in a POW camp in solitary confinement. Chase J. Nielsen from Hyrum, Utah, was one of the four. His uniform stands in the Hyrum Museum to remind people of his service and the sacrifice of the Doolittle Raiders. His story helps people see how an important global event affected a local community.[177]


**Cigarettes**: During the war, the US military issued cigarettes to soldiers, many of whom smoked because it was normal and it calmed their nerves. The war made Lucky Strike cigarettes famous, but other brands such as Viceroy and Camel also made an appearance during the war. Such everyday objects might not seem like much, but they saved William Taylor's life. He quit smoking shortly after the Japanese captured him on Wake Island, and used the cigarettes the Japanese gave him as a POW to trade and buy other necessities. He eventually escaped the POW camp, crossed

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[175] B-29, 44-86408, 1983-355, Hill Aerospace Museum, Hill AFB, UT; Roy Tew, interview by Rick Randle, Salt Lake City, UT, April 20, 2006, *Utah World War Two Stories History Project of KUED-TV*. Photo courtesy of author, 2023.

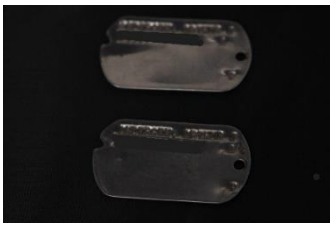
[176] PID_00061, Object Story Interview, March 18, 2023, Uintah County Heritage Museum, Vernal, UT, Bringing War Home Digital Archive, Utah State University, digitalcommons.usu.edu/bwh_collection/; "1942-1943, The Bataan Death March," Asian Americans & Pacific Islanders in the U.S. Army, U.S. Army, accessed November 25, 2023, https://www.army.mil/asianpacificamericans/bataandeathmarch.html. Photo courtesy of Bringing War Home.

[177] Chase Nielsen, interview by Rick Randle, Brigham City, UT, February 22, 2005, *Utah World War Two Stories History Project of KUED-TV*. Photo courtesy of Jami Van Huss, Hyrum Museum, Hyrum UT.

mainland China, and met Mao Zedong. He made sure his children, grandchildren, and others knew the significant role cigarettes played during his war experience. Taylor did not own the cigarettes pictured here.[178]


**Commemorative Patch**: After World War II ended, servicemen gathered for reunions to remember their experiences and maintain the friendships they had created during the war. Many veterans, including Robert C. Peterson from Ogden, Utah, spoke more about the war during reunions than they did to their family members. Commemorative patches such as this one can remind veterans of the men they served with and the experiences they had. They can also help civilians understand the lasting bonds the war forged between servicemen.[179]

**Dave Tatsuno's Camera**: After the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, Japanese Americans had to turn in "contraband items [such] as shortwave radios, guns, and cameras." Dave Tatsuno instead gave his camera to a friend before the War Relocation Authority sent him to Topaz. His friend eventually sent the camera to him through his supervisor to avoid getting in trouble. Using color film, Tatsuno secretly recorded his experience at Topaz. This movie, *Topaz*, "was inducted in the National Film Registry in 1996." Today, the camera and the footage remind us of the US government's mistreatment of Japanese Americans and let us see the conditions through which they suffered at Topaz.[180]



**Dog Tags**: Military identification tags, also known as dog tags, played a vital role in identifying the bodies of fallen soldiers. Although they contained a limited amount of information, including a serviceman's name, service number, blood type, and religion, dog tags made it possible for the military to keep track of the dead. They also allowed servicemen to keep part of their identity as they became as mass produced as the weapons they carried.[181]

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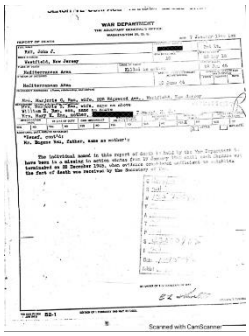
[178] Ray Bottomly Collection, 1992-3166-0100-0014, Hill Aerospace Museum, Hill AFB, UT; Joel R. Bius, *Smoke 'Em If You Got 'Em: The Rise and Fall of the Military Cigarette Ration* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2018), 63, 66; Taylor, *Rescued by Mao*, 147. Photo courtesy of author, 2023.
[179] Commemorative Patch, 2007-3166-0015-0010, Hill Aerospace Museum, Hill AFB, UT. Photo courtesy of author, 2024.
[180] Beckwith, conversation with author; "Dave Tatsuno," Densho Encyclopedia, last modified January 16, 2018, https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Dave_Tatsuno/. Photo courtesy of author, 2023.
[181] Katie Lange, "Dog Tag History: How the Tradition & Nickname Started," U.S. Department of Defense, September 9, 2020, https://www.defense.gov/News/Inside-DOD/Blog/article/2340760/dog-tag-history-how-the-tradition-nickname-started/; G. Kurt Piehler, *A Religious History of the American GI in World War II* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2021), 2, ProQuest Ebook Central. Photo courtesy of Bringing War Home.

**French Flag**: A young French girl gifted this homemade French flag to an American soldier while he helped liberate France shortly after D-Day. The girl told him to attach the flag to his rifle, which he did. After the war, he brought the flag home and shared the story with his family. This object gave him the opportunity to remember and share something happy from the war. It eventually inspired his family to take him back to France seventy year later to find the girl. She had passed away, but the mayor of the town invited everyone who had been alive during the war to come and share their memories. The flag connected two people during the war and continues to connect generations and people around the world.[182]

**German Luger**: Although the US government did not sanction the looting of enemy goods, many US soldiers brought home war souvenirs, including German Lugers. German officers and soldiers carried Lugers, and allied soldiers sought to obtain the coveted item. George W. Groesbeck acquired this Luger while serving in the European Theater. He took part in the battles of Normandy, Northern France, Ardennes, Rhineland, and Central Europe. After his death, his son donated the Luger, along with other items he collected in Germany, to the Hill Aerospace Museum. Although not currently on display, the Luger can teach people about the enemy and remind them of the types of souvenirs US soldiers brought home from war.[183]


WAR DEPARTMENT

**KIA Letter**: Receiving a letter or telegraph during the war could often be devastating. For one family, the devastation continued years after the war. Because the son of the dead airman never knew his father, he spent many years researching his father and the bomb group of which he was part. The son does not see his father as a hero—he was simply a man doing what he had to. Twenty years after the war, his mother was convinced his father was still alive, claiming to see him in places such as the grocery store. She came to believe that her family and the government kept the truth of his survival from her. These letters offer insight into how the War Department handled soldiers missing and killed in action, and how death could affect the lives of those the dead left behind for years after the war.[184]

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[182] PID_00040, Object Story Interview, October 22, 2022, Utah State University Moab, Moab, UT, Bringing War Home Digital Archive, Utah State University, digitalcommons.usu.edu/bwh_collection/; White. Photo courtesy of Bringing War Home.
[183] Groesbeck Collection, 2002-3166-0033-0001, Hill Aerospace Museum, Hill AFB, UT. Photo courtesy of Hill Aerospace Museum, Hill AFB, UT.
[184] PID_00035, Object Story Interview, October 22, 2022, Utah State University Moab, Moab, UT, Bringing War Home Digital Archive, Utah State University, digitalcommons.usu.edu/bwh_collection/. Photo courtesy of Bringing War Home.


TOPAZ TIMES
NEWS DAILY
COUNCIL HEADS REMIND YOUTHS OF WAR DUTY
1000 VOLUNTEER, ARMY ANNOUNCES
STATEMENT ISSUED BY HOSPITAL STAFF
APPRECIATION EXPRESSED

**Newspapers**: Before the internet, people received news from physical newspapers. Newspapers in Utah reported international news as well as local news. The Topaz Internment Camp had its own newspaper, the *Topaz Times*, which provided weather reports and information on upcoming camp elections. It also reported news on the all-Japanese American 442nd Regimental Combat Team, noting the internees who joined from Topaz and the men who did not come back.[185] Newspapers help us understand the information and stories to which members of local communities had access during a global war.

**Service Star Flags**: Blue service stars hung in the windows of families to represent the men and women serving in the war. If a loved one died during the war, families covered the blue star with a gold star. The Borgstrom family from Tremonton, Utah, had five sons in the service. Four of them died within six months, making them the only four Gold Star family of WWII. These service stars, hanging in the Hill Aerospace Museum, represent the thousands of flags that once hung across the nation. They can remind us of the men and women who sacrificed their time and their lives to keep our nation free.[186]

**Yosegaki Hinomaru Flag**: Although the US government did not sanction the looting of enemy goods, many US soldiers brought home war souvenirs, including Yosegaki Hinomaru flags. Known as Japanese Good Luck flags, the family and friends of Japanese soldiers signed their names and wrote messages of luck before soldiers carried them into battle. Blood and bullet holes often covered flags that made their way to the US, as US soldiers had looted them from the bodies of the dead. Because soldiers wore them close to their bodies, some Japanese families view the flags as inseparable from the bodies of the soldiers themselves. For families who never received the bodies of their soldiers, these flags represent a homecoming, as if the spirits of the dead soldiers are finally able to return home. The flags in US museums today can remind visitors of the sacrifice of Japanese soldiers and their families.[187]

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[185] "1000 Volunteer, Army Announces," *Topaz Times*, March 18, 1943, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6b03p2x/24210533; "3 Killed, 3 Wounded with 442nd in France," *Topaz Times*, November 18, 1944, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6wq4n06/24212518.

[186] 2-Star Service Star, 1995-3166-0076, Hill Aerospace Museum, Hill AFB, UT; 1-Star Service Star, 2009-3166-0048-0003, Hill Aerospace Museum, Hill AFB, UT. Mark Hutson, *So Costly a Sacrifice* (Austin, TX: Atmosphere Press, 2022). Photo courtesy of author, 2023.

[187] Ray Bottomly Collection, 1992-3166-0100-0051, Hill Aerospace Museum, Hill AFB, UT; Simon Harrison, "War Mementos and the Souls of Missing Soldiers: Returning Effects of the Battlefield Dead," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 14, no. 4 (2008): 774-790; "Japanese good-luck flags," Second World War, National Army Museum, accessed October 28, 2023,

## Appendix B. Places

Listed below are brief descriptions of the places I discuss in my digital exhibit.

**Bushnell General Military Hospital**: This hospital treated amputee soldiers who had lost limbs during the war, and "was also one of the first hospitals to experimentally use penicillin." After the war, it became the Intermountain Indian School for a time. Eventually, the buildings sat empty until Utah State University tore many of them down. Today, the Jensen family owns some of the remaining buildings and uses them to house their furniture store. This site shows how places can hold diverse memories for different people, and how those memories can change over the years.[188]

**Clearfield Naval Supply Depot**: The Clearfield Naval Supply Depot provided materiel to support the Pacific fleet. It relied on the elderly, women, teenagers, and the physically disabled to handle the ever-increasing workload. Today, it is known as the Freeport Center and functions as "a major western hub for manufacturing, warehousing, and distribution" for private companies. The Depot reminds people of Utah's connection to the Navy during the war. It also shows the importance of objects to people during the war because it stored the personal effects of dead and missing sailors and Marines until the Navy could return them to their families.[189]

**Fort Douglas**: Established during the Civil War, Fort Douglas served as an induction and separation center for men in Utah and the surrounding Rocky Mountain states. Thousands of men passed through its doors, making it one of the first places that brought the war to Utah.[190]

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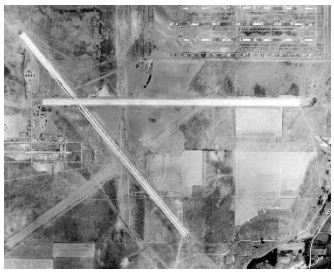
https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/japanese-good-luck-flags; Edgar Porter and Ran Ying Porter, *Japanese Reflections on World War II and the American Occupation* (Amsterdam, NED: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), ProQuest Ebook Central. Photo courtesy of author, 2023.

[188] Carter, iii. Photo courtesy of author, 2023.

[189] Arrington and Durham, 113, 116; Depot Command History, 5, quoted in Arrington and Durham, 114; Peach, 100; Arrington and Durham, 113. Photo used by permission, Utah Historical Society, *Naval Supply Depot, Clearfield P.03*, 1943-1963, https://collections.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6q25dw7.

[190] Alexander and Fish; Arrington and Alexander, "The U.S. Army Overlooks Salt Lake Valley." Photo courtesy of author, 2023. Photo courtesy of author, 2023.

**Camp Kearns**: When asked about the shortage of men the war brought on, Norma Day replied with a smile, "Well, there was Kearns." Air Corps Personnel trained at Camp Kearns in Salt Lake City, and in the spring of 1943, the camp's 40,000 troops made it the third largest city in Utah. Some of the soldiers training at Kearns would meet up with young ladies downtown to enjoy their time in Utah before shipping overseas. A suburban neighborhood now sits on the site of Camp Kearns, and a memorial honors both "ALL INDIVIDUALS OF KEARNS ARMY AIR BASE" and men from the Kearns neighborhood who gave their lives during the Vietnam War.[191]



**Hill Field**: Hill Field supplied, stored, maintained, and repaired aircraft, including the B-24 Liberator. Hill's B-24 production line produced one B-24 a day and became famous throughout the country. Women who worked at Hill Field remembered "clean[ing] blood, skin, and hair out of the insides of cockpits" and off other salvaged equipment. Hill Field eventually became Hill Air Force Base, which today provides jobs to military personnel and civilians.[192]

**Manti Parachute Plant**: Women from Manti and the surrounding areas worked at the parachute plant in Manti. Many of them were members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and they joined the workforce even though Church officials encouraged them not to. The plant primarily hired women between the ages of 16 and 40, and they proudly worked to produce parachutes that would save lives.[193]

**POW Camps**: The US government placed over fifteen thousand German and Italian POWs in twelve camps throughout Utah. In accordance with the Geneva Convention, the US treated POWs well, hoping that their enemies would treat American POWs in a similar manner. In Utah, POWs labored in the agricultural industry, specifically in sugar beet fields, and at military installations. Unfortunately, a guard at the Salina camp killed nine German POWs just two months after the war in Europe

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[191] Day; Camp Kearns Memorial, Kerans, UT. Photo used by permission, Utah Historical Society, *Kearns Depot P.5,* 1943, https://collections.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6bv88k6.

[192] Alexander and Fish, 130; Noble, "Utah's Rosies," 142-3; "World War II on the Home Front." Photo courtesy of Hill Aerospace Museum.

[193] Amanda Midgley Borneman, "Proud to Send Those Parachutes Off: Central Utah's Rosies During World War II," (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 2006), 31, 76-9, https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd/496. Photo used by permission, Utah Historical Society, Clyde Anderson, *Women stretching parachutes at the C.F. Fauntleroy's Parachute Company, Manti,* circa 1942, accessed at https://www.utahhumanities.org/stories/items/show/338.

ended. They are buried in the Fort Douglas Cemetery. Today, the camps can remind people of Utah's close connection to the people who were once their enemies.[194]

**Remington Arms Plant**: Located on the west side of Salt Lake City, this plant manufactured .30 caliber and .50 caliber bullets. Norma Day recalls that women who worked at the plant often wrote notes of encouragement and their names on the boxes of bullets before sending them to troops in the Pacific. Today, multiple businesses and distribution centers, including the Latter-day Saint Humanitarian Center and shooting ranges, dot the landscape. Images and memories of this plant show the important role women played during the war. [195]


**Topaz Internment Camp**: After the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066, which forced Japanese Americans living on the West Coast into internment camps, including one near Delta, Utah. Known as Topaz, the camp housed 8,000 Japanese Americans from 1943-1945. The land was dry and barren, and dust blew everywhere. Today, a few cement foundations, some old pipes, and a handful of broken trinkets remain. Standing on the site can remind people of the injustices the Japanese Americans suffered simply because of the way they looked.[196]

**Wendover Army Air Base**: The 509th Composite Group trained at this base in preparation to drop the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan. B-29 crews practiced dropping pumpkin bombs filled with cement over the desert to prepare for their secret mission. Few people knew of the base's significance at the time, and some soldiers thought the Army was punishing them when they arrived at the desolate place. Now a museum, visitors can walk through the remaining barracks and aircraft hangars, giving them the chance not only to see history, but to walk through it, as well.[197]

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[194] Powell, *Splinters of a Nation*. Photo used by permission, Utah Historical Society, *Hill Air Force Base—German Prisoners of War P.02*, 1939-1945, https://collections.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6d23c9n.
[195] Day. Photo used by permission, Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake Tribune Staff, *Utah Ordnance Plant, Small Arms Plant -Shot 12*, 1941, https://collections.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6tb3gf5.
[196] Arrington; Taylor, *Jewel of the Desert*. Photo courtesy of author, 2023.
[197] Wilkey; Dvorak; Jernigan. Photo courtesy of author, 2023.

**Wendover Crash Site**: This crash site, near the top of a steep mountain, serves as a memorial to nine men who gave their lives while training at the Wendover Army Air Base. Not all deaths took place on the battlefield, and this site reminds people of the many men and women who died in training. A pile of metal and a small flag sit just below where the B-24 crashed. Pieces from the crash still cover the mountainside, including the wire frame of a parachute that did not open. There is an unspoken understanding that the pieces of glass and metal that litter the mountain belong to the family members of the dead. The airmen did not live to tell their story, but these pieces of the B-24 that carried them remain to tell it for them.[198]

[198] Wilkey; Report of Aircraft Accident. Photo courtesy of author, 2023.

## Appendix C. Video Interviews

Listed below are the video interviews I use in my digital exhibit. All video interviews come from *Utah World War Two Stories History Project of KUED-TV*.

**Day, Norma**: Norma Day, from Monroe, Utah, recalls her time working at the Remington Arms plant. As the plant began to close in November 1943, she quit her job and joined the Navy, where she spent time code-breaking Japanese messages in Washington, D.C., before the Navy transferred her to the Bureau of Personnel in Arlington, Virginia.[199] https://youtu.be/8OCei3vP9go (3:26)

**Draper, Maurine**: Maurine Draper Ephraim, Utah, recalls her time working at the parachute plant in Manti.[200] https://youtu.be/Nc6LnNj_DbQ (5:34)

**Gray, Mary**: Mary Gray, from Richfield, Utah, served at the Bushnell Hospital as a cadet nurse for four months during the war.[201] https://youtu.be/i-B__uLZKak (7:19)

**Harrison, Thomas**: Thomas Harrison, from Salt Lake City, Utah, joined the military before December 7, 1941. He was in the Philippine Islands when the Japanese attacked. After marching on the Bataan Death March, Harrison spent three and a half years as a prisoner of war, spending time in Camp O'Donnell, Cabanatuan Camp #1, and various labor camps in Japan. He survived by reminding himself to live "one day at a time—make it through today and tomorrow will take care of itself." Of the approximately twelve Utahns he knew of in Camp O'Donnell, only two came home. Listen as he recalls the death March to Capas.[202] https://youtu.be/ARbD33RyTOY (4:00)

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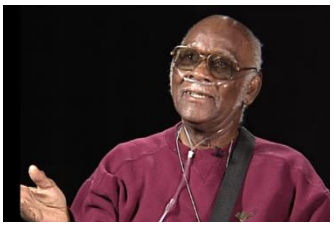
[199] Norma Day, interview by Rick Randle, Salt Lake City, UT, April 14, 2005, *Utah World War Two Stories History Project of KUED-TV*.
[200] Maurine Draper, interview by Rick Randle, Salt Lake City, UT, April 13, 2005, *Utah World War Two Stories History Project of KUED-TV*.
[201] Mary Gray, interview by Elizabeth Searles, Orem, UT, April 29, 2005, *Utah World War Two Stories History Project of KUED-TV*.
[202] Thomas Harrison, interview by Rick Randle, Salt Lake City, UT, February 13, 2004, *Utah World War Two Stories History Project of KUED-TV*.

**Harrison, Thomas**: After the war ended, the Japanese guards gave some supplies to the POWs in their camps, then disappeared, leaving the POWs to wander around the countryside. Thomas Harrison recalls receiving packages from B-29s as he and other POWs waited for the Allies to rescue them.[203] https://youtu.be/tRu4V9iLJMg (2:23)



**Jackson, Allan C.**: Allan C. Jackson, from Montgomery, Alabama, joined the Army in 1937. During the war, he came to Camp Kearns and became part of the Black Military Police (BMP). While serving in the Army, he experienced discrimination due to the color of his skin.[204] https://youtu.be/m04bwS-pm8Y (4:11)

**Lund, Leslie G.**: Leslie G. Lund, from Salt Lake City, Utah, served as a radar mechanic in the Pacific Theater. He completed his basic training and overseas training at Camp Kearns.[205] https://youtu.be/gMIgzUd6QuU (8:19)

**Macey, Gayle**: Woolass Macey, from Logan, Utah, was among the first men to invade the beaches of Normandy on D-Day. Nine days later, he stepped on a landmine that blew his leg off. He then returned to Utah to recuperate at the Bushnell Hospital. His wife, Gayle, recalls the time he spent there.[206] https://youtu.be/pKPq7kWE3as (3:57)

**Mickelson, Mont**: Mont Mickelson, from Salt Lake City, Utah, worked as a machinist at Hill Field before he was drafted and transferred to the Wendover Army Air Base. He served with the 509th Composite Group and watched the B-29s take off from Tinian Island to drop the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima. Listen as he recalls the time he spent at Wendover.[207] https://youtu.be/AYI_dgamZj0 (7:12)

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[203] Thomas Harrison, interview by Rick Randle, Salt Lake City, UT, February 13, 2004, *Utah World War Two Stories History Project of KUED-TV*.
[204] Allan C. Jackson, interview by Rick Randle, Salt Lake City, UT, May 10, 2005, *Utah World War Two Stories History Project of KUED-TV*.
[205] Leslie G. Lund, interview by Rick Randle, Salt Lake City, UT, July 9, 2005, *Utah World War Two Stories History Project of KUED-TV*.
[206] Gayle Macey, interview by Rick Randle, Salt Lake City, UT, July 27, 2006, *Utah World War Two Stories History Project of KUED-TV*.
[207] Mont Mickelson, interview by Rick Randle, Salt Lake City, UT, May 10, 2005, *Utah World War Two Stories History Project of KUED-TV*.

**Nagata, Ted**: Ted Nagata was six years old when the WRA relocated his family from the Bay Area in Berkley, California, to Topaz Internment Camp. After they were released, his family stayed in Utah.[208] https://youtu.be/JGPAaghhYBc (7:55)

**Nielsen, Chase J.**: After the war, Nielsen served with the Strategic Air Command in the US Air Force until 1961, retiring as a lieutenant colonel. He then worked as an industrial engineer at Hill Air Force Base, Utah, until his retirement in 1981. He passed away in 2007. Listen as he shares some of his experiences as a POW.[209] https://youtu.be/Z_BCeMpif9s (11:08)

**Shapiro, Joel**: During World War II, servicemen could put their religion as "C" for Catholic, "H" for Jewish (Hebrew), or "P" for Protestant. Some US Jewish soldiers chose to leave the religion section on their dog tags blank, knowing how the Nazis would treat them if they were captured. Others wondered if they should get rid of their tags altogether, including Joel Shapiro, from Salt Lake City, Utah. Shapiro served in G2-intellegence with General Patton's Army and visited the Dachau concentration camp two days after its liberation.[210] https://youtu.be/VeuzkhlHp0g (2:32)

**Taylor, William**: Originally from Ogden, Utah, Taylor was working as a construction worker on Wake Island when the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. A few hours later, the Japanese began their attack on Wake Island. After two weeks of fighting, the US Marines surrendered on December 23, 1941, and the Japanese took the Marines and civilian workers as POWs. Over three years later, Taylor and one of his friends jumped out of a moving train while the Japanese transported them and other prisoner to a new camp. Although the Japanese recaptured them, Taylor managed to escape a second time. He crossed mainland China, met Mao Zedong and Kim Il-sung, and eventually made it

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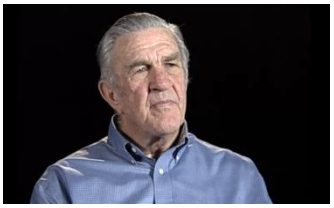
[208] Ted Nagata, interview by Rick Randle, Salt Lake City, UT, July 27, 2006, *Utah World War Two Stories History Project of KUED-TV*.

[209] Chase Nielsen, interview by Rick Randle, Brigham City, UT, February 22, 2005, *Utah World War Two Stories History Project of KUED-TV* ; Lt. Col. Stephen Clutter, "Air Force legend Col. Chase Nielsen passes away," Air Force Print News, March 25, 2007, https://www.af.mil/News/Article-Display/Article/127478/air-force-legend-col-chase-nielsen-passes-away/.

[210] Joel Shapiro, interview by Rick Randle, Salt Lake City, UT, May 9, 2005, *Utah World War II Stories History Project of KUED-TV*; Ginger Cucolo, "Dog Tags: History, Stories & Folklore of Military Identification," Library of Congress, and Sponsoring Body American Folklife Center, Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, January 26, 2012, video, 1:04:16, https://www.loc.gov/item/2021688793/.

home. Listen as he explains how he quit smoking and "went into the cigarette business" during his time as a prisoner of war.[211] https://youtu.be/2DyMoq8RyP0 (1:41)

**Tazoi, Jim**: In 1946, a small article appeared in the *Utah Nippo*, titled, "Nisei War Hero receives DSC At Ceremony." Just over a year after helping save the Lost Battalion, Jim Tazoi, from Garland, Utah, received the Distinguished Service Cross. He also received two purple hearts, a Bronze Star, and the Italian Crest of Valor for his time serving as a company radioman with the 442nd. Because he lived in an interior state, the government did not relocate him and his family to an internment camp. Listen as he recalls the wounds he received while rescuing the Lost Battalion.[212] https://youtu.be/YFxS6NDG-i0 (9:46)



**Tew, Roy**: Roy Tew, from Mapleton, Utah, served as a navigator on a B-29, taking part in various bombing missions over Japan. Listen as he shares his feelings toward the B-29.[213] https://youtu.be/BQ2EL1lqVig (4:57)

**The Flag of the United States of America**: Veterans William Taylor, Carl Workman, Don Verle Breinholt, and Ora Mae Hyatt share their thoughts on the flag of the United States of America.[214] https://youtu.be/MpZPqZrwM_E (2:37)

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[211] William Taylor, interview by Rick Randle, Salt Lake City, UT, February 14, 2005, *Utah World War II Stories History Project of KUED-TV*; Taylor, *Rescued by Mao*, 23-5, 71, 98, 110; George J.W. Urwin, "The Battle of Wake Island: Nation's Morale Lifted in 1941," The National WWII Museum, December 23, 2020, https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/battle-of-wake-island-1941.

[212] Jim Tazoi, interview by Rick Randle, Garland, UT, February 22, 2005, *Utah World War Two Stories History Project of KUED-TV*.

[213] Roy Tew, interview by Rick Randle, Salt Lake City, UT, April 20, 2006, *Utah World War Two Stories History Project of KUED-TV*.

[214] William Taylor, interview by Rick Randle, Salt Lake City, UT, February 14, 2005, *Utah World War II Stories History Project of KUED-TV*; Carl Workman, interview by Rick Randle, Salt Lake City, UT, February 14, 2006, *Utah World War II Stories History Project of KUED-TV*; Don Verle Breinholt, interview by Rick Randle, Salt Lake City, UT, April 25, 2005, *Utah World War II Stories History Project of KUED-TV*; Ora Mae Hyatt, interview by Rick Randle, Salt Lake City, UT, February 13, 2004, *Utah World War II Stories History Project of KUED-TV*.

## Appendix D. Audio Interviews

Listed below are the audio interviews I use in my digital exhibit. All audio interviews come from the Bringing War Home Collection (digitalcommons.usu.edu/bwh_collection/).

**PID_00027**: Shortly before the massacre at the Salina camp, Heinz Benzing, a German POW, painted a portrait of a young farm boy, Gary Westenskow. Benzing gifted the painting to Westenskow's father, and it remained in the family. Listen as Westenskow's daughter shares her experience learning about the painting.[215] (4:13)

**PID_00035**: Many years after the war, Lt. and Mrs. Rau's son, Bill Rau, conducted archival research to learn more about his father and the bomb group, the 450th. He even visited the place where his father's plane was shot down. In 2022, he was living in Utah. Listen as he shares how his father's death affected his mother long after the war, as well as his thoughts on war.[216] (5:15)

**PID_00040**: Jim Jones recalls receiving the flag from Suzanne Benoît, (0:35); Jone's son, Eric, shares his feelings on the flag, and what it means to his family (0:49); Jones and his son share their memories from a trip the family took to Rebais in 2014 to find Suzanne Benoît (0:36).[217]

**PID_00053**: The same flag that flew over the Wendover Army Air Base now hangs in the Historic Wendover Airfield Museum (pictured here). Lynn Kenley, whose father served as the fire chief at the Wendover Army Air Base, shares his thoughts on the importance of this flag.[218] (1:16)

**PID_00061**: Listen as the young boy, now an elderly gentleman, recalls finding the canteen and the important role it has played throughout his life.[219] (3:21)

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[215] PID_00027, Object Story Interview, May 14, 2022, Fort Douglas Military Museum, Salt Lake City, UT, Bringing War Home Digital Archive, Utah State University, digitalcommons.usu.edu/bwh_collection/.
[216] PID_00035, Object Story Interview, October 22, 2022, Utah State University Moab, Moab, UT, Bringing War Home Digital Archive, Utah State University, digitalcommons.usu.edu/bwh_collection/.
[217] PID_00040, Object Story Interview, October 22, 2022, Utah State University Moab, Moab, UT, Bringing War Home Digital Archive, Utah State University, digitalcommons.usu.edu/bwh_collection/.
[218] PID_00053, Object Story Interview, November 5, 2022, Historic Wendover Airfield, Wendover, UT, Bringing War Home Digital Archive, Utah State University, digitalcommons.usu.edu/bwh_collection/.
[219] PID_00061, Object Story Interview, March 18, 2023, Uintah County Heritage Museum, Vernal, UT, Bringing War Home Digital Archive, Utah State University, digitalcommons.usu.edu/bwh_collection/.

## Appendix E. Exhibit Layout

Listed below are examples of how I lay out my digital exhibit using the StoryMaps platform.

**Cover Photo**:


**Navigation Bar**: This navigation bar allows viewers to easily see the objects and places I discuss in the exhibit. If they are not interested in reading through the entire exhibit, they can click on the section that interests them, and StoryMaps will automatically pull up that section.




**Introduction**:

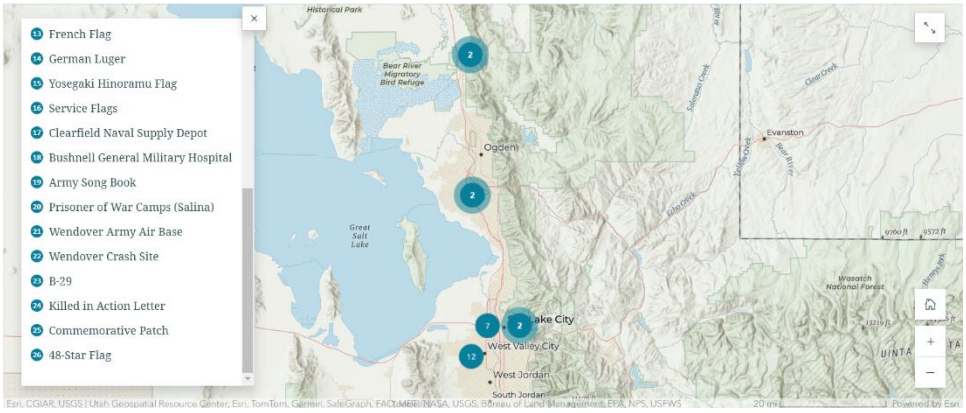
Because World War II was a global war, we often overlook interior states such as Utah when we think about Nazi atrocities or the Japanese bombing at Pearl Harbor. The Japanese never bombed Utah, and the Germans did not march their troops through the streets of Salt Lake City. But the war still came to Utah. It came to the families of the men who enlisted and were drafted into the United States military. It came to the women who took jobs manufacturing bullets and parachutes while their husbands, brothers, fathers, and sons fought for their freedoms. It came to the desert, where the federal government wrongfully interned Japanese Americans and where servicemen from all over the country trained for battle. For some Americans, Utah became an important touchstone for memories of the war they fought.

As World War II began, Utah sent its sons out into the world. Those who came home brought the world back with them. They came home with stories of the places they had visited, the horrors they had seen, and the things they had done. Many came home with objects—souvenirs they had collected, war trophies they had looted, and gifts they had received while risking their lives for a nation that needed them. For some GIs, these objects told the stories they could not. Over the years, other veterans and their descendants have moved to Utah, bringing with them the stories and objects that hold their memories. Many of their memories are connected to places throughout the world. Others are connected to places in Utah.

When put together, all these stories create a more complete picture of World War II. The war strengthened some local communities in Utah as community members worked together to support the war effort. It tore some families apart as their loved ones died at training bases and in faraway lands. The efforts and sacrifices of Utahns on the home front and the front lines ultimately helped win the war.

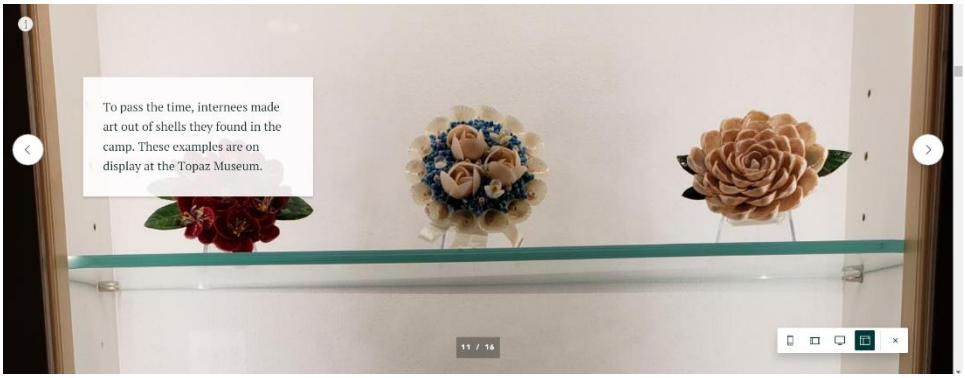
Disclaimer: Some of the images and attitudes expressed in this exhibit may be offensive, derogatory, and disturbing. The author does not support these views but hopes they will be studied in a historical context to better understand the past and to prevent future acts of discrimination.

**Map**: This world map allows viewers to see the global aspect of the war. Viewers can also zoom in on each place to see how the global war was connected to local communities.


**Text**: An example of the text with a photo.


**Photo Slideshow**: Viewers can click through photographs presented in a slideshow to see multiple images regarding the objects, places, and stories discussed in each section.




**Before and After Photos**: Before and after photos show how landscapes changed between the 1940s and early 2020s.


**Photo Attribution**: The icon in the corner of each photo contains a citation. Citations that do not fit in the attribution box are located in the endnotes.


**Embedded Videos**: Many videos are embedded directly into the exhibit so that viewers can watch them without having to leave the webpage.


Mary Gray, from Richfield, Utah, served at the Bushnell Hospital as a cadet nurse for four months during the war.

**Embedded Audio**: Audio interviews are embedded directly into the exhibit so that viewers can watch them without having to leave the webpage.


Listen as the young boy, now an elderly gentleman, recalls finding the canteen and the important role it has played throughout his life.

**Links to Additional Resources**: I include links to outside resources for viewers who are interested in learning more about certain topics. Videos that I cannot embed into the exhibit due to copyright are also linked to outside sources.

For more information about Topaz, visit https://topazmuseum.org/, https://topazstories.com/, and http://exhibits.usu.edu/exhibits/show/topazrelocationcenter.

**Conclusion**:

After World War II ended, military objects and places filled the world, from prison camps to paintings to parachutes. Objects found themselves in private homes, museums, stores, and even the junkyard. Many of these objects were repurposed, while others were set on pedestals. Medals wound up trapped behind glass so that people could see them in their shiny glory, and uniforms covered the bodies of unsuspecting mannequins. Still other objects simply disappeared, forgotten by those who had used them. Places became neighborhoods, museums, distribution centers, and desolate wastelands. Like objects, some of these places were repurposed, some were remembered, and others were completely forgotten. No matter where these objects ended up or what happened to these places, they all contribute to the memory of the Second World War.

Many veterans and civilians alike were proud of the work they had done to help win the war. They were proud to be Utahns and proud to be Americans. Some people never came home, however, and others kept their memories to themselves, choosing instead to forget the traumatic experiences in order to heal. Years after the war, veteran Charles Ellis Edwards explained, "Some people went through hell to keep this country free, and some made it and some didn't. Those that made it can tell the story for those that couldn't." As we learn about the stories that people, places, and objects tell, we can better ensure we will not forget what they left behind.

**Endnotes**: I have compiled the sources I consulted for each topic at the bottom of the exhibit. This makes the exhibit text easier to read and allows viewers to explore the sources in more depth if they choose to do so.

Camp Kearns: Norma Day, interview by Rick Randle, Salt Lake City, UT, April 14, 2005, *Utah World War Two Stories History Project of KUED-TV*; Thomas G. Alexander, "Utah's City of Airmen: Kearns Army Air Base, 1942-1948," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 34, no. 2 (1966): 125, 126; "Hi, Gals...Your Fancy Togs Needed," *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 22, 1943, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6gq48a6/30611610; "News From Kearns," *Midvale Journal Sentinel* (UT), October 29, 1943, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6x96f0n/23219981; "Movie Star John Payne Enters Kearns Base for Advance Training as Pilot," *Salt Lake Telegram*, October 7, 1943, https://newspapers.lib.utah.edu/ark:/87278/s6bg3xcp/17106684; Leslie G. Lund, interview by Rick Randle, Salt Lake City, UT, July 9, 2005, *Utah World War Two Stories History Project of KUED-TV*; Allan C. Jackson, interview by Rick Randle, Salt Lake City, UT, May 10, 2005, *Utah World War Two Stories History Project of KUED-TV*.

French Flag: Michael J. Lyons, *World War II: A Short History*, 5th ed. (Routledge: London, 2016), 76-85, 257; Evan Mawdsley, *World War II: A New History*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2020), 302, 306; Associated Press, "Here are some key facts about D-Day ahead of the 79th anniversary of the World War II invasion," PBS, KQED, June 5, 2023, https://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/here-are-some-key-facts-about-d-day-ahead-of-the-79th-anniversary-of-the-world-war-ii-invasion; Katie White, "Bringing War Home: How a handmade French flag kept an American soldier going," Bringing War Home, Utah Public Radio, April 14, 2023, https://www.upr.org/show/bringing-war-home/2023-04-14/bringing-war-home-how-a-handmade-french-flag-kept-an-american-solider-going; "Joneses named St. Patty's grand marshals," *Times-Independent* (Moab, UT), March 2, 2005, https://www.moabtimes.com/articles/joneses-named-st-pattys-grand-marshals/; PID_00040, Object

To view the complete digital exhibit, see https://arcg.is/1W9iGu0.