American World War II Home Front Heritage City Criteria Essays

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Edited by Selena Moon

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Defense Manufacturing, Such as Ships, Aircraft, Uniforms, and Equipment

By John Taylor

In September 1939, when war began in Europe, President Franklin Roosevelt proclaimed a national emergency. He declared that the United States would be neutral, but would strengthen the "national defense within the limits of peacetime authorizations."[1] Roosevelt created the War Resources Board (WRB), which operated from August to November 1939 to prepare for defense and war production. In May 1940, the National Defense Advisory Commission replaced the WRB and operated until January 1941.[2] Accomplishing Roosevelt's demand for increased defense production was not easy because in the aftermath of World War I, the United States had dismantled its industrial capability and scaled back many industries.[3]

To the approximately twenty million Americans in the industrial workforce in 1940, mobilization meant not only increasing and rebuilding the industrial capacity to effectively outfit a fighting force that eventually reached about 12 million, but also recruiting a workforce to staff those positions. It also meant doing it in a way that would not eliminate consumer production from the private companies that were producing

[1] Franklin D. Roosevelt, September 8, 1939, Proclamation. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/209416.

[2] See United States. Civilian Production Administration, *Industrial Mobilization for War: History of the War Production Board and Predecessor Agencies, 1940-1945*. Vol. 1, Program and Administration. Bureau of Demobilization, Civilian Production Administration. (Washington: Government Printing Office) reprinting, 1969, xiii.

[3] Maury Klein, *A Call to Arms: Mobilizing America for World War II* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2013), 50. Also see R. Elberton Smith, *The Army and Economic Mobilization* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1959), 208-209.

items for the war effort. Government agencies and private companies often competed to secure the raw materials, parts, and human resources. Finding the right balance between the demands of the military leaders, private businesses, and the leaders who FDR tapped to head the various organizations such as the War Resources Board and the National Defense Advisory Commission, was an extraordinary task.[4]

In a May 1940 fireside chat, President Roosevelt told listeners:

> "private business cannot be expected to make all of the capital investment required for expansions of plants and factories and personnel which this program calls for at once….Therefore, the Government of the United States stands ready to advance the necessary money to help provide for the enlargement of factories, the establishment of new plants, the employment of thousands of necessary workers, the development of new sources of supply for the hundreds of raw materials required….The details of all of this are now being worked out in Washington, day and night."[5]

On June 25, 1940, Congress created the Defense Plant Corporation (DPC), operating under the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, to finance factories. Private contractors would build and then turn over the factories to private defense contractors to manage. By the end of the war, the DPC, with the direction of military leaders, financed 2300 defense building projects valued at $7 billion. One historian remarked: "The result was a government and military-financed and directed war economy carried out by big business." While it is true that private companies did convert their production lines to manufacture items for the war effort, it is more correct that during World War II the "government-owned, privately operated model became the most important method used

[4] Ibid., 84.

[5] Franklin D. Roosevelt, May 26, 1940, Fireside Chat. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project, https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/210003.

to build wartime factories."[6] In War Department parlance this partnership between government and business came to be known as "government-owned, contractor-operated plants" (GOCO). Most of the new plants that produced aircraft and aircraft engines as well as ordnance were produced in GOCOs. The Maritime Commission also used limited DPC financing to construct shipbuilding ways and engines used to power ships.[7]

In June 1940, France fell into German hands. The situation clearly pointed to the U.S. eventually entering the war, and a new urgency to unify and balance the production needs of the military, private business, and the consumer. In September 1940 the country instituted the first peacetime draft, significantly increasing the war mobilization effort to outfit a growing military. Congress also approved funding in September to create a two-ocean navy that would patrol both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, which increased the demand for shipbuilding.[8]

President Roosevelt took to the radio again in December 1940, more urgent about war mobilization. He said:

> "We must be the great arsenal of democracy. For us this is an emergency as serious as war itself. We must apply ourselves to our task with the same resolution, the same sense of urgency, the same spirit of

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[6] Robert Lewis, *Calculating Property Relations: Chicago's Wartime Industrial Mobilization, 1940-1950* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2016), 44-48. For more on the Defense Plant Corporation see R. Elberton Smith, *The Army and Economic Mobilization* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office), 1959), 492-502. Also see Gerald White, *Billions for Defense: Government Financing by the Defense Plant Corporation During World War II* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1980). The government financed and oversaw construction of many war plants because few companies wanted to invest money in a plant that would not be needed after the war;. However, under the Defense Plant Corporation, private companies could purchase the plant and some did post-war. See, Lewis, *Calculating Property Relations*

[7] For the Maritime Commission use of Defense Plant Corporation financing see Frederic C. Lane, *Ships for Victory: A History of Shipbuilding Under the U.S. Maritime Commission in World War II* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 400-401.

[8] See Thomas Heinrich, *Warship Builders: An Industrial History of U.S. Naval Shipbuilding, 1922-1945* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2020), 86.

> patriotism and sacrifice as we would show were we at war…We must have more ships, more guns, more planes—more of everything." [9]

By the end of 1940, the Roosevelt administration struggled to find the right balance to manage the competing interests of the war effort. Roosevelt replaced the National Defense Advisory Commission with the Office of Production Management and (OPM), which oversaw defense production from January 1941 to January 1942. Additional pressure on American mobilization came in March of 1941 when the United States, at Roosevelt's direction, instituted the Lend-Lease program whereby it, agreed to supply ships and other critical wartime supplies primarily to Great Britain.[10]

In March 1941, the United States Senate created a committee to investigate national defense mobilization spending, chaired by Missouri Senator Harry Truman. While the committee examined irregularities in defense contracting, it spent much of its time conducting hearings with industry executives and leaders who served on the agencies that oversaw the war effort. The committee toured defense plants across the country and issued reports on their findings.[11]

On May 27, 1941, Roosevelt amended the national emergency proclamation of 1939 to an unlimited national emergency that required the "military, naval, air, and civilian defenses be put on the basis of readiness to repel any and all acts or threats of

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[9] Franklin D. Roosevelt, December 29, 1940, Fireside Chat. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project, Accessed, https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/209416.

[10] See Smith, p. 209.

[11] See Klein, *A Call to Arms*, 209-211. The committee was concerned about the presence of the "dollar-a-year men" who had come from private industry and who were now securing government contracts with private industry. They were also concerned that small private firms were excluded from government contracts and that the war contracts were not being evenly distributed across the country. The committee held hearings about these issues and discussed the shortages in raw materials and the war mobilization effort in specific programs like shipbuilding and aircraft production.

aggression directed toward any part of the Western Hemisphere."[12] This accelerated the war mobilization effort, as did the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Roosevelt updated the American people in his State of the Union address on January 6, 1942, and continued to press Americans and American industry to produce more airplanes, tanks, anti-aircraft guns, and merchant ships.[13] On January 13, 1942, President Roosevelt announced that the War Production Board (WPB) headed by Donald Nelson, would replace OPM. The Truman Committee had recommended that one person lead the mobilization effort and Roosevelt agreed. The WPB managed the American mobilization effort through the war.[14]

In May 1940, Roosevelt had set a goal to produce 50,000 planes for the Army and Navy. In his State of the Union address, he requested an additional 60,000 airplanes produced that year. But Roosevelt's original May 1940 request remained unfulfilled. Why? As one historian of the industrial mobilization of the production of aircraft for World War II noted, the "piecemeal approach" was of "necessity disordered, makeshift, and jerry-built."[15]

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[12] Franklin D. Roosevelt, May 27, 1941, Proclamation. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project, https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/209608.

[13] Franklin D. Roosevelt, January 6, 1942, Fireside Chat. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project, https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/210559. He set a goal to produce 60,000 aircraft in 1942 and increased the number to 125,000 in 1943. Tank production was set at 45,000 in 1942 and increased to 75,000 in 1943. Roosevelt wanted 20,000 anti-aircraft guns manufactured in 1942 and 35,000 in 1943. He challenged shipbuilders to produce 6,000.000 deadweight tons of merchant ships? in 1942 and 10,000,000 tons of shipping by 1943.

[14] Donald H. Riddle, *The Truman Committee: A Study in Congressional Responsibility* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1964), 64-68. For the Truman committee's criticism of the dollar-a-year men see Klein, *A Call to Arms*, 357-358. Just two days after Roosevelt's announcement, on January 15, 1942, Harry Truman took to the Senate floor and delivered the committee's critical report about OPM's poor handling of the war mobilization program.

[15] Irving Brinton Holley, Jr., *Buying Aircraft: Material Procurement for the Army Air Forces* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964), 235.

Despite the “piecemeal approach,” by 1945, fifty-two companies produced airplanes for both the Army Air Forces and the Navy, primarily through the government-owned, contractor-operated plants (GOCOs). There were also twelve companies that made aircraft engines located across the United States.[16] One of the main companies that produced aircraft engines was Pratt and Whitney, which had its main factories in East Hartford, Connecticut and Kansas City, Missouri.[17]

In President Roosevelt’s January 1942 address, he stated that he wanted to increase tank and anti-aircraft gun production, part of ordnance production. According to one military definition: “Ordnance is fighting equipment. It is the weapons, the ammunition, the armored and transport vehicles that give an armed force its striking

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[16] Irving Brinton Holley, Jr., *Buying Aircraft: Material Procurement for the Army Air Forces* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964), 576-579. Appendix B contains a detailed list of all fifty-two companies, where they operated, and the types of planes produced in each facility. The larger companies included the Beech Aircraft Corporation headquartered in Wichita, Kansas, which built 7,430 aircraft. Wichita was also home to the Cessna Aircraft Company which contributed 5,359 planes. The Boeing Aircraft Corporation in Wichita built 9,890 planes. Boeing had additional plants in Renton and Seattle. The Bell Aircraft Corporation plants in Atlanta, Georgia, and Buffalo, New York produced 13,593 planes. The Consolidated-Vultee Aircraft Corporation plants in Allentown Pennsylvania; Downey, California; Fort Worth, Texas; Nashville, Tennessee; New Orleans, Louisiana; San Diego, California; and Wayne, Michigan produced a total of 28,348 planes for the Army Air Forces and the Navy. The Curtiss-Wright Corporation assembled planes in Buffalo, New York; Columbus, Ohio; Louisville, Kentucky; and St. Louis, Missouri and manufactured 26,551 planes. North American Aviation Incorporated had three plant locations in Dallas, Texas; Inglewood, California; and Kansas City, Kansas, which combined, produced 41,839 planes. Other companies that produced at least 5000 planes for the war effort, included the Douglas Aircraft Company, Incorporated; Fairchild Aircraft Division, Ford Motor company, Grumman Aircraft Corporation, Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, Glenn L. Martin Company; and the Republic Aviation Corporation.

[17] Ibid., 580-582. Licensees of Pratt and Whitney included Ford, which produced engines in Dearborn, Michigan; Buick in Melrose Park, Illinois; Chevrolet in Tonowanda, New York; Nash-Kelvinator in Kenosha, Wisconsin; Jacobs in Pottstown, Pennsylvania, and Continental in Muskegon, Michigan. Another important aircraft engine manufacturer was Wright Aeronautical, with facilities in Patterson, New Jersey and Lockland, Ohio. Pratt and Whitney that had licensees operated by Dodge in Chicago, Illinois; Studebaker in South Bend, Indiana; Continental in Muskegon, Michigan; and the Naval Aircraft Factory in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Pratt and Whitney and Wright Aeronautical, and their licensees produced 355,985 and 223,036 engines respectively, used to power the planes flown by the Army Air Forces and Navy. IThere were ten other companies that produced aircraft engines, including Allison in Indianapolis, Indiana; Packard Continental in Detroit and Muskegon, Michigan; Continental in Muskegon, Michigan; Lycoming in Williamsport, Pennsylvania; Jacobs in Pottstown, Pennsylvania; Ranger in Farmingdale, New York; Air Cooled Motors in Syracuse, New York; Kinner Motors in Glendale, California; Warner in Detroit, Michigan; and Menasco in Burbank, California.

power in battle." During World War II, the Ordnance Department, working primarily through the GOCOs, outfitted the Army and Air Force and elements of the Navy. It "undertook development and manufacture of ordnance or directly supervised the work placed with private contractors." Between 1940 and 1945, the Ordnance Department spent about $46,000,000,000 on ordnance.[18] Between December 7, 1941, and 1945, the "Industry-Ordnance team furnished to the Army and 43 foreign nations 47 billion rounds of small arms ammunition, approximately 11 million tons of artillery ammunition, more than 12 million rifles and carbines, approximately 750,000 artillery pieces, and 3.5 million military vehicles."[19] One of the results was the Ordinance Department proposal to build tank production facilities using GOCO and the Detroit Tank Arsenal, managed by Chrysler Corporation. [20]

Another example of the GOCO plants were the twelve small arms ammunition industry plants in Maryland, Colorado, Iowa, Wisconsin, Indiana, Ohio, Missouri, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Utah. GOCO small arms ammunition plants were built at Lake City, Missouri, near Independence; Denver, Colorado; and St. Louis,

[18] Constance McLaughlin Green, Harry C. Thomson and Peter C. Roots, *The Ordnance Department: Planning Munitions for War* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1955), 3, 7.
[19] Quoted in Ibid., 11.
[20] Harry C. Thomson and Lida Mayo, *The Ordnance Department: Procurement and Supply* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960), 12-13, 221-242. The Detroit Tank arsenal produced 22, 234 light, medium, and heavy tanks from 1940 to 1945, which represented 25.2 percent of the tanks produced for the war effort. The American Car and Foundry Company produced 15,224 tanks in their converted locomotive factory assembly lines, which amounted to 17.2. The other companies that produced at least ten percent of the nation's tanks included the Fisher Tank Arsenal, which the Fisher Body Division of General Motors operated at Grand Blanc, Michigan, Cadillac Motor Company, and Pressed Steel.

Missouri. The Remington Arms company operated the Lake City and the Denver plants, while the U.S. Cartridge Company operated the St. Louis plant.[21]

When Roosevelt discussed increasing the number of ships in his January 1942 address, he was referring to merchant ships and naval combatant ships. The merchant ships were crucial to the war effort because they transported the ordnance. The Maritime Commission oversaw construction of merchant ships and, under the direction of the Maritime Commission, and in response to Lend-Lease, the number of shipyards devoted to producing the merchant ships grew to nine by 1941. The nine yards located on the east, west, and southern coasts of the United States had sixty-five bays. By the

[21] Harry C. Thomson and Lida Mayo, *The Ordnance Department: Procurement and Supply* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960), 201. Those twelve small arms ammunition plants included the Allegany Ordnance Plant in Cumberland, Maryland operated by Kelly-Springfield Engine Company (Goodyear); the Denver Ordnance Plant in Denver, Colorado operated by the Remington Arms Company; the Des Moines Ordnance Plant in Des Moines, Iowa operated by United States Rubber Company; the Eau Claire Ordinance Plant in Eau Claire, Wisconsin operated by United States Rubber Company; the Evansville Ordnance Plant in Evansville, Indiana operated by the Chrysler Corporation; the Kings Mills Ordnance Plant in Kings Mills, Ohio operated by the Remington Arms Company; the Lake City Ordnance Plant in Independence, Missouri, operated by the Remington Arms Company; the Lowell Ordnance Plant in Lowell, Massachusetts operated by the Remington Arms Company; the Milwaukee Ordnance Plant in Milwaukee, Wisconsin operated by United States Rubber Company; the St. Louis Ordinance Plant in St. Louis Missouri operated by the United States Cartridge Company; the Twin Cities Ordnance Plant in New Brighton, Minnesota operated by the Federal Cartridge Company; and the Utah Ordnance Plant in Salt Lake City, Utah operated by the Remington Arms Company. An exception to the GOCO arrangement was the Ordnance Department's demand for vehicles. One of Roosevelt's first decisions after creating the War Production Board, was to ban production of cars and trucks for civilians. The challenge the automobile industry faced in converting their civilian automobile assembly lines to produce wartime transport vehicles was standardization. The one exception was the Jeep, developed by the American Bantam Car Company in Butler, Pennsylvania. Other companies like Willys-Overland and Ford Motor Company developed prototypes. Willys submitted a design that was standardized and the Willys company received the contract to produce the Jeep. But they could not keep up with production and Willys over their specifications and patents to Ford, who also produced Jeeps. Willys and Ford produced over 600,000 Jeeps. See ibid., 276-279, 296. Ibid. Other vehicles produced included the two and half ton DUKW amphibian truck. The Yellow Truck and Coach Division of General Motors produced 21,147, but standardization was challenging because, as one historian noted: "So many engineering changes, including substitutions to save critical material, were made during the production period that some engineers remarked that no two Dukw's were ever built exactly alike." The Ordnance Department half-track cars, personnel carriers, tractors, tank transporters, heavy wreckers, and truck-trailer combinations. Except for the Jeep, "World War II truck production…lagged behind schedule year after year" and the "United States turned in a poorer score on trucks than on most other items of military equipment." See ibid., 284-299.

end of the war, the Maritime Commission had overseen construction of 5,777 cargo ships, of which , 2,708, were Liberty emergency and Victory cargo ships, and 682 were delivered to the Army and Navy.[22] Unlike the GOCOs that dominated aircraft and ordnance production, the Maritime Commission reimbursed the contractors for the shipyards and did not own the land. But as more ships were needed, some yards were constructed using GOCO.[23]

The Navy contracted their combatant ships to shipbuilders, which assembled them in their naval yards. The navy built battleships and carriers in Brooklyn, Philadelphia, and Norfolk. The Portsmouth Navy Yard, in Maine, built submarines, the yards at Puget Sound, Washington; Mare Island, California; Charleston, South Carolina; and Boston assembled destroyers. The Washington Navy Yard produced ordnance. Naval yards in San Francisco, Long Beach, and Pearl Harbor repaired and maintained the Pacific fleet.[24]

War mobilization had an immediate impact on the United States, as the unemployment caused by the Great Depression dropped from its highest of almost twenty-five percent in 1933 to 1 percent in 1944. In 1944, the United States produced 96,318 military and naval aircraft, more than the German, Japanese, and British

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[22] Frederic C. Lane, *Ships for Victory: A History of Shipbuilding under the U.S. Maritime Commission in World War II* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 51. On the east coast, in South Portland, Maine, the Todd Bath Iron Shipbuilding Corporation constructed merchant ships for the British. Bethlehem-Fairfield constructed ships in Baltimore, Maryland, the North Carolina Shipbuilding Company operated in Wilmington, and the California Shipbuilding Corporation operated in Terminal Island in Los Angeles, and the Todd California Shipbuilding Corporation built British merchant ships in Richmond, California. The Oregon Shipbuilding Corporation operated in Portland, Oregon. There were three companies operated on the southern coast, the Delta Shipbuilding Company in New Orleans; the Houston Shipbuilding Corporation; and the Alabama Dry Dock and Shipbuilding Company at Mobile. For the number of ships produced see p. xiii, 4.

[23] See ibid., 107-117.

[24] Thomas Heinrich, *Warship Builders: An Industrial History of U.S. Naval Shipbuilding, 1922-1945* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2020), 122.

combined output, and produced 60 percent of the Allied munitions, and 40 percent of the world's arms.[25]

Another lasting legacy of the war mobilization is large-scale migration. David Kennedy noted that fifteen million people or "one out of every eight civilians—changed their county of residence" from December 1941 to the end of the war. Eight million moved permanently to different states. [26] These migrations sometimes produced conflict based on race and gender in communities and workplaces. Black Americans faced discrimination, but leaders like A. Philip Randolph, pushed Roosevelt to issue EO 8802 that barred racial discrimination in war industry.[27]

Historians and others have written about the U.S.'s 's World War II industrial mobilization effort and its impact on the relationship between the state and those who led the effort and how it contributed to the military industrial complex.[28] Some argued

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[25] David Kennedy, *Freedom From Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 654-655.

[26] See David Kennedy, *Freedom From Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 747-748.

[27] For the impact on unemployment, see John W. Jeffries, *Wartime America: The World War II Home Front* 2nd ed., (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018), 37. For nationwide demographic shifts see Jeffries, *Wartime America*, 53-70. For demographic shifts in the west, see Gerald D. Nash, *The Federal Landscape: An Economic History of the Twentieth-Century West* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1999), 43-44. Jeffries noted that "Some 1.7 million women worked in steel, machinery, shipbuilding, aircraft, and automobile factories in 1944" as opposed to only 230,000 before the war. See Jeffries, p. 73. David M. Kennedy stated that "Nearly two million women—never more than 10 percent of female workers in wartime—did indeed labor in defense plants. Almost half a million worked in the aircraft industry….Another 225,000 worked in shipbuilding." See Kennedy, *Freedom From Fear*, p.778. For the wartime challenges African Americans faced in the war industry and EO 8802, see Jeffries, *Wartime America,* p. 82-92 and Kennedy, *Freedom From Fear*, p. 764-776.. For racial conflict see Polenberg, *War and Society,* 99-130 and Andrew Edmund Kersten, *Race, Jobs, and the War: The FEPC in the Midwest, 1941-1946* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000).

[28] n *Destructive Creation: American Business and the Winning of World War II* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), Mark R. Wilson noted that scholars have centered their inquiry along three different paths. One focused on understanding the "patriotic contributions of American business leaders and their companies" to the mobilization effort. Another critically examined these corporate executives and argued that the "big corporations allied themselves with a conservative military establishment to thwart smaller firms, New Dealers, consumers, workers, and other citizens" to gain advantage for their companies during the war effort. A third closely examined the government's role in funding the war effort

that the impact of the $3.5 billion federal dollars spent in the south for plant construction left behind a "managerial group" who helped the south industrialize post-war. Others argued that the New Deal programs left a stronger post-war legacy. An exception was Oak Ridge, Tennessee, built to contribute to developing the atomic bomb, which remained after the war.[29]

Historian Robert Lewis examined how the Defense Plant Corporation acquired property in and around Chicago and used GOCOs to produce airplanes and ordnance and then traced the post-war disposition. He argued that the GOCOs represented a new role where the "federal government and the military worked with corporations to

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and argued that America's industrial mobilization resulted in a "war economy full of state enterprise and ramped-up regulation" that businesses at the time pushed back against, but later used to lay a foundation for a "postwar future in which state enterprise and regulation would play a smaller part." For the "patriotic contributions" see Francis Walton, *Miracle of World War II: How American Industry Made Victory Possible* (New York: Macmillan, 1956); Arthur Herman, *Freedom's Forge: How American Business Produced Victory in World War II* (New York: Random House, 2012); Richard E. Holl, *From the Boardroom to the War room: America's Corporate Liberals and FDR's Preparedness Program* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2005); Maury Klein, *A Call to Arms: Mobilizing America for World War II* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013). For the critical account of these corporate executives see among others, John Morton Blum, *V was for Victory: Politics and American Culture During World War II* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1976); David M. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Paul. A. C. Koistinen *Arsenal of World War II: The Political Economy of American Warfare, 1940-1945* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004) and Richard Polenberg, *War and Society: The United States, 1941-1945* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1972). For the powerful state control of the wartime economy see, among others, Robert H. Connery, *The Navy and Industrial Mobilization in World War II* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1951); R. Elberton Smith, *The Army and Economic Mobilization* (Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Military History, 1959); Robert Lewis, *Calculating Property Relations: Chicago's Wartime Industrial Mobilization, 1940-1950* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 2016). For the postwar period see Meg Jacobs, *Pocketbook Politics: Economic Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005); Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003) and Joanna L. Grisinger, *The Unwieldy American State: Administrative Politics Since the New Deal* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

[29]For the "managerial group" see Gerald T. White, *Billions for Defense: Government Financing by the Defense Plant Corporation during World War II* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1980), 125-126. Also see Bruce J. Schulman, *From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt: Federal Policy, Economic Development, and the Transformation of the South, 1938-1980* (New York: 1991). For no significant economic impact see Robert Lewis, World War II Manufacturing and the Postwar Southern Economy *The Journal of Southern History* Nov 2007 Vol. 73 No. 4 (November 2007) 839-840. See Kari Frederickson, *Cold War Dixie: Militarization and Modernization in the American South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013).

determine how factories were to be built, where they were to be built, and who was to build them. Factories were no longer considered the sole prerogative of private capitalist interests." This relationship extended beyond the war and was a hallmark of the military industrial complex that followed.[30]

The west also showcased the legacy of war mobilization and the military industrial complex. As Historian Gerald Nash observed, the federal government invested $29 billion in the west from 1941 to 1945. Not only were aircraft and shipbuilding manufacturers located in the region, but so too were the industries that supported those manufacturers, including aluminum and stee. Provo, Utah, became the location of the largest steel plant, which the Defense Plant Corporation financed and the United States Steel Corporation managed. The Defense Plant Corporation constructed six aluminum plants in the West that the Aluminum Company of America managed. The federal government built power plants to accommodate the increased demand. Research and development of the atomic bomb occurred at Los Alamos, New Mexico and a plutonium facility in Hanford, Washington.[31]

Some of the legacies of defense manufacturing for World War II were short-lived, but no less significant, such as ending the great depression and playing a critical role in defeating the Axis. Large numbers s of Americans left their homes to work in the war industry and many stayed. The defense manufacturing also created a new relationship between the state and private industry that contributed to the military industrial complex,

[30] Robert Lewis, *Calculating Property Relations*, 214.
[31] Gerald D. Nash, *The Federal Landscape: An Economic History of the Twentieth-Century West* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1999), 41-54.

and left a legacy of nuclear technology and weapons, which still impacts the world today.

Chapter 2: Victory Gardens, Rationing and GI Housing

By G. Kurt Piehler

One of the demands of total war is completely mobilizing the economy to ensure that a nation's armed forces have the necessary equipment and supplies. The governments of every major belligerent in World War II, whether, allocated resources, including capital and labor, and instituted rationing that limited civilian access to food, clothing, housing, travel and an array of consumer goods. The United States proved no exception, and even before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, established federal agencies to manage the economy and plan for rationing.[32]

Rationing impacted every American civilian on the home front, who were called upon to limit consuming a host of products. To aid the war effort, Americans were asked to plant Victory Gardens to bolster food production. Limiting access to food inconvenienced many and even caused hardship to a few, who grumbled about the limited availability of red meat, butter, sugar, automobile tires, gasoline, and several other items. But, while Americans 'sacrifices did not result in civilian starvation, other allies were not as fortunate. Scores died from famine in China, India, and parts of the Soviet Union. After invading the Soviet Union, the German government adopted a deliberate policy of starving captured Prisoners of War and the civilians they conquered.[33] Despite the demands of raising an armed forces of over fifteen million and providing significant aid to Allies through lend lease shipments, Americans managed to consume more goods and services in 1944 than in 1940.[34] For many who had endured unemployment and poverty during the Great Depression, World War II brought jobs and increased wages which dramatically improved their lives.

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[32] On the ability of Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States to outproduce the Axis powers economically in World War II, see Richard Overy, *Why the Allies Won* (New York: Norton, 1995), chp. 6.
[33] Lizzie Collingham, *The Taste of War: World War II and the Battle for Food* (New York: Penguin Press, 2012), chp. 9.
[34] John Morton Blum, *V Was for Victory* (San Diego, CA: Harvet Books/Harcourt Brace, 1976), 91.

Production all but ceased for some goods. In early 1942, federal authorities mandated that Detroit manufacturers from building automobiles to tanks, trucks, jeeps, and aircraft engines. Lack of building materials and labor significantly decreased residential and commercial construction. Most new housing construction took place only in communities impacted by an influx of defense workers, such as Oak Ridge, Tennessee.[35] Some products were never rationed because of federal mandates, although shortages developed, especially when agricultural products were out of season. For instance, while the need for nickel and tin limited the canned fruits and vegetables available, fresh produce could be bought without any governmental restrictions.[36] Since they were deemed as non-essential products, items such as candy, cigarettes, toys, and alcohol were never rationed, despite their short supply.

Responsibility for economic mobilization rested with several agencies. The Office of Price Administration (OPA) served as the central agency responsible for consumer rationing and implementing price controls on goods and services, including imposing rent control in communities with a high number of defense factories. Federal officials often implemented rationing as a last resort when voluntary measures proved inadequate. In late 1942, Americans were urged to purchase less red meat, but these efforts proved unsuccessful and led to rationing from March 1943 through 1945.[37] In several instances, rationing of a product, such as coffee, was imposed, but lifted even before the war ended, when supplies proved adequate. During the war, the OPA issued several types of ration books for food, clothing and shoes, gasoline, and fuel oil. Even with shortages of red meat, there were alternatives for protein. In 1944, a surplus of eggs led the OPA to call for Americans to consume more eggs.[38]

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[35] Charles W. Johnson and Charles O. Johnson, *City Behind a Fence: Oak Ridge, Tennessee, 1942-1945* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1981), 100-114.
[36] Emanuel B. Halper, "Evolution and Maturity of the American Supermarket During World War II" *Real Property: Probate and Trust Journal* 41:2 (Summer 2006): 292-299.
[37] R. Douglas Hurt, *The Great Plains during World War II* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 130-44.
[38] Amy Bentley, *Food Rationing and the Politics of Domesticity* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 14-24, 99-100.

In contrast to Great Britain, the United States did not implement a program to provide workers with cafeterias serving nutritious food. Many employers provided cafeterias, but their quality and prices varied greatly. Even water fountains remained voluntary and in one factory, workers complained about lacking convenient access to potable water, even though vending machines selling soft drinks were widely available.[39] Despite the federal government urging mothers to work, the U.S. never established a national system of community kitchens to relieve the burden. Rationing did burden women workers who had to visit multiple grocery stores due to periodic shortages of particular items. The size of refrigerators and storage in many urban apartments made storing food difficult.[40]

Early victories by the Japanese led the OPA to implement the first series of restrictions on tires and sugar. Japan's conquests in the Pacific, most notably the fall of British Malaysia, led to tire rationing in December 1942 to conserve rubber. Sugar soon followed after the Japanese conquered the Philippines and trade was cut off.[41] Americans sacrificed during the war, but a substantial number anticipated the shortages and hoarded goods. Soon after the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, Americans with memories of the scarcities of sugar during World War I, emptied the shelves. Rationing often created a greater allure for some products. After coffee was rationed, consumption increased, but after restrictions were lifted, purchases declined.[42]

The way the OPA allocated sugar had an important impact on consumption. Home baking declined partly due to the demands placed on women to enter the workforce, but also by the OPA shifting sugar allotments to commercial bakeries.[43] The Coca Cola Company gained a

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[39] Collingham, *Taste of War*, 424-26.
[40] Perry R. Duis, "No Time for Privacy: World War II and the Chicago's Families" in *The War in American Culture: Society and Consciousness During World War II*. Edited by Lewis A. Erenberg and Susan E. Hirsh (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 24-25.
[41] William K. Klingaman, *The Darkest Year: The American Home Front, 1941-1942* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2019), 89-90.
[42] Harvey Levenstein, *Paradox of Plenty: A Social History of Eating in Modern America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 81.
[43] Bentley, *Food Rationing*, 107-8.

generous allotment by agreeing to provide the iconic soft drink to GIs. Bolstered by this access to sugar, Coca Cola sales increased and dominated the American and post war global soft drink market.[44]

German submarines sinking oil tankers off the East Coast and Gulf of Mexico in 1942 led to gasoline rationing along the eastern United States. In 1943, declining rubber stocks proved crucial to extending gasoline rationing to the entire country. Unless an owner of a vehicle could prove a special need, they were granted an "A" sticker for their car and given a coupon book that allocated them only three gallons a week (later raised to four). War workers received an extra allotment signified by a "B" sticker and essential occupations, such as physicians, received a "C" sticker, an even more generous allowance. To extend gasoline supply and preserve tires, the Roosevelt administration issued an executive order dropping the national speed limit to thirty-five miles an hour.[45]

Given the OPA's limited resources, and courts 'reluctance to impose harsh sentences, voluntary compliance remained crucial. A flourishing black market developed, especially for meats and gasoline, that grew worse during the war. Even those who sought to comply with rationing often found themselves confronting a butcher who sold meat priced over the mandated amount and felt they had little choice to feed their families. Complacency and apathy, partly engendered by Allied victories after 1943, led to more counterfeit gasoline and ration coupons.[46]

By the same token, scores of Americans, especially young people, supported the war effort by participating in scrap drives to collect paper, rubber, copper, tin, and other products in short supply.[47] Despite the limits on consumption, many women's groups baked goods and

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[44] Blum, *V Was for Victory*, 107-8.
[45] Richard R. Lingeman, *Don't You Know There's a War On?: The American Home Front, 1941-1945* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1970), 238-40.
[46] For a case study examining the impact of rationing and the extent of black market on one community, see Marc Scott Miller, *The Irony of Victory: World War II and Lowell, Massachusetts* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1988), 139-53, 157-59
[47] William M. Tuttle, Jr. "*Daddy's Gone to War": The Second World War in the Lives of America's Children* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 122-24.

provided meals to GIs, especially those in port cities, heading off to war. Perhaps the most significant contribution came from millions planting fruits and vegetables in what became widely known as Victory Gardens.

The Victory Garden ranks as one of the most popular and celebrated ways American civilians aided the war effort. Part of the success stemmed from rural Americans often maintaining fruit and vegetable gardens that supplemented their cash crops. Gardening remained a popular pastime of suburbanites, especially women. It is estimated that over twenty million victory gardens were planted. They could be found in suburban backyards, churchyards, and on factory grounds. Although some officials in the Department of Agriculture were skeptical about urban residents participating in this effort, flower boxes became small victory gardens in countless apartments. New York City, Chicago, and a host of other cities allocated land in public parks for urbanites to grow crops. Both the rich and poor planted them. In Tennessee, the Welfare Department gave free seeds to the elderly, dependent children and blind receiving relief payments.[48] The Department of Agriculture, the Office of War Information (OWI), and local officials supported significant publicity efforts encouraging victory gardens.[49] In 1943, the peak year for participation, they produced eight tons of food, forty percent of fruits consumed on the home front.[50]

One of the balancing acts for the OPA and other federal agencies managing the economy was providing the resources for victory gardeners to store their harvests. The OPA supported canning fruits and vegetables, long a staple of many households, especially in rural areas and allocated pressure cookers, sugar, and bottles.

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[48] Robert G. Spinney, *World War II in Nashville: Transformation of the Homefront* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998), 119.
[49] Char Williams, "In the Sweat of Our Brow: Citizenship in American Domestic Practice During World War II—Victory Gardens" *Journal of American Culture* 26:3 (September 2003): 395-409.
[50] Bentley, *Eating for Victory*, chp. 5.

Victory Gardens increased living standards for many Americans. Surveys showed a broadening diet for families, including salads and squash. Many working-class Americans consumed much more meat, milk, fruits and vegetables. However, many, especially people on fixed incomes or who lived in regions bypassed by prosperity, were left behind as inflation increased food prices. With the exception of the school lunch program, most New Deal programs providing food safety to vulnerable populations ended during the war. Despite these gaps, rationing and price controls benefited working families of modest means, ensuring that they had access to a range of products that would have been unaffordable if the free market had operated unimpeded.[51]

Rationing of goods not only aided America's allies, but also ensured that the American army remained the best fed in the world. On average, the GI in training received over 4300 calories daily and had access to meat at virtually every meal. During combat, GIs were allocated 4,758 calories daily.[52] Although nutritionists had minimal impact in using federal rationing policies to promote healthier diets, the armed forces stressed providing soldiers with a healthy diet and prodded GIs to consume more fruits and vegetables. For instance, army messes provided seconds and even thirds of red meat but required soldiers to finish their vegetables first. GIs drank vast quantities of coffee, but milk remained their favorite beverage, even if many grew tired of powdered substitutes when deployed abroad.[53] Some innovative products, such as dehydrated soups and vegetables, and powdered lemon drinks found few fans. But Special Processed American Meat (SPAM), a highly processed meat product, developed a significant number of fans, not only among GIs, but also among Hawaiian civilians.[54]

[51] Levenstein, *Paradox of Plenty*, 86-87.
[52] Collingham, *Taste of War*, 434.
[53] Levenstein, *Paradox of Plenty*, 93-94.
[54] Levenstein, *Paradox of Plenty*, 95.

Lack of adequate and affordable housing became a pressing problem in many communities. Communities that saw an influx of new factories or military bases forced many Americans to rent substandard houses, including garages and outbuildings. For Black Americans, the war time shortages exacerbated the problem, especially given widespread discrimination.

The Servicemen Adjustment Act of 1944, more commonly known as the GI Bill of Rights, provided honorably discharged veterans with an array of benefits to aid their transition. For veterans unable to find a job, they had access to what many termed the "52 and 20 club," that provided unemployment insurance. Veterans whose education was interrupted by the war received funding to complete their high school education, pursue a college degree or attend graduate or professional schools. The majority of veterans opted to pursue vocational training under the educational benefits. The GI Bill of Rights provided loan guarantees that facilitated home ownership among honorably discharged veterans.[55]

Inflation and shortages, especially in housing, plagued the American economy after V-J Day. Many New Dealers advised President Harry S. Truman, to maintain rationing and price controls to ease the transition to a civilian economy. His administration opted to quickly remove most governmental restrictions. Shortages in building materials and labor stymied new construction creating a severe housing shortage for returning GIs. Part of the housing shortage stemmed from pent up demand from the Great Depression and World War II. Demobilization of fifteen million GIs in less than two years, and the growing number of families also contributed.

While not a smooth one, reconverting the economy restored supply and demand. Housing shortages eased substantially after 1947, partly because of increased supplies of building materials and innovative real estate developers. In 1944, single family home construction stood at only 114,000 units. By 1948, it had soared to 1,183.00 units. Pioneered by

[55] Davis R. B. Ross, *Preparing for Ulysses: Politics and Veterans during World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969).

Abraham Levitt and his family company, developers purchased undeveloped tracts of land and clear cut them to build hundreds of houses using prefabricated construction practices common during the war. Levitt initially reserved the first of his three Levittowns in Long Island communities for veterans. Later Levitt built developments in Bucks County, Pennsylvania and Burlington County, New Jersey, that would also attract a significant number of veterans who relied on VA loan guarantees to underwrite their mortgages.[56]

Levitt and Company refused to sell to Black veterans. This discrimination was not unique, and the VA and the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) encouraged it. The FHA, in underwriting mortgages stressed the value of real estate covenants in property deeds that explicitly restricted sale to white buyers. Civil rights organizations, most notably, the NAACP, protested this practice and waged a successful judicial challenge. In Shelley vs. Kraemer (1948), the Supreme Court declared that racially restrictive covenants could not be enforced by state and federal courts. Despite this, the VA and FHA stopped promoting restrictive covenants only under pressure from civil right activists.[57]

The discrimination endured by Black veterans makes Richmond Heights in South Dade County, Florida a remarkable story of moral courage by White developer Frank C. Martin, who faced significant opposition from local, state, and federal White leaders. A pilot for Pan American Airlines, he recognized that Black American veterans generally had few housing options and were forced to purchase substandard and overpriced homes. Martin established a new housing development on three thousand acres of pineland and reserved this community for Black veterans. In planning this new community, he drew on the expertise of the University of Miami and consulted with leaders of the Dade County Black community. Initially stymied by the

[56]Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 231-37.
[57] Louis Lee Woods II, "Almost 'No Negro Veteran … Could Get a Loan': African Americans, The GI Bill, and the NAACP Campaign Against Residential Segregation, 1917-1960" *Journal of African American History* 98: 3 (Summer 2013): 392-417.

FHA refusing to provide funding, he circumvented the agency by appealing to a former classmate from the U.S. Military Academy to intercede directly with President Truman. Reflecting his drive to build superior homes, Martin's building practices conformed to the building standards used in upscale Coral Gables, Florida.[58]

Most of the scholarly literature on the GI Bill of Rights focuses on the support it offered to veterans who returned to school. Only recently have historians addressed the provisions of the act related to supporting home purchases. The GI Bill fostered greater home ownership by veterans and contributed to the growth of suburbia that remained iconic of the postwar period. For many communities, the legacy of World War II is far-reaching, in how it spurred a massive growth in single home construction and turned scores of rural communities into suburban ones.

[58] Patricia Harper Garrett and Jessica Garret Modkins, *Miami's Richmond Heights* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2013).

Chapter 3: Selling Democracy: War Bonds & World War II

By: Laura Lee Oviedo

War bonds were important to the World War II economy. They were a crucial funding source for the war and an opportunity for civilians to participate in the war effort. Drawing inspiration from Savings Bonds as far back as the War of 1812, War Savings Bonds were essentially a public financial and emotional investment. Through purchasing a war bond, the federal government created an avenue for the American public to help pay for war production and help economic regulation and recovery. To garner support, the government relied on the emotional investment of civilians to be patriotic and loyal. Mothers, military wives, youth, entertainers, businesses, defense workers, government workers, and military servicemembers helped fund a war that changed America's role in the world. War bond campaigns were successful because of efforts from grassroots to national levels, unity that cut across identity, region, and class. By the end of the war, 85 million Americans had purchased $185 billion in war bonds to fight for global democracy. Thus, when taking into consideration the impact and roles in which towns and cities have contributed to the sales of war bonds during World War II, it is important to consider the levels that diverse communities contributed their talents, resources, and money. This large-scale investment from the American public continues to spark discussions about reviving savings bonds to aid in contemporary national crises such as the Patriot Bond and COVID-19.

War bonds have historically played a key role in America's wartime economy. Although not always dubbed "war bonds," the federal government and civilians have worked together to support military endeavors through economic investments and patriotic participation. During the War of 1812, Congress approved interest-bearing Treasury notes on June 30, 1812 to fight against Britain. Forty years later, government bond dollars financed two-thirds of the Civil War (1861-1865). The firm Jay Cooke & Company managed the government bond dollars that were used to finance two-thirds of the war. The firm organized three bond drives through newspaper

advertisements and an estimated 2,500 retailers nationwide; the last two times exceeded government expectations.[59] In the Confederate states, ladies sewed quilts to raise an estimated $240,000 Confederate dollars to purchase 3 gunboats for the Navy. By World War I, (1914-1918, U.S. involvement April 1917-September 1918), Liberty Bonds sold through the Liberty Loan program, managed by the U.S. Treasury and the Federal Reserve, made up two-thirds of the funding.[60] By borrowing from the public, the full economic burden of national security was placed on its citizens.

During the Great Depression, the United States was facing an uphill economic battle to produce enough revenue without causing inflation or worsening the crisis . In the latter part of the decade, the war between European nations provided the U.S. with an opportunity to lend a hand and recover financially. Through the Lend-Lease Program (March 1941-September 1945), the United States began producing arms and ammunition for Allied nations, which created jobs, protected defense strategy, and contributed to the economy.[61] When the United States declared war on December 8, 1941, manufacturers focused on the military instead of consumer culture. By 1942, with a push from wartime government agencies such as the War Production Board, appliance and automobile factories were converted to produce military aircraft, weapons, and vehicles.[62] The national economy shifted from a consumer culture to a wartime economy.

On April 30, 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt announced that a "great partnership" between civilians and the government would be available through a new "Defense" Savings

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[59] Jayson A. Altieri, "Government Girls: Crowd-Sourcing Aircraft in World War II," *Air Power History* 67, no. 1 (Spring 2020), 19-26.; Michael A. Martorelli, "Financing the Civil War" *Essential Civil War Curriculum,* Virginia Center for Civil War Studies at Virginia Tech (November 2014), 1-8.
[60] Altieri, "Government Girls," 19-26.
[61] Christopher Tassava, "The American Economy during World War II," *EH.Net Encyclopedia*, ed. Robert Whaples, February 10, 2008, http://eh.net/encyclopedia/the-american-economy-during-world-war-ii/; Economic "Today in History- October 23: The Lend Lease Act," *Today in History* (blog), Library of Congress,. https://www.loc.gov/item/today-in-history/october-23/.
[62] Altieri, "Government Girls," 19-26.

Bond, Series E.[63] To set an example for the American public, on May 1st, President Roosevelt purchased the first Defense Bond to fund the "arsenal of democracy."

The Defense Savings Bond invited citizens to help finance the defense effort by purchasing a savings bond at increments of $25, $50, $100, $500, and $1,000. Purchased at 75% of its face value, each accrued a 2.9 percent interest with a 10-year maturity. They could be redeemed for its entire purchase price and accumulated interest as soon as two months after purchase. Additionally, their maturity value was capped at $5,000 per calendar year. As part of their investments, purchasers were given three options to legally register an owner(s). The legal beneficiaries could assign the war bond to (1) themselves or one individual; (2) two co-owners, or (3) themselves or another individual with a designated inheritor in case of death before redemption. Owners were not allowed to sell or transfer the bonds.[64]

In spring 1942, the Defense Bond was renamed the War Bond to reflect U.S. involvement. To lessen the financial burden on a floundering economy, the government once again sought financial support from its citizens. To fund America's first total war, the government began deducting federal income taxes from payrolls. In addition to the income tax, the government used war bonds to economically and emotionally invest citizens in the war effort. War bonds helped prevent inflation by taking money out of circulation and convincing Americans to invest their cash, which would be stored and secured in federal banks. The longer the war bond stayed in the bank, the more interest it accrued. Not only were citizens paying less than at face value, but they were increasing their total cash-out the longer they waited to get their money back. War bonds allowed the government to borrow money from its citizens, who used the cash stored in federal banks to pay for the war.[65]

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[63] U.S. Savings Bond Division, *A History of the United States Savings Bond Program* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Savings Bonds Division, Dept. of the Treasury, 1984).
[64] Ibid.
[65] Altieri, "Government Girls," 19-26; U.S. Savings Bond Division, *A History of the United States Savings Bond.*

Similar to U.S. Savings Bonds (Series A, B, C, D, E, F, and G) that had helped with inflation and national debt, war bonds could be redeemed after a certain time and exchanged for their original value plus interest. War bonds were sold at increments of $25, $100, and $1,000. Additionally, war savings stamps were available at smaller increments of $1, $5, 50 cents, 25 cents, and 10 cents, which could be exchanged for a war bond. These low costs strategically made war bonds affordable for the growing number of employed workers turned-small-scale investors. Financially, it was enticing for smaller investors and it encouraged trust between citizens and the government, forming the "great partnership" exalted by President Roosevelt.[66]

On December 8, 1941, President Roosevelt declared war on the Axis powers and joined the Allies. U.S. military defense mobilization was revved up to full force and became the central focus of the wartime economy. Communities across the nation became crucial resources for funding, material needs, and morale. War bonds served three important purposes. First, it helped the U.S. finance the war. Second, it regulated the economy by preventing inflation by diverging cash flow. Third, it provided another avenue for patriotic support and civic participation.

Mobilization campaigns targeted the emotional and psychological essence by focusing on national morale and self-image. Posters, cartoons, films, and music painted a narrative of a democratic nation threatened by the Axis powers. A democratic stronghold was only possible through sacrifice and commitment. This massive crusade of selling democracy was diverse, including window displays, town rallies, farm-to-farm canvassing, and performance-based fundraisers. With seven successful bond drives, not including the postwar Victory Loan Drive, between 1942 and 1945, the war bond program was the largest domestic campaign.[67] By buying war bonds, citizens could display their support for democracy and loyalty. Many did. By

[66] U.S. Savings Bond Division, *A History of the United States Savings Bond Program*, 11-15.
[67] James Kimble, *Mobilizing the Home Front: War Bonds and Domestic Propaganda* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006).

the end of the war, 135 million Americans had bought $185 billion in war bonds, providing a significant amount of the $350 billion cost of the war.

Diverse communities participated in selling and purchasing war bonds. Local communities and its citizens raised money and awareness of the "society-wide thrift movement."[68] War bond campaigns relied on community and civic engagement, using public squares, parks, schools, movie theaters, local business, municipal halls, and other spaces. War bond sales were extremely successful, and at times exceeded Treasure Department goals.

States, cities, counties, and townships not only provided space and resources for war bond fundraisers, they purchased war bonds in large amounts.[69] Through the Treasury Department's "Buy a War Bomber" campaign, war bonds could be purchased in bulk and in return, an aircraft could be named in their honor. The amount of money donated determined the class of aircraft, $275,000 for a heavy bomber (B-17 or B-24), $110,000 for a B-25 Mitchell t, and pursuit fighter or liaison planes were available at smaller amounts.[70]

In New Orleans, Louisiana, Black Americans purchased over $5,072,942 in war bonds through organizations, clubs, schools, and universities. A major player was the War Bonds Savings Club which used war bonds as membership fees. The National Negro Business League formed the National Organizing Committee of War Bonds Savings Club to manage the membership fees. To be a member of the War Bonds Savings Club, members had to purchase one $25 war bond ($351 today) per month or every other month. Additionally, on June 25, 1944, Booker T. Washington High School screened a film, The Negro Soldier and showcased musical performances to sell war bonds. These activities, including musicals, parades, and rallies, made

[68] Kiku Adatto, "Saving for Democracy: Thrift, Sacrifice, and the World War II Bond Campaigns," in *Thrift and Thriving in America: Capitalism and Moral Order from the Puritans to the Present*, eds. Joshua Yates and James D. Hunter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
[69] U.S. Savings Bond Division, *A History of the United States Savings Bond Program*, 23.
[70] Altieri, "Government Girls," 23-24.

Black Americans in Louisiana crucial contributors.[71] During the fourth bond drive, Oklahoma Governor, Robert S. Kerr proclaimed February 14, 1944 as “U” Day. All schools and businesses closed early to allow residents to purchase and raise funds for war bonds. Schoolchildren canvased neighborhoods for subscriptions, employees purchased war bonds, and additional clerks were hired to handle the increased traffic.[72]

Broadcasts and publications by national and local media outlets were important for advertising bonds. They not only promoted sales, they also informed the public about the military necessities that their war bonds provided. In addition to musicals and documentaries produced by the Treasury Department, local radio stations and larger networks hosted “Radio Bond Days” where listeners could phone in a pledge to purchase more war bonds. Newspapers and magazines not only advertised, they also took customer orders. By July 1942, there were 500 national magazines displaying the war bonds on its covers.[73]

Businesses, department stores, and retailers also sold bonds, at times even blocking off streets to host rallies. Businesses took advantage of the Payroll Savings program that allowed employees to direct ten percent of their earnings towards war bonds. Between December 1941 and 1945, savings bonds (then Defense Bonds) increased payroll savings enrollment from $700,000 to more than $25 million.[74] In Portland, Oregon, 561 women volunteers played a key role during the Fifth War Loan Drive by managing bond booths. This included over 180 women who worked and volunteered to sell war bonds and stamps across various hotels, stores, and theaters in Portland[75]

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[71]“ African Americans and the War Bond Efforts in New Orleans” (blog), Amistad Research Center, https://www.amistadresearchcenter.org/single-post/2017/09/11/african-americans-and-the-war-bond-efforts-in-new-orleans.
[72] Linda D. Wilson, “War Bond Drives,” *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=WA020.
[73] U.S. Savings Bond Division, *A History of the United States Savings Bond Program*, 23.
[74] Ibid, 19.
[75] Portland Fifth War Loan Drive Report, Portland-Multnomah County Civilian Defense Council, July 12, 1944. Folder 18, Box 15, Defense Council Records, OSA.; “Better Buy Your War Bonds: Savings Drives

The entertainment industry was crucial to providing a lighthearted and artistic aesthetic to the war bonds drives. Hollywood stars, such as Judy Garland, Lucille Ball and James Cagney, and musicians joined Secretary of Treasury, Henry Morgenthau, Jr. to promote war bond sales.[76] Morgenthau asked musician Irving Berlin to write "Any Bonds Today?" to promote sales of Defense Bonds.[77] It became the official song of the National Defense Savings Program and multiple artists covered the song. "Any Bonds Today?" also became the backdrop for a 90 second Bugs Bunny animation titled, "Leon Schlesinger Presents Bugs Bunny."[78] Produced at no charge, this cartoon, among numerous other animation and short films, encouraged audience members to donate and purchase war bonds in the theater. Berlin donated his proceeds from the song. Indianapolis made headlines when Carole Lombard, a movie star, died in a plane crash after hosting a war bond rally. She had raised $2.5 million that day.[79]

Local movie theaters did their part to promote and sell war bonds. While war bonds and stamps were available to purchase at the box office after the movie, theaters also sent in ushers to collect donations in between shorts and feature films. Some theaters accepted war bonds for admissions. In cities small and large, Hollywood performers made appearances to encourage their audience to buy war bonds.[80]

Artists also dedicated their talent and production to raising money for war bonds. Motivated by his desire to contribute to the war effort, and President's Roosevelt's post-war vision of four freedoms – freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and

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Fund the War" Life on the Homefront: Oregon Responds to World War II (blog). https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/ww2/Pages/services-bonds.aspx.

[76] Beth Py-Lieberman, "Any bonds Today?" *Smithsonian Magazine* (February 2002).

[77] James Kimble, *Mobilizing the Home Front: War Bonds and Domestic Propaganda* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006), 5; John Bush Jones, *The Songs that Fought the War: Popular Music and the Homefront* (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2006) 198.

[78] Michael S. Shull and David E. Wilt, *Doing Their Bit: Wartime American Animated Short Films,* 1939-1945 (McFarland, 2004), 100-101; Kimble, *Mobilizing the Home Front,* 3-13.

[79] Py-Lieberman, "Any bonds Today?"

[80] Kathryn Cramer Brown, ""It is Entertainment and it Will Sell Bonds!": 16 mm Film and the World War II War Bond Campaign," *The Moving Image* 10, no. 2 (2010), 60-82.

freedom from fear – artist Norman Rockwell drew inspiration from his hometown for his "Four Freedoms" collection.[81] Rockwell depicted Freedom of Worship (local residents praying in church), Freedom of Speech (a citizen expressing his concerns in a town meeting), Freedom from Fear (parents tucking in their children), and Freedom from Want (a family gathering for a filling dinner). "Four Freedoms," traveled to sixteen cities, where millions of Americans could admire and draw meaning for their own sacrifice and contributions. As a reward, purchasers were gifted a set of prints. By the end of the tour, Rockwell's Four Freedoms sold a staggering $133 million in war bonds and stamps.[82] Additionally, they were reprinted as posters with the phrase, "Buy War Bonds," and distributed in schools.[83]

Schoolchildren and educational institutions were also involved. An installment plan was created for children. They could buy twenty-five cent stamps and save them in a book until they reached $18.75, then purchase a $25 dollar bond .[84] Additionally, through a government program, "Schools at War," the Treasury and U.S. Department of Education worked together to teach students about the needs, purpose, and cost of the war. They were taught the importance of purchasing war bonds and conserving materials needed for national defense. By educating the youth, the government not only shaped how youth understood their role in the war effort, but it made them active participants. By the end of the war, schoolchildren and newspaper carriers, largely youth, had purchased $1.5 billion in stamps.[85]

Servicemembers also contributed in multiple ways. In addition to sacrificing their lives in the front lines, Native American soldiers of the U.S. Army 45th Infantry Division raised thousands of dollars by performing ritual ceremonial dances to audiences in Boston, Massachusetts.

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[81] The Norman Rockwell Museum, *Norman Rockwell's Four Freedoms*, https://www.nrm.org/2012/10/collections-four-freedoms/
[82] Ibid.
[83] Kimble, *Mobilizing the Home Front,* 6.
[84]" Better Buy Your War Bonds," https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/ww2/Pages/services-bonds.aspx
[85] U.S. Savings Bond Division*, A History of the United States Savings Bonds Program*, 23; Adatto, "Saving For Democracy," 22.

Stationed in Ft. Devens, Massachusetts, the All Soldier Indian Dance Show began as a concerted effort by tribes in New Mexico and Oklahoma to preserve their heritage and educate the hostile Bostonians about their culture to challenge their stereotypes of Native Americans as uneducated savages. After their famous Eagle Dance and Victory Dance, Sgt. William Lasky, a Potawoni from Pawnee, flaunted a flag while dressed in red, white, and blue garb, closing out the show with the Star-Spangled Banner. Military officials underestimated the success of their first performance at the Boston Garden on October 7, 1942, which quickly outsold the $500 of war bonds and stamps provided. By the end of the performance, they had received $5,000 of war bond pledges. For the next few months, the All Soldier Indian Dance Show danced through Boston public squares, schools, churches, local fairs, and hospitals. At their peak, Bostonians bought $75,000 from the men of the 45th, a far cry from residents who crossed the street to avoid them.[86]

These brief examples of war bond contributions by various grassroot and national programs highlight the ways in which local communities and individuals contributed. For decision-makers in charge of designating World War Heritage Cities, it is important to encourage local communities and to look through evidence of such participation through organization, business, and institution records, historical society archives, and state records. Because some of these records may not always be documented through formal repositories, personal and private collections also serve as valuable sources.

The success of war bonds continue to spark ideas of publicly invested loans to aid a national crisis. Bonds have been resurrected during a national security and a global health

[86] Gregory N. Pierson, "Raising Morale and Money: Thunderbird Dancers of World War II" *Native Peoples* (November/December 2009). 40-45; Denise Niel, "Native Americans in the 45th Infantry Division" *The War* (online article) National World War II Museum, November 27, 2020, https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/native-americans-45th-infantry-division

crisis.[87] After the September 11, 2001 attack, the U.S. government began selling Series EE U.S. Savings Bonds to help fund the war on terror. In 2021, during the COVID-19 pandemic, the United States and other nations are turning to bonds to provide financial support for COVID-19 related relief, supplies, and goods.

[87]Sydney Maki, "Bonds that Fight Poverty are Booming in Covid-Struck Nations," *Equality* (article), Bloomberg, July 19, 2021, https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2021-07-19/bonds-that-fight-poverty-are-booming-in-nations-strafed-by-covid; Gerald Rosen, "COVID War Bonds: Why Not Crowd-Source World War C?" Opinion (blog), *The Detroit News*, April 6, 2020, https://www.detroitnews.com/story/opinion/2020/04/07/opinion-covid-war-bonds-why-not-crowd-source-world-war-c/5107578002/

Chapter 4: World War II: Adaptations for Wartime Survival

By Laura Lee Oviedo

World War II was the first war that was fought on sea, land, and air.[88] The severity of the war on the peoples and lands required massive manpower and resources. With over 16 million men and women serving in the military, and the U.S. government committed to sending products overseas through the Lend-Lease Program, production in the U.S. was at an all-time high. Allies' demands for products continued to rise, which increased production on the American home front. Refrigerator factories became bombing factories and auto assembly lines began assembling rivets. This ended the unemployment troubles of the Great Depression and provided economic relief to the working class. Still, with war production aimed at military support overseas, Americans faced a shortage of gas, oil, rubber, meat, fat, butter, vegetables, and other necessities. In addition to rationing legislation, federal, state, and local agencies created campaigns to mobilize the home front to conserve and grow food and gather and recycle materials. Mothers, housewives, and youth adapted to the wartime changes by contributing their skills and transformed into citizen soldiers.

After the United States declared war on Dec. 8, 1941, manufacturing focused on producing for the war and military. By 1942, the Office of Price Administration (OPA), later renamed the War Production Board (WPB), had converted all appliance and automobile factories into production floors for military aircraft, weapons, and vehicles. Food being grown and canned was sent to the military and allies overseas. Rationing and government campaigns encouraged housewives, youth, and every abled body to grow as much food in victory gardens, recycle natural and industrial resources, and limit their consumption of extra necessities.

During the war, the OPA distributed over 5 billion ration books containing cards and stamps to American citizens to regulate meat, dairy, coffee, dried fruits, jellies and jams, lard,

[88] 50-56 million people are estimated to have died between 1939 and1945 as a direct cause of the war. In America, 416,800 deaths were military related with an additional 1,700 civilian deaths.

shortening, and oils. Over 5,000 ration books were issued monthly whereupon people supplied grocers and store clerks with the associated stamp for the item. Once a person had used up all their ration stamps, they could not purchase those items until they received their new ration book. Rationing assisted the government in preventing over-consuming goods that could be used towards the war. It also encouraged home cooks, usually housewives and young women, to be creative and resourceful. More households and communities that weren't agricultural farmers were now part of the agricultural community by growing victory gardens. While the home front faced obstacles in their day-to-day lives, they adapted to these shortages and contributed their time and resources.

Before the war, U.S. imports were dominated by rubber, coffee, and sugar but that all halted when the war began because they were imported from mostly Axis markets. As more food items became essential for troops, communities and individuals rose to the challenge. The Garden Club of Georgia's periodical Garden Gateways, encouraged readers to "Grow More for Victory!" Inundated with patriotic fervor, Donald M. Hastings president of the Men's Garden Club of Atlanta, declared that "it is necessary for us to go 'all out 'in the production of planes, tanks, guns, and ammunition but remember, the men who man those machines must have good food, plenty of it, and of a varied and balanced character to insure maximum efficiency."[89]

As mobilization campaigns ran rampant across Texas, women turned their kitchens, gardens, and purses into war making machines. Housewives used resourceful tricks to adapt to wartime changes. In 1943, the Texas government recognized housewives for "salvaging 300,000 pounds of used kitchen fats per month-enough to supply the glycerin for 60,000 pounds of nitro-glycerin every month," an ingredient used for drugs and explosives.[90] Additionally, Texas

[89] Caroline Sanders, "The Tradition of Southern Victory Gardens: Digging in the dirt is a Southerner's longstanding duty," *Garden and Gun* (June 26, 2020).
[90] McGill to Stevenson, memo, September 25, 1943, Records of Coke R. Stevenson, Texas Office of the Governor, Archives and Information Services Division, Texas State Library and Archives Commission.

copper mines recycled 1,000 tons of cans per month. A Minnesota woman, Dorothy Pederson Nelson, recalled that her mother

> "canned hundreds of quarts of vegetables. She also baked all of our bread, made jams and jellies from any fruit that could be picked. We got eggs and some meat from the farm, so we fared well and the rationing of sugar, meats and some other items did not greatly change our fare… I remember that Mother would take the waxed paper out of the cereal boxes, smooth it out, refold it, and use it again. Conservation of everything was not only patriotic, but also practical as many, many things were in short supply. We reused, made over, or did without."[91]

In 1943, the government had purchased 80 percent of the lower grades of beef produced in the U.S., 40 percent of beef cuts, 30 percent of all butter, 30 percent of the veal, 35 percent of all lamb and 50 percent of the canned fruits and vegetables. Meats were especially stressed as fuel to sustain soldiers.[92] Thus, Americans were encouraged to grow soybeans for protein.

One of the most successful home front campaigns was the Gardens for Victory program which produced some 20 million gardens. Home gardening was encouraged to alleviate demand from commercial production. Magazine, newsletters, and pamphlets were printed and distributed to help home gardeners how to "produce continuous supplies of nutritious food, properly selected, on the smallest space, in the shortest time, for the least cost" such as Jean-Marie Putnam and Lloyd C. Cosper's Gardens for Victory, published in 1942. In 1943, First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt planted a victory garden in front of the White House for Americans to observe and hopefully be inspired to emulate. That same year, Americans purchased 315,000 pressure cookers for processing and canning.

[91] Dorothy Pederson Nelson: Remembering Rationing, https://www.mnhs.org/mgg/war/home-front/6594.
[92] Exports and Imports, https://livinghistoryfarm.org/farminginthe40s/making-money/exports-imports/

Panoramic view of the downtown Cleveland, Ohio Mall victory garden with garden shed on left. 1944

Many rural and urban housewives and youth across America planted tomatoes, carrots, lettuce, soybeans, and cabbage. Individuals and communities planted vegetables in backyards, rooftops, and neighborhood gardens. Community cooperatives increased across America.

Even businesses planted Victory Gardens. The mall in downtown Cleveland, Ohio planted a vegetable garden in its parking lot. Private corporations also held contests and exhibits.[93] In San Francisco, the Golden State Park hosted a community garden that the community tilled and shared.[94] Likewise, students at Santa Maria High School, and other schools in the area, cultivated and maintained a "Food-For-Freedom-Garden" on a 3-acre lot near the school.[95]

In the Caribbean, the OPA teamed up with schools in Puerto Rico to formulate an educational program, Education for Victory, aimed to teach Puerto Rican children about the war and their role in it. Puerto Rican youth and their parents were also encouraged to plant victory gardens, or Huertos de la Victoria, at school and at home. Schools in Mayaguez taught students the fundamental and military purposes of Huertos for the food and agricultural emergency programs brought on by wartime shortages. Despite unemployment and hunger strikes, parents also provided tools and offered a helping hand in school gardens and by growing their own at home.[96] By 1944, American families contributed 40% of the nation's produce and 8 million tons of food by the end of the war.[97]

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[93] Feeding Cleveland: Urban Agriculture, Michael Schwartz Library, Cleveland University, Ohio http://www.clevelandmemory.org/urbag/victory.html.

[94] Christopher Michael Hear, *The Armor of Democracy: Volunteerism on the Home Front in World War II California*, thesis (California Polytechnic State University: March 2009).

[95] Ibid.

[96] Jose Collazo, "Educación, economía de Guerraa y movilización de la población en puerto rico" *Puerto Rico en la Segunda Guerra Mundial: Baluarte del Caribe,* ed. Jorge Rodriguez Beruff, José L. Bolívar Fresneda (Puerto Rico: Libros El Navigante, 2015).

[97] Victory Garden at the National Museum of American History: Food garden inspired by victory gardens of World War II.https://gardens.si.edu/gardens/victory-garden/

In 1943, the US Department of Agriculture's U.S. Crop Corps reactivated the Women's Land Army (WLA) from World War I. This became a formal organization, allowing women to work and contribute in civilian agricultural efforts. The WLA drove tractors and trucks, milked cows, and picked fruit. Women from various backgrounds including sisters, wives, schoolteachers, office workers, and students flocked to do their part for the war. Their contributions were recognized for the nation to see when a young woman with corn husks and the WLA badge made the cover of Life magazine on September 27, 1943 (Courtesy of National Museum of American History, Washington, DC.) By the end of the war, a little over 1.5 million had served in the WLA to sustain America's home front.[98]

Items previously imported by Axis powers, like silk from Japan, made up for the rubber shortage. Nylon was also an important supplement to the rubber shortage needed for tire production and parachutes in increasingly mechanized warfare. Silk was used to hold the gun powder for naval guns because it easily disintegrated when the gun was fired. By August 2, 1941, the OPA had taken control of all U.S. silk products and rationed nylon stockings, which raised the price from $1.25 in 1940 to over $10 by the end of 1941. In 1942, the (WPB) launched a silk and nylon collection program. In 1943 it was reported that "Women of Texas have turned in over 1,500,000 pairs of old silk and nylon hosiery for the manufacturer of powder bags, parachutes, etc."[99] Conserving materials like wool and cotton impacted 1940s fashion. In February 1942, the (WPB) met with over 800 fashion industry representatives in the Astor Hotel in Manhattan. H. Stanley Marcus, Vice President of Neiman Marcus, led the clothing and textile

[98] Joyce Connolly, "Farmerettes" Feed a Nation: Serving the home front in the Women's Land Army, blog, Smithsonian Institution, https://womenshistory.si.edu/herstory/object/farmerettes-feed-nation.

[99] McGill to Stevenson, memo, September 25, 1943, Records of Coke R. Stevenson, Texas Office of the Governor, Archives and Information Services Division, Texas State Library and Archives Commission.

program and urged designers and retailers to make and sell clothing that required less material, reducing material consumption by 15 percent and diverting it to the military. Dresses became shorter, clothing accessories like vests and cuffs, double-breasted suits, pleats, and ruffles were no longer worn. With silk nylons drafted into war, women used make-up and eyebrow pencils to paint on faux seams and stockings on their legs.

Educational institutions around the country opened up their classrooms to the community to teach them how to conserve clothing through sewing and patching. The Pratt Institute in Brooklyn offered classes three times a week to teach residents how to reuse clothing scraps. In its first semester, it enlisted 400 women from the local community to attend its classes. In Big Lake, Texas the homemaking department turned its classroom into a social seamstress club where women used the school's sewing machines, consulted formal instruction, and gained new skills while bonding. Five hours away in Mesquite, Texas, the Tripp Home Demonstration Club did the same. Across the mid-Atlantic, a Mother's Club of Calvert Hall in Baltimore, Maryland, also created a sewing class in spring 1943, which met weekly on Wednesdays from mid-morning until 3 pm.[100]

Some civilians and soldiers took these rationing measures seriously and deemed anyone who dared transgress as enemies of the state. Consequences were played out as a public shaming that once took a violent turn in Southern California. In the 1940s, Mexican American youth of East Los Angeles wore zoot-suits, a cultural trend inspired by the Black jazz culture of the 1930s. The men adorned their bodies in high-waisted, wide-legged pegged pants with a long, wide coat with padded shoulders, and long watch-chain tucked into their front pocket. Women wore similar coats but with a knee length skirt and a high-haired bouffant. In Mexican American communities, this fashion trend became recognized as pachuco culture. For white military communities and local law enforcement, this oversized fashion style was regarded

[100] Daniel B. Moskowitz, "How American got its Citizens to Ration Clothing during World War II," https://www.historynet.com/hemmed-in-conversation-efforts/.

as wasteful and unpatriotic. Youth fashion culture was criminalized and viewed as rebelling against and defying the war effort. For nine days in the beginning of June of 1943, racial tensions and American nationalism merged in southern California, leading to violent clashes between Mexican American zoot suitors and U.S. Naval Reserve Armory sailors and servicemembers, supported by local police officers. The servicemembers and police ran through downtown Los Angeles and viciously attacked and publicly undressed Mexican Americans wearing a zoot suit, resulting in full-scale riots. What became known as the Zoot Suit Riots soon unfolded in other cities, including Philadelphia, Chicago, and Detroit.

In early 1942, rubber was rationed and gas rationing followed in 1943. In June 1942, the government launched a rubber drive and pleaded with Americans to collect and donate "old tires, old rubber raincoats, old garden hose, rubber shoes, bathing caps, and gloves." In Mt. Vernon, the Boys and Girls Scouts became integral volunteers rode from house to house on their bicycles, donations.[101] To curtail rubber usage, gas was restricted to a few gallons per week and "pleasure driving" became illegal. Civilians began carpooling to save on trips to stores, work, or social visitations.

Scrap metal drives were notably more successful than rubber salvaging campaigns. In Oregon, young and old rallied to collect aluminum, paper, tin, and steel. The (WPB) created the Oregon State Salvage Board in 1942. Composed of 46 volunteers, it created programs, policies, and procedures for statewide salvage efforts. In partnership with local salvage boards, salvage campaigns were launched state-wide and reached rural and urban communities, schools and youth, housewives and volunteer organizations. In 1942, Tiny Powers High School, each of the 45 students collected 14,000 pounds of scrap metal and won the national record. Portland students were recognized for their 200 tons of scrap. In Klamath Falls, local theaters partnered

[101]" War Bonds, Scrap Drives, & Housing Shortages: St. Paul's as World war II Home-front" National Park Service, https//www.nps.gov/articles/war-bonds-scrap-drives-housing-shortages-st-paul-s-as-world-war-ii-home-front.html

with youth organizations such as the Boys and Girl Scouts, and Campfire Girls to collect 5,250 pounds of cans and Clatsop County contributed over twenty-three train cars loaded with tin. By 1943, every county in Oregon operated salvage committees.[102]

In Phelps County, Nebraska, two historic cannons memorializing the county's role in the Civil War were removed from the courthouse and donated for military use. President Roosevelt recognized the significant contribution and invited other city and county halls to do the same. The two cannons provided the military with over 14 tons of iron that was melted down and reformed into ammunition, ships, aircraft, and tanks.[103] Similarly, in Portland, Oregon rails from unused streetcar lines were donated.

Although jobs were limited for teenagers, they volunteered to collect materials needed to build planes, weapons, munitions, ships, and other wartime necessities. The church became a central organ for Mexican American youth to participate in volunteerism. In South Texas, Mary Resendez, joined her church's effort to collect tin. "We'd open the [tin] cans on both sides, and then put the lids in the middle of the can and then mash it down. They picked [the cans] up or we took them to church in bags, and somebody would take them."[104] Others like Linda, Martha, Placida, and Sallie in central Texas helped recycle scraps of metal and tin and "took them to church in bags."[105]

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[102] Shemia Fagan, "Salvaging Victory: Scrap Drives for the War Effort," https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/ww2/Pages/services-salvage.aspx.

[103] James Kimble, "The Militarization of the Prairie: Scrap Drives, Metaphors, and the Omaha World Herald's 1942 'Nebraska Plan', " *Great Plains Quarterly* 27, no. 2 (2007): 83–99.

[104] Mary Resendez, interviewed by Katherine Hearty, video recording, 28 March 2001, Folder 84, VOCES OHPA, Housed in the Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin.

[105] Mary Resendez, interviewed by Katherine Hearty, video recording, 28 March 2001, Folder 84, VOCES OHPA, Housed in the Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin; Sallie Castro interviewed by Nicole Griffith, video recording, 28 March 2001, Folder 84, VOCES OHPA, Housed in the Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin; Linda Estrada interviewed by Gloria Monita, video recording, 19 Oct 2002, Folder 360, VOCES OHPA, Housed in the Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin; Placida Barrera, *Narratives*, by Emily Burgess, Spring 2003. Interviewed by Virgilio Roel, 28 Sept 2002, Folder 236, VOCES OHPA, Housed in the Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin.

In the last few years, COVID-19 has halted international production and trade. Americans were once again asked to limit consuming certain food and goods used to supplement shortages. As unemployment rates and food insecurity rose, COVID victory gardens increased. In May 2013, Good Housekeeping reported how Google trends for "growing vegetables from scraps" increased to an astonishing 4,650% from 2019.[106] Household items were also limited, including toilet paper, bottled water, alcohol, disinfecting wipes and fluids. Rationing caused a frenzy as Americans attempted to stockpile essentials. Headlines like "Coronavirus: Is it rational to hoard sanitizer and toilet paper?" and "Coronavirus fears spark 'panic buying 'of toilet paper, water, hand sanitizer. Here's why we all need to calm down" flashed across television screens, newspapers, and social media. Alternatives, like victory gardens, provided the government and national community another avenue of echoing the spirit of the World War II home front by reminding Americans that "we are all in this together" as essential contributors in the battle against COVID-19.[107]

[106] Amanda Garrity, "Victory Gardens are Making a Comeback Amid Coronavirus Food Shortage Fears," Good Housekeeping (May 13, 2020), https://www.goodhousekeeping.com/home/gardening/a32452189/what-is-a-victory-garden-coronavirus-pandemic/.
[107] Gabriel R. Valle, "The Past in the Present: What our Ancestors Taught us about Surviving Pandemics," *Food Ethics* vol. 6, 2 (2021)

Chapter 5: Volunteerism: USO & Stage Door Canteen

By Laura Lee Oviedo

While World War II raged on, quasi-state organizations and civilians created spaces of comfort and entertainment through the United Service Organization (USO) for U.S. soldiers to enjoy during their time away from home and the battlefield. On February 4, 1941, the USO, was created by six organizations that had provided wartime support to U.S. troops during World War I, including the Salvation Army, the Traveler's Aid Society, Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), the Jewish Welfare Board, and the National Catholic Community Service (NCCS). A year later, on March 2, 1942, the first USO opened its first sponsored social halls, known as the Stage Door Canteens, an initiative led by the American Theatre Wing (ATW). During World War II, the USO established 3,035 clubs and canteens to boost soldier morale and provide recreational activities and resources. Comedy shows, music performances, and dances by professional and civilian performers, became a central organ of USO entertainment. Other services, like letter-writing assistance and conversational companionship, were also available. By the end of the war, USO clubs and canteens had amassed 1.5 million volunteers who provided services to 1 million people daily.

To construct and operate a "home away from home," between 1941 and 1945 the USO operated with donated funds totaling $33 million.[108] Because the USO was not a government agency, it relied on philanthropic contributions of money, goods, time, talents, and services from corporate to individual donors. Communities across America allotted land for USO facilities, and others transformed unused basements, churches, railroad sleeping cars, museums, barns, and cabins into functioning facilities. Citizens, from everyday people to prominent Hollywood entertainers, volunteered their time, labor, and talents to make sure the boys in uniform were provided hospitality and morale-boosting care. Through these contributions, the USO expanded

[108]" 13 Things You Probably Didn't Know About the USO during World War II," (January 30, 2016), https://www.uso.org/stories/111-13-things-you-probably-did-not-know-about-the-uso-during-world-war-ii

its services and resources to include USO camp shows and stage door canteens, stateside and overseas.

While the types of services and recreations offered at clubs differed depending on their resources, all USO clubs offered servicemembers an escape from military life of work, duties, and war. Once soldiers entered the doors of the USO, they were ushered into a space of leisure that included relaxing lounge areas where they could enjoy cigarettes while they chatted with buddies, boxing rings and punching bags, board games, books, and music that drowned out the echoes of military orders. Coffee and donuts were a staple in USO clubs and snack bars gave men a taste of sweets and meals that weren't available in the military kitchen. In fact, the USO in Honolulu became popular for their banana splits, prompting them to use up to 250 gallons of ice creams and countless bananas a day.[109] Religious counseling, button-sewing and letter-writing were also key services offered by volunteers. Depending on the resources available to the clubs, some offered sporting tournaments, outings, daycare, and canteens.

One of the most famous entertainment features of the USO were canteens, where stars like Hollywood actors, actresses, comedians, singers, and musicians volunteered their talents to provide entertainment for soldier morale. The Stage Door Canteen was created by the American Theatre Wing War Service and opened its first location in Manhattan, New York on March 2, 1942, just a year after the first USO club opened. Known as the Broadway Canteen, it was operated by an executive committee with actors Jane Cowl and Selena Royle as committee chairs. On opening night, the New York City canteen hosted a whopping 1,200 guests, with 200 actresses as waitresses and 75 actors as busboys. The NYC Stage Door Canteen served and entertained servicemen seven days a week with letter writing assistance, food, coffee, cigarettes, and shows.[110]

[109]" 13 Things You Probably Didn't Know About the USO during World War II," (January 30, 2016), https://www.uso.org/stories/111-13-things-you-probably-did-not-know-about-the-uso-during-world-war-ii
[110] Katherine M. Fluker, "Creating a Canteen Worth Fighting For: Morale Service and the Stage Door Canteen in World War II," thesis (Ohio University, March 2011).

On the west coast, the most celebrated USO club was the Hollywood Canteen that opened on October 3, 1942. It was founded as a joint effort between stars such as Bette Davis, John Garfield, and Jules Stein. Thousands of entertainment industry workers including musicians, writers, singers, dancers, producers, players, stylists, agents, publicists, and more, waited tables and served food, cooked, and cleaned for the servicemen. Celebrities like Rita Hayworth, Carmen Miranda, Bob Hope, and Roy Rogers performed, while Shirley Temple and Betty Gable could be found on the dance floor or serving tea and sandwiches. One of the iconic USO performers during World War II was Marlen Dietrich, who sang, danced, and performed comedy routines in the Hollywood Canteen, including international USO Camp shows. Dietrich participated in 500 USO shows including tours in North Africa, Italy, Germany, and France.[111]

Using their star power through their access to and location in Hollywood, they raised $10,000 on opening night by allowing civilians to purchase bleacher seats for $100 to observe the entertainment from the sidelines.[112] A film named after the Hollywood Canteen was produced and received high acclaim for its portrayal of the USO's efforts through the experiences of two servicemembers at the canteen. Warner Brothers donated 40% of its profits to the USO canteen. Throughout its operation, the Hollywood Canteen raised hundreds of thousands of dollars for the USO and veteran services, entertained over 4 million soldiers, and provided 3 million packs of cigarettes, "six million pieces of cake, 125,000 gallons of milk, and nine million cups of coffee."[113]

Some might argue that the "most famous feature" of the USO were the junior hostesses, who provided military servicemembers with company, conversation, and dances. Hostesses were divided into senior and junior categories. Senior hostesses served as receptionists,

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[111] Danielle DeSimone, "Why Marlene Dietrich Was One of the Most Patriotic Women in World War II" (March 5, 2020) https://www.uso.org/stories/2414-marlene-dietrich-most-patriotic-women-in-world-war-ii
[112]" Hollywood Hospitality at the Hollywood Canteen" (September 19, 2017) https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/hollywood-hospitality-hollywood-canteen
[113] Ibid.

chaperones, committee chairs, counselors, and oversaw the everyday operations of USO facilities. They were usually older than 35 and were perceived as "respectable" women in their community who could also implement the "respectable" nature of interactions between hostesses and soldiers. Junior hostesses, usually women between 18 and 30, were entertaining the soldiers through conversations, card or other games, dances, and serving non-alcoholic drinks and food. To maintain a level of respectable womanhood and professionalism, junior hostesses were regulated through dress codes and fraternization rules.[114]

During the war, the percentage of women working outside the home rose to 37.2 percent. Women who did not have children or who could afford childcare volunteered. Hostesses were made up of elite and middle-class women who belonged to women's clubs, community groups, schools and religious organizations. For many women, volunteering as hostesses with the USO became an extension of family, community, and social responsibilities. Mother and daughter volunteers were not unusual; assigning mothers as senior hostesses to oversee the behaviors and duties of junior hostesses became a way to circumvent any concerns of immoral behavior by young women.

While men and women volunteered their time, talents, and labor in the USO, women's labor was essential to the organization's operation. In April 1942, Harper Sibley, the USO president, recognized everyone's contributions to the organization but emphasized the work of the "women of the USO that are the heart and soul of the USO…. The people who make these clubs so attractive to the men are the women."[115] Young girls and women across the nation recognized the value in volunteering for an organization that supported the U.S. military and understood their volunteerism as a service to the nation. Likewise, the recruitment campaigns

[114] Katherine M. Fluker, "Creating a Canteen Worth Fighting For: Morale Service and the Stage Door Canteen in World War II," thesis (Ohio University, March 2011).
[115] Meghan K. Winchell, *Good Girls, Good Food, Good Fun: The Story of the USO Hostesses during World War II*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 2008), 3.

for USO volunteers promoted their contributions to the USO as a reward for American citizenship and safety from enemy danger.

Historians like Meghan K. Winchell have shown how the USO promoted a social and cultural agenda of middle-class white America through acceptable standards of respectability that included education, profession, and "good character."[116] These middle-class standards reflected the decision-making board members of the USO, who unsurprisingly, also accepted volunteers who fit their social class, behaviors, and dedication. While the USO drew inspiration from democracy and equality as a signpost for their clubs and canteens, they often sidestepped any stirrings of racial and class discussions. At times, they minimized interracial mingling in USO facilities by barring women of color and/or regulating their volunteerism within segregated clubs.

Promoting racial equality was not always socially acceptable despite the wartime language of democracy. Segregating African Americans and Mexican Americans was still prominent in cities and rural towns across America, including institutions such as the U.S. military. In one of their first efforts, the USO Board of Directors named Hubert T. Delaney, a lawyer and staunch activist in the African American community, as the representative Black board member. Delaney was tasked in overseeing the services, accessibility, and entertainment offered to African Americans; in his words, "to check over what each [USO member] Agency was doing for the Negros."[117]

While USO clubs and canteens didn't outright exclude servicemembers and volunteers of racialized minority groups, they did find strategies to uphold the status quo, especially as per local community practices. In places like Rolla, Mississippi, separate USO facilities were established for black and white servicemembers 400 feet apart. USO hostesses entertained

[116] Winchell, *Good Girls, Good Food, Good Fun,* 2-4.
[117] Sydney Johnson, "How the USO Served a Racially Segregated Military Throughout World War II" (February 7, 2022) https://www.uso.org/stories/3001-how-the-uso-served-a-racially-segregated-military-throughout-world-war-ii.

thousands of servicemembers who were stationed nearby at Fort “Lost-in-the-Woods.” Today, historical markers honor both the “Black” and “white” USO. On the west coast, Black servicemembers found refuge in the Black USO clubs of Tacoma and Spokane, Washington. Although segregated, Black servicemembers enjoyed relaxation and social leisure in USO clubs that were a stark contrast to the racial tensions and volatile atmosphere of the military. In a survey conducted by the Washington Carver USO in Spokane, “44% of Black troops felt the USO was “absolutely essential” to them.”[118] In 1943, its peak year of operation with 1,326 clubs, there were an estimated 180 USO clubs that catered exclusively to African American servicemembers.[119]

In Detroit, Michigan and Richmond, Virginia, African American clubwomen were the crusaders who fundraised money and resources to provide African American servicemen with USO facilities. In the east coast, for example, Mrs. Mallie B. Williams, a former volunteer in a Massachusetts USO club, initiated the efforts to create a USO club in Jacksonville, North Carolina. However, as a Black middle-class woman, Williams, found that many of the African American working-class community in Jacksonville couldn’t afford to take on unpaid labor afforded to middle-class white women. She reached out to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NACCP) for information and assistance in setting up a USO club for African American Marines. Volunteerism and attaining a USO for Black servicemembers became another avenue for African Americans to claim full citizenship rights in wartime America.

USO clubs in Black communities did not remain exclusive to African Americans. In other parts of the U.S., USO clubs served as spaces of interracial socialization and cooperation. At the USO club on South Broad Street in Philadelphia, African Americans and White people

[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid.

volunteered to provide services for Black servicemembers. In other areas, such as Tucson, Arizona, Ada McCormick, an elite White woman, pushed for the all-White city council to fund and allocate a space for a USO club that catered to Black servicemen. This came as a result of a published op-ed in the local newspaper where she "forced Tucsonans to ask themselves, "IS WHAT I AM DOING HELPING HITLER OR HELPING AMERICA?"[120] However, efforts in Richmond, California, failed as they were denied the opportunity to create Black USO facilities.

In the south, Hattiesburg, Mississippi had 1,022 senior hostesses in its first USO club for White servicemen in 1941, which increased to 1,824 hostesses in 1943.[121] Although Black servicemembers from Camp Shelby were denied access to this USO club due to segregation, eventually there was a USO facility built wherein they could momentarily leave the realities of war and discrimination at the door. Vermell Jackson, a volunteer for the Hattiesburg USO, remembers how she helped soldiers write letters to their loved ones back home: "[The soldiers] knew what they wanted to say, but they didn't know how to put it together and say it… I tried to help them from a lady's standpoint, because in the meantime, I was writing letters, love letters, too."[122] The Hattiesburg USO now serves as the African American Military History Museum.

For Mexican American servicemembers and volunteers, the USO was more exclusive. For Mexican American women who wanted to volunteer as USO hostesses, there were two major deterrents: discrimination and cultural ideologies of sexuality and Catholic morality. Despite the "respectable" images of womanhood that USO campaigns promoted, Mexican parents were not too fond of having their young daughters unchaperoned (at least by individuals they trusted) and surrounded by men. In Del Rio, Texas, Mexican American women were not permitted to enter the USO.[123]

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[120] Ibid, 17.
[121] Winchell, *Good Girls, Good Food, Good Fun,* 15.
[122] Johnson, "How the USO Served a Racially Segregated Military Throughout World War II," February 7, 2022. https://www.uso.org/stories/3001-how-the-uso-served-a-racially-segregated-military-throughout-world-war-ii.
[123] Winchell, *Good Girls, Good Food, Good Fun,* 157-158.

Twelve percent of America's population served in the armed forces during World War II, but only 1% serve today. While this can be seen as either a positive or negative, the decline in military service and military bases throughout the country has caused a disconnect between civilian society and the armed forces more than ever. According to an NPR article in 2019, this has negatively affected civilian support and understanding.[124] A far cry from the 3,035 USO clubs and canteens and 1.5 million volunteers during World War II, in 2019 the USO only boasted 230 locations across seven continents, with only 35,000 volunteers. To facilitate a level of understanding, the USO invited 400 civilians to an evening of music performances, food, and entertainment at the Anthem in Washington, D.C. In addition to the country music and hot dogs, the USO set up a tent, modeled like the ones set up overseas, with couches, books, and video games to give civilians an insight into the type of services they offer for servicemembers who are separated from family and social life on the home front. J.D. Crouch, the USO President and CEO, told NPR that "the big challenge of military life for these people, men and women, it's not fear of battle or what us civilians might think… it's separation."[125]

Most recently, the National World War II Museum in New Orleans, Louisiana opened the BB's Stage Door Canteen, a live replica of a World War II USO canteen.[126] The museum invites the public to observe and participate in productions and performances, including trio performances from the Victory Belle's, instrumental performances at Wartime Piano Happy Hours, and jam sessions with local jazz musicians. BB's Stage Door Canteen delivers a unique

[124] Austin Cross, "Nearly 80 Years On, the USO Still Keeps Service Members Connected to Home," *NPR*, December 14, 2019, https://www.npr.org/2019/12/24/790751961/nearly-80-years-on-the-uso-still-working-to-keep-service-members-connected-to-ho.
[125] Ibid.
[126]" BB's Stage Door Canteen at the National WWII Museum," National WWII Museum, accessed June 15, 2022, https://www.nationalww2museum.org/events-programs/bbs-stage-door-canteen.

historical experience of the morale-boosting support offered by millions of volunteers during World War II.

When selecting cities, towns, and jurisdictions for the American Heritage Cities World War II program, the complex realities of the World War II era, including racial segregation and gender biases, must be taken into consideration. By acknowledging these realities, we can recognize the efforts of cities and towns that have embraced more authentic experiences of USO clubs and canteens and provide a more well-rounded history to its public. (Rolla Mississippi's historical markers honoring both the "White" USO and "Black" USO best exemplifies this.)[127] Most importantly, this allows the public to celebrate an honest history, in spite of and because of, USO clubs and canteens that provided morale and resource support for American military forces during World War II.

[127]" White" USO (United Service Organization- Rolla," The Historical Marker Database, accessed June 15, 2022, https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=139756.

Chapter 6: Civil Defense

By G. Kurt Piehler

World War II did not spare civilians from enemy direct attack Merchant ships and their civilian crews on the high seas were sunk by both sides. Air forces attacked not only military targets and defense factories, but whole cities. Axis and Allied political and military leaders recognized the need to protect civilians to minimize casualties and sustain public morale. Nations with sufficient resources established early warning systems, often using sirens to alert citizens of impending air raids, giving them time to take cover in basements, subway stations, and specially designed shelters. Equally important, civil defense required setting up teams of first responders to fight fires caused by bombing raids, defuse unexploded bombs, and rescue individuals trapped in ruined structures. To make attacks more difficult, countries required citizens to blackout their homes to prevent light from escaping and street lights were dimmed or shut off entirely.[128]

Even before the United States entered World War II, local, state, and federal officials took measures to protect civilians. Air raid wardens were recruited, and tasked with warning and aiding citizens during an attack. Wardens, who were eventually given white helmets that bore the logo with "CD," would be best remembered for compelling residents to put out their lights during practice blackouts that became common in 1942. The phrase "Put Out That Light" entered popular culture, including Looney Toon cartoons. But air raid wardens were only the most visible part of a much larger volunteer network of specialized units designed to deal with

[128] Richard Overy argues that the effectiveness of civil defense measures taken by Great Britain and Germany meant neither the Luftwaffe or the Royal Air Force were able to effectively use of area bombing to break the will of British or German civilians. In contrast, Italy's inadequate civil defense measures hastened the fall of Mussolini in 1943 when Italian cities came under attack by Allied air forces. See Rirchard J. Overy, *The Bombing War in Europe, 1939-1945* (London: Allen Lane, 2013).

the aftermath of an attack, including auxiliary police and fire fighters, messengers, gas decontamination specialists, medical teams, bomb disposal, rescue crews and salvage units.[129]

Protecting Americans on the homefront from an attack from conventional bombs, or those containing poison gas, remained only part of the aims Volunteering as air raid warden or another capacity allowed those too young or old to enlist to be more vested in the war effort. Americans 'involvement in civil defense efforts was significant even before full mobilization, with one million two hundred thousand serving by the end of December 1941. In June 1942, federal officials counted over eleven million civilian volunteers in state and local civil defense units. Americans 'desire to volunteer, meant in many instances, that there were not enough positions available.[130] Over 750,000 Floridians responded to the state defense council request for volunteers—for 339,141 positions.[131]

Prior to America entering into the war, proponents of civil defense tended to support policies that called on the United States to aid countries fighting the Axis. Until the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, non-interventionists remained skeptical of strengthening civil defense. In retrospect, we know that Germany, Italy, and Japan lacked long range bombers or sufficient naval strength to launch an aerial offensive against the continental United States. But given Germany's and Japan's success in the early years of the war, the fear was genuine and not simply a justification for intervening in the war. In May 1941, President Franklin Roosevelt told several friends of an ominous dream, describing how the Secret Service took him to a cave near his Hyde Park home after German planes bombed New York City. [132] Then, the United States entered the war, when the American naval base and airfield in the Territory of Hawaii was

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[129] Richard R. Lingeman, *Don't You Know There's a War On?: The American Home Front, 1941-1945* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1970).
[130] Lingeman, Don't You Know There's a War On?, 62.
[131] Glenn L. Ferguson III, "Florida State Defense: Civilians and Civilian Defense in World War II", unpublished PhD dissertation, Florida State University, 1999, 47.
[132] J. Garry Clifford and Robert H. Ferrell, "Roosevelt and the Rubicon: The Great Convoy Debate of 1941," in *The United States and the Second World War: New Perspectives on Diplomacy, War, and the Home Front*. eds. G. Kurt Piehler and Sidney Pash (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), 12.

attacked on December 7, 1941, including forty-nine civilian casualties. Japanese forces soon occupied the American territories of Guam, Wake Island, and the Philippines, along with two islands in the Aleutians in Alaska Territory. Air power played a pivotal role in these victories, especially in the Philippines.

Often associated with the Cold War, efforts to establish a civil defense structure began even before the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. The first efforts to coordinate federal civil defense began when President Roosevelt established the National Defense Advisory Commission (NDAC) on May 28, 1940. That August, the Division of State and Local Cooperation was formed under Frank Bane's direction.[133] Faced with competing demands on resources and the need to bolster war production and expand the armed forces, civil defense efforts competed for scarce resources. The decision to federalize the National Guard after France fell in June 1940, meant that governors had no military forces to call upon during civil disorder or natural disasters. To compensate, all but four states eventually established state guards —state-raised, equipped and trained militia units—that served outside the National Guard system during the war. After the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, many governors deployed these units to guard crucial communication, transportation, and defense plants, supplementing federal and local units.[134]

Any understanding of civil defense during World War II, must take into account the role federalism played in structuring the organizations. Even before the Roosevelt administration had created the NDAC, several states established defense councils and took other measures. The organization varied from state to state, with most structured as non-partisan bodies, often with the governor playing a strong role. Not all governors or state legislatures saw the need for civil

[133] Matthew Dallek, *Defenseless Under the Night: The Roosevelt Years and the Origins of Homeland Security* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).
[134] For case studies examining the role of state guards in World War II, see Charles R. Fisher, "The Maryland State Guard in World War II," *Military Affairs* 47, no. 1 (1983): 11–14 and Robert Hawk, *Florida's Army: Militia, State Troops, National Guard, 1565-1985* (Englewood, FL: Pineapple Press, 1986), 162-66.

defense measures. Oregon's governor refused to establish a defense council until June 1941, even though over thirty-five states had already created them.[135] In California, the governor had legal authority to implement a state defense council and broad authority in civil defense matters, but the legislature withheld funding.[136] Despite reluctance by some governors and legislators to establish defense councils, all forty-eight states had one by November 1941.[137]

Fiorello LaGuardia, Mayor of New York City, played a pivotal role in prodding the Roosevelt administration to strengthen civil defense. He sent delegations of New York firefighters and police officers to London to examine British organized civil defense measures. He also visited London, consulted with the head of British civil defense, and implemented several measures to prepare New York city for an aerial attack. Eleanor Roosevelt vigorously supported civil defense. The First Lady agreed with LaGuardia on the vital need to protect American civilians from aerial attack, especially those living on the East and West Coasts. But Eleanor Roosevelt also wanted to spur civilian voluntarism, to serve the common good of the greater community and to advance New Deal goals of improving the citizens 'nutrition, housing, educational opportunities and health, to ensure that they could fully support the war effort.

LaGuardia's lobbying, combined with the worsening situation abroad, led President Roosevelt to issue an executive order establishing the Office of Civil Defense (OCD) on May 20, 1941. The First Lady also joined the OCD in an official capacity, to organize volunteers. Both LaGuardia and Roosevelt travelled extensively to meet with state and local leaders, and delivered speeches to organizations and interest groups.

The (OCD) created broad guidelines, established schools to train cadres of civil defense workers and volunteers, and provided limited funding for local and state governments to

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[135] The Oregon State Defense Council Takes Action, "State of Oregon: World World War II, On-Line Exhibit, Official Website of the Oregon Secretary of State, https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/ww2/Pages/protect-home.aspx. .
[136] Dallek, *Defenseless Under the Night*, 77.
[137] Lingeman, *Don't You Know There's a War* On?, 35

purchase equipment. It also published literature for home defense measures In terms of staff, the national OCD remained a lean operation and drew heavily upon institutions of higher learning and veterans organizations, such as the American Legion to bolster their efforts. Many universities had courses to train civil defense workers and citizens. Vanderbilt University even offered a class on caring for a pet after an air raid.[138]

In July 1941, the federal government asked states to establish observation posts to detect enemy aircraft and to relay this information to the Army Air Force commands. The Aircraft Warning System (AWS) established thousands of observation posts on the East and West Coasts. In the early years of the war, they were continually manned by volunteers. By September 1941, the Florida State Council had created five hundred observation sites toward the ultimate goal of creating 881.[139] When fully operational in 1942, the Oregon Defense Council had five hundred observation posts in the western part of the state, with 28,000 volunteers. The system reassured the public that any attack would be detected and a jittery public.[140]

Heeding calls by the federal government, eventually all state governments established civil defense councils and thousands of communities established local ones. State and local civil defense varied, with some offering only lackluster support, while others involved virtually every member of the community. For many Americans, it was their way of taking an active role in the war effort. One reflection of this, would be the public propelling the American Red Cross first aid handbook to the top of the bestseller charts. In the small town of Kent, Connecticut, civil defense and other volunteer efforts involved all but 200 of its 1200 residents. But even after the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Mayor of Buffalo, New York, made only minimal efforts to establish a

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[138] Robert G. Spinney, *World War II in Nashville: Transformation of the Homefront* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998), 118.
[139] Ferguson, Florida State Defense, 100-7.
[140]“ The Aircraft Warning Service: Oregon’s First Line of Defense,”State of Oregon: World War II, On-line Exhibit, Official website of the Oregon Secretary of State, https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/ww2/Pages/protect-aircraft.aspx.

defense program.[141] In Des Moines, Iowa journalist Alistair Cooke observed that community leaders were apathetic, as most doubted that enemy bombers could reach the city. Community leaders tasked the Junior League with recruiting air raid wardens.[142]

Race played a significant role in why many state governments demanded autonomy to structure their civil defense initiatives. When establishing their civil defense organizations, southern states created racially segregated units. Despite these policies, Black Americans often displayed remarkable support. On the other hand, local autonomy meant that, in many communities outside of the South, civil defense organizations were integrated, most notably the Civilian Air Patrol, which included both Black pilots and a significant number of women. If civil defense had been fully nationalized and placed under War Department jurisdiction, it is likely segregation would have been imposed in accordance with armed forces policies.

Civil defense preparations made before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, were inadequate. Alleged sightings of enemy aircraft led to panic in several cities, especially on the coasts. In Seattle, Washington, fear of an impending attack on the evening of December 8, led crowds to break into storefronts to dim lights while the local police observed. The police finally intervened when the violence led to looting.[143] Mayor LaGuardia would be harshly criticized when residents of New York responded to a false alarm, stood on the sidewalks and streets scanning the skies for enemy planes instead of taking shelter as outlined in civil defense brochures. Some procedures for coping with an attack proved problematic. For instance, on receiving word of the unidentified aircraft, public schools sent students home, leading to even more confusion, as many of them decided to play in the streets.[144]

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[141] Lingeman, Don't You Know There's a War On?, 59-61.
[142] Alistair Cooke, *The American Home Front, 1941-1942* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2006), 218.
[143] Lingeman, Don't You Know There's a War On?, 28-29.
[144] Dallek, *Defenseless Under the Night,* 198-99.

In February 1942, LaGuardia resigned as civil defense director as critics blamed him for the shortcomings of civil defense organizations. His abrasive administrative style alienated Congress and many in the Roosevelt administration, including Eleanor Roosevelt. President Roosevelt replaced him with James Landis, a former dean of Harvard Law School, who had served as head of the Security and Exchange Commission. Landis also emphasized mobilizing public support for protecting against air raids with conventional bombs and poison gas. Under LaGuardia and Landis, the national OCD and the armed forces, organized mock attacks to underscore taking action. In Nashville, Tennessee citizens gathered at the ball field and observed simulated air attacks by the army chemical corps. The crowd was mesmerized when two mock houses were engulfed by flames that shot up seventy-five feet in the air.[145]

Although the continental United States ultimately escaped any significant aerial attack, civil defense organizations played an important role in the Battle of Atlantic in 1942 and 1943. In early 1942, the east coast and Gulf of Mexico turned into a war zone, with German submarines regularly sinking Allied oil tankers and merchant ships within sight of land. After German saboteurs landed in Long Island, New York and near Jacksonville, Florida, the U.S. Coast Guard implemented foot and horse patrols along the beaches.[146] The saboteurs were captured by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) partly because one of the German agents had misgivings about the operation and turned his group in.[147]

Along the east coast, the armed forces called on state and local authorities to dim lights that illuminated out to sea. Some communities took action quickly, but those dependent on the tourist trade were often reluctant until the number of sinkings became catastrophic, or until gasoline was rationed on the east coast because of the number of oil tankers destroyed. State

[145] Spinney, *World War II in Nashville,* 117.
[146] Malcom F. Willoughby, "The Beach Pounders," Naval Institute *Proceedings* 83 (Aug 1957): 818-827.
[147] Leon O. Prior, “Nazi Invasion of Florida!,” *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 49, no. 2 (1970): 129–39.

and local authorities often acted only when the military issued definitive orders mandating dimouts along the east coast which air raid wardens enforced.

The Civil Air Patrol (CAP), established by the (OCD) on December 1, 1941, played a critical role in meeting this threat in 1942 and 1943. Nationally, 100,000 volunteer pilots who acted as courier services for messages, patrolled the Mexican borders, undertook search and rescue missions, and towed targets for anti-aircraft training. But the CAP patrolling the waters off the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico coast for submarines, supplemented the overstretched resources of the U.S. Navy and Army Air Force in 1942. Serving without pay, but accorded a per diem for living expenses and fuel while on duty, pilots heroically patrolled the coast, often in treacherous conditions. Although CAP remained a civilian organization, pilots donned modified military uniforms to protect them under international law if they were captured. The CAP was eventually equipped with small bombs for use against submarines.[148]

Bolstering morale on the home front and encouraging individuals to support the war effort, remained an important goal. In July 1942, under the Victory Home campaign, air raid wardens visited each household on their block, asking a series of questions and assessing their support of civil defense measures and the wider war effort. The first question directly related to air raid wardens 'stated mission: "Does your home follow the instructions of the Air Raid Warden, in order to protect life and property against attack by air?" But the other questions were less directly connected to safeguarding against an enemy attack. Wardens were encouraged to ask: "Does your home conserve food, clothing, transportation, and health in order to hasten an unceasing flow of war material to our men in the front?", "Does your home salvage essential materials, in order that they may be converted to immediate war uses?" One

[148] Frank Lowry, "Civil Air Patrol: Three Who Were There," *Aerospace Historian* 28 no. 4 (Winter/December 1981): 268-274; Thomas Reilly, "Florida's Flying Minute Men: The Civil War Patrol, 1941-1943," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 76 no. 4 (Spring 1998): 417-38; Frank A. Blazich, Jr., "North Carolina's Flying Volunteers: The Civil Air Patrol in World War II, 1941-1944," *The North Carolina Historical Review* 89 no. 4 (October 2012): 399-442.

wonders what responses the air warden received to the fourth question: “Does your home refuse to spread rumors designed to divide the fate of the nation?” The final question had a less ambiguous meaning: “Is your home buying War Saving Stamps and Bonds regularly?” If an air raid warden received satisfactory answers, they could award a small poster for display in the window declaring that “This is a V Home.”[149]

Despite Eleanor Roosevelt resigning from OCD in February 1942, after backlash over her staffing hires, the vision of civil defense mobilization as meeting the broader needs of the community continued to be part of many local and state civil defense efforts. Many local councils sought to investigate and coordinate child care for mothers working in defense plants.[150] Medical units prepared to deal with the wounded were, in some communities, tasked with undertaking public health initiatives. Coordinating with the Department of Agriculture, civil defense organizations encouraged planting victory gardens. They also supported war bond drives and salvage campaigns to collect rubber, tin, and other raw materials in short supply. Civil defense organizations in the continental United States never dealt with a major aerial attack, but during the war they fought forest fires and responded to natural disasters.[151]

By 1943, the civil defense volunteers focusing on protecting against aerial attacks began to stand down, as the tide of war shifted in favor of the Allies and it became apparent the Axis could not launch a major attack on the United States. But the OCD remained active and launched a new initiative centered on mobilizing women to serve as block leaders to ensure that their neighbors continued to support the war effort. Block leaders were encouraged to visit every family and urge them to save gasoline by ride sharing, salvage items that could be

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[149] Ferguson, Florida State Defense, 112-118.

[150]“ Newark, New Jersey, Defense Council, ‘Summary of Meeting on Care of Mothers and Children, ” ’ 1942 in *The United States in World War II: A Documentary Reader* ed. G. Kurt Piehler (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 107-110.

[151] Dallek, *Defenseless Under the Night*, 247.

recycled, plant victory gardens, and in the words of one Wisconsin pamphlet, “rekindle the community spirit.”[152]

Nationally, the OCD stood down in May 1945, but the Cold War soon revived civil defense efforts to meet the threat posed by a potential Soviet nuclear attack. By the 1970s, the destructive power of nuclear weapons made civil defense measures obsolete and the United States accepted deterrence based on Mutual Assured Destruction. On the federal level, civil defense evolved into the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), which responded to natural disasters. In contrast to World War II, much of FEMA’s work is undertaken by professionals, although volunteers with the Red Cross, faith based groups, and other organizations continue the tradition of volunteerism that characterized civil defense efforts during World War II.

It is important to bear in mind that every community has a distinctive story to tell. The federal government’s role in structuring and supporting civil defense measures were important, but the burden fell mostly to states and local communities. The evidence is clear that Americans were determined to meet the challenge of total war and would have been steadfast if the bombs had fallen on the American soil in the continental United States.

[152] "Suggestions for Block Leaders." (Wisconsin Block Plan Organization, Wisconsin State Council of Defense, 1943), http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/turningpoints/search.asp?id=1296 and “Block Leaders: The Fabric of Civilian War Service,” State of Oregon: World War II, https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/ww2/Pages/services-block.aspx.

Chapter 7: Those Who Served in World War II: Segregated by Race, Gender and Sexual Orientation

By Jon E. Taylor

Historian David M. Kennedy noted that "almost 16 million men, most of them conscripted" and a half a million women, all volunteers, served in the U.S. armed forces during World War II.[153] Between 1941 and 1945 one in ten Americans served in the military.[154] What is remarkable is that in 1940 there were 458,365 men in the army, navy, and marines, and by 1945 that number had exploded to 12,209,238, including the coast guard. Within a very short time, the United States had not only drafted and recruited a military that waged war around the world - even when the military was segregated by race and gender and excluded individuals based on their sexual orientation - but had equipped the military to be effective on the battlefield .[155] The key to understanding why the United States was successful in raising a force can be found in the steps the country had taken prior December 7, 1941.

In June of 1940, Congress passed two critical bills that increased defense spending and increased troops. On June 13th, Congress approved a bill that appropriated over $1.7 billion and allowed the military to expand from 227,000 to 280,000 people. On June 26th President Roosevelt signed the First Supplemental National Defense Appropriations Act, which increased the size of the military to 375,000

[153] David M. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 710.
[154] Aaron Hiltner, *Taking Leave, Taking Liberties: American Troops on the World War II Homefront* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2020), 30.
[155] For the US Military Personnel numbers see https://wwwnationalww2museum.org/students-teachers/student-resources/research-starters/research-starters-us-military-numbers.

and funded construction for reception centers, troop housing, airfields, and seacoast defenses to support this enlarged military.[156]

There were two ways that the United States could increase military personnel—institute a peacetime draft and/or federalize the state national guard units. Ultimately, President Roosevelt embraced both options. On June 20, 1940, the Burke-Wadsworth Selective Service Bill was introduced into Congress and Franklin Roosevelt named Henry L. Stimson as Secretary of War. Stimson supported the selective service bill as did President Franklin Roosevelt, who endorsed it on July 10th.[157] On September 16, 1940, Congress approved the first peacetime draft, requiring men between 21 and 45 to register by October 16, 1940. The law also included unequivocal language that prohibited "discrimination against any person on account of race or color," but it was not enforced. Neither the navy nor the marine corps initially relied upon the draft so that they could get around complying with the nondiscrimination clause. Consequently, most of the early selectees went into the army.[158] This legislation also created a nationwide system of draft boards to oversee registration. The vote to establish the draft was controversial because there was a strong isolationist sentiment in Congress. Nevertheless, the first draft numbers were called on October 29 and the first draftees reported for duty on November 18th.[159]

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[156] Kent Roberts Greenfield, Robert R. Palmer, and Bell I. Wiley, *The Army Ground Forces: The Organization of Ground Combat Troops* (Washington, D.C.: G.P.O., 1947), 10.
[157] Lenore Fine and Jesse A. Remington, *The Corps of Engineers: Construction in the United States* (Washington, D.C: G.P.O., 1972.), 114.
[158] Thomas A. Guglielmo, *Divisions: A New History of Racism and Resistance in America's World War II Military* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021), 4,61.
[159] Paul Dickson, *The Rise of the G.I. Army, 1940-1941* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2020), xiii-xiv. For more on the draft see Albert A. Blum, *Drafted or Deferred: Practices Past and Present* (Ann Arbor: Bureau of Industrial Relations, University of Michigan, 1967); John O'Sullivan, *From Voluntarism to*

Also, on September 16, 1940, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8530 that federalized the 30th 41st, 44th, and 45 Divisions of the National Guard. That brought in 63,646 officers and men into the military. The federalized national guard joined the Army at the same time as draftees. The War Department was not prepared either to train or house these troops, which severely impacted. What was unique was that the 1940 Selective Service Act and the Executive Order that federalized the national guard only required members to serve for one year.[160]

In September 1941, a Congressional fight to extend the one-year appointments broke out in Washington, D.C. and only passed by one vote in the House. The House vote demonstrated just how strong isolationism was and, had the extension failed, selectees and the federalized national guard units who had been training since 1940 would be allowed to leave, dealing a significant blow to military preparedness.[161]

The War Department continued to focus on constructing at least 242 training camps, mostly in the south, and paid close attention to troop morale.[162] Secretary of

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Conscription: Congress and Selective Service, 1940-1945 (New York: Garland, 1982); J. Garry Clifford and Samuel R. Spencer, *The First Peacetime Draft* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1986); George Q. Flynn, *The Draft, 1940-1973* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1993); and William A. Taylor, *Military Service and American Democracy From World War II to the Iraq and Afghanistan Wars* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2016), especially Chapter One.

[160] Sligh, Robert Bruce. *Plowshares into Swords: The decision to mobilize the National Guard in 1940* (Ph.D. Diss., Texas A & M University, 1990), 168, 170-171. On October 15, 1940, additional national guard units were federalized, which included the 27th, 32nd, and 37th divisions, which brought in 38,588 men. Additional national guard troops were federalized in November, which added an additional 33,000 troops and by the end of November of 1940, 135,500 Guardsmen were in the army along with 13,806 draftees. Also see Dickson, *The Rise of the G.I. Army,* 126-127.

[161] For an account of the Congressional fight see Dickson, *The Rise of the G.I. Army*, 180-182. For the military training events that were conducted in 1940 and 1941 see ibid., especially chapters 7,9,10, and 12.

[162] Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, 711. Examples of training camps in the south include Fort Benning, Georgia, which could host 100,000; Fort Shelby, Mississippi, eighty-six thousand; Fort Bragg, North Carolina, seventy-six thousand; and Fort Jackson, South Carolina, sixty-five thousand. Any example of a large training camp outside of the south is Fort Lewis in Washington. Also see Hiltner, *Taking Leave*, *Taking Liberties*, 20-25. For information about life in the training camps and more about how the armed

War Stimson created the Morale Branch of the War Department on March 8, 1941, later renamed the Special Services Branch. By the end of 1941, the Morale Branch had 70 officers and over hundred and fifty civilian employees. The Special Services branch had six operating divisions, which included the Army Exchange Service, the Army Motion Picture Service, the Welfare and Recreation Division, the Services Division, the Morale Research Division, and the Information Division.[163]

The Army Exchange Service managed the post exchanges and operated under the commanding officer, allowing service members to purchase personal items. The Army Motion Picture Service operated motion picture theaters for service members to watch at least one show a week for 14 cents in 1941. New movies were shown at the same time they debuted in civilian theaters. The Services Division had recreational facilities in each camp with a day room for each company, where service members could read, write letters, or play games. The Service Division also oversaw construction of regimental recreational halls, base chapels, and service clubs, which usually had a great hall for dancing, a cafeteria, reception room, and library. The Welfare and Recreation Division oversaw programming, by the auxiliary organizations like the United Services Organization (USO), which included the Y.M.C.A., N.C.C.S., Y.W.C.A., Jewish

services went about understanding the morale of its troops see Hiltner, *Taking Leave, Taking* Liberties; Lee Kennett, G. I.: *The American Soldier in World War II* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 42-109.

[163] Frederick H. Osborn, "Recreation, Welfare, and Morale of the American Soldier," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 220 (March 1942): 50-56. For subsequent changes in the Army Service Forces see John D. Millett, *Public Administration Review* 4 (Autumn, 1944): 268-278. For more information about Morale Research Division see Christopher P. Loss, "The Most Wonderful Thing Has Happened to Me in the Army": Psychology, Citizenship, and American Higher Education in World War II," *The Journal of American History*, 92, No. 3 (December 2005): 864-891 and Christopher P. Loss, *Between Citizens and the State: The Politics of American Higher Education in the 20th Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012); especially Chapter Four. Also see Samuel A. Stouffer, Edward A. Suchman, Leland C. DeVinney, Shirley A. Star, Robin M. Williams, Jr., *The American Soldier: Adjustment During Army Life* Vols. 1-4 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949).

Welfare Board, Travelers Aid, and the Salvation Army. In December 1941 the U.S.O. financed Camp Shows, Incorporated, providing the troops with a "professional show about twice each month in the camps throughout the United States, twelve shows operating continuously on a major circuit and fourteen on a minor circuit of the smaller camps." The Red Cross also provided recreation and welfare activities for soldiers. The Research Division included psychologists and statisticians that conducted surveys and studies on morale and recommended modifications or changes to existing policy. The Information Division oversaw the camp newspapers and conducted radio programs.[164]

When the United States entered the war in December 1941, "the Army had some 36 divisions in combat readiness, some 1,650,000 men. This was practically the equivalent of American military strength in November 1918."[165] After December 7, 1941, the demand skyrocketed and the draft continued. The camps exploded in size from 1941 to 1945. From 1942 until the war ended, the Army was divided into three areas: Army Ground Forces, Army Service Forces, and Army Air Forces. From 1941 to 1943, the Army Ground Forces trained whole divisions at one time. After 1944, the army focused on training replacements to enter its ninety divisions. Training a division took almost a year, and selectees usually started with basic training where they learned the drill, military courtesy, and physical conditioning. The second phase of the training focused on learning their specialty and working together.[166]

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[164] For additional information about the U.S.O. see Meghan K. Winchell, "To Make the Boys Feel at Home": USO Senior Hostesses and Gendered Citizenship," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 25 (2004): 190-211. For more about the USO Camp Shows, Inc see Sam Lebovic, "A Breath from Home": Soldier Entertainment and the Nationalist Politics of Pop Culture during World War II, *Journal of Social History* 47 (Winter 2013): 263-296.

[165] John G. Clifford, "Grenville Clark and the Origins of Selective Service," *The Review of Politics* 35 (January 1973): 39.

[166] Lee Kennett, G.I.: *The American Soldier in World War II*, 45-58.

Even before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Army Chief of Staff George Marshall was thinking about how to expand the military, including recruiting more women.[167] On May 14, 1942, President Roosevelt signed a bill creating the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC). Approximately 150,000 women served, mostly in clerical and support roles. The women who joined the WAAC were not granted military status, and did not have the same rank, pay, or benefits as men.[168] The WAAC recruited Black women, but WAAC leadership was instructed to follow the War Department's policy on segregation and to limit the number to ten percent because African Americans made up about ten percent of the U.S. population.[169] The WAAC also recruited a small contingent of nisei (second generation) Japanese American women.[170] In 1943, the WAAC was renamed the Women's Army Corps, which conferred military status on the women and allowed them to receive overseas pay, government life insurance, veteran's hospitalization, and health-care benefits.[171]

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[167] Mattie E. Treadwell, *The Women's Army Corps* (Washington: D.C.: G.P.O., 1953), 20-23. For more on the role of women in the U.S. military see D'Ann Campbell, *Women at War with America: Private Lives in a Patriotic Era* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1984); Susan Hartmann, "Women in the Military Service," in Mabel E. Deutrich and Virginia Purdy, eds, *Clio Was a Woman* (Washington: Howard University Press, 1980); Melanie Anne Veach Kirkland, Daughters of Athena: American Women in the Military During World War II (Ph.D, Diss., Texas Christian University, 2009).

[168] For the numbers see https://wwwnationalww2museum.org/students-teachers/student-resources/research-starters/research-starters-us-military-numbers. For the lack of benefits see "Women's Army Auxiliary Corps" in Victoria Sherow, *Women and the Military: An Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 1996), 329-330.

[169] Mattie E. Treadwell, *The Women's Army Corps* (Washington: D.C.: G.P.O., 1953), 58-59. For more on African American women in the WAAC see Martha S. Putney, *When the Nation Was in Need: Blacks in the Women's Army Corps During World War II*

[170] See Brenda Lee Moore, *Serving Our Country: Japanese American women in the Military During World War II* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003).

[171] See "Benefits," in Victoria Sherow, *Women and the Military: An Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 1996), 35-36. The first WAAC training center opened at Fort Des Moines and 440 officer-candidates trained at Fort Des Moines. Out of that 440, 40 African American women were selected. One scholar noted: "The women were put in one separate company, lodged in separate quarters, ate at separate dining tables, and used separate recreation rooms, although they shared classrooms with the white trainees." Other African American women received training at Fort Huachuca in Arizona, where

Women also assisted and served with the Army Air Force. Most well known is the Women's Airforce Service Pilots (WASPS), pilots who ferried military planes within the United States and Canada. There were only 1,047 WASPS who were not granted military status until 1979, when only three WASPs were still living. Approximately 40,000 women, known as Air-WACs, served in the Women in the Air Force (WAF), established in 1943. About fifty percent served in clerical and support positions, but some became aerial photographers, radio operators, flight clerks, and aircraft mechanics.[172]

In July 1942, President Roosevelt signed the bill that created the Navy's Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Service (WAVES) and, unlike the WAACs, the 100,000 women were immediately granted military status and were eligible for veterans 'benefits. The same law also created the United States Marine Corps Reserve (Female) in which 23,000 women served. On November 23, 1942, President Roosevelt signed the bill that created the SPAR, the Women's Reserve of the Coast Guard which 10,000 women joined.[173]

African American men also trained. For the quote see Janet Louise Sims-Wood, "We Served America too!": Personal Recollections of African Americans in the Women's Army Corps During World War II," (Ph. D diss., The Union Institute, 1994), 2, 9. For more on black women and men serving in World War II see Maggi M. Morehouse, *Fighting in the Jim Crow Army: Black Men and Women Remember World War II*, (New York: Roman and Littlefield Publishers, 2000).

[172] See "WASPS" and "Women in the Air Force" in Sherow, *Women and the Military*, 325-328. For more on the WASPS see Marianne Verges, *On Silver Wings: The Story of the Women's Airforce Service Pilots*, (New York: Ballantine Books, 1991).

[173] For the numbers see https://wwwnationalww2museum.org/students-teachers/student-resources/research-starters/research-starters-us-military-numbers. See "SPAR", "Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Service (WAVES)," and "Women Marines" in Sherow, *Women in the Military*, 259-260, 322-323, 326-327. African American women were kept out of the SPAR and WAVES until October 1944, when the policy was reversed. See ibid, 259. For more on the role of women in the U.S. Navy see Susan Goodson, *Serving Proudly: A History of Women in the U.S. Navy* (Washington, D.C.: Naval Institute Press, 2002).

Women also served in the Army Nurse Corps (ANC) and the Navy Nurse Corps (NNC), established in 1901 and 1908, respectively.[174] Approximately 60,000 women served in the ANC and 14,000 women served in the NNC. Over 500 Black women served in the ANC, and most were assigned to duty stations to treat Blackmen and Prisoners of War. The NNC did not accept Black nurses until January 1945.[175]

1,056,841 Black men served in the United States military, with 885,845 in the Army, 153,224 in the Navy; 16,005 in the Marine Corps, and 1,667 in the Coast Guard.[176] Like their female counterparts, they served in segregated units, which included the camps, bases, mess halls and recreational facilities. The War Department was slow to draft Black men at the beginning of the war, even though President Roosevelt promised they would make up at least ten percent of the selectees.[177] One source noted that 51,438 Puerto Ricans served, and another source noted that 350,000

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[174] See Sherow, Women in the Military, 20-21 and 195-196.

[175] For the numbers see https://wwwnationalww2museum.org/students-teachers/student-resources/research-starters/research-starters-us-military-numbers. "African Americans," in Sherow, *Women and the Military*, 4-7. For more information about African American nurses in the Army Nurse Corps see Charissa J. Threat, *Nursing Civil Rights: Gender and Race in the Army Nursing Corps*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015), 45-49. Also see Carolyn M. Feller and Constance J. Moore, eds., *Highlights in the History of the Army Nurse Corps* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1996 and Susanne Teepe Gaskins, "G.I. Nurses at War: Gender and Professionalization in the Army Nurse Corps during World War II," (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Riverside, 1994) and Darlene Clark Hine, *Black Women in White: Racial Conflict and Cooperation in the Nursing Professions, 1890-1950* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989).

[176] For the numbers see William A. Taylor, *Military Service and American Democracy*, 16.

[177] George Q. Flynn, "Selective Service and American Blacks During World War II," *The Journal of Negro History*, Winter, 1984, Vol. 69, No. 1 pp. 14-25; especially p. 20. For more on the "slowness" see William A. Taylor, *Military Service and American Democracy*, 18-20. For more on African Americans in the military see Thomas A. Guglielmo, *Divisions: A New History of Racism and Resistance in America's World War II Military* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021); Ulysses Lee, *The Employment of Negro Troops*, (Washington D.C.: G.P.O., 1966); Melton A. McLaurin, *The Marines of Montford Point: America's First Black Marines* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007); J. Todd Moye, *Freedom Flyers: The Tuskegee Airmen of World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); Bernard C. Nalty, *Strength for the Fight: A History of Black Americans in the Military* (New York: The Free Press, 1986); Jon E. Taylor, *Freedom to Serve: Truman, Civil Rights, and Executive Order 9981* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 1-38.

Mexican Americans served. Unlike Blacks, who served in segregated units, Latinos did not, which makes arriving at an accurate participation number challenging. Around 33,000 Japanese Americans, 20,000 Indigenous peoples, 13,311 Chinese Americans, 11,506 Filipino Americans, and 1,320 Native Hawaiians.[178]

For the sixteen million men and women who served in World War II, their achievements should not go unrecognized. Over 400,000 American military personnel died and approximately 670,000 were wounded.[179] They have sometimes been referred to as the Greatest Generation and, while their achievements were significant in terms of defeating fascism abroad, they were tempered with challenges that remained unresolved at home. The armed forces remained segregated and Blacks fought for the Double Victory of defeating fascism abroad, hoping that the fight would deal a blow to racism in the military and within the United States. Many became strong advocates for civil rights and an integrated military. Japanese and Native Americans also drew upon their wartime experiences to advocate for their rights.[180]

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[178] For the "Minority Participation in the Military" numbers see https://wwwnationalww2museum.org/students-teachers/student-resources/research-starters/research-starters-us-military-numbers. Accessed on February 14, 2022. For the number of Mexican Americans who served see John W. Jeffries, *Wartime America: The World War II Home Front* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1996), 134. For additional information on Hispanic Americans in World War II see Department of Defense, *The Military Heritage of Hispanic Americans in Our Nation's Defense: An Overview* (Washington, D.C.: G.P.O., 1990). For more on the service of Japanese Americans see James C. McNaughton, "Japanese Americans and the U.S. Army: A Historical Reconsideration," *Army History* Summer-Fall 2003 NO. 59 (Summer-Fall 2003), 4-15. For more on indigenous people in the service see Alison R. Bernstein, *American Indians and World War II: Toward a New Era in Indian Affairs*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991); Jere Bishop Franco, *Crossing the Pond: The Native American Effort in World War II*, (Denton, TX: University of North Texas Press, 1999) and Kenneth William Townsend, *World War II and the American Indian* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000).

[179] Kenneth D. Rose, *Myth and the Greatest Generation* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 7.

[180] For the Greatest Generation see Tom Brokaw, *The Greatest Generation* (New York: Random House, 1998). For the advocacy for civil rights in a Post-World War II America see Thomas A. Guglielmo, *Divisions: A New History of Racism and Resistance in America's World War II Military* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021), 379-381. About seventy-five percent of the African American men who served in the army did so in the service force branches, which included the Corps of Engineers, the Quartermaster

Women who wanted to serve their country were segregated by gender and race and some women who served never attained military status and were later denied benefits. Men and women who were accused of homosexual or lesbian activity could be dishonorably discharged, which resulted in losing benefits. According to one source, 50,000 were dishonorably discharged a year, depriving the military of much needed human resources.[181]

Historian Kenneth D. Rose noted that the "best way to honor this [Greatest] generation is not to falsify it but to humanize it."[182] Historian Aaron Hiltner, who followed in Rose's scholarly vein e, has given us cause to reassess whether the Greatest Generation is an appropriate way to describe those who served in World War II. In his book, Taking Leave, Taking Liberties, he explained why the Federal Bureau of Investigation recorded spikes in rape and aggravated assault in 1941, 1942, 1945, and 1946. He noted that the major port cities in the United States, where large numbers of U.S. troops were either stationed or passed through, recorded an increase in crimes against civilians, mostly women. More importantly, he argued that Army leaders like George Marshall were aware of the sexual violence and crime but rarely punished offenders.[183]

Corps, and the Transportation Corps. At the end of the war African American men only made-up 1.97 percent of the armor; 2.45 percent of the artillery; and 3.05 percent of the infantry forces. The army only had a few black officers, and no black officers could be found in the ranks of the Navy, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard until 1944.For the percentages see Kenneth D. Rose, *Myth and the Greatest Generation*, 140-142.

[181] Kenneth D. Rose, *Myth and the Greatest Generation*, 149-153. Allan Berube estimated that at least 650,000 and perhaps as many as 1.6 million male soldiers were homosexual. See Allan Berube, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War II, 20th Anniversary Edition,* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 3.

[182] Kenneth D. Rose, *Myth and the Greatest Generation*, 3.

[183] See Hiltner, *Taking Leave, Taking Liberties*, 3, 8-9.

The federal government and President Roosevelt seemed to recognize the challenges that this generation would face when they began returning homer when he signed the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (known as the G. I. Bill) into law on June 22, 1944. The bill provided counseling, disability, unemployment compensation, a four-year college education, and low-interest loans to finance homes, farms, and businesses. While the bill privileged white male veterans, it did not preclude veterans of color and women from participating. Approximately 7.8 million World War II veterans pursued education or training using the G.I. Bill, and at least 2.2 million did so at the college level. 5.4 million veterans utilized the unemployment compensation and 3.8 million participated in the low interest loan programs, to purchase homes and participate in a booming post World War II consumer culture.[184]

The military retained many of the same training methods and the commitment to providing recreational opportunities for troops in the immediate post World War II period. The United Services Organization, established during the war, continues to present day. The Army Air Force became its own branch of military service in 1947. However, the commitment to a military segregated by race, gender, and sexual orientation began to erode. In 1948 President Truman issued Executive Order 9908 that integrated the military and integrated units participated in the Korean War. Many of the women who served in corps units during the war were demobilized immediately after the war; however, in 1948 Congress passed the women's Service Integration Act, which created nine categories of service: Army Nurse Corps, Navy Nurse Corps, Air Force

[184] Christopher P. Loss, "The Most Wonderful Thing has Happened to Me in the Army," 887-889. Also see Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), 137-146.

Nurse Corps, Army Medical Specialists Corps, Women's Army Corps, Women's Air Force, Women's Naval Reserves, and Women Marines. The law officially made women an important part of the nation's military. Unfortunately, gay and lesbian members were still barred from military service after the war; however, their role as well as whether or not women should serve in combat would be debated well into the twenty-first century.[185]

[185] See Victoria Sherow, *Women and the Military: An Encyclopedia*, xv-xvi, and 280-281. For the integration of the military see Jon E. Taylor, *Freedom to Serve* 87-119.

Chapter 8: Building a Nationwide Network of Training Facilities for the Armed Forces in World War II

John E. Taylor

Historian David M. Kennedy noted that "almost 16 million men, most of them conscripted" and half a million women, all volunteers, served in the U.S. armed forces during World War II.[186] Between 1941 and 1945, one in ten Americans served in the military.[187] However, the United States commitment to training began even before the United States entered the war after Japan attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.

The two agencies responsible for housing and training this expanded military force included the Quartermaster Corps and the Corps of Engineers. In late 1939, the Constructing Quartermasters and the Construction Division took the lead in making improvements on existing bases and building new ones. In June 1940, Congress passed two critical bills that called for increased defense spending and numbers of troops. On June 13, Congress approved a bill that appropriated over $1.7 billion and allowed the military to expand from 227,000 to 280,000 personnel. On June 26, President Roosevelt signed the First Supplemental National Defense Appropriations Act, which funded the reception centers, troop housing, airfields, and seacoast defenses to support this enlarged military and increased the size of the military to 375,000.[188]

On June 30, 1940, the War Department owned 2 million acres of land, but they estimated that the armed forces needed an additional 8 million acres to construct training facilities: 2.5 million acres for additional camps, firing ranges, hospitals, and depots and 5.3

[186] David M. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 710.
[187] Aaron Hiltner, *Taking Leave, Taking Liberties: American Troops on the World War II Homefront* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2020), 30.
[188] Kent Roberts Greenfield, Robert R. Palmer, and Bell I. Wiley, *The Army Ground Forces: The Organization of Ground Combat Troops* (Washington, D.C.: G.P.O., 1947), 10.

million for airfields and bombing ranges. Six million acres came from the public domain, but some of the additional land was acquired through eminent domain.[189]

On September 16, 1940, the United States Congress approved the first peacetime draft, which required men between 21 and 45 to register by October 16, 1940. The first draft numbers were called on October 29 and the first draftees reported for duty on November 18th.[190] Along with the selectees from the draft, President Roosevelt federalized some of the national guard units on September 16th and so the selectees, members of federal national guard units, and members of Regular Army comprised the ranks of the military. However, when the draft was instituted and the federalized national guard units joined the army, the army had not even constructed most of the camps and training facilities. The Army planned to train the Regular soldiers at established forts.[191] The draft law that Congress approved specifically stated that no men would be conscripted until "shelter, sanitary facilities, water supplies, heating and lighting arrangements, medical care, and hospital accommodations" had been provided.[192] The Army Air Force, which was part of the Army, also had to construct training airfields and bombing ranges.

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[189] For the additional land that was needed see Lenore Fine and Jesse A. Remington, *The Corps of Engineers: Construction in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: G.P.O., 1972), 174-175. For the use of eminent domain in the acquisition of land used by the military in the United States during World War II see John Daniel Hutchinson, *Sites of Contention: Military Bases and the Transformation of the American South During World War II* (Ph.D. Diss., Florida State University, 2011), 36-69.

[190] Paul Dickson, *The Rise of the G.I. Army, 1940-1941* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2020), xiii-xiv. For more on the draft see Albert A. Blum, *Drafted or Deferred: Practices Past and Present* (Ann Arbor: Bureau of Industrial Relations, University of Michigan, 1967); John O'Sullivan, *From Voluntarism to Conscription: Congress and Selective Service, 1940-1945* (New York: Garland, 1982); J. Garry Clifford and Samuel R. Spencer, *The First Peacetime Draft* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1986); George Q. Flynn, *The Draft, 1940-1973* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1993); and William A. Taylor, *Military Service and American Democracy From World War II to the Iraq and Afghanistan Wars* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2016), especially Chapter One.

[191] See Lenore Fine and Jesse A. Remington, *The Corps of Engineers*, 138-139. Those forts included Fort Bragg, North Carolina; Fort Benning, Georgia; Fort Lewis, Washington, and Fort Knox, Kentucky. Fort Jackson, South Carolina; Fort Riley, Kansas; and Fort Ord, California, were also utilized, among several others. Other forts selected included Fort Devens, Massachusetts; Fort Houston, Texas; Fort Custer, Michigan and Fort Bliss, Texas. The only new reservation planned for the regulars was Leon, Iowa. See ibid., 138. Members of the federalized national guard units were housed at McClellan, Livingston, Shelby, Blanding, Robinson, Bowie, Claiborne, Forrest, Meade, San Luis Obispo, Indiantown Gap, McClellan, Blanding, and Dix. See ibid,. 240.

[192] For the quote see Lenore Fine and Jesse A. Remington, *The Corps of Engineers*, 150.

The Navy and Marines had their own training facilities as did the various women's branches. In addition to the facilities for men and women, separate facilities for Black members had to be constructed.

Construction employed many individuals, which brought much needed work to the unemployed during the Great Depression. One account noted:

> "Between July 1940 and the end of the year [December 1940], the number of men employed on military construction projects rose from 5,380 to 396,255. Although some were paid by the WPA (Works Progress Administration) and some directly by the Army, the vast majority…were contractors 'employees."[193]

It was also clear by the end of 1940, that a reorganization in wartime construction was needed. In November 1940, the Quartermaster General transferred the construction oversight of the Air Corps projects, which included the construction of airfields and other aviation related structures, to the Corps of Engineers. The Air Corps established training centers in the Southeast, Gulf Coast, and on the West Coast. One week prior to Pearl Harbor, the Corps of Engineers had built ninety-six structures, which included fields, depots, schools, and replacement centers. [194]

In December 1940, the War Department created nine territorial construction zones that corresponded to the same boundaries and headquarters as the nine corps areas. Each had a Zone Constructing Quartermaster who reported to the Quartermaster General.[195]" Between 23 December [1940] and 5 March [1941,] nine National Guard divisions entered federal service. The strength of the Army increased by about 100,000 during January, by about 150,000 during February, and nearly 200,000 during March. By 1 April it had passed the 1 million mark."[196] This

[193] For the quote see Lenore Fine and Jesse A. Remington, *The Corps of Engineers*, 221-222.
[194] Lenore Fine and Jesse A. Remington, *The Corps of Engineers*, 440, 451, 459.
[195] Lenore Fine and Jesse A. Remington, *The Corps of Engineers*, 263-264; 267-268.
[196] Lenore Fine and Jesse A. Remington, *The Corps of Engineers*, 293.

meant that construction plans were constantly changing and expanding to accommodate an ever increasing number of troops.

The split in the division of the construction projects between the Quartermaster Corps and the Army Corps of Engineers ended on December 1, 1941, when President Roosevelt signed a transfer bill that made the Corps of Engineers solely responsible for construction projects. The law took effect on December 16, 1941.[197] One day later, Congress approved a bill that included a quarter of a billion dollars in construction funds—"$827,820,000 for military posts and $388,000,000 for expediting production…." The appropriation included money to construct four general hospitals, three division camps, and thirteen air bases, among other projects.[198]

By mid-January 1942, General George Marshall, Army Chief of Staff, had decided on a 3,600,000-person army, which meant an additional 1,270,000 individuals to the Army Ground and Army Service forces. The Army Air Forces numbered around 750,000, with 50,000 pilots at that time. The War Production Board, created on January 16, 1942, estimated that it would spend $10 billion on war construction during 1942 alone to accommodate General Marshall's request.[199]

The navy developed training facilities in the port cities of Norfolk, Virginia; Charleston, South Carolina; Savannah, Georgia; and Mobile, Alabama. Not only did these cities see an influx of Navy members, but individuals working in war industry also crowded into these port cities. John Daniel Hutchinson noted: "Norfolk's population grew by 57%, Charleston by 37%, Savannah by 29%, and Mobile by 61%."[200]

Even before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Army Chief of Staff, George Marshall, was thinking about how to expand the number of individuals in the military, including more

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[197] Lenore Fine and Jesse A. Remington, *The Corps of Engineers*, 475-476.
[198] Lenore Fine and Jesse A. Remington, *The Corps of Engineers*, 479.
[199] Lenore Fine and Jesse A. Remington, *The Corps of Engineers*, 480.
[200] John Daniel Hutchinson, *Sites of Contention: Military Bases and the Transformation of the American South During World War II* (Ph.D. Diss., Florida State University, 2011), 36-69.30-31.

women.[201] On May 14, 1942, President Roosevelt signed a bill that created the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) and approximately 150,000 women served. Most of these women served in clerical and support roles, which allowed men to serve in other positions. The War Department established Basic Training Centers for the WAACs at Fort Des Moines, Iowa; Daytona Beach, Florida; Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia; Fort Devens, Massachusetts; and Camps Polk and Rustin, in Louisiana; and in Camp Monticello, Arkansas. African American WAACs trained at Fort Huachuca, Arizona and at Fort Des Moines.[202]

In July 1942, President Roosevelt signed a bill that created the United States Marine Corps Reserve (Female) and the Women Accepted for Voluntary Service (WAVES), which was the auxiliary organization for women in the Navy. The women in the Marines trained at Fort LeJeune, North Carolina, and some of the WAVES trained at colleges like Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts, and at the Gunnery School, Naval Air Station, in Pensacola, Florida.[203]

When the Army Corps of Engineers took over sole responsibility for the construction projects at the beginning of 1942, they were relentless. By the end of the year, the Corps had completed 2,091 projects with an estimated project cost of almost $5 billion. The Corps constructed 389 Army Ground Force facilities, including camps and cantonments, reception and replacement training centers, general hospitals, and internment camps, among other facilities.

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[201] Mattie E. Treadwell, *The Women's Army Corps* (Washington: D.C.: G.P.O., 1953), 20-23. For more on the role of women in the U.S. military see D'Ann Campbell, *Women at War with America: Private Lives in a Patriotic Era* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1984); Susan Hartmann, "Women in the Military Service," in Mabel E. Deutrich and Virginia Purdy, eds, *Clio Was a Woman* (Washington: Howard University Press, 1980); Melanie Anne Veach Kirkland, Daughters of Athena: American Women in the Military During World War II (Ph.D, Diss., Texas Christian University, 2009).

[202] For the numbers see https://wwwnationalww2museum.org/students-teachers/student-resources/research-starters/research-starters-us-military-numbers. Also see "Women's Army Auxiliary Corps" in Victoria Sherow, *Women and the Military: An Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 1996), 329-330. For the training camps see Mattie E. Treadwell, *The Women's Army Corps*, 59-60, 77-78, 102, 124. For the African American training center see ibid., 104.

[203] See "Women Marines" and "Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Service (WAVES) in Victoria Sherow, *Women and the Military: An Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 1996), 322-323, 326-327.

The Corps also constructed 482 Army Air Force structures, including schools, depots, tactical stations, training bases, and auxiliary fields. The total housing capacity for the armed forces at the end of 1942 was 4,370,445, which included 179,457 hospital beds.[204]

Communities across the United States, but particularly in the South, competed to have military bases located nearby. John Daniel Hutchinson concluded: "The South's political power in Congress, tied together with the South's favorable geographic and climatic conditions, are the primary reasons why the region received a level of military investment far out of proportion to its size."[205] With the country still struggling to come out of the Great Depression, having a small community be the center of either war industry or military training or both, meant providing those communities with an economic boost. In fact, the south had more training facilities than any other region of the country and historian John Daniel Hutchinson calculated that out of the 2,997 military installations in the United States at the end of 1945, 1,153 were in the following states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.[206]

Oftentimes the community's civic leaders or the Chamber of Commerce took the lead in lobbying their state and federal officials to locate a military base near their communities. In Lubbock, Texas, the Lubbock's Chamber of Commerce, working with the community's Congressional delegation, pleaded with the War Department to establish the Lubbock Army

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[204] See Lenore Fine and Jesse A. Remington, *The Corps of Engineers*, 521. For more on the internment camps or war relocation centers see https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/war-relocation-centers.htm.
[205] John Daniel Hutchinson, *Sites of Contention: Military Bases and the Transformation of the American South During World War II* (Ph.D. Diss., Florida State University, 2011), 33.
[206] See John Daniel Hutchinson, *Sites of Contention: Military Bases and the Transformation of the American South During World War II* (Ph.D. Diss., Florida State University, 2011), 4. Hutchinson's source for this was Office of the Chief of Army Engineers, *Owned, Sponsored, and Leased Facilities*, 31 December 1945 (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Army Engineers, 1945), 9-11. For the importance of the World War II military bases in the west see Gerald D. Nash, *World War II and the West: Reshaping the Economy* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 219.

Airfield. In July 1941 the military constructed the airfield and the city's population, which had 31,000 residents, had exploded to 101,000 by the end of the decade.[207]

John Daniel Hutchinson noted that not everyone welcomed the military installations and that approximately 50,000 people were displaced in the south.[208] Some farmers in the south had to give up their farms, including when Camp Butner, an infantry training facility was established on 50,000 acres near Durham, North Carolina. Farmers were compensated for their loss, but they complained that the government did not offer them enough. Hutchinson noted that a Black church, which was in the path of the proposed military installation, held its final service and by April 1942, the military had demolished most of the remaining structures.[209]

If the federal government did not use eminent domain to acquire property, it sometimes offered to lease the land from owners. Sometimes the federal government did not offer very good lease terms and some landowners, just outside of Little Rock, Arkansas, organized the Home Owners of the Camp Robinson Extension Area Association to lobby Arkansas state and federal politicians against extending the camp. Since the landowners did not cooperate with the leasing arrangement, the federal government seized the land, displacing at least 1,400 people. John Daniel Hutchinson concluded: "Across the South, rural farmers and urban merchants repeatedly clashed over the establishment of military bases in their communities."[210]

Hutchinson noted that Black communities in the south were disproportionately impacted by the bases. In North Carolina, Black residents were displaced from their lands to build Camp

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[207] John Daniel Hutchinson, *Sites of Contention: Military Bases and the Transformation of the American South During World War II* (Ph.D. Diss., Florida State University, 2011), 24-31.
[208] John Daniel Hutchinson, *Sites of Contention: Military Bases and the Transformation of the American South During World War II* (Ph.D. Diss., Florida State University, 2011), 36.
[209] John Daniel Hutchinson, *Sites of Contention: Military Bases and the Transformation of the American South During World War II* (Ph.D. Diss., Florida State University, 2011), 34-35.
[210] John Daniel Hutchinson, *Sites of Contention: Military Bases and the Transformation of the American South During World War II* (Ph.D. Diss., Florida State University, 2011), 54-57. For the quote see ibid., 57.

LeJune, the Cherry Point Naval Air Station, and Camp Davis.[211] Other displaced Black communities in the South included Harris Neck, which was located fifty miles south of Savannah, Georgia; Childersberg, Alabama; and Midway, Florida.[212]

Communities that became the location of a camp or military training base saw two phases of robust growth. The first involved private contractors constructing the camps and the second involved the occupation of camps by military personnel. In the initial construction phase, thousands of workers, working for private contractors flooded into the area and quickly overwhelmed the infrastructure. The most pressing need was housing, and many lived in their cars, tents, and even jail cells in one Louisiana community.[213]

The second phase started when the military personnel arrived on base and began interacting with the community. Soldiers who were single, usually lived in camp housing, however, soldiers who had families faced difficulty finding off-base housing and Black soldiers faced segregation on and off base. The influx of military personnel also challenged the infrastructure of these communities, straining sewer systems, power grids, and roads.[214]

The presence of military personnel in these communities had a significant impact on the local economy. Soldiers spent their payroll at local businesses, including retail stores, and, in some places, at local brothels, despite the efforts by some communities to provide oversight for these establishments.[215] The bases also provided employment opportunities for civilians, which

[211] John Daniel Hutchinson, *Sites of Contention: Military Bases and the Transformation of the American South During World War II* (Ph.D. Diss., Florida State University, 2011), 61-67.
[212] John Daniel Hutchinson, *Sites of Contention: Military Bases and the Transformation of the American South During World War II* (Ph.D. Diss., Florida State University, 2011), 67-69.
[213] John Daniel Hutchinson, *Sites of Contention: Military Bases and the Transformation of the American South During World War II* (Ph.D. Diss., Florida State University, 2011), Chapter Three, 70-93.
[214] John Daniel Hutchinson, *Sites of Contention: Military Bases and the Transformation of the American South During World War II* (Ph.D. Diss., Florida State University, 2011), Chapter Four, 94-128.
[215] Aaron Hiltner, *Taking Leave, Taking Liberties: American Troops on the World War II Home Front* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2020), 143-144.

resulted in a positive economic benefit. Hutchinson noted: “At the height of the war, a single base could employ more labor in a community than all other labor sectors combined.”[216]

One additional impact was on race relations. Daniel Kryder estimated that “three-quarters of black training facilities were placed in the rural South…”[217] Over one million Black men and women served in the military during World War II and they faced segregated facilities. John Hutchinson wrote: “Instead of a unified area of barracks, mess halls, recreation centers, and chapels, military bases often possessed two districts, with separate facilities reserved for white and black personnel.” Even when the facilities were separate, they were oftentimes unequal. For example, at MacDill Army Airfield, near Tampa, Florida, the White soldiers lived in barracks while the Black soldiers lived in tents. Black service members experienced racial violence both on and off military bases in the south throughout the war.[218]

Establishing military installations during World War II across the United States left a lasting economic, racial, and post-World War II legacy. Initially brought much needed jobs, like the south, that were struggling to get out of the Great Depression, and a sustained economic windfall. The segregated experiences that particularly Black soldiers faced, fueled a civil rights movement in the post- war period that stretched into the 1950s and 1960s. While some military installations closed immediately after World War II, many of the installations constructed during the war served as important bases during the Cold War and post Cold War era. They continue

[216] John Daniel Hutchinson, *Sites of Contention: Military Bases and the Transformation of the American South During World War II* (Ph.D. Diss., Florida State University, 2011), 110.
[217] Daniel Kryder, *Divided Arsenal: Race and the American State During World War II* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 12-14. For a complete list of the camps see ibid., 261 and *The Pittsburgh Courier* June 14, 1941.
[218] See John Daniel Hutchinson, *Sites of Contention: Military Bases and the Transformation of the American South During World War II* (Ph.D. Diss., Florida State University, 2011), 136-138. For incidents of racial violence on and off base against African American soldiers see John Daniel Hutchinson, *Sites of Contention*, 142-156.

to provide an important economic windfall and military training and important to the nation's defense today.[219]

[219] For civil rights activism in the post-World War II period, see John Daniel Hutchinson, *Sites of Contention: Military Bases and the Transformation of the American South During World War II* (Ph.D. Diss., Florida State University, 2011), Conclusion, 157-176. Also see Jennifer Brooks, *Defining the Peace: World War II Veterans, Race and the Remaking of Southern Political Tradition* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004) and Todd J. Moye, *Freedom Flyers: The Tuskegee Airmen of World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010; and Jon E. Taylor, *Freedom to Serve: Truman, Civil Rights and Executive Order 9981* (New York: Routledge, 2013), especially chapters 4 and 5.For the role of the Corps of Engineers in constructing many of the facilities that were used to develop the atomic bomb at Los Alamos and at Hanford, see Lenore Fine and Jesse A. Remington, *The Corps of Engineers*, 650-701. For the Cold War militarization in the south see Kari Frederickson, *Cold War Dixie: Militarization and Modernization in the American South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013).

Chapter 9: Preserving the Heritage and Legacy of American Cities ' Contributions to World War II

By Erica Fugger

Remembrance of global events like World War II is innately contested, as memories fade, new meaning is made, and narratives become co-opted to serve cultural or political purposes. While commemoration of the conflict largely receives wide public support in the United States today, it is important to explore the development of American war memory and the objectives underlying ongoing historical preservation efforts. Notably, World War II heritage offers insight into the understanding Americans have about themselves, including their national history and shared identities. Preserving this history therefore poses the risk of further ingraining the U.S. with a culture of militarism and obscuring the injustices that took place on the home front. Or it can play a vital role in highlighting the importance of global peace, encouraging civic participation, and acknowledging human rights violations, in order to create an accurate remembrance of the war that inspires a more equal future.

Delving into the periodization of American World War II memory, it is possible to see how the memory and meaning were already disputed during the conflict itself. Museums struggled to decide how to balance their exhibits as "testimony, obligation, and witness to the war," while archives considered how to be selective in preserving a surplus of wartime materials for long-term historical interpretation.[220] And though millions of Americans helped contribute to the war effort on the home front and frontlines, some felt uncertain about the conflict, whether from a staunch sense of isolationism or a moral abhorrence to violence. The realities of global warfare became all the more challenging for families across America, who had already

[220]. Clarissa J. Ceglio, *A Cultural Arsenal for Democracy: The World War II Work of U. S. Museums* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press): 98, 171; Richard Cox, "Archives, War, and Memory: Building a Framework," Library & Archival Security 25, no. 1 (January 1, 2012): 21-22, 26.

sacrificed so much during the Great Depression and then lost their loved ones in combat overseas.

Consequently, in the years following the war, many communities nationwide placed an emphasis on constructing "living memorials" to honor those who served in World War II on the local level.[221] These projects were conceived as "utilitarian" war memorials that became embedded in post-war urban planning and civic projects, and therefore served a practical purpose.[222] They often took the form of new public works buildings, parks, and community centers rather than more traditional monuments that were seen as outmoded and opulent.[223] Therefore, these living memorials focused on sustaining community building from war into peacetime, and sought to imbue the American identity with democratic ideals that would transmit to future generations.[224] This approach to embedding subtle memorialization sites for tourists to visit across the U.S. also echoed New Deal aspirations for recreation and leisure, which has carried through into the heritage industry today.[225]

However, wartime memory was complex during the Cold War era. Though soldiers were celebrated patriotically as they returned home from service, the country began to look inwardly and debate the costs of war.[226] The injustices of Japanese American incarceration, the atomic bombings in Japan, and violent racism against Black Americans were amplified during the civil rights movement, as the world scrutinized the U.S. on its foreign policy and domestic record. By the 1980s, the specter of the Vietnam War weighed heavily on the American conscience. No

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221. Andrew M. Shanken, "Planning Memory: Living Memorials in the United States during World War II," *The Art Bulletin* 84, no. 1 (2002): 132.
222. Shanken, "Planning Memory," 130.
223. Shanken, "Planning Memory," 132.
224. Shanken, "Planning Memory," 135.
225. Shanken, "Planning Memory," 132-133, 141, 144.
226. Erika Doss, "War, Memory, and the Public Mediation of Affect: The National World War II Memorial and American Imperialism," *Memory Studies* 1, no. 2 (May 1, 2008): 230-231; Edward T. Linenthal, "Anatomy of a Controversy," in *History Wars: The Enola Gay and Other Battles for the American Past*, eds. Tom Engelhardt and Edward T. Linethal (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1996): 10.

longer was the U.S. seen as a global liberating power, but rather as a wounded country recovering from a blow to its national pride and identity.[227] Furthermore, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum opened in 1980 on the National Mall and revealed some of the complexities of World War II, including America's homegrown anti-Semitism.[228] The Civil Liberties Act of 1988 further offered reparations to Japanese Americans and the Unangax̂ (Aleut) people, and appropriated funding for the preservation and education of their history.[229] The calls for peace that many veterans reiterated after the war also remained, as the United States continued to face the realities of global nuclear warfare.[230]

Yet, a political undercurrent was emerging that attempted to counter some of the truth telling at historical sites and in educational spaces.[231] In 1987, the idea of a national World War II memorial was proposed to Congress, harkening back to the traditional monuments that so many had opposed after the war.[232] This foreshadowed the "memorial mania" and "memory boom" that emerged in the 1990s, in a national effort to reimpose a shared set of American values for ideal citizenship.[233] As the fiftieth anniversary of the end of the war approached in 1995, many veterans groups resisted efforts to present a nuanced story about the U.S.'s use of the atomic bomb, claiming it to be "anti-American."[234] The Air Force Association in particular stymied the display of the Enola Gay at the National Air and Space Museum on the National

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227. Tom Engelhardt and Edward T. Linethal, "Introduction," in *History Wars*, in *History Wars: The Enola Gay and Other Battles for the American Past*, eds. Tom Engelhardt and Edward T. Linethal (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1996): 2;. Linenthal, *"*Anatomy of a Controversy*,"* 10, 25.
228. Linenthal, "Anatomy of a Controversy," 62.
229. "H.R. 442 – Civil Liberties Act of 1987," Congress.gov, August 10, 1988, accessed July 1, 2022, https://www.congress.gov/bill/100th-congress/house-bill/442.
230. Linenthal, "Anatomy of a Controversy," 15, 61.
231. Engelhardt and Linenthal, "Introduction," 3-4.
232. Doss, "War, Memory, and the Public Mediation of Affect, 232.
233. Doss, "War, Memory, and the Public Mediation of Affect, 227, 229;
234. Engelhardt and Linenthal, "Introduction," 2.

Mall, eventually resulting in the cancellation of the exhibition and suppression of public dialogue.[235]

Furthermore, as the world surfaced from the Cold War, the United States again attempted to reassert its identity as a global superpower, with tributes to the American triumphs in World War II and its aging generation of veterans being paid in books like Tom Brokaw's The Greatest Generation and popular Hollywood films like Saving Private Ryan.[236] Yet, these portrayals often whitewashed the realities of war, and silenced the voices that challenged this nationalistic rendering of history and the false identity America was attempting to create

This inclination to honor the generation who fought in the 'Good War 'gained further ground after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, in light of increased military mobilization surrounding the invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan.[237] In the following years, there were calls for "national unity," and a re-emphasis on civic participation and patriotism: themes familiar to those who lived through World War II.[238] The National World War II Memorial that had been in the works for decades was finally realized in 2004 on the National Mall, with resistance from many groups who saw it as a valorization of warfare.[239] Its central location was seen as an assertation of America's "historic and habitual militarism," repressing dissent against the existing War on Terror and stymying future protest.[240]

Similarly, new local and state memorials emerged across the country to honor the servicemembers who fought and lost their lives in the war.[241] Offering gratitude to the World War II generation became a way to reestablish a sense of national identity centered around perpetual triumphant warfare, shifting away from the complexities of Vietnam War memory and

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[235]. Linenthal, "Anatomy of a Controversy," 35-36, 40, 46-47, 59.
[236]. Doss, "War, Memory, and the Public Mediation of Affect," 232.
[237]. Doss, "War, Memory, and the Public Mediation of Affect," 230, 242.
[238]. Doss, "War, Memory, and the Public Mediation of Affect," 230, 238.
[239]. Doss, "War, Memory, and the Public Mediation of Affect," 230, 234.
[240]. Doss, "War, Memory, and the Public Mediation of Affect," 234-235, 238-239, 241, 243.
[241]. Doss, "War, Memory, and the Public Mediation of Affect," 230.

the civil rights struggles of the same era.[242] This trend continues today, as honoring World War II history has been framed as an apolitical act, but questioning the patriotic narrative surrounding the conflict remains taboo.

Therefore, when assessing a city's contributions to preserving wartime history through the American World War II Heritage City program, it is important to consider what stories are being told and for what purpose. Is the community that is being recognized for its preservation efforts helping tell an accurate and representative story about the war and its legacies? What lessons does this wartime heritage communicate to the public, and what unique approaches has the city taken in its interpretation and communication efforts? With this historical framing of wartime memory in mind, this essay will continue to outline possible ways of evaluating "achievements by a city and its environs to preserve the heritage and legacy of the city's contributions to the war effort and to preserve World War II history," and conclude by offering opportunities to connect these themes to current issues of concern as a way to demonstrate their ongoing relevance.

While researching historical preservation efforts, it is impossible to deny that Second World War II left an indelible mark on the American homefront, which remains visible today, through structures like decommissioned military bases, lookout towers, and bunkers. In recent decades, cultural institutions have restored these wartime coastal defense locations for public use and education.[243] Communities have also preserved local sites where conflict reached the home front, including commemorating locations in which German U-boats landed on American shores.[244]

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[242]. Doss, "War, Memory, and the Public Mediation of Affect," 244-245.

[243]. For an example of efforts to restore World War II military structures, see "World War II Home Front Museum," Coastal Georgia Historical Society, accessed June 1, 2022, https://www.coastalgeorgiahistory.org/visit/world-war-ii-museum.

[244]. Additional preservation efforts of home front conflict locations can be referenced through "Reliving a Piece of Fort Miles History," Fort Miles Historical Association, accessed July 1, 2022, https://fortmilesha.org/u858-surrender.

Former government facilities, such as Axis prisoner of war camps and World War II Civilian Public Service camps, can also be found throughout the United States.[245] Similarly, there have been efforts to conserve and interpret former government sites where nuclear weapons were developed.[246] The recognition, restoration, and interpretation of former Japanese American and Unangax̂ (Aleutian) incarceration centers has required sustained community advocacy and remain essential sites for reckoning with the human rights violations that occurred on the U.S. homefront.[247]

Furthermore, the remnants of wartime mobilization facilities can be found in boomtowns that supported the defense industry. Some communities have organized tours of former factory sites that often employed populations that were historically marginalized from the workforce, including women and Black Americans.[248] Many cultural institutions have also been built within World War II structures or alternately exhibit restored military equipment, including naval

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[245]. To explore an example of efforts to preserve German prisoner of war branch camps, consider Paula Bryant, "Preserving What Remains: Fort Sheridan WWII POW Branch Camps in the Cook County Forest Preserved in Illinois," National Park Service, accessed June 1, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/preserving-the-remains-fort-sheridan-wwii-pow-camps.htm. To read about how the history of a Civilian Public Service camp for conscientious objectors has been commemorated, see "Civilian Public Service Camp #21," Oregon Encyclopedia, Oregon Historical Society, accessed June 1, 2022, https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/civilian_public_service_camp_21/#.YkT56rgpBPU.

[246]. See the National Museum of Nuclear Science and History, accessed June 1, 2022, https://www.nuclearmuseum.org and Atomic Heritage Foundation, accessed June 1, 2022, https://www.atomicheritage.org for further context.

[247]. For information about National Park Service parks commemorating Japanese American incarceration during World War II, see "Japanese American Confinement," National Park Service, accessed July 1, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/japaneseamericanconfinement/index.htm. For background on the Aleutian Islands World War II National Historical Area, review "Unangax̂ (Aleut) Evacuation and Internment during World War II," National Park Service, accessed July 1, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/unangax-internment.htm. As an example of an interpretative space administered outside of the NPS, see the Topaz Museum, accessed June 1, 2022, https://topazmuseum.org.

[248]. One example of a driving tour of former wartime manufacturing facilities can be found through Aubrey Glazier, "The Utah Homefront During World War II," Intermountain Histories, Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, Bingham Young University, accessed June 1, 2022, https://www.intermountainhistories.org/tours/show/8.

shipyard, aviation, and battleship museums.[249] In contrast, veterans museums often focus on local histories and preserve materials donated from residents, regularly offering educational programming and even veteran resources.[250] In contrast, memorial museums tend to focus upon wartime atrocities like the Holocaust, whose refugees and survivors settled in the United States. These institutions help remember those lost to the inhumanity of the conflict, and often frame ethical conversations around the prevention of future genocides through their exhibitions and research centers.[251] Likewise, ethnic museums crucially highlight the experiences and contributions of diverse communities across the United States during World War II.[252]

Veterans memorial parks frequently include tributes to local servicemembers or display military equipment for the public engagement.[253] Moreover, national programs have sought to recognize the contributions of "Rosie the Riveters"—or Women Ordinance Workers (WOWs)—on the home front through memorial gardens and parks.[254] There have also been local initiatives to celebrate other communities of workers who vitally contributed to the U.S. war efforts,

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[249]. Doss, "War, Memory, and the Public Mediation of Affect," 230. To learn more about museums built at former naval shipyards, see "Brooklyn Navy Yard Exhibitions and Installations," BLDG 92, Brooklyn Navy Yard Development Corporation, accessed June 1, 2022, https://brooklynnavyyard.org/visit/exhibits. One example of an aviation museum can be found through the National WASP WWII Museum, accessed June 1, 2022, https://www.waspmuseum.org. Additionally, World War II battleships have frequently been renovated as sites of historical interpretation and remembrance, as is the case with the Battleship New Jersey Museum and Memorial, accessed June 1, 2022, https://www.battleshipnewjersey.org.

[250]. For context on the ways that veterans museums combine artifact preservation with community support for military servicemembers, see The Brevard Veterans Memorial Center, accessed June 1, 2022, https://veteransmemorialcenter.org.

[251]. Richard Cox, "Archives, War, and Memory: Building a Framework," *Library & Archival Security* 25, no. 1. (2012): 36. For further context, see the Holocaust Memorial Museum of San Antonio, accessed July 1, 2022, https://www.hmmsa.org/museum-history.

[252]. See the Japanese American National Museum, accessed June 1, 2022, https://www.janm.org for an example of nuanced conversations surrounding the Japanese American incarceration experience and broader histories of this community. Additionally, the forthcoming permanent site of the Navajo Code Talkers Museum, accessed July 12, 2022, https://www.nationalnavajocodetalkersday.com/navajo-code-talkers-museum will preserve the histories and legacies of Diné military service during World War II, as well as offering community spaces for connection and healing.

[253]. One example can be found in New Jersey's World War II Veterans Memorial Park, accessed June 1, 2022, https://www.army.mil/article/38163/veterans_take_hill_with_manchester_wwii_park.

[254]. To learn more about a national campaign to plant rose gardens in honor of women war workers, see Rosie the Riveter Memorial Rose Gardens, Spirit of '45, accessed June 1, 2022, http://www.spiritof45.org/rosie_rose_gardens_resources.aspx.

including constructing monuments honoring Bracero program farm workers from Mexico.[255] One additional form of commemoration includes the development of peace parks and memorials, which were frequently forged in cooperation with representatives from Japan to develop international friendship and acknowledge the damage caused by the United States 'atomic bombs.[256]

While many state-level World War II memorials have been dedicated only in the past three decades, local honor roll plaques listing the names of those killed in action were often constructed shortly after the conflict.[257] Both these memorial sites and veterans cemeteries are frequently used for historical research and educational programs.[258] Some organizations have also helped repatriate the remains of World War II servicemembers who were deemed missing in action, while others have organized gatherings for the families who lost loved ones during the war.[259]

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[255]. For further insight into these memorials, see Aaron Yadegari, "Bracero Monument, Los Angeles," Old Town Los Angeles Walking Tour, Clio, August 8, 2021, accessed June 1, 2022, https://theclio.com/tour/2007/7.

[256]. See Minnesota's Lyndale Park Peace Garden, accessed June 1, 2022, https://www.minneapolisparks.org/parks__destinations/parks__lakes/gardens__bird_sanctuaries/lyndale_park_peace_garden for further reference.

[257]. Doss, "War, Memory, and the Public Mediation of Affect," 230. See the "World War II Memorial Commission," Maryland State Archives, March 14, 2022, accessed June 1, 2022, https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/mdmanual/26excom/defunct/html/37worl.html for information about a state-wide World War II monument that was created in the 1990s. Examples of post-war honor roll plaques can be found at James McMahon, "Armstrong World Industries in Pennsylvania Memorial Day: Honoring Armstrong Employees Who Died in World War II," Lancaster History, May 28, 2021, accessed June 1, 2022, https://www.lancasterhistory.org/memorial-day-world-war-ii.

[258]. See the Four Chaplains Memorial Foundation, accessed June 1, 2022, http://fourchaplains.org, for further information on the interfaith and educational programs offered. To learn more about how cemeteries are recognizing World War II veterans through research, see Chelsia Rose Marcius, "Brooklyn's Green-Wood Cemetery Seeks to Honor WWII Veterans with Extensive Online Database," February 11, 2021, accessed July 1, 2022, *New York Daily News*, https://www.nydailynews.com/new-york/ny-brooklyn-green-wood-cemetery-wwii-veterans-database-20210211-2rsjw3waurhczjyawl2pfs5jkm-story.html.

[259]. For further information on repatriation missions, see Project Recover, accessed July 1, 2022, https://www.projectrecover.org. Details on an organization supporting families who lost relatives during the war can be found at American WWII Orphans Network, accessed June 1, 2022, https://www.awon.org.

Some cities also have unique monuments that acknowledge sites on the home front related to military accidents during World War II.[260] Local community groups often organize together to maintain these memorials and pay tribute to fallen servicemembers on Memorial Day, Veterans Day, or around important wartime anniversaries.[261] Another popular way of honoring local veterans is through military tribute banners, often displayed in downtown commerce districts.[262] Moreover, some state historical commissions and non-profit organizations have mapped out the placement of local World War II monuments and historical markers to encourage heritage tourism.[263]

In recent years, affinity groups have vigorously advocated for their veterans and home front workers to receive Congressional Gold Medals, especially if they were excluded from national recognition in the past.[264] Further organizing has been undertaken by tribute tour groups, which transport veterans to the National World War II Memorial or bring them back to visit their locations of service.[265] However, it is important to note that veterans organizations

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[260]. To learn more about a memorial created by an American Legion chapter in Arkansas to commemorate an Army Air Force airplane crash, see Steven B. Brooks, "It's a Place of Joy," American Legion, April 26, 2018, accessed June 1, 2022, https://www.legion.org/honor/241825/its-place-joy.

[261]. To learn more about community initiatives to maintain war memorials, see "Boy Scout Troop Spruces Up War Memorials in Bayonne Park," *The Jersey Journal*, September 27, 2010, https://www.nj.com/bayonne/2010/09/boy_scout_troop_spruces_up_war.html.

[262]. To learn more about local tribute banner programs, visit "Military Tribute Banner Program," City of Bonner Springs, accessed June 1, 2022, https://www.bonnersprings.org/1153/Military-Tribute-Banner-Program.

[263]. One example of a non-profit partnering with a state memorial commission can be found through the Indiana War Memorials Foundation, accessed June 1, 2022, https://www.indianawarmemorials.org. To explore how states offer guidance to communities on applying to their World War II historical marker programs, see "Marker Research Guide for Texas in World War II," Texas Historical Commission, accessed June 1, 2022, https://www.thc.texas.gov/public/upload/publications/MRG_TXInWWII_07.pdf.

[264]. These affinity groups have focused on bringing national recognition to Native American, Black American, Japanese American, Chinese American, and Filipino American veterans, with an additional emphasis on female servicemembers and home front workers. To explore a recent example of these efforts, see Katie Lange, "All-Black Female WWII Unit to Receive Congressional Gold Medal," U.S. Department of Defense, March 18, 2022, accessed July 1, 2022.

[265]. For examples of these tribute tours, visit Honor Flight Network, accessed June 1, 2022, https://www.honorflight.org; Forever Young Veterans, accessed June 1, 2022, https://foreveryoungvets.org; and The Greatest Generation Foundation, accessed June 1, 2022, https://www.tggf.org.

have also wielded power over how wartime history is remembered and represented nationwide, as was the case in exhibition of the Enola Gay at the National Air and Space Museum.[266]

National remembrance initiatives have frequently brought members of the World War II generation together through public programs and helped facilitate educational exchanges with students.[267] Due to advocacy by non-profit organizations in the 2010s, the U.S. Congress has supported observing annual commemorative days like Spirit of '45 Day and Rosie the Riveter Day, which engage communities across the country in events honoring the memory of World War II.[268] On the local level, organizations like public libraries and retirement facilities often unite servicemembers and home front workers through interactive programming like discussion groups and speaking opportunities.[269]

Local news spotlights and investigative reporting also exemplify the legacies of World War II through print and electronic media. Newspapers have often published local veterans ' stories around wartime anniversaries, while television and radio broadcast stations air interviews to the public or produce documentaries and podcasts that can be accessed online.[270]

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[266]. See the roles of the Air Force Association and American Legion in Linenthal, "Anatomy of a Controversy," 35-36, 40, 46-47, 59.

[267]. To learn more about these collaborations to honor World War II veterans and Rosie the Riveters, see Spirit of '45, accessed June 1, 2022, http://www.spiritof45.org/home0.aspx and Thanks! Plain and Simple, accessed June 1, 2022, https://thanksplainandsimple.org. Also see iWitnessed --> iRemember: A WWII Experience for Today's Teams, accessed July 1, 2022, https://www.iwitnessediremember.org for examples of intergenerational dialogue.

[268]. The Congressional resolution supporting National Spirit of '45 Day passed in both chambers, "H. Con. Res. 226 – 111th Congress," Supporting the Observance of 'Spirit of '45 Day," GovTrack,us, August 5, 2010, https://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/111/hconres226/text. Commemoration of National Rosie the Riveter Day has been proposed on multiple occasions since 2015 and was agreed to in the Senate in 2019, "S.Res.114 – A Resolution Expressing Support for the Designation of March 21, 2019, as 'National Rosie the Riveter Day," Congress,gov, March 14, 2019, https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/senate-resolution/114/text.

[269]. Learn more about this community programming, see World War II Veteran's Discussion Group, Hagaman Memorial Library, accessed June 1, 2022, https://hagamanlibrary.org/wwii-veterans-discussion-group and "VBC History," Veterans Breakfast Club, accessed June 1, 2022, https://veteransbreakfastclub.org/history.

[270]. See "Freedom's Call: Local WWII Veterans Tell Their Stories," *The Daytona Beach News-Journal*, November 11, 2015, accessed June 1, 2022, https://www.news-journalonline.com/story/news/2015/11/11/freedoms-call-local-wwii-veterans-tell-their-

Additional forms of electronic media outreach include the creation of oral history projects and social media spotlights on wartime stories. Many educational institutions like schools and universities have worked to record interviews with residents from the World War II generation over the past three decades.[271] Additionally, state archival initiatives have helped digitize residents 'wartime documents and photographs for public access and preservation.[272] Historical societies and museums have also sought to share local memories of World War II through exhibitions, multimedia websites, and books.[273]

Cultural events celebrating World War II history tend to be common nationwide. Some communities host World War II air shows or heritage days that include period dances.[274] Other tribute weekends include professional dance troupes or historical interpretation.[275] Theater shows and even operas have similarly featured significant World War II themes.[276]

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stories/30753933007 for an example of a newspaper feature. "Louisiana's World War II Stories," *Louisiana: The State We're In*, Louisiana Public Broadcasting, accessed June 1, 2022, https://www.lpb.org/programs/louisianas-world-war-ii-stories broadcast local veterans stories on television, while the "Voice of World War II" radio program helped found the World War II Veterans Committee, American Veterans Center, accessed June 1, 2022, https://www.americanveteranscenter.org/vet-committees/wwii-veterans.

[271]. To explore a local interview project about women's experiences during World War II, visit "What Did You Do in the War, Grandma?" South Kingstown High School, September 1997, accessed July 1, 2022. To learn more about national initiatives preserving home front history, see the National Home Front Project, Starr Center for the Study of the American Experience, Washington College, https://nationalhomefrontproject.org.

[272]. One example of a state-level digitization initiative includes "Virginia Project Preserving WWI and WWII History Coming to Staunton," Staunton Public Library, https://www.ci.staunton.va.us/Home/Components/News/News/1533/71?arch=1.

[273]. Learn more about these exhibitions and print publications through *WWII & NYC: Photography and Propaganda*, New-York Historical Society, accessed June 1, 2022, https://www.nyhistory.org/exhibitions/wwii-nyc-photography-and-propaganda-presented-new-york-historical-society and *Yesteryears: Albums of World War II Memories*, Lowndes County Historical Society and Museum, accessed June 1, 2022, http://valdostamuseum.com/collections/wwii_album_veterans.

[274]. For further information, see "WWII Heritage Days," Commemorative Airbase Georgia, accessed July 1, 2022 and 1940s WWII Era Ball, 1940s Ball NFP, accessed June 1, 2022, https://1940sball.org/summer-ball.

[275]. See examples of performances from the Small Planet Dancers, accessed June 1, 2022, http://www.smallplanetdancers.com/worldwarIIdance.shtml; WW2 USO Preservation Association, accessed June 1, 2022, http://www.ww2uso.org/membership_criteria.html; and WWII Historical Re-Enactment Society, accessed June 1, 2022, http://www.worldwartwohrs.org/index.htm.

[276]. For examples of Broadway shows see *On the Town,* accessed June 1, 2022, https://allegiancemusical.com and *Allegiance*, accessed June 1, 2022, https://allegiancemusical.com. To

Organizations like public libraries and museums have also hosted lectures on World War II by welcoming a veteran, civilian, or Holocaust survivor to speak with community members about their experiences during the war.[277] Teachers occasionally build these speaking opportunities directly into their classroom curricula.[278] Alternatively, cultural institutions may invite local authors, public historians, or university faculty to share their work. There are also research centers devoted to studying the lasting legacies of the conflict and hosting educational initiatives.[279]

Many communities have also undertaken recognition programs to honor World War II veterans and home front workers, which coalesced with the creation of the aforementioned Spirit of '45 and National Rosie the Riveter Days.[280] Groups hosting these events often span historical societies, local governments, as well as veterans 'groups. Events may take the form of annual luncheons recognizing World War II servicemembers or include dedications of new memorials in their honor.[281] Furthermore, ceremonies remembering wartime anniversaries have

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explore the incorporation of World War II into opera, see "Doctor Atomic Coming to the Santa Fe Opera," Atomic Heritage Foundation, March 8, 2018, accessed June 1, 2022, https://www.atomicheritage.org/article/doctor-atomic-coming-santa-fe-opera.

[277]. Explore this public programming through the "Speaker Series Events," Museum of World War II, accessed June 1, 2002, http://w.museumofworldwarii.org/speakers.html.

[278]. One example of a World War II veteran guest speaker can be found through "Honored Guest Speaker, Alan Moskin - World War II Hero," October 5, 2017, accessed June 1, 2022, https://www.pjschools.org/schools/port-jervis-middle-school/gallery/1610758/honored-guest-speaker-alan-moskin-world-war-ii-hero.

[279]. The Institute on World War II and the Human Experience, Florida State University, accessed June 1, 2022, https://ww2.fsu.edu is particularly engaged in groundbreaking scholarship, historical preservation, and community events.

[280]. Further information about Spirit of '45 Day can be found at "National Spirit of '45 Day: August 14, 2020," Spirit of '45, accessed June.1, 2022, http://www.spiritof45.org/national_spirit_of_45_day1.aspx. Additional context of programming surrounding National Rosie the Riveter Day can be explored at "Local Rosies Will Celebrate National Rosie the Riveter Day March 21," March 19, 2022, accessed June 1, 2022, https://www.cheboygannews.com/story/news/2022/03/19/local-rosies-celebrate-national-rosie-riveter-day-march-21/7081609001.

[281]. For example, Stanley Community College in North Carolina partnered with the Albemarle Rotary Club to host an annual luncheon for World War II servicemembers, as noted in "WWII Veterans Honored at Annual Luncheon," Stanley Community College, accessed June 1, 2022, https://www.stanly.edu/announcement/wwii-veterans-honored-annual-luncheon. The Tuskegee Airmen were honored with a statue dedication and aerial flower drop at the Palm Springs Air Museum in California, as seen through "Memorial Day Celebration," Palm Springs Air Museum, accessed June 1, 2022, https://events.palmspringsairmuseum.org/e/memorial-day-2021.

been frequent since the 50th anniversary of World War II.[282] Commemorative programs often include reunions of military service units and conscientious objectors around important war milestones.[283] Though many of the 75th anniversary events were initially postponed or shifted online in 2020 due to the COVID-19 pandemic, they have since resumed across the country.[284] Community groups also continue to commemorate the 80th anniversary of World War II battles—and remember those lost to atrocities like the Bataan Death March—through interactive public programming.[285]

As conflict escalates again in Europe in 2022, it is important for Americans to look back on the lessons learned from World War II, including the devastating costs of warfare and possible paths to peace. As previously mentioned, many communities who experienced the Second World War developed peace parks and memorials to demonstrate the importance of harmony and unity, rather than perpetuating a message of militarism. Many of these historical sites and institutions also offer important educational programming that encourage residents to reckon with their civic roles and methods for preventing future warfare, as these were core values of the American people during and after World War II. Therefore, when assessing the legacies of the war, it could be beneficial not only to consider the ways that it forever changed American cities, but also to explore how heritage preservation efforts can help shift conversations surrounding conflict on the local and national level.

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[282]. Doss, "War, Memory, and the Public Mediation of Affect," 230.

[283]. See James Brabenec, "World War II Veterans Reunite, View Unit Memorial," U.S. Army, May 31, 2019, accessed July 1, 2022, https://www.army.mil/article/222561/world_war_ii_veterans_reunite_view_unit_memorial and "70th Anniversary Celebration," Civilian Public Service, Mennonite Central Committee, May 15, 2011, accessed June 1, 2022, https://civilianpublicservice.org/camps/anniversary.

[284]. As exemplified in the "75th World War II Victory Commemoration Flyover," Arsenal of Democracy Flyover, September 26, 2022, accessed June 1, 2022, https://ww2flyover.org.

[285]. To learn more about efforts to commemorate the 80th anniversary of the Baatan Memorial Death March in 2022, see "Bataan Memorial Death March, Washington D.C. (Mt. Vernon Trail), Filipino Veterans Recognition and Education Project, accessed June 1, 2022, https://filvetrep.org/bataan-memorial-death-march-2022.

Furthermore, it is essential to think about the lasting impacts of World War II through a domestic civil rights and global human rights framework. The Black Freedom Movement of the 1950s and 1960s grew out of the wartime Double V campaign, which advocated for equality at home, just as Black troops were fighting in segregated units against fascism abroad.[286] After they returned from active duty, many Black American were subsequently prevented from taking advantage of the G.I. Bill and its opportunities for social mobility.[287] These exclusions couple with injustices like the incarceration of Japanese Americans and the Unangax̂ people to demonstrate how the history of World War II offers a window into the lasting painful legacies of racism ingrained in American society, ones that we still vitally need to reckon with.

The National Park Service has worked to acknowledge histories of injustice within the United States and to educate the public about sites of memory through its other historical recognition programs. It has similar potential to bring these nuanced perspectives while identifying American cities 'unique methods for preserving World War II heritage. It is essential for these diverse stories to be brought into consideration with how the war is remembered in order to prevent a whitewashed version of the conflict from being perpetuated—to potentially perilous results. Amplifying accurate portrayals of U.S. history during World War II can help support communities in coming to terms with the past and finding new approaches to addressing its ongoing legacies today.

[286]. "The Double V Victory Campaign," National WWII Museum, accessed July 1, 2022, https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/double-v-victory.
[287]. Jim Cylburn and Seth Moulton, What America Owes Black Veterans of World War II, *TIME*, December 7, 2021, accessed July 1, 2022, https://time.com/6126195/black-veterans-gi-bill-world-war-two.

Chapter 10: Production Soldiers: Diversification of the American WWII Home Front Workforce

By Laura Lee Oviedo

While the United States was fighting for democracy abroad, on the home front struggled to live up to it. Struggles for equality and opportunities were front and center for diverse Americans who began challenging their treatment and rights as citizens. Women, people of color, and peoples with disabilities sought an opportunity to do their part in the war effort and higher wages. To remedy tensions and meet wartime objectives, two of the largest government-led campaigns on home front aimed at cities and regions across the U.S. sought to bring women and communities of color into war production work. One of the most important campaigns recruited women in an enormous range of occupations from farming to industrial and office work. This campaign generated the iconic image of defense workers characterized as "Rosie the Riveters." The other campaign combined legislative and propaganda, seeking to shift attitudes of many employers and workers so that *all Americans* no matter their race or ethnicity - with the critical exception of Japanese Americans -- could contribute. This also included disabled Americans, another campaign that the government believed was critical to success.

Before the U.S. entered World War II, the nation had been preparing and manufacturing materials through the Lend-Lease Program (1941-1945). The defense industries, however, continued to exclude racial minorities and women. A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters union, called for a march on Washington in early 1941 to demand equal opportunity, democracy, and desegregation. The March on Washington Movement gained thousands of followers, threatening the image of American democracy. As a result, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 on June 25, 1941, which prohibited discrimination in any war-related industry or employment because of "race, creed,

color, or national origin."[288] EO 8802 formally established the Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC), whose primary task was to investigate discrimination in war-related industries. African Americans entered industries and occupations that had previously been denied to them. While its success was limited, as the war continued, increasing labor shortages forced industries and employers to hire racial minorities. In the Southwest, the FEPC focused its efforts on Mexican and African Americans, while other parts of the country focused more exclusively on African Americans. But it wasn't until the Double V Campaign and Americans All campaign that a bigger push for workplace inclusion took place.

More than a year after the U.S. entered the war, racial violence and exclusion of Mexican and African Americans on the home front continued to make headlines. Inspired by a letter to the editor questioning equal citizenship and democracy for African Americans, in February 1942 the *Pittsburgh Courier* - the most popular black-owned newspapers - promoted a Double-V campaign that served as an ideology and slogan for African Americans *and* the U.S. government to fight for democracy at home and abroad. African Americans 'patriotism and support resulted in somewhat significant gains. Between April 1940 and January 1946, the number of African Americans in manufacturing increased by 135 percent, but the percentage of African American women workers only rose by 59.[289] This was because employers were more unwilling to hire African American women than men, but white women workers were preferred over African American women. For example, a United Auto Workers survey in April 1943 found that only 206 of the 280 establishments that hired women still refused to employ African American women.[290] Similarly, in the metal trades, of the 62 plants that hired women, only 29 hired African Americans.[291] According to historian Karen Anderson, by January 1945 African

[288] Executive Order 8802: Prohibition of Discrimination in the Defense Industry (1941). https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/executive-order-8802
[289] Karen T. Anderson, "Last Hired, First Fired: Black Women Workers during World War II," *The Journal of American History* 69, no. 1 (1982): 82-97.
[290] Ibid, 84.
[291] Ibid.

Americans workers made up 11.8 percent of the furnace and steel mills, 11.7 percent in shipbuilding industries, and 25 percent of metal foundries.[292] By the end of World War II, African Americans held 8 percent of jobs in the defense industry, an increase from 3% at the beginning of the war.[293]

For Mexican American communities, Roosevelt's commitment to establish friendly relations and bi-lateral support to Latin America resulted in an "Americans All" campaign for democracy for U.S. Latinos and Latin Americans abroad. The Office of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (CIAA) and the Office of War Information (OWI) created wartime propaganda that promoted press and publicity to foster amicable relations with Mexico and Latin America. In January 1943, the OWI's Foreign Language Division artist Leon Helguera developed four bilingual posters with patriotic symbols and slogans to epitomize U.S.-Latin American Good Neighbor relations.[294] Mexican American civil rights leaders in the U.S. Southwest took advantage of this campaign to challenge the FEPC to reinforce EO 8802 to hire more Mexican Americans, who continued to face restrictive hiring. Carlos Castaneda, the FEPC regional director in the Southwest, found that employers gave "the Mexican American a try, but not without the greatest reluctance and misgivings."[295]

Mexican Americans in California rose in professional, technical, clerical, and semi-skilled to skilled craft work opportunities that had been limited to them. In Arizona, most Mexican Americans were only employed in agricultural or mining work.[296] Mexican

[292] Ibid.
[293] https://www.britannica.com/topic/Fair-Employment-Practices-Committee
[294] Daniel Dancis, "Americans All by Leon Helguera: Appealing to Hispanics on the Home Front in World War II," National Archives, blog post, October 11, 2018; Darlene J. Saldier, *Americans All: Good Neighbor Cultural Diplomacy in World War II* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012).
[295] Emilio Zamora, *Claiming Rights and Righting Wrongs in Texas: Mexican Workers and Job Politics during World War II* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2009), 54.
[296] Zaragosa Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle: A History of Mexican Americans from Colonial Times to the Present Era (*New York: University of North Carolina: 2011), 248.

American copper miners provided critical materials for artillery shells, bullets, and other military munitions. In Texas, they primarily engaged in farm work with limited occupations in defense industries. Largely denied employment in the beginning of the war, Mexican Americans in Texas didn't start seeing an increase of war-related employment until 1944.

In addition to pushing for racial and ethnic communities, World War II ushered in an opportunity for women to enter the workforce in large numbers. With men joining the U.S. Armed Forces, there was a labor shortage in defense-related industries. Roosevelt appointed the U.S. War Manpower Commission (WMC) to create a Women's Advisory Committee in August 1942 to produce a campaign to recruit women to work in war-related industries. In partnerships with local U.S. Employment Services, propaganda campaigns produced posters, films, billboards, and public media announcements. However, despite the patriotic fervor sweeping the nation, skepticism about women entering industries that were not considered feminine continued into the war. Still, World War II was the first time that women's presence in non-domestic work increased at higher rates, particularly in defense work, which increased by 460 percent.[297] Most importantly, the war marked an important moment in women's pay that allowed them some autonomy.

The popular patriotic character of "Rosie the Riveters" was first brought to American audiences through a song by Redd Evans and John Jacob Loeb in early 1943. The catchy tune described Rosie the Riveters as proud women in the wartime assembly line who had boyfriends serving overseas but were doing their part by "working for victory."[298] Rosie the Riveters were hired as aircraft welders, artillery inspectors, mechanics, operations, assemblers, and cutters.[299]

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[297] Donna B. Knaff, *Beyond Rosie the Riveter: Women of World War II in American Popular Graphic Art* (University Press of Kansas, 2012) 6.
[298] Redd Evans and John Jacob Loeb, "Rosie the Riveter" song (1943).
[299] Melissa A. McEuen, "Women, Gender, and World War II," *Oxford Research Encyclopedias* (June 9, 2016), https://oxfordre.com/americanhistory/display/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.001.0001/acrefore-9780199329175-e-55;jsessionid=A0345CBE49113E7887E5C082C52339A3#acrefore-9780199329175-e-55-div1-2.

In Los Angeles, the North American Aviation retained the highest number of African American workers in the aircraft industry. Fanny Christina Hill recalls making more money than she had before but remembers howAfrican American women workers were segregated into Department 17 and usually started in janitorial positions.[300]

In San Antonio, Texas, women workers at Kelly Air Field were not labeled as Rosie the Riveters- they became known as Kelly Katies. Nearly 10,000 Kelly Katies of Mexican, White, and African American background were employed at Kelly Field. On October 4, 1999, the Kelly Air Force Base unveiled a monument dedicated to the aircraft repair workers. Emilia Sanchez, a Mexican American, represented the women war workers of the aircraft industry during World War II. This is one of the only known public statues commemorating a Mexican American worker. The commemoration of a Mexican American woman worker is significant for many reasons. Mexican American women were restricted from certain occupations, mainstream institutions, public establishments, and certain social enclaves due to social practices in the Southwest, especially in Texas. During World War II, Mexican workers struggled to access semi/skilled labor even after Executive Order 8802, which banned discrimination in defense industries. Mexican American women continued to apply and seek opportunities for economic and job mobility which allowed some of them to embody the national icon of Rosie the Riveter, or Kelly Katies.

In 1943, the WMC also launched a campaign titled “Women in Necessary Services” to recruit women in essential civilian work as farmworkers, nurses, taxi and bus drivers, secretaries, seamstresses, waitresses, meatpackers, and salespersons.[301] In fact, jobs as childcare workers increased significantly as some industries provided childcare services for

[300] Maureen Honey, *Bitter Fruit: African American Women in World War II,* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press) 9.
[301] Penny Coleman, *Rosie the Riveter: Women Working on the Home Front in World War II* (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc) 73.

working mothers.[302] Some women were even employed as “pond women” by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Working in sawmills in Turkey Pond, New Hampshire, women like Florence Drouin and Elizabeth Esty while standing on log rafts, were tasked to steer logs into place using logging pikes where they would then be rolled into the main saw.[303] One sector in which African American women made significant gains was in federal clerical jobs. The number of African American women federal clerks increased from 60,000 in 1940 to 200,000 in 1944.[304]

More professional women such as doctors, architects, lawyers, meteorologists, engineers, and geologists saw demand increase in their labor sectors, too. In 1943, the Army launched a campaign to recruit 10,000 physicians, civilian hospitals.Even the Harvard Medical School opened its doors to women.[305] At the Mellon Institute of Industrial Research in Pittsburgh, the demand for women chemists increased by 500 percent between 1941 and 1944. Women such as Elisabeth M. Ackermann, a 21-year-old chemist at the Westinghouse Research Laboratories in Pittsburg, assisted in creating a “new plastic glue strong enough to support the weight of a two-hundred-ton locomotive.”[306]

During the war, women comprised 8 percent of the railroad workers, mostly Mexican American.[307] In Arizona, the manpower shortage allowed more Mexican American women to enter railroad work for the Southern Pacific Railroad that transported munitions and troops.[308] In the Midwestern cities of Omaha, Chicago, Topeka, St. Joseph, and Kansas City, meatpacking companies such as Armour, Morrel, Wilson, and Cudaha produced “C” and “K” rations. These

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[302] Coleman, *Rosie the Riveter,* 72.
[303] Ibid, 76.
[304] Maureen Honey, *Bitter Fruit: African American Women in World War II,* 37.
[305] Ibid.
[306] Ibid, 77.
[307] Richard Santillan, “Rosita the Riveter: Midwest Mexican American Women During World War II, 1941-1945,” *Perspectives in Mexican American Studies* 2 (1989): 132.
[308] Zaragosa Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle: A History of Mexican Americans from Colonial Times to the Present Era (*New York: University of North Carolina: 2011), 248.

companies employed many Mexican American women as pork and beef trimmers, butchers, and packers.

Wartime employment not only expanded opportunities for women, racial minorities, but also to people with disabilities. Due to the labor shortage, defense industries recruited 3 million workers with disabilities such as physical, visual and hearing impairments.[309] In a *Saturday Evening Post*, Edsel Ford, president of Ford Motor Company and son of Henry Ford, stated that "at home on the production line that bulwarks the fighting front, we are rapidly discovering that the physically handicapped man may be a spending production soldier."[310] Echoing the nation's wartime need for production resources and workers, Ford acknowledged the value in the capabilities of all workers- regardless of disabilities or age. Wartime industries focused on the tasks that workers with disabilities could carry out and how, at times, were more beneficial to employers because of heightened senses and skills. For his final commendation and support, Ford wrote: "No man is hopeless or helpless as long as he has the will to do and his fellow men will give him a helping hand. Courage is not a matter of age or physical condition."[311] Many employers agreed; between 1940 and 1942, the employment rates of people with disabilities rose by 300 percent.[312]

At the Detroit Ford Motor Company's River Rouge Plant, was the largest industrial facility in the world, workers with disabilities made up ten percent of its workforce at its peak in the 1940s. The River Rouge employed 11,163 workers with disabilities until February 1943. 1208 were visually impaired 111 were hearing impaired. Albert Wiese, a military radio manufacturer was one of 268 workers with one or two amputated legs and other leg conditions.[313] There were 354 employees with one or both arms amputated or debilitated

[309] Burton Lindheim, "Disabled War Workers," *New York Times*, May 31, 1942.
[310] Edsel Ford, "Why We Employ Ages and Handicapped Workers," *The Saturday Evening Post*, February 6, 1943, Vol. 215 Issue 32, pgs. 16-17.
[311] Ibid.
[312] Ibid.
[313] Ibid. 157 had one leg amputated, 10 both legs amputated, 101 crippling leg conditions

represented at Ford River Rouge. Other Ford workers had epilepsy, spine curvatures, and organic heart ailments.

Before World War II, employers viewed age as an impediment to production and labeled it as a physical impairment. In 1900, workers over forty were considered disabled and made up only 23 percent of the nation's workforce. When World War II increased need for material and human resources, workers with disabilities- including peoples over forty- increased to 37 percent. According to Ford, forty-five percent of the 11,163 workers were of "old age."[314]

Ford was not the only company to employ workers with disabilities. Across the country, 54 workshops hired 2,600 blind men and women to make pillow cases, sheets, brooms, mops, and overalls for the Army and Navy.[315] In a Lockheed Aircraft plant, a visually impaired worker and his sightseeing dog were featured in *The Saturday Evening Post* to highlight how the workers were integrated at their factory. At the Lighthouse of the New York Association for the Blind, men with visual impairments sorted eight different shaped and sized rivets for plane factories using their heightened sense of touch.[316] In Camden, New Jersey, the RCA plant had plenty of men working the military radios.

Manufacturing industries, especially those in aircraft building and repair, whose working conditions consisted of loud, blaring sounds recognized the advantage of hiring hearing impaired people. In 1942, the Goodyear Aircraft Corporation projected a need for one thousand deaf employees each month. The company launched a national recruitment drive and expanded its efforts from college students to communities in the Midwest and across the United States. In Akron, Ohio 300 deaf men and women were working in war production factories including Goodyear and Firestone.[317] To accommodate workers with hearing impairment, managers

[314] Ibid.135 suffered from epilepsy, 139- spine curvatures, 322 with organic heart ailments
[315] Burton Lindheim, "Disabled War Workers," *New York Times*, May 31, 1942.
[316] Ibid.
[317] E-book, page. 108

trained them using sign language interpreters and demonstrations. Deaf men and women proved to be essential workers in a wide-range of skilled positions including manufacturing and assembly. Some climbed up the ranks to more professional positions as business researchers, scientists, and machinists while a few others went on to become supervisors. While there was some resistance at Goodyear, deaf workers received high praise for their work ethic and "unusual ability" to grasp work methods and materials.[318] In the Firestone Tire and Rubber Co. factories, deaf men and women worked as tire inspectors, labor operators, printers, and even senior level chemists.[319] Women like Ruby T. Corey also became skilled at manufacturing parts for anti-aircraft guns at Firestone. Other industries across the U.S. also hired deaf workers, including one of the shipyards leading industrialists- Henry Kaiser.

In New York, Bourne Workshop hired blind women as government contractors to make pillowcases for the Army and Navy quartermasters. Using safety-enhanced equipment, women would "measure off the cloth, nick it with a blade at the precise length, tear it into strips, side seam it on power sewing machines, turn the slip inside out and fold it for shipment."[320] In other plants, women sewed aprons for Army chefs and uniforms for soldiers. Additionally, in Brooklyn, women with hearing impairments who had graduated from the Lexington School for the Working were hired to produce radio, cable, and gunfire instrument boards for the U.S. military. Their ability to use sign language was cited as a reason for their "unusual speed with their fingers" and allowed for dexterity that hearing workers did not have. They were also praised for their "keen observation and concentration on their job" because their hearing impairments did not leave room for distractions and noises that tended to impede the production of hearing workers.[321]

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[318] Ibid, 109
[319] Ibid, "Range of Employable," Goodyear photo, 110.
[320] Petersen, Anne. "Deaf and Blind Fill War Posts." *The New York Times*, June 28, 1942, p. D4.
[321] Ibid.

Conclusion:

At the end of World War II, workforce opportunities for women, racial minorities, and people with disabilities dwindled. Industries followed the “last hired, first fired” custom which fired these marginalized communities. Despite the tensions and restrictions that affected the experiences of diverse workers, the World War II era marked a radical change in the workplace practices that established the foundation for landmark legislation in the 1960s. The Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII expanded on Executive Order 8802 by prohibiting discrimination not only based on race, color, and nationality, but also on sex and religion. Executive Order 11246 of 1965 also established anti-discriminatory hiring practices in federal contracting positions.

Today, Richmond, California is home to the Rosie the Riveter/WWII Home Front National Historical Park, the largest public space commemorating the contributions of women workers during World War II. Established in 2000, the Park provides visitors with educational exhibits and programs, films, and tours. It is working with local partners to preserve World War II sites and resources in Richmond. In the last decade, the park has also celebrated Betty Reid Soskin, an African American war worker, who participated in the management plan of the Rosie the Riveter/WWII Home Front National Historical Park and eventually became a permanent employee. As the oldest park ranger who lived through the World War home front, Reid Soskin continues to share her experiences with visitors. In the 21st century, her story has been highlighted in major media outlets and social media spotlights.