



Standard Oil of California employees at a Standard station in Salt Lake City, June 10, 1942. They promoted war bond sales. Shipler photograph in USHS collections.

Fighting the Good Fight: The Utah Home Front during World War II

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WHEN I WAS GROWING UP IN THE 1950S AND 1960S my mother saved everything. When my father had his steers slaughtered in the fall, my mother had him bring home the fat which she made into soap. She reused boxes, paper, paper towels, and scraps of cloth. She saved old nylons with runs in them. Very little trash went out of our home because everything was used two or three times. My mother was typical of those who grew up during the Great Depression of the 1930s and participated in the salvage efforts of World War II. As time passed in our throwaway world, she became very unusual. But the 1990s' emphasis on recycling has put her right back in style.

I also remember that my mother's favorite cookbook was a World War II Victory edition containing a section for cooking low-grade cuts of meat and making desserts without sugar. When the Redd Center sponsored a symposium on World War II's home front in 1991, I used some of the recipes to prepare "treats" for the conference. The cakes and cookies made with honey and molasses had a heavy texture and a strong flavor, but people seemed to enjoy the experiment.

My mother's experiences show the legacy of World War II. But what did the war mean to Utahns at the time? Economically, World War II was a boon to Utah. State residents had suffered more than other areas during the depression of the 1930s and had received more public assistance from the federal government. Only with the arrival of the defense industries during World War II was the state's economy completely revitalized. During the war the federal government built ten military installations and an army hospital. The government also constructed the Remington Small Arms Plant and the United States Geneva Works. The refinery companies in the state expanded; other businesses also provided war materials. The war "transformed unemployment into worker shortages."¹

Emotionally, Utahns, like Americans in general, saw World War II as "a war that had to be fought."² Sacrificing sugar, nylons, steak, gasoline, and butter became noble acts to resist tyranny and preserve democracy. The rhetoric of noble sacrifice, however, masks the fact that many of these "sacrifices" were not completely voluntary. Congress passed legislation that enforced rationing. Guilt-producing

¹ John E. Christensen, "The Impact of World War II," in Richard D. Poll et al., *Utah's History* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1989), p. 497.

² Ethel W. Graham interviewed by Gordon Irving, James Moyle Oral History Project, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, p. 44.

propaganda reinforced these laws. A reporting system made sure that noncompliers were shamed and sometimes punished. The grief and sorrow for the dead was real. The fear was real. The turmoil and worry were real, although for many the turmoil brought a sense of excitement. Oral histories with Utahns recalling their memories of the war on the home front disclose recollections of inconvenience, not sacrifice, and shortages, not real privation.

The rhetoric of sacrifice served several purposes. A careful examination of personal papers, newspaper articles, and oral history interviews reveals that the sacrifice was largely government-imposed and remained on the level of inconvenience. It cast an emotionally intense and honorable glow around the economic and manufacturing priorities that had to be rearranged. Organizations throughout the state and nation talked about the need to sacrifice to win the war. M. L. Wilson, national director of the extension service, told Utah 4-H leaders, "All of us cannot take part in the military defense of the nation, but we are a part of the military defense just the same. Before there can be victory there must be work and toil and sacrifice. Every man, woman and child must be ready to take his or her part." The reporter for the Shakespearean Club, a women's organization in Heber City, wrote to the local newspaper, "The keynote today is a challenge to hold fast to the democratic way of life. Each one of us must be willing to take responsibility to make sacrifices for our democracy." Clarence Cutland, the superintendent of the Wasatch County School District, explained, "In these fateful days . . . we stand ready to make every sacrifice for the defense of our country against Axis aggression."³

These quotes used the term sacrifice. Others implied the same message and suggested that every aspect of life needed to be controlled to help win the war. Norma Smith, Farm Security administrator for Utah and Wasatch counties, explained, "A farm woman who makes over an old dress or turns out the living room lamp when it isn't needed is making a contribution to America's victory program." The Wasatch County School District sponsored a "ladies gym class" on Wednesday afternoons. According to a newspaper article, "At this time it is every patriotic citizen's duty to build and maintain the highest degree in physical fitness." Since housewives took care of their families, they needed to exercise and the gym class would help.⁴

³ *Wasatch Wave*, March 27, February 20, 1942; December 19, 1941.

⁴ *Wasatch Wave*, January 16, November 27, 1942.

In January 1942 the Heber Lions Club “pledg[ed] our full cooperation . . . that every effort will be made and complete victory will be ours in this war against the forces of oppression and enslavement.” A Wasatch County miner summarized these efforts in a letter to a sailor. “Though we are too old to shoulder a musket, we can still drill a round of holes and gouge out the lead you need; we can get along without things we did not think possible, we can write you a letter; we can give to the Red Cross ’til it hurts; we can produce even in that back lot if need be, the foodstuff necessary.”⁵

Although citizens throughout the state and the nation referred to the sacrifices they had to make for the war, not all of the efforts were voluntary. President Roosevelt created the Office of War Information (OWI) in June 1942 which used the printed and radio media to articulate American values and goals for those at home and abroad. The Office of Civilian Defense (OCD) boosted citizens’ morale and instructed them in civil defense programs. To deal with shortages and price controls, the government created the War Production Board (WPB) and the Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply, later the Office of Price Administration (OPA).

These agencies enforced the “sacrifices.” The government warned Americans that rubber, sugar, gasoline, and other commodities were in short supply and asked people to conserve. But simply asking for voluntary control was not enough. To get the citizens to actually cut back on their use of these items, the government had to establish a complex rationing system. The OPA administered the government rationing programs, supervising 5,500 rationing boards nationwide. Most of the boards used volunteers, but the bureaucratic demands became so complex that the OPA also grew to more than 60,000 full-time employees. It became, as one history explains, “everyone’s favorite wartime scapegoat,” and tales of OPA inefficiencies made instant folklore. For example, the OPA office in Philadelphia had to close down because it did not allocate enough fuel oil for itself.⁶

Although Utahns, like other Americans, subscribed vociferously to the “principles of sacrifice,” many of them cut corners whenever they could, justifying their actions by asserting that their efforts

⁵ *Wasatch Wave*, January 8, January 16, 1942.

⁶ For information on the federal agencies, see Allan M. Winkler, *Home Front U.S.A.: America during World War II* (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1986), pp. 28–39. The story about the rationing board comes from Ronald H. Bailey, *The Home Front: U.S.A.* (Alexandria, Va.: Time-Life Books, 1977), p. 110.

would not really help, by cataloguing those who were getting more privileges, and by delighting in any bureaucratic blunders that proved the system was flawed. Studying the ways Utahns viewed rationing, salvage efforts, and war bond sales illustrates how the principles of sacrifice, guilt, and encouragement all played roles in the war effort.

The federal government rationed tires first. The war blocked access to the usual sources of rubber, and the military developed an insatiable appetite for any that was available. While the search for synthetic rubber continued Americans needed to conserve the national supply. In March 1942 OPA director Leon Henderson reported that defense workers would have to use "reclaimed tires" while "ordinary citizens" simply must do without. That month a ration office opened in Ogden where twice a week a board reviewed applications for tires, tubes, and automobiles. Despite these restrictions, the United States government still feared a shortage and suggested various ways to confiscate rubber. A *Salt Lake Tribune* editorial protested one plan to confiscate the cars of those caught speeding. The editorial recognized a shortage of automobiles and tires but said if the government really needed the items all cars should be "seized." Otherwise, it was "playing games" rather than "fighting a war."⁷

The *Wasatch Wave* praised and condemned the efforts of Wasatch County residents in July 1942: "Citizens in Heber and Wasatch County we feel sure are making every effort to do their part in this drive since we believe they realize that a shortage of rubber is considered the main reason for the threatened rationing of gasoline." The article concluded, "Remember a busted hot water bottle can help win the war!"⁸

The decreased supply of tires and cars combined with gasoline shortages to severely limit travel. In May 1942 a driver in the eastern part of the United States was restricted to only two gallons a week. The West argued against a limitation with at least temporary success. However, by September it was apparent the government needed to initiate nationwide controls. The OPA established procedures for registration, catalogued drivers, and instituted rationing by November. Those driving for "pleasure" had an A sticker that entitled them to three to five gallons a week. The highest priority sticker, an E for emergency, was assigned to policemen, clergymen, and sometimes

⁷ *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 6, March 8, May 8, 1942.

⁸ *Wasatch Wave*, July 3, 1942.

politicians. Those claiming special needs such as farmers, defense workers, health workers, or unavoidable commuting responsibilities received B or C coupons.⁹

At first gasoline rationing did not seem too much of a problem. My grandfather, Albert Leo Embry, probably like many other Utahns, filled his car's gasoline tank up the night before the rationing started. In early December my grandmother, Iola Harriet Bird Embry, reported, "The gas rationing has started here and so far you can't tell the difference. So many people get the B cards because they are working in defense that it looks about the same."¹⁰

These restrictions affected Utahns in various ways. Anna Hatch Cramer worked as a public health nurse in San Juan County during the war. She and the local doctor had C ration books, but "we were watched with an eagle eye so as not to abuse the use of our cars for pleasure." She also remembered that the board allowed only two tires a year. When she had two flats and a blowout in one week, Leland Redd, who was in charge of rationing in the county, questioned her about what had really happened to the tires. Orville Carl Gunther of American Fork had a B card because his sheet metal business was classified as "essential" to the war effort. This classification gave him enough gasoline to operate his business.¹¹

Dean Eugene Van Wagenen ran a family farm in Utah County during the war. He recalled, "I always had plenty of coupons for buying all of the gas and oil to run the farm, trucks, caterpillars, and the equipment that we had there and for me to get to and from, and whatever I needed to do. I didn't really suffer very much as a result of not having gasoline."¹²

George Rowland Blake, a dairy farmer in Provo in the 1940s, recalled, "Because we had a tractor, we were allowed about as much gasoline as we needed. We had our own dispenser, a fifty-gallon drum that we pumped it out of." The family car, however, was limited to four gallons a week with an A priority. "There was no reason that

⁹ *Wasatch Wave*, May 9, May 31, September 26, October 14, November 17, 1942; Bailey, *The Home Front*, p. 110.

¹⁰ Iola Harriet Embry to Ralph Embry, December 8, 1942, letter in author's possession.

¹¹ Anna Hatch Cramer to the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. Original letter at the Redd Center. Orville Carl Gunther interviewed by Michael Van Wagenen, January 11, 1992, World War II Home Front Oral History Project, Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, Manuscript Division, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 7. (Hereinafter referred to as Home Front.)

¹² Dean Eugene Van Wagenen interviewed by Michael Van Wagenen, November 15, 1991, Home Front, 4.

we couldn't have pumped gas out of that tank and put it in the car," he acknowledged. "There was nobody to supervise that and we were given about as much as we asked for. . . . But we felt it a matter of honor not to use tractor gas in our cars. Even though we had the gasoline, we didn't travel." Reinforcing his sense of honor were other characteristics: "sensitivity to national defense needs" and "we didn't have tires or time."¹³

The Embrys shared the same reasons for reduced driving. As Iola wrote to her son Ralph, who was serving an LDS mission in the Pacific Northwest, they sold their car because "you can't get tires in Cache Valley unless you are a doctor or using them for defense work." She added candidly, "Well, the first thing we have to think about is the war, and giving up a car that we do not use anyway is not much of a sacrifice."¹⁴

Despite rationing, my grandparents still traveled. Grandmother went to the South for genealogy research and to visit her children when grandchildren were born. Grandfather went to Tennessee to visit his ailing father and to New England to visit his son, Alvin. My parents went back and forth across the country, sometimes because of my father's military assignments and sometimes to visit family members. My aunts, Elsie and Leora, went to Boston to visit their older brothers. In response to some of my grandfather's travels in 1943, my father told him, "It is a little unpatriotic to travel now."¹⁵

Sugar was the first food item to be rationed. In March 1942 "the Office of Price Administration served notice on Mr. and Mrs. America . . . that they would be unable to get sugar without ration coupons." Frank Bane, director of OPA, called the effort the "biggest registration job ever attempted in this country." The rationale for the restriction was that the military used sugar to make alcohol and used alcohol to make gunpowder. The war in the Pacific cut off sugar from the Philippines and reduced the amount of Hawaiian sugar being produced.¹⁶

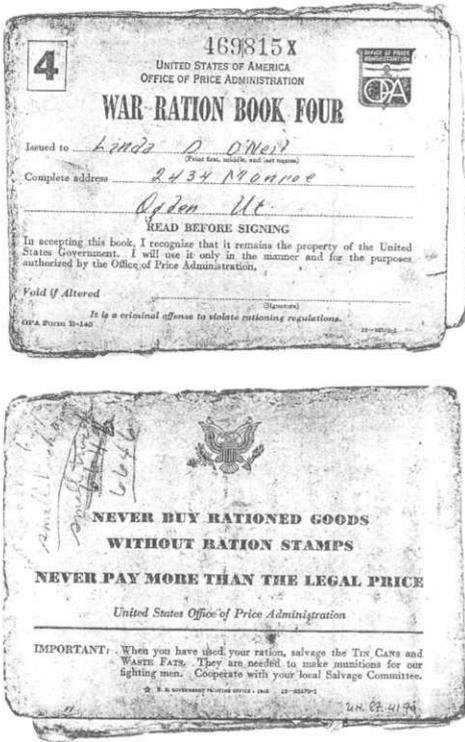
Rationing required massive organization. People had to register and then be issued stamps which would allow them to buy sugar. Gus P. Backman, a leader in the Salt Lake Chamber of Commerce

¹³ George Rowland Blake interviewed by Michael Van Wagenen, November 18, 1991, Home Front, 8-9.

¹⁴ Iola Harriet Bird Embry to Ralph Embry, November 24, 1942, letter in possession of author.

¹⁵ Bertis L. Embry to Folks, Fort Schuyler, N.Y., October 24, 1943, letter in possession of author.

¹⁶ *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 22, 1942.



Front and back covers of ration book issued to Linda D. O'Neil of Ogden. USHS collections.

and the state rationing administrator, invited local boards to send representatives to discuss how to organize the upcoming registration. Delegates attended from 63 of the 87 local boards and from 24 of the 29 counties. Since the rationing had not yet started, they reported that very few Utahns were complaining about the quota proposal.¹⁷

The *Salt Lake Tribune* carried many articles about when, how, and why to register. Those who had sugar should ration themselves until their sugar ran out, but they should register anyway because a complex set of rules governed sugar distribution, based on supplies people might have on hand. An editorial reassured Utahns that their supplies would not be confiscated

but that those with amounts at home would not receive as many coupons.¹⁸

The lengthy and complicated registration took place at schools, with teachers staffing the tables. Government officials praised every effort the citizens made. Backman especially praised the teachers for their part. "Such a registration so vital toward the safeguarding of our resources could never have been accomplished had it not been for the unselfishness of our teaching profession. . . . The nation, the state and the citizenry owe the teachers much for their public spiritedness." He added that the teachers understood that "imparting knowledge to children was not the hardest task in this wartorn universe." He also praised "the patriotic attitude" of those who stood in line to sign up and collect their stamps. When the process was complete, Backman announced that 550,000 Utahns had registered, leaving about 50,000 unregistered. "Those who found it impossible

¹⁷ *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 27, 1942.

¹⁸ *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 3, May 5, 1942.

to register will be accommodated,” he pointed out. “But for those who just couldn’t be bothered, the situation will be different,” not explaining what the penalty would be or how the rationing boards would recognize the difference.¹⁹

The government encouraged both home gardens and home canning. A January 1943 poll showed that 75 percent of Americans still processed food at home.²⁰ That was especially true in Utah where people maintained large gardens, bottled fruits and vegetables, stored potatoes and apples, and butchered animals. Backman recognized that many women would be concerned about having enough sugar for bottling but begged them not to ask when they were registering because the registrars could do nothing.²¹

In fact, less than a month later the federal government increased the supply of sugar for home canners. Lawrence A. Johnson, a state OPA official, had proposed that canners receive twenty-five extra pounds a year. Instead, the regulation generously allowed a pound for every four quarts of fruit preserved and an additional pound a month for jellies, jams, and other preserves. Johnson, pointing out that this would encourage gardens and fruit growers, declared, “This move places the responsibility for the conservation of sugar and fruit where it belongs—with the housewife.”²²

The next year home bottlers could have even more sugar, and the government applauded their efforts as one way of supporting the war. Although most Utahns would have canned without the war, the *Salt Lake Tribune* pointed out, “Every can of commercial packed foods saved by these folks through home canning is a direct and important contribution to our war efforts. . . . We can run the total into hundreds of millions of cans. Let’s do it.” And to make it easier, only those requiring more than ten pounds had to apply for the extra sugar; those wanting only a limited amount could get it with their regular stamps. But sugar continued to be in short supply even after other restrictions were lifted. As the war wound down, the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported that 1945 would be the most difficult year for sugar. It continued to be rationed until the end of the war.²³

Because sugar was so closely regulated, Utahns who participated

¹⁹ *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 8, May 4, May 5, May 9, 1942.

²⁰ Doris Weatherford, *American Women and World War II* (New York: Facts on File, 1990), p. 206.

²¹ *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 3, 1942.

²² *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 21, 1942.

²³ *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 11, May 22, 1943; April 5, 1945.

in a recent oral history project commented often about its shortage. Beth Smith Edvalson, for example, was in nurse's training in Salt Lake City during most of the war. Since all of her food was provided, rationing did not affect her. But when she decided to get married, her wedding cake presented a problem. "I don't remember how I happened to get a ration book with some stamps in it," she mused. "I had some, my mother-in-law had some, and my sister-in-law had some. We put them together so that I could have a wedding cake. We took those to the bakers to reimburse them for the sugar that they would be using in the cake." Although Edvalson was not canning, she recalled that people had to be "very skimpy" with the sugar they put in fruit. "To make jelly or jam was almost an impossibility," she declared.²⁴ Those processing food also recalled cutting back. Nita T. Hinckley could remember that she had to "cut the amount of sugar way down. We always bottled our pears with no sugar at all. They were still just as good as if we had put sugar in them."²⁵ Zelda Bartlett Packer, a housewife in Cache Valley, substituted honey whenever possible in her cooking. She was so successful that her husband James recalled, "I can remember that rationing, but I can't remember any hardships or suffering from it."²⁶

Like the Packers and the Hinckleys, other Utahns learned to get by on less. Because Farrin Mangelson's family did not use sugar in tea or coffee, he felt they may have had some to spare. Even then, he recalled, they were "conservative on . . . desserts." As a result, the family had extra sugar stamps that they would trade with others for shoe stamps "because the kids would wear through shoes."²⁷ And Zelda Packer recalled, "Some of the women here in the community would get together and compare the amount of sugar we had on hand. If one had more than the other one had, she would share. That was a great asset to the sisters in our community." According to rationing regulations, trading or even sharing coupons was as illegal as purchasing goods on the black market. Each family was to use its own allotment. Mangelson and Packer did not recognize fifty years later that their actions were prohibited. Instead, they felt they were manifesting patriotic compliance and neighborly goodwill that worked to everyone's advantage.

²⁴ Beth Smith Edvalson interviewed by Michael Van Wagenen, October 3, 1991, *Home Front*, 4.

²⁵ Nita J. Hinckley interviewed by Michael Van Wagenen, November 20, 1992, *Home Front*, 3.

²⁶ Zelda Bartlett Packer and James Elmo Packer, each interviewed by Michael Van Wagenen, October 19, 1991, *Home Front*, 2, 6.

²⁷ Farrin Leon Mangelson interviewed by Michael Van Wagenen, October 9, 1991, *Home Front*, 11.



Since there was no room for a large garden near the University Ward, members bought 1,000 pounds of string beans and canned them at Welfare Square for their own consumption in August 1943. Such canned foods were not rationed and could be produced for the small cost of buying the vegetables and running the steam cookers. Salt Lake Tribune photographs in USHS collections.

Eventually more than sugar had to be rationed. As with gasoline and sugar, residents were apprised in advance. Just as my grandfather filled his gasoline tank before rationing started and some people had to be warned not to store sugar, others went out and stocked their shelves. In February 1943 James W. Carlile of Heber City explained,

“Ma [his wife] was up town shopping getting a little canned stuff on hand before the ration starts.”²⁸

Once rationing started, the government controlled the sale of such food items as meat and canned goods by issuing two ration books for each person, regardless of age, per month. One had forty-eight blue coupons for canned goods and the other contained sixty-four red coupons for meat, fish, and dairy products per month. The LDS church’s *Relief Society Magazine* reprinted an article by Justin C. Stewart, the Utah state information officer for the OPA, carefully detailing how the rationing stamps would be color coded and identified by letters of the alphabet. Published schedules in 1945 give some indication of the complex system: for canned foods “stamps C2 through G2 good through April 28. Stamps H2 through M2 good through June 2, and stamps N2 through S2 good through June 30. Stamps T2 through X2 good through July 31.”²⁹

Different meats, fruits, and vegetables carried different point values depending on their abundance. For example, in March 1943 a can of applesauce took ten points; a year later it required twenty-five points. During the same year, grapefruit juice dropped from twenty-three points to four.³⁰ In May 1943, round steak was so scarce it required more points than porterhouse or sirloin. Spareribs, brains, and tongues were plentiful and used fewer points. The next year consumers could purchase hamburger and pork where they were available without any ration stamps, but the government still controlled the purchase of steaks, roasts, butter, margarine, cheese, and evaporated milk. As quantities of meat increased during the spring of 1943 the OPA issued fewer meat “red” points, but shortages a year later produced renewed restrictions. Some canned goods became plentiful, but the rules were still complex. A newspaper article explained, “The reduction in the blue point value of tomato juice and vegetable juice combinations applies only to the 24 ounce can. The value of this can is reduced from 20 to 10 points.”³¹

Utahns cooperated dutifully but not necessarily with enthusiasm. Farrin Mangelson “survived this whole program.” Cleo Yvonne Williams Alvord recalled that one of her neighbors overcame the

²⁸ James W. Carlile Journal, February 16, 1943, Utah State Historical Society.

²⁹ Justin C. Stewart, “Point Rationing,” *Relief Society Magazine*, January 30, 1943, pp. 46–47; *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 8, 1945.

³⁰ Bailey, *The Home Front* p. 112.

³¹ *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 1, 1943; May 4, 1944; April 27, 1945.

meat shortage by buying horse meat, but Alvord could not eat it. Fern Hindmarsh of Provo learned “how to cook . . . us[ing] substitutes. That was a challenge. We were very fortunate here because we always had our gardens and our fruits. We always lived close enough to our family. There were a lot of farmers in my family.”³² Many Utahns had easy access to farms or to farming relatives.

Rose Tibbetts of Providence, Cache County, had productive chickens. Her husband hunted deer. They grew peas, Blue Lake beans, onions, potatoes, raspberries, and three varieties of apples. In nearby Box Elder County they bought corn, peaches, and squash. She wrote in 1991, “As you can see we had a lot to eat and I had to do a lot of experimenting to use all the food.”³³

The government’s encouragement to plant a “victory garden” in any space available did not affect the lifestyle of Utahns like Nita Hinckley who explained, “We raised most of what we ate, and we ate most of what we raised. Of course, everyone was encouraged to raise a victory garden, [but] that was just a normal situation for us.”³⁴ The *Salt Lake Tribune* “Women’s Page” on Sundays frequently carried articles on gardening. On May 2, 1943, Bliss H. Crandall of the agronomy department of the Utah Agricultural Experiment Station explained how to control weeds. Two weeks later D. W. Thorne from the same department wrote an article on irrigating a victory garden. Still others explained how to raise and can tomatoes and plant rhubarb. Standard Oil of California offered a free “Victory Garden Guide,” and Montgomery Ward sold “garden for victory” tools.

Phyllis Barker Van Wagenen summarized the feelings of most Utahns: “As long as the children were getting enough to eat, I probably felt that it would be all right. We would hear so much of starving people in other countries. We were hoping we would be able to help them a little more. Of course, we knew feeding the armies and the navies was our first priority. I’m sure that we felt that it was all right to have to sacrifice.”³⁵

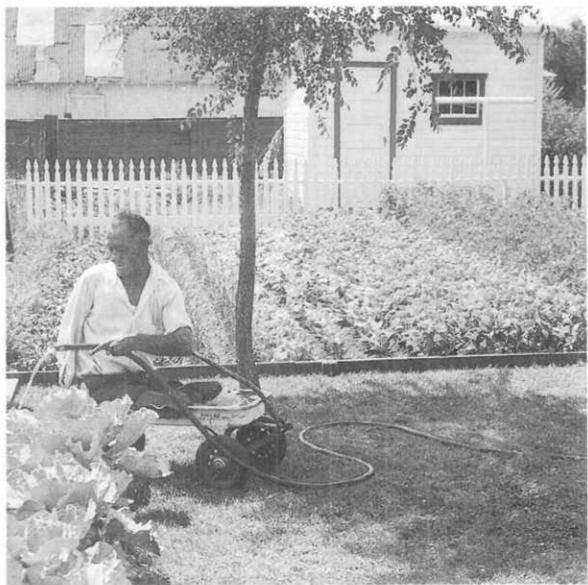
Rationing gave Utahns the feeling of contributing to the war effort by increasing supplies for those on the battle front. But unlike

³² Mangelson interview, 11. Cleo Yvonne Williams Alvord interviewed by Michael Van Wagenen, November 18, 1991, Home Front, 3. Fern Hindmarsh interviewed by Michael Van Wagenen, September 27, 1991, Home Front, 9.

³³ Rose Tibbetts letter, Redd Center.

³⁴ Nita Hinckley interview, 3.

³⁵ Phyllis Barker Van Wagenen interviewed by Michael Van Wagenen, September 14, 1991, Home Front, 3.



Utahns throughout the state, including these Salt Lakers, embraced the idea of victory gardens. Top: Men and women of the Waterloo Ward, 1603 South 500 East, picked string beans in August 1943. Left: Mrs. J. W. Fowles, 2674 Highland Drive, one of several great grandmothers featured in the newspaper on May 6, 1945, for their victory gardens, was described as "vigorous and strong." Right: Jack Mole, 365 North 1100 West, was a winner in a victory garden contest in July 1944. Although he had lost both legs and most of one arm, the Dutch native worked his garden from a wagon. Salt Lake Tribune photographs in USHS collections.

the starving civilians in Germany and the Soviet Union, their sacrifice was not a dramatic burden since they had enough to eat.

Not only food items were rationed. Some clothing items were scarce as well. The War Production Board (WPB) regulated "frills" on women's nightgowns, slips, and pajamas; set a length for petticoats and shirt tails; and required that men's suits be single-breasted with narrow lapels and without two pants, vest, and cuffs. As the war continued, regulations relaxed. By April 1945 a Salt Lake department store advertisement showed that lace was back on women's nightclothes.³⁶

The one rationed item that all women remembered fifty years later was hosiery. Fashionable silk stockings were not available as the imported silk was used for parachutes. Fern Hindmarsh recalled, "Everyone was very patriotic. . . . We all had to go bare legged." She recalled buying white stockings occasionally and dyeing them so they looked flesh color. Many of the women remembered painting a "seam" up the backs of their legs so it looked as if they were wearing hose. Marjorie Watts Thompson commented that sometimes the color "would rub off on our clothes." Some women resolved the dilemma by wearing slacks and ankle socks. But pants were not accepted as professional dress for women in the 1940s. Donna Fifield, for example, worked as a teletype operator at Fort Douglas and was required to wear dresses to work. According to a September 1943 poll, Americans listed silk stockings right behind tires and inner tubes as the most difficult nonfood item to cut back on.³⁷

Silk stockings are a revealing example of the contemporary mind-set. Their utility is virtually nil by any measure, especially compared to food and tires. But having to forego a desirable item was a sacrifice, and being willing to sacrifice was equivalent to being patriotic.

By controlling consumption the U.S. government hoped to distribute essential commodities fairly, stop hoarding, and decrease consumption. An article in the *New Republic* in February 1942 explained, "Prices are being driven up by shortages, and only a system that combines price control with rationing of available supplies can be effective." Americans accepted this argument; two-thirds supported the concept of rationing, according to a Gallup poll.³⁸

³⁶ Winkler, *Home Front U.S.A.*, p. 37; *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 10, 1942; April 29, 1945.

³⁷ Fern Hindmarsh interview, 6; Marjorie Watts Thompson interviewed by Michael Van Wagenen, November 17, 1991, Home Front, 10; *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 31, 1942; Donna J. Fifield interviewed by Michael Van Wagenen, September 28, 1991, Home Front, 5; Donna Fifield Letter, Redd Center. Weatherford, *American Women*, p. 203.

³⁸ "Rationing: Democracy Test," *New Republic*, February 9, 1942, quoted in Weatherford, *American Women*, p. 201.

In addition to rationing, the government also regulated the price of goods. The *Salt Lake Tribune* carried wire service articles listing costs and then announcing when the government “slashed” them to “roll back the cost of living.” Utah bakers experienced the effects of this control. In order to increase the cost of a loaf of bread by one cent they had to request approval from the OPA. They argued that without the raise they would have to declare bankruptcy. After a review, the OPA agreed to the price increase. The *Tribune* pointed out that even with the increase Utah bread prices were still 1.3 cents per pound less than the rest of the nation. But bakers did not immediately raise the prices after receiving approval. At least one storekeeper wanted to wait to see if other bakers raised their prices first.³⁹

The rhetoric of sacrifice and patriotism was only partially successful in ensuring voluntary compliance. Although they did not specifically deal with Utah, wire service stories in the *Tribune* frequently revealed the misuse of rationing coupons. For example, on May 6, 1943, a front-page story declared “OPA launches drive against pleasure rides” and reflected on the problem of misusing B and C coupons. Local boards could revoke B and C gas cards if they felt people were violating their use. A year later, when some gasoline ration stamps were lost, headlines blared “OPA outlaws old B-2, C-2 gas coupons” to ensure that no one would attempt to use the missing stamps. Another Associated Press story explained, “OPA moves to increase meat supply” in order to “kill black market.”⁴⁰

Was there a black market in Utah? Orville Carl Gunther of American Fork did not think it operated on any scale. But he remembered, “It was possible to go to a familiar store and obtain something under the table as we called it. Stores often kept little reserves for that purpose. It wasn’t widespread in our observation, but it did exist.” He recalled installing equipment at a sugar warehouse in Lehi and having to climb over hundred-pound bags of sugar. “There was a temptation [to take some], but I refrained from it. I remember some of the workmen taking sugar home in their lunch pails, but I never did.” He explained why. “We considered it a real no-no in the family to attempt to acquire sugar, soap, or other scarce items on the black market. We were very careful to teach the children the importance of ethics and honesty and supporting the war effort.”⁴¹

³⁹ *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 7, May 8, May 10, 1943.

⁴⁰ *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 21, May 26, 1944; April 23, 1945.

⁴¹ Orville Gunther interview, 9–10.

Some people felt that stores keeping goods under the counter was illegal. Phyllis Van Wagenen of Provo did not see that as a black market activity: "We had a little grocery store in the neighborhood. He [the grocer] seemed to be accommodating. For his best customers, our closest neighbors, he would see that we could get some of the supplies that maybe new people in the neighborhood might not have access to. He would save them under the counter and say, 'Such-and-such has come in. If you want to buy some with your coupon book, you'll be one of the first on the list.'"⁴²

Technically all goods purchased required rationing stamps. Nephi Probst, who chaired a wartime agricultural committee in Wasatch County, said that farmers selling butter also had to collect rationing stamps. Anna Coulson Embry, on the other hand, talked about buying milk from her parents' neighbors in Nephi without using the stamps. She recalled that her parents bought some canned milk just before their red stamps ran out in October 1943, then purchased milk from some neighbors who had cows. She figured that they had enough milk to last until the middle of December but complained that the neighbor's milk was very skim, "almost as blue as that we got in California."⁴³

The government caught some local businesses violating rationing and price controls. Inspections disclosed that twelve of thirty-two cafes were overcharging on at least one item in the spring of 1944. The OPA directed owners to lower their prices; otherwise the agency would set them.⁴⁴

In addition to rationing, the government also sponsored salvage efforts as part of the home front war. Metal especially was in short supply. The appeals for metals began in January 1942, just a month after the war started. In Wasatch County there was a special drive, and citizens there, as elsewhere, were asked to "scrap the Japs with scraps." Anderson Implement Store in Heber offered to collect iron until there was enough to take to a smelter. City officials and the LDS church staged a clean-up effort in April and urged residents to give any old metal they found to the war effort. They asked all businesses to close one morning so employees could participate in the clean-up. A month later the War Production Association mailed a form letter to

⁴² Phyllis Van Wagenen interview, 3.

⁴³ *Wasatch Wave*, June 11, 1943; Anna Embry to Folks, October 3, 1943. Copy in author's possession.

⁴⁴ *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 3, May 13, May 17, 1944.

all Wasatch County residents, seeking additional help. The *Wave* asked all citizens to return the attached card telling of the scrap metal they had. The article concluded, "Because the scrap metal and rubber on your premises is badly needed for the production of war materials, will you kindly attend to this matter at once." In September the government again asked Wasatch County farmers to double check their equipment for possible salvage. People were also asked to look along the side of the roads for metal.⁴⁵

Special appeals encouraged women to participate in the drive. The local Salvage for Victory committee told women they could help in building "bombs for Berlin." The local newspaper urged them to support the men going to war ("we on the home front must see to it that industry does not lack the materials needed for adequately arming and equipping them") and appealed to gender pride ("true to feminine tradition in this war Wasatch women will play a leading role in the campaign" for scrap metal). The *Wave* also played on guilt ("your neglect may cost some brave boy's life") and asked housewives to go through their homes looking for pots, knives, bed springs, chairs, and wire clothes hangers to add to the scrap drive.⁴⁶

To encourage donations the government set quotas for states and communities. These quotas provided opportunities for friendly competition and guilt trips. In June 1942 the *Wave* reported that Heber City and the surrounding area needed to collect more metals to keep up with the rest of the state. When in October, county residents still had not met their quota the paper cried, "Our Nation is facing a crisis in its war production program. Unless we immediately salvage at least 6 million tons of scrap iron and steel and great additional quantities of rubber and other materials, we are not going to meet our production quotas, and our boys and our Allies are not going to get the materials they need in time. . . . The situation is serious. . . . Your help is needed now." As the drive came to an end that month, Wasatch County had collected 232 tons of scrap. That was good enough for seventh place among Utah's twenty-nine counties in per capita collection.⁴⁷

Other Utahns faced the same push. A *Salt Lake Tribune* article reminded Utahns that, "Uncle Sam needs all kinds of waste paper, old rags, scrap metal and used rubber." An exception was tin cans. The

⁴⁵ *Wasatch Wave*, January 23, February 20, April 10, May 15, September 11, 1942.

⁴⁶ *Wasatch Wave*, July 31, August 7, August 28, October 9, 1942.

⁴⁷ *Wasatch Wave*, October 2, October 14, October 21, 1942.

nearest “detinning” plant was in San Francisco, and there was no way to ship scrap that far. To eliminate confusion about what to give, John Bigelow ran a weekly column in the *Tribune* on salvageable items. Utahns not only felt good about helping the war cause, but some, like Donna Fifield of Salt Lake City, enjoyed direct benefits; she remembered saving aluminum containers and turning them in “to get more” supplies such as toothpaste.⁴⁸

My maternal grandmother, Lydia Rowbury Coulson, saved everything and had accumulated piles of rags. The quantity even surpassed the comfort threshold of my thrifty mother who, while living with her parents in 1943, confided in a letter to her mother-in-law, Iola Embry, that she wanted to sell the accumulation to clean things out. The letter concluded: “Mom doesn’t see it my way, thinks she will still use it sometime.”⁴⁹ Although my mother did not use the rhetoric of “sacrifice,” rags aided the war effort since there was a shortage of material. But her motivation was also the hope of a small profit.

There was a special push to salvage kitchen fat. The government told Americans that one pound of fat had “enough glycerin to manufacture a pound of black powder that could be used for shells or bullets.” In order to encourage everyone to save, the federal government set collection quotas just as it had for metal. The quota led to a friendly competition to see who could save the most. During a national “kitchen fat” salvage campaign in May and June 1943, the *Salt Lake Tribune* explained, “Utah could go over the top with its grease quota—if each home in the state saved one single tablespoon of strained fat per day!” Utah, which had collected only 50 percent of its monthly 80,500-pound quota, was between fifth and eighth on the national list. The *Tribune* then urged Utahns “to forego pan gravy and smile.”⁵⁰

A week later an article stressed that a tablespoon of fat saved daily by a single family in a month would provide glycerin for ten rounds of .50 caliber machine gun ammunition. The paper pointed out that although Utah had tied with Wyoming for the most fat collected in the region, it had achieved only 62 percent of its quota. “Imagine what would happen if our fighting men did only 62 percent of their job,” the writer suggested in a guilt-producing comparison.⁵¹

⁴⁸ *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 6, May 14, May 23, 1942; Fifield interview, 5.

⁴⁹ Anna Embry to Folks, November 1, 1943 and November 6, 1943, in author’s possession.

⁵⁰ Winkler, *Home Front U.S.A.*, p. 31; *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 8, 1943.

⁵¹ *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 14, 1943.

A year later Utahns were still being encouraged to “keep a kitchen fat arsenal.” An advertisement urged citizens to take their fat in pound-sized tins to a local butcher for “cash, extra meat points—and victory.”⁵² Once again, those turning in fat were given extra incentives beyond just a good patriotic feeling. Those who donated fat could also get more ration stamps.

The state chair of the Utah Minute Women toured Colorado lecturing on “women’s salvage activities in Utah” in 1945. Upon her return she attempted a combination of inspiration and shame to spur Utahns on to greater action, asserting that “Americans have never been known to leave a double-header during the first inning.” When the Rocky Mountain Minute Women held a meeting in Salt Lake City in 1944 the organization praised Utah’s efforts. But a newspaper article accused “seven out of 10 [housewives of] not cooperating” with the fat salvage effort. “Come girls,” urged the writer with blatant racism, “You can cook your own goose but let the grease fall where it can fry the most Japs.”⁵³

Rationing and salvage were essentially conservation efforts. Winning the war required large sums of money for the government to build ships and airplanes, underwrite its allies, and arm, train, and maintain its troops. The federal government imposed a 5 percent surcharge on all income taxes, but taxes paid for less than half of the cost of the war. One way to raise money was to ask citizens to “invest” in America by buying bonds. Corporations purchased Series C tax notes or two types of treasury bonds that paid 2 or 2.5 percent depending on when they matured. Individuals bought saving bonds Series E, F, or G. In all, Americans bought \$135 billion in bonds during the war in units ranging from \$25 to \$10,000.⁵⁴

Just as with rationing and salvage efforts, people bought bonds for a number of reasons. First, there was the sacrifice element—saving the world for democracy. On April 10, 1942, the *Wasatch Wave* declared, “We are in an all out total war for the preservation of our national existence and our right to live as free men. Let’s rise to the challenge and support our great President and all our officials on high places.” By doing so, the paper concluded, the country could

⁵² *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 7, 1944.

⁵³ *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 3, 1945; May 6, 1944; May 14, 1943.

⁵⁴ Bailey, *The Home Front*, p. 108. Winkler says that taxes covered 50 percent of the war costs (see *Home Front U.S.A.*, p. 19), but Samuel Eliot Morison in his *The Oxford History of the American People* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 1010, sets the figure at 40 percent. Morison also listed bond sales at \$97 billion.

maintain “maximum efficiency in this gravest hour in the history of civilization.” In 1943 LDS Apostle Charles A. Callis praised Utah and the nation for oversubscribing to that year’s bond sale: “This shows that patriotism is not dead and that the love of pleasure does not predominate the spirit of sacrifice. Every American should do all he can to frustrate the wicked ambition of those who would rather rule in hell than serve in heaven.” In April 1945, as the war was ending, Gov. Herbert Maw issued a proclamation “calling attention to an increasing desire to expedite the war being waged in defense of liberty of the individual, of security for this government, [and] of civilized ideals throughout the world.”⁵⁵

But high ideals were not enough to get people to turn over their money. The government appealed to economics. The business community pointed out that Utahns had \$270 million in liquid assets in 1945—double the 1943 assets. D. D. Moffat of Utah Copper explained, “This large reserve has put a tremendous pressure on prices . . . and unless it is corralled in nonnegotiable securities like the E bond, it will continue to push up the cost of living.”⁵⁶

As with other war efforts, the government also sponsored bond drives and set quotas. For example, in May 1942 the U.S. Treasury’s goal was \$1 billion a month by July. The May quota was \$600 million and Utah’s share was \$1,201,000, based on citizens spending 10 percent of combined income. During the war the federal government sponsored seven war bond drives.

Meeting a quota was seen as a patriotic duty. All Americans rallied to show their support. For example, Governor Maw declared the second week in February 1942 Defense Saving Week. Schools, communities, and churches encouraged people to purchase bonds and stamps. The Wallsburg school gave each student a stamp book. In Wasatch County the communities of Center Creek, Daniel, Charleston, Midway, and Heber each sponsored bond meetings. LDS sacrament meetings that week stressed the need to purchase bonds. The *Wave* carried cartoons that asked employers to “pay me with defense stamps . . . and if you’d like to give me a raise, you can make it bonds” and articles asking children to buy stamps instead of valentines. Clarence Ostlund, who headed the bond drive in the county stressed, “Wasatch county has 92 boys in the armed forces . . . and it

⁵⁵ Charles A. Callis, *Conference Reports* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1943), p. 55; *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 8, 1945.

⁵⁶ *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 6, 1945.

is our duty, as true Americans to support them by the purchase of defense bonds and stamps."⁵⁷

Later in April, to further promote the sale of bonds, the Wasatch County bond committee divided the county along LDS ward lines and assigned individuals and service organizations to visit each home. The newspaper explained that the county quota called for each citizen to purchase \$1.07 worth of bonds in January, \$.96 in February, and \$1.28 in March. This division was especially successful in Midway. A week after the initial article appeared, the members of the committee had visited every home.

Since praise also encouraged people to buy bonds, the *Wave* reflected on sales each month. Noting that the Charleston Town Council had purchased \$3,000 worth of series F bonds, the article then editorialized, "Doesn't it make you proud to be an American. . . . Let's all resolve here and now to meet our pledges and help our country and our boys carry on in the greatest fight for freedom the world has ever known. Let's each soberly and resolutely resolve to keep the flag of freedom flying over our homes and our children, over our embattled coasts, over the high seas and over all liberty loving people. Let's buy war bonds and stamps."⁵⁸

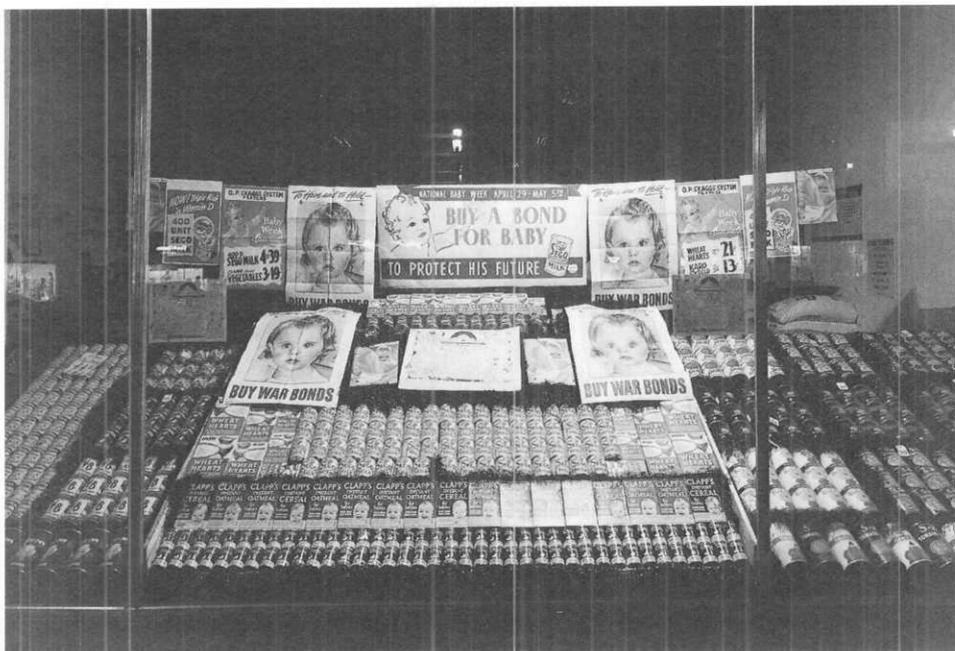
In May 1943 the *Tribune* bragged that "93,052 Utah citizens" bought bonds, and Clarence Bamberger, chair of the Salt Lake drive, said, "Not only was the war loan oversubscribed, but more impressive was the great number of individual subscribers. This, in itself, is a high tribute to the patriotism of the people as an evidence of their wholehearted support of their nation's war effort." Whether it was true or not, the article applauded the Utahns: "It is doubtful that any state in the union can match this percentage."

Companies like Utah Power & Light and International Harvester ran newspaper advertisements with catchy slogans. A UP&L ad in 1943 encouraged readers to "invest in victory by investing 10% of your income in war bonds and stamps." The IH ad pointed out, "They *give* their lives . . . you *lend* your money . . . buy more war bonds." Another advertisement asked Utahns to keep buying bonds regardless of whether there was a drive: "They keep fighting. You keep buying." Alta Jolley Halvorsen recalled hearing "a lot of jingles . . . about buying bonds."⁵⁹

⁵⁷ *Wasatch Wave*, January 30, February 6, April 3, 1942.

⁵⁸ *Wasatch Wave*, June 12, 1942.

⁵⁹ *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 2, May 3, 1943; April 8, 1945. Alta Jolley Halvorsen interviewed by Michael Van Wagenen, August 12, 1992, Home Front, 9.



American Home Foods display for National Baby Week in 1945 featured baby foods and promoted “Buy a Bond for Baby” campaign. Shipler photograph in USHS collections.

Nephi Probst, who chaired the agriculture committee in Wasatch County, suggested farmers buy bonds: “Since the farmer is first and hardest hit in a depression following the inflation, he knows the importance of a counter inflationary program,” he announced. The Mormon church also promoted bond sales. In the Cache Stake a clerk wrote with pride about one ward: “The 7th war loan went over the top with a satisfying margin. Our allotment was high, \$29,500.00.”⁶⁰

Students responded to the call to buy saving stamps and eventually bonds. In February 1943 Wasatch High School students announced plans to collect money in home rooms and to raise funds with concerts and plays. The state war bond committee encouraged their efforts by promising to send a soldier talent show to Heber if the students met their goal of \$1,300. A week after the bond drive started, the students had raised \$4,420. Principal O. L. Pearson declared that the drive had “eclipsed even the fondest dreams of the most optimistic.” He declared with pride that the money would purchase two jeeps, a parachute, and two small training planes. The

⁶⁰ *Wasatch Wave*, April 23, 1943; Benson Ward, Cache Stake Manuscript History, June 1945, LDS Church Archives.

promised program was held in the tabernacle so everyone in the county could enjoy it. By the next week the students had raised \$10,000.⁶¹

In 1945 schools throughout Utah set a goal of a \$25 bond for each high school student and a \$10 bond for each elementary student. At assemblies students were encouraged to buy bonds and stamps. Murray High School, for example, collected \$7,000 of its \$12,500 quota after one assembly and proudly received the "schools at war" flag. Elsewhere, mothers like Nita Hinckley gave her children twenty-five cents each week, along with their lunch money, to buy stamps. Carol Bennion Quist remembered that stamps were sold on Fridays at her school. Red stamps were ten cents; green ones were a quarter. Those who could afford the more expensive stamps "strutted and bragged." The state bond committee had war wounded speak in schools and churches to urge people to buy bonds. Woolas Ainley Macey of Logan, who lost a leg during the Normandy invasion, recalled, "I traveled to high schools. I traveled to churches. . . . I really enjoyed it, and the kids all enjoyed it. The people just loved to hear the experiences knowing that I was there."⁶²

Women were actively involved in the war bond drives, and local businesses encouraged their activities. During the seventh bond drive, an Auerbach's ad featured photographs of the women who headed districts throughout Salt Lake City and explained how each woman was postponing personal goals to help with the drive. The women were honored as members of the Blue Star Brigade, "an organization dedicated to the men who have given their lives in this war." Those selling bonds could wear the Blue Star arm band. After selling ten Series E bonds to ten different people, the member could become a second lieutenant in the brigade and receive a Blue Star service ribbon. The article recruited volunteers for a door-to-door canvass by stating, "The busy women give a month and a half to the mighty 7th war loan drive" and asking, "Will you give 2 days?"⁶³

A weekly advertisement sponsored by local businesses also promoted war bonds by celebrating women who were "vice president[s] in charge of tomorrow." A woman, according to one ad, was "wife,

⁶¹ *Wasatch Wave*, February 19, February 26, March 5, 1943.

⁶² *Wasatch Wave*, April 8, 1945; Nita Hinckley interview, 4; Allan Kent Powell, *Utah Remembers World War II* (Logan, Ut.: Utah State University Press, 1991), p. 129; Woolas Ainley Macey interviewed by Michael Van Wagenen, September 17, 1992, Homefront, 9.

⁶³ *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 22, 1945.

mother, cook, maid of all work, [and] partner with her man." Yet she was "more than that." She was also "keeper of the household budget." She was "salting away every cent the family doesn't absolutely need for upkeep in a little project she likes to call Tomorrow." She was buying war bonds, "the soundest financial backing anyone's Tomorrow ever had."⁶⁴

During the seventh bond drive Maybelle Blake, national director for women's activities on the War Finance Committee, visited Utah to encourage women leaders. She praised their work in the door-to-door canvass, adding that members of the "sturdier sex" attributed the women's success to "more time" but argued instead that women were better "organize[d]" and "manage[d] their schedules" better.⁶⁵

Despite all of the efforts to prompt individuals to buy bonds, governments and corporations bought the majority of them. During the entire war average citizens purchased \$36 billion worth of the small denomination Series E bonds, about a quarter of those sold. The LDS church purchased over \$17 million during the war. In May 1942 the state bought \$560,000 worth of bonds. In April 1943 Wasatch County exceeded its monthly quota but only because the Commercial Bank of Heber City bought \$125,000 worth.

To persuade more individuals to buy bonds the government changed the quota system in the later bond drives. The grand total was not the only important factor; each county or state had to sell a set number of E bonds. For the fourth bond drive in January 1944 Wasatch County's quota was \$199,500, but \$110,000 had to be bought by individuals and not corporations. By the middle of February the county had topped the quota overall but did not have enough individual sales.⁶⁶

Individuals like Ruth Wright Christensen Blake chose to take a payroll deduction to purchase bonds. In June 1942 owners of the New Park Mining Company proudly reported that their 200 employees had all signed up for payroll deductions to buy bonds. Others bought bonds to give as gifts. Phyllis Van Wagenen recalled "Christmas part[ies] at my in-laws. The big event was Grandpa passing out

⁶⁴ *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 1, 1945.

⁶⁵ *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 23, 1945.

⁶⁶ Bailey, *The Home Front*, p. 108; Ronald W. Walker, "Sheaves, Bucklers and the State: Mormon Leaders Respond to the Dilemmas of War," *Sunstone*, July/August, 1982, p. 51. *Wasatch Wave*, May 7, October 1, 1943; January 7, February 11, 1944.

to each one of the grandchildren a war bond. We would all talk about how this would help us win the war if we could all save our money and purchase these war bonds."⁶⁷ My own parents, grandparents, and other relatives frequently explained in their letters during the war that they would give bonds rather than other gifts.

The war was almost over by the seventh drive in 1945, and people could sense that. Hoping to meet the state's quota to sell \$20 million worth of E bonds, the Utah War Finance Committee, the Utah Motion Picture Theaters, and the *Salt Lake Tribune* designed a queen contest. A community could nominate young women for the honor, providing \$5,000 worth of bonds were sold in each one's name between May 7 and 21. After a young woman became a candidate her chances of winning increased if people continued to buy bonds and credit them to her account before June 20. After that date community winners competed in county contests, followed by a statewide contest. Contest rules stipulated that 75 percent of the judging would be based on bond sales and 25 percent on "queenlike qualities" of "charm, poise, personality, and natural beauty." The winner was to receive a trip to Hollywood, a date with a movie star, and a film screening.

The *Salt Lake Tribune* maintained a steady drumbeat of enthusiasm about the queen contest, but contributions remained low even though "Hollywood's Marjorie Reynolds" visited and encouraged the contestants. The county winners, especially those from rural areas, enjoyed the trip to Salt Lake City. The state winner, Jane Facer, a nurse at Bushnell Hospital, and the runner-up, Gayle Alice Baker of Cedar City, both won trips to Hollywood. Still, Utah's contributions were far below its E bond quota. By June 18, 1945, only Tooele County had met its quota. The next day the *Tribune's* editorial emphasized that Utah had always met its quotas, even during World War I when it had received no direct benefits from the war. State officials pulled out the guilt stop: Utah never before has failed in a war loan drive and if the state falls short of the vital seventh war loan quota "the state's shame will be reflected in every community."⁶⁸

In a last-minute attempt to meet the quota, milkmen left bond applications on city doorsteps and Mayor Earl Glade pleaded for support. Government officials made one final appeal, and the goal

⁶⁷ Ruth Wright Christensen Blake interviewed by Michael Van Wagenen, November 12, 1991, *Homefront*, 6; *Wasatch Wave*, June 26, 1942; Phyllis Van Wagenen interview, 3-4.

⁶⁸ *Salt Lake Tribune*, April 15, June 10, June 18, June 19, 1945.

was met. Utah residents had purchased 101.3 percent of their E bond quota after going “over the top” on other types of bonds. The *Tribune* bragged that Utah was the tenth state to complete its quota and that only twelve states had been successful. Clarence Bamberger rejoiced, “Two weeks ago Utah was trailing the nation; today she is one of the leaders,” and he credited the media, businesses, and patriotic volunteers for their efforts. Orville Carl Gunther later summarized the reasons for purchasing bonds: “I remember purchasing war bonds as part of what was considered our civic wartime responsibilities. It was a popular thing to do. The interest rate was favorable. By a combination of patriotism and interest, I was motivated.”⁶⁹

Carol Bennion Quist recalled hearing her father say after Pearl Harbor, “We’ll all have to tighten our belts now.” As a six-year-old, she could not figure out what he was talking about. Her father wore suspenders and her mother wore dresses with cloth sashes. She explained, “For a long time, though, I watched people’s waistlines.”⁷⁰ Utahns, like all Americans, “tightened their belts,” but seldom to the point of actual discomfort. Home-front warriors “fought” by cooperating with rationing, waste-reduction, and salvage efforts, by investing in bonds, and by enduring uncertainty and grief. United by the noble rhetoric of “sacrifice,” they also creatively and quietly accommodated themselves to the inconveniences of the war’s demands.

⁶⁹ *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 30, July 10, 1945; Orville Gunther interview, 11.

⁷⁰ Powell, *Utah Remembers World War II*, p. 127.