Public Historians and Family Collections: Issues of Engagement, Interpretation, and Preservation

By:

Morgan Condrey

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for the Degree of

Master's in Public History

Middle Tennessee State University

October 2023

Thesis Committee:

Dr. Carol Van West, Chair

Dr. Ashley Valanzola

DEDICATION



Horace Stegall, courtesy of the Stegall family

In loving memory of Horace Stegall (April 1926 - April 2009)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the Stegall family for allowing me to work with them on the preservation of Horace Stegall's collection. Mary Condrey and Doug Stegall were major supporters in this project and have safeguarded the collection in its entirety since 2009. Through meaningful conversations about Horace and his life, I am able to piece together a narrative for the family and secure the preservation of this collection for the future.

I would also like to Dr. Carroll Van West and Dr. Ashley Valanzola for their unwavering guidance and support as my thesis committee. I also thank the Rupprecht family members for their kind contributions to my research through the Contemporary Germany Scholarship. In addition, thank you to John Lodl and Amy Thomson at the Rutherford County Archives for their assistance in the complethis project and ensuring a workspace for me to do so. I also thank MTSU's Center for Historic Preservation and History Department for providing me with resources to achieve my research and helping to fund my academic endeavors. Brandon Stephens for his guidance and expertise on World War Two and military history; Victoria Peck for her guidance in research and support; and, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum archives for its assistance in the research and collaboration of valuable Holocaust and World War Two collections. Finally, thank you to Anett Dremel and the KZ Mittelbau-Dora Memorial and Museum for their invaluable insight and assistance in research.

ii

ABSTRACT

In their various roles within communities, public historians increasingly encounter inquiries from families about "what do we do with this stuff?" Families have collected and preserved objects, papers, and images of significant events, with most being only of significance to them. But there are always collections that may have a greater audience. Helping families navigate the different pathways collections may take for their future preservation and interpretation is a fundamental role for public historians. Many families are wary of sharing their personal collections with institutions that may strike them as distant. Applying key principles of public history theory and practice, the public historian can help families find various methods of both sharing and preserving their records. In this thesis I will discuss the role of the public historian in both preserving and interpreting family collections with the intention that it remains with the owner. Using the Horace Stegall World War Two Collection as a case study for the practice and process, this thesis will offer an example/guide for public historians to help build relationships with families and bridge the divide. In addition to this guide, I will offer my interpretation and narrative of the collection requested of me by the collection's owner. Within this thesis I will offer a unique perspective as both a relative to the owner of the collection and a public historian.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Chapter One: Family Collections and Public History	7
Chapter Two: Horace Stegall and World War Two	13
104 th Infantry Division: The Timberwolves	14
The Journey Begins	17
Phase VI: Spearhead	17
Paderborn to Torgau	21
Stegall's Narrative	
Chapter Three: The Conservation of Family Records	
Minding the Gap	30
Better Practice in Practice	
Doing the Work: Preservation in Motion	42
Setup for Success	46
Chapter Four: Assessment of the Collection	47
Gaps Presented in the Project	
The Excel Spreadsheet	54
Preservation Conclusions	55
Chapter Five: Catalog of the Collection	
Chapter Six: Historical Trauma: A Frank Discussion	150
The Boelcke-Kaserne Concentration Camp	150
Liberation	156
Horace Stegall's Boelcke-Kaserne Experience	
Returning Home	161

Public History, Trauma, and the Collection	165
	170
Conclusion	168

LIST OF FIGURES

- 1. White House to Horace Stegall Letter, 1.81:
- Enlistment Record and Report of Separation Front/ Army of United States Honorable Discharge Back, 2.81
- Enlistment Record and Report of Separation Honorable Discharge: Single Sided, 3.81
- 4. Army of the United States Separation Qualification Record Copy One, 4.81
- 5. Army of the United States Separation Qualification Record Copy Two, 5.81
- 6. Army of the United States Separation Qualification Records Copy Three, 6.81
- 7. Müngstener Brücke Bridge, Solingen, Germany, 07.81:
- 8. Northeast Wall, Zons, Germany 08.81
- 9. Inner City with Cow, location unknown, 09.81
- 10. St. Matthias Catholic Church, Hellenthal, Germany 10.81
- 11. Boelcke-Kaserne Liberation 1 of 7, 11.81:
- 12. Boelcke-Kaserne Liberation 2 of 7, 12.81:
- 13. Boelcke-Kaserne Liberation 3 of 7, 13.81:
- 14. Boelcke-Kaserne Liberation 4 of 7, 14.81:
- 15. Boelcke-Kaserne Liberation 5 of 7, 15.81:
- 16. Boelcke-Kaserne Liberation 6 of 7, 16.81:
- 17. Boelcke-Kaserne Liberation 7 of 7, 17.81:
- 18. Flowers, 18.81:
- 19. Flower with Bee, 19.81:
- 20. House by the Water, location unknown, 20.81:
- 21. Side street with Stairs, unknown location, 21.81:
- 22. Empty Side Street, 22.81:

- 23. House with Water Wheel, location unknown, 23.81:
- 24. Empty Street with Homes, unknown location, 24.81:
- 25. Elz Castle, 25.81:
- 26. European Style House Surrounded by Flowering Tree 26.81
- 27. Water Castle, Meerbusch, Germany, 27.81:
- 28. St. Sebaldus Cathedral, Nuremberg, Germany, 28.81:
- 29. Nuremberg, Germany with St. Sebaldus, 29.81:
- 30. Two Men Standing Together, unknown location 30.81:
- 31. Man Standing in San Francisco Tea Gardens, United States, 31.81:
- 32. Man Sitting on Stairs, unknown location, 32.81:
- 33. Soldiers Standing by Bus, unknown location, 33.81:
- 34. Man Standing at Attention by Stairs, unknown location, 34.81:
- 35. Man Standing by Car, unknown location, 35.81:
- 36. Man Standing by Gate Booth Vertical, unknown location, 36.81
- 37. Man Standing by Gate Booth Horizontal, unknown location 37.81
- 38. Bushels of Hay, unknown location, 38.81
- 39. Beilstein, Germany Close, 39.81
- 40. Beilstein, Germany Far, 40.81
- 41. Two People by a Lake with Cochem Castle 41.81
- 42. Two People in a Canoe with Cochem Castle in Background 42.81
- 43. Farmland with House and Hay Bushel, unknown location, 43.81
- 44. Ratingen-Homberg, Germany 44.81
- 45. On a Boat in the Mountains, unknown location, 45.81
- 46. Large Flowering Tree by Water, unknown location, 46.81
- 47. Riverside Town in the Mountains, unknown location, 47.81

- 48. On a Boat with Mountains in the Background, unknown location, 48.81
- 49. Altenberger Dom, Altenberg, Germany. 49.81
- 50. Man Fishing in Pond, unknown location, 50.81
- 51. People Dining Stack 1, 1 of 2, North Rhine- Westphalia, 51.81
- 52. Children Playing Stack 1, 2 of 2, unknown location, 52.81
- 53. Riverside with House in the Background, unknown location, 53.81
- 54. Small Forest Snapshot, unknown location, 54.81
- 55. River Mountain Pass, unknown, 55.81
- 56. River with Mountain and Small Town, unknown location, 56.81
- 57. Hilltop Snapshot of Farmland, unknown location, 57.81
- 58. Mountain Snapshot of Terrain, unknown location, 58.81
- 59. Underneath of Bridge on Base, unknown location, 59.81
- 60. Top of Bridge, unknown location, 60.81
- 61. Fort Point, San Francisco 61.81
- 62. Aerial Side of Base 1 of 3 62.81
- 63. Aerial Side of Base 2 of 3, 63.81
- 64. Aerial Side of Base 3 of 3 64.81
- 65. 210 Hardy Court Gulfport Mississippi 65.81
- 66. Possible Military Building, unknown location, 66.81
- 67. Buildings in Front of a Mountain 67.81
- 68. Possible Barracks, unknown location, 68.81
- 69. Possible Military Building with Sign, unknown location, 69.81
- 70. Possible Military Building Side, unknown location, 70.81
- 71. House on a Hill, unknown location, 71.81
- 72. Mountain Range with Small Buildings, unknown location, 72.81

- 73. Faded Mountain Range, , unknown location, 73.81
- 74. Ocean Snapshot from Beach, unknown location, 74.81
- 75. Forest Creek 1, unknown location, 75.81
- 76. Forest Creek 2, unknown location, 76.81
- 77. Forest Creek 3, unknown location, 77.81
- 78. Bend in Road, unknown location, 78.81
- 79. Hillside Snapshot, unknown location, 79.81
- 80. Forest Trail Snapshot, unknown location, 80.81

FORWARD

This master's thesis delves into topics of trauma and the Holocaust; some of the historic photographs within the collection pertain to the liberation of the Boelcke-Kaserne Concentration Camp in Nordhausen, Germany. Being that this is a professional public history piece which discusses, but does not focus on the Holocaust, any images taken which can be considered graphic and upsetting have been blurred out of respect for the victims. The hope is that the nature of the historic photographs does not outweigh the main purpose of this project, the preservation of family archives and collections. The backs of the photographs will remain unedited for the purpose of contextualization of the narrative and its frank discussions of historic trauma.

In addition, as we investigate the importance of public influence in the field, I find it imperative to note that this thesis is written for a broader audience. A good relationship between the public and public historian relies on broader community understanding the field and what we have to offer.

Abbreviations: The Horace Stegall World War Two Collection: HSWW2C.

Introduction

In April of 2009 the Stegall family of South Carolina began organizing the estate of Horace Stegall. The family farm had been in their possession since the late 1920's.¹ In the small white wooden farmhouse lay generations of objects held dear to the Stegall family. Inside an old cedar chest, in the back bedroom, were everyday items of importance, such as insurance policies, family photos, financial documents, a high school ring, and two bags holding the most remarkable artifacts.² A faded brown folder held Horace Stegall's United States Army separation papers, and a plastic bag containing seventy-four historic photographs from World War Two.

These photographs were taken by a young Horace Stegall towards the end of the war. They documented his travels and experiences as he was thrown into the tumultuous world of warfare. These photos seemingly do not belong together. Some are of European architecture, flowers, landscapes, monuments, and the vile evidence of hatred inflicted by the Nazis and their collaborators. As Stegall made his way throughout Germany, he found it necessary to photograph his travels.

The seventy-four photographs and six documents make up a bulk of the eighty-one-piece private collection titled "The Horace Stegall World War Two Collection." The Stegall family owns the collection and have tasked me with its preservation, research, and narrative writing. What does a public historian do with such a collection? This thesis addresses that process of discovery, assessment, and end results.

Archives and collections fall under the umbrella term known as public history. Archives are a place in which documents and objects are preserved and stored to

¹ Doug Stegall, Oral history interview with Morgan Condrey, April 7, 2023.

² Doug Stegall, Oral history interview with Morgan Condrey, April, 7, 2023.

ensure the longevity of history. Typically, archives primarily accept the donation of documents over physical objects, but that may not always be the case. One may typically think of archives strictly as a repository for papers and images, but they are also a place of knowledge for consumption and research. The process is as follows: A person donates or loans an object to the institution. It is then assessed, scanned, and stored in a manner that ensures its preservation. Once those tasks are complete, these object(s) become part of the archive to be pulled and used for those conducting research. In a sense, the items donated by these persons become outlets for history to be studied and written.

Collections are artifacts grouped together for preservation, they come from the same donor and are associated with each other. An example is a singular set of artworks all painted by the same person which are related to one another and exist together as group. Collections fall into several categories within the field of public history but are most commonly associated with museums and archives.

Distinctive differences exist between a regular archive/collection and a family archive/collection. This distinction is made in the placement and purpose of the artifacts. Family archives and collections are kept and curated in homes; they hold a more personal value to their keeper. They do not exist for the purpose of being a repository and do not hold themselves to the strict preservation guidelines as an institution would. The Horace Stegall World War Two Collection is an example of a family collection. It contains eighty-one artifacts which belonged to Horace Stegall. They all pertain to his World War II experiences and were kept together as a group. The Stegall family has personally saved and safeguarded the artifacts for almost eighty years. The family has reached out to me as a public historian for further

2

assistance in identifying, properly cataloging, and preserving the items. For now, the family plans to keep the collection instead of donating it to an institution.

Families maintain personal archives on their own terms and to serve their own purposes. People form archives by "actively, selectively, and passionately acquiring and possessing things removed from ordinary use."³ It is the self-preservation of both tangible and intangible history. They do not hold the purpose of acting as a repository, but as a source of admiration and memory. Personal collections such as that of the Horace Stegall World War Two Collection may hold important historical information, but also act as the memory and essence of who Horace Stegall was. The family sees the collection as a reflection of the man who created it and treat it as it is a part of him. It holds more emotional importance to them than it would to any archival institution. Yes, they are made up of objects, but also memories, customs, stories, beliefs, traditions, and skills. The oral histories taken during the research process of this project are part of that family archive. It is not a requirement for something to be physical or tangible for it to be considered a part of an archive. These distinctions are important, as they define and do not limit the bounds of the collection.

What is public history?

The definition of public history has been speculated and contended since the creation of the field. The issue in creating a definition is not in what is considered public history, but figuring out what isn't. Public history is an umbrella term; each professional has their own definition. It pertains to archives, museums, oral histories, historic preservation, public archaeology, genealogy, cultural heritage and much

³ A. Woodham, L. King, F. Blair, L. Gloyn, and V. Crewe, "We Are What We Keep: The Family Archive, Identity and Public/Private Heritage," *Heritage and Society* 10, No. 3 (2017): 207.

more. Public history is everywhere and, in some form, or fashion pertains to everything.⁴ Even the most illustrious of public historians and institutions struggle to define it. The National Council on Public History has chosen to define the field in the most avantgarde manner:

When it comes to defining public history, practicing public historians might be tempted to recall the United States Supreme Court justice who offered this provocative short-hand definition of obscenity and pornography back in 1964: 'I know it when I see it.⁵

But what if you aren't a public history professional? What if you don't know public history when you see it? The best way I have heard it defined as is "history outside the four walls of academia."⁶ This definition is simple and still leaves one open to their own interpretation, but it guides them none the less. It states the 'what' and 'where' but leaves the professional to place the 'who' 'when' and 'why.'

The 'what' is history of any sort. Public historians offer research, insight and perspective on whatever subject they are tasked to relay. The 'who' is anyone. Public history can be created for any person about almost any subject. Although some professionals may target one audience more than another, the public history atmosphere is aimed to cater to all. The targeted 'who' for public history professionals is the general public; it is the job of the public history professional to inform and educate the public.

'Why' is a more difficult nut to crack and is so much more complex. One may only think of public history as learning about the past, but that is only a small part of

⁴ Jill Liddington, "What Is Public History? Publics and Their Pasts, Meanings and Practices," Oral History 30, no. 1 (Spring 2022).

⁵ "How Do We Define Public History?" About the Field, National Council on Public History, <u>https://ncph.org/what-is-public-history/about-the-field/</u>

⁶ Kate Hughes, Class discussion defining public history, (Intro to Public History, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, Fall 2021).

it. We understand the power of historians as they write our textbooks and seem to be the end all be all pertaining to historic knowledge. But interested citizens visit archives, use oral histories, utilize collections from museums, write about objects excavated by public archaeologists, and they map history using genealogy. The work of the public historian is powerful and inherently political. What we have to offer is what you are taught in your classrooms which inevitably forms the skeletal structure of our society. The 'when' is entirely up to the person and professional.

Where is public history? When one thinks of public history, they may only think of visiting a museum. But history can be found in parks, government buildings, old structures, on signs we pass on the road, in battlefields, national parks, in empty fields, but also in our own homes. In our homes we create history and offer a place to safeguard it as well, with our own personal archives and collections. This thesis will grapple with the definition and function of personal/family archives, and the pivotal part public historians can play in regard to them.

Who are public historians and what do they do? Just as it is difficult to define public history, it is equally as challenging to confine public historians to a simple place and job description. They work in anticipated places like museums, archives, and historic sites but also in places least expected. Public historians work in government settings, as film and media producers, on military bases, as policy advisors, as activists both local and international; and in both business and economics. All the positions are both vital and intentional, these jobs largely cater to the public and their interests.

Within the realms of the Horace Stegall World War Two Collection, 'who' pertains to Horace Stegall and his family. The 'what' is the collection, the seventyfour historic photographs and six documents. 'Where' and 'when' places us in rural

5

Anderson, South Carolina in the 1940's through the present, as well as 1945 Germany. The 'why' is once again a more complicated question, as for my working with the collection is both to serve a family request but also to further my understanding of family collections and the power they hold. Horace Stegall was my grandfather, so it is an honor to research and write this thesis for the family. The Stegall family's 'why,' comes from the loss of Stegall and their desire to learn more about his experiences and to preserve his memory. Finally, the 'why' in relation to Horace Stegall's purpose is in capturing wartime experiences which were rarely spoken of. It is also a gap in the narrative we must find peace in never solving. Research for this thesis was graciously funded by the Nancy Rupprecht Scholarship for the Study of Contemporary Germany. This scholarship allowed me to conduct research in Germany to assist in creating a well-rounded narrative about Stegall and his experiences.

Chapter One: Family Collections and Public History

The Horace Stegall World War Two Collection is a multifaceted and complex family collection. It touches a variety of subjects, some of which must be broached carefully as they are violent and sensitive. Public historians, due to the very nature of the field and their professional training, know to tread carefully when developing relationships with families who serve as stewards of important historical collections. This thesis adds to public history literature in the areas of literature on family history, collections, and archives.

"We Are What We Keep," by Woodham, King, Gloyn, Crewe, and Blair, was an important starting point.⁷ They solidified a definition for what a family archive/collection is and how they are made. The authors identify the purpose of these places and their pivotal place in both private and public history. In addition to providing guidance on family collections, the authors address the significance of family archives as an undervalued site of identity, heritage, and untapped knowledge. They support their argument through the findings of a U.K. experiment with focus groups in the United Kingdom. These groups discussed their personal collections, curated both consciously and unconsciously, detailing how these collections mold a sense of identity. The authors also explored the possibilities of public historians assisting families in the preservation of their collections and artifacts that institutions cannot or will not accept. The authors of "We Are What We Keep" share real world examples on how to address critical issue gaps in family collections. This thesis shares in their perspective and approach as part of a progressive fight to better public history's practice.

⁷A. Woodham, L. King, F. Blair, L. Gloyn, and V. Crewe. 2017, "We Are What We Keep: The 'Family Archive', Identity and Public/Private Heritage," *Heritage and Society* 10, No 3.

The authors of "We Are What We Keep," used Carl Becker's "Everyman His Own Historian" as foundation for their approach.⁸ Becker grappled with the creation of historical narratives and how those narratives are perceived. Becker understood that public memory of historic events is a narrative that is often ignored in primary source research. He acknowledged the importance of oral histories, personal research, and public participation in historical work. Becker's seminal article influenced my oral histories to address the gaps in the collection. Stegall's narrative would be incomplete without the history collected by the 'everyman' to complete this task. Becker taught us early about the relationship between the public and historian. By doing so, we welcome these people to actively participate in the field while challenging ourselves to truly value the importance and purpose of family history and archives.

King and Hammett's "Family Historian and Historians of the Family," identified a central role for public historians in family history.⁹ Family historians are often undervalued although their research and involvement often pushes the field forward. The authors encourage similar academic historians to engage in family history. There is value in the cooperation of public and historian to perform better research and write more complete narratives. Historians understand the context for individual collections which offer perspectives as untapped research veins. Collaboration and respect are key to reach larger goals that benefit both parties and not just the historian. King and Hammett challenged historians who do not value the public's participation in the practice of the field.

 ⁸ Carl Becker, Everyman His Own Historian; Essays on History and Politics, (F. S. Crofts & Co., 1935.)
⁹ Laura King and Jessica Hammett, Family Historians and Historians of the Family: The Value of Collaboration. (Bostom: De Gruyter, 2020.)

Michel-Rolph Trouillot's *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, is another seminal study shaping this thesis.¹⁰ Within this work he addresses the power of historical narratives as a form of what is remembered, recorded, silenced, forgotten, and the command it holds in reference to the inequality of power. Trouillot's significance is seemingly obvious, as historian's choose what they write, what information is included in their narrative, and what is left out. Trouillot reminds us to address the silences created as a result of conscious or unconscious gaps. 'Silencing the Past' also emphasizes the important place of oral histories, information stored in archives and research institutions, and museum interpretation. Through Trouillot's work the power of the historian is better understood by addressing the reoccurring silences.

Richard J. Cox's *No Innocent Deposits: Forming Archives by Rethinking Appraisal,* takes Trouillot's approach and applies it to archival collections and public history.¹¹ Cox not only addresses the silences brought about by the forming of archives, but the inherent bias of the archivist and institution as well. There is discussion in this thesis about how historians write narratives based upon the sources created by public historians. Cox offers indispensable insight into this relationship and how it shapes both scholarship and public perception.

Trouillot's book is a broader perspective on silences whereas Cox's essay is more attuned to archives in general. Patricia Galloway's "Archives, Power, and History," offers a specific example of this power and silence in the form of the history

¹⁰ Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2015.)

¹¹ Richard Cox, *No Innocent Deposits: Forming Archives by Rethinking Appraisal,* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2004.)

of the Mississippi State Archives.¹² By exploring the beginning of those archives, we understand that its first and long-time archivist, Dunbar Rowland, created immense and irreversible racial silences in the narrative of the state of Mississippi. Galloway explores the purpose given to those archives as result of the bias of Rowland. She discusses how white narratives of the rich and famous formed the bulk of the state archives, neglecting the history of the poor and minority groups or key historical events like the civil rights movement. Her article is important because it addresses these silences which exist within archives, and their audiences.

Hannah Holtschnieder's "Narrating an Archive?" impacted this thesis because it connected public history and Holocaust studies.¹³ The author addresses the preservation and ethics of personal archives which relate to the Holocaust and their impact on the historiography of the Holocaust. Her conversation on the ethics of personal Holocaust collections and the silences they might create offers a valuable case study.

My work clearly benefitted from several works associated with Holocaust studies, more specifically the concentration camp Boelcke-Kaserne. Theresa Lynn Ast's "Confronting the Holocaust: American Soldiers Who Liberated the Concentration camps," is the best secondary source literature relating to trauma and memory and it association with American liberators during World War Two.¹⁴ She reviewed hundreds of primary sources to encapsulate the emotional and psychological turmoil brought about by the experiences soldiers had while they liberated the camps.

 ¹² Patricia Galloway, "Archives, Power, and History," *The American Archivist* (January 2006) 79-116.
¹³ Hannah Holtschnieder, "Narrating an Archive? Family Collections, the Archive, and the Historian," *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies*, 37, no. 3 (Winter 2019): 331-360.

¹⁴ Theresa Lynn Ast, *"Confronting the Holocaust:* American Soldiers Who Liberated the Concentration Camps." (M.A. Thesis, Emory University, 200)

From there, she details the difficulties and adjustments they had upon their return home after the war. Ast grabbles with the impact of traumatic experiences on people. I related her points and conclusions to their eventual impact in public history. "Confronting the Holocaust" is one of the best pieces of literature to efficiently compile so many personal experiences related to concentration camp liberation and reflect on them in a way that we are better able to understand the impact of trauma and memory.

Decoding the Stegall images also relied on studies focused on Boelcke-Kaserne, and its mother camp, Mittelbau-Dora. The Buchenwald and Mittelbau-Dora Memorials Foundation has produced important scholarship pertaining to the history, function, and modern interpretation. Johanna Grützbach, Regine Heubaum, and Jes-Christian Wagner's book 'Mittelbau-Dora Concentration Camp 1943-1945,' explained the camps' design and operations.¹⁵

As for Boelcke-Kaserne itself, Geoffrey P. Megargee's *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933-1945, Volume I* produced a starting place.¹⁶ Jens-Christian Wagner's "Die Apotheose des Lagerterrors: die Boelcke-Kaserne in Nordhausen," offers a history of the camp, its structure, functions, and its liberation process.¹⁷

Gretchen Schafft and Gerhard Zeidler's book 'Commemorating Hell: The Public Memory of Mittelbau-Dora,' offers an in-depth history about the Mittelbau-

¹⁵ Johanna Grützbauch, Regine Heubaum, and Jens-Christian- Wagner, *Mittelbau-Dora Concentration Camp, 1943-1945*, (Wallstein Verlag, 2011.)

¹⁶ Geoffery P. Megargee, *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933-1945, Vol 1.,* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2022.)

¹⁷ Jens-Christian Wagner, "Die Apotheose des Lagerterrors: Die Boelcke-Kaserne in Nordhausen (1944-1945), *Sowi* 29, no.3, (200) 152-158.

Dora concentration camp.¹⁸ In addition, it analyzes how memory associated with the camp has shifted over time. This thesis relies heavily on the chapters pertaining to the camp's finals days as well as its liberation to assist in writing a narrative for the 104th Infantry Division.

Leo Hoegh and Howards Doyle's *Timberwolf Tracks: The History of the 104th Infantry Division 1942-1945*, is a seminal book on the history of the 104th Infantry Division.¹⁹ Both authors come from a military background and are precise in discussing military literature and terminology. Thus, *Timberwolf Tracks* is not an easy read for non-military history specialists.

These studies, among others, shaped my approach to research and interpretation. Through a case study for one unknown but valuable family collection, I support the purpose and value of family archives/collections and place-based archivism in search for better practice for public history professionals.

¹⁸ Gretchen Schafft and Gerhard Zeidler, '*Commemorating Hell: The Public Memory of Mittelbau-Dora*,' (University of Illinois Press, 2011).

¹⁹ Leo Hoegh and Howard Doyle, *Timberwolf Tracks: The History of the 104*th Infantry Division 1942-1945, (Washington: Infantry Journal Press, 1914,)

Chapter Two: Horace Stegall and World War II

Horace Stegall was born April 20th, 1926, to his parents John D. Stegall and Annie Mae McAlister.²⁰ He was born on his family's farm in rural Anderson, South Carolina.²¹ He attended 2nd through 12th; grade at local public schools, later attending high school during the early 1940s. It was an extremely turbulent time to reach adulthood for young men. The Second World War had shaken the nation to its core; millions of citizens were drafted and shipped out to foreign countries to fight on behalf of the United States. Months after graduating from Pendleton High School in 1944, Stegall found himself drafted via the Selective Service Systems 'Lottery' in October. Not long after, Horace Stegall arrived in Columbia, South Carolina, on October 14, where he was inducted into the United States Army.²² Throughout the duration of the war he was a member of the 104th Infantry Division, working as a military policeman as well as an automotive mechanic. Stegall often spoke to his family and friends of his time gathering information on solo reconnaissance missions in various parts of Germany. He told his family about moving from place to place collecting information and capturing photos with his government issued camera. He noted staying with German families as he trekked across the country alone. His

²⁰ United States of America, Bureau of the Census; Washington, D.C.; *Seventeenth Census of the United States, 1950*; Record Group: *Records of the Bureau of the Census, 1790-2007*; Record Group Number: *29*; Residence Date: *1950*; Home in 1950: *Garvin, Anderson, South Carolina*; Roll: *5292*; Sheet Number: *22*; Enumeration District: *4-70*

²¹ There are discrepancies between when his father and mother moved to the farm. Originally Horace's father was a sharecropper; it is possible Mae's parents rented the land out to J.D. The farm descended from the McAlister side of the family; his grandparents entailed the property to their grandchildren, meaning, that the property belonged to Horace and his sister after their passing. An entail is a form of trust added to a deed with the intention that the property stay within ownership of descendants of the McAlister family.

²² National Archives at St. Louis; St. Louis, Missouri; *Draft Registration Cards For South Carolina*, 10/16/1940-03/31/1947; Record Group: *Records of the Selective Service System*, 147; Box: 182.

collection of photographs from those travels remained with his family, rarely acknowledged until the family shared them with the author of this thesis in 2022.

104th Infantry Division: The Timberwolves

On September 15, 1942, the United States Army activated the 104th Infantry Division. Camp Adair, Oregon, would be its home base until the division shipped out to Western Europe.²³ The creation of the division as a unit of the army dated to July 1921, three years after the end of the First World War.²⁴ Divisions are the smallest unit within the United States Army that are capable of independent and sustained combat operations.²⁵ The 104th was initially organized as a reserve infantry division under the National Defense Act.²⁶ Division members were nicknamed the "Timberwolves," since their insignia displayed a gray timber wolf with a balsam green background. The timber wolf is native to the Pacific Northwest. The muted green background is meant to highlight the forest aesthetics of that particular region of the United States.²⁷

On September 7, 1944, the 104th Infantry Division landed on the shores of Cherbourg, France. The division was part of a fall offensive, designated to push the

²³ Leo Hoegh and Howard Doyle, *Timberwolf Tracks: The History of the 104th Infantry Division 1942-1945*, (Washington: Infantry Journal Press, 1914,): 16.

²⁴ The 104th Infantry Division was a unit which operated under the III Corps of the Ninth United States Army. Meaning, the 104th conducted missions as a smaller unit of an army group. The command structure from largest to smallest is as follows: Army region, army group, field army, corps, division, brigade, battalion, company, and so on.

²⁵ "What is an Infantry Division," First Division Museum, <u>https://www.fdmuseum.org/about-the-1st-infantry-division/what-is-a-division/</u>.

 ²⁶ Hoegh and Doyle, *Timberwolf Tracks: The History of the 104th Infantry Division 1942-1945*, 23-24.
²⁷ "The 104th Infantry Division During World War Two," Holocaust Encyclopedia, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, <u>https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/the-104th-infantry-division</u>.

German forces back through France, Belgium, and into Central Germany.²⁸ This difficult task meant the 104th Infantry Division's role was crucial. By the end of the war, the division had seen over two hundred days of combat.

Horace Stegall's timeline of service in the 104th Infantry Division remains unclear. Stegall's basic combat training is believed to have been at Fort Jackson in Columbia, South Carolina. After the completion of basic training, Stegall was transferred to Fort Bliss in Texas for thirteen weeks to attend an Army Service Forces technical school to become an automotive mechanic for his division. As an automotive mechanic Stegall was tasked with inspections, services, and repairs of all types of military motor vehicles. As his job title was "automotive mechanic," it is highly likely that Stegall was attached to the 104th Infantry Division's "VII-Division Special Troops," probably the Division Special Troops "Ordnance Company." This company consisted of nine officers, one warrant officer, and one hundred and forty-one enlisted individuals. Within this company were those responsible for motor maintenance, armament, and ammunition.²⁹ Automotive mechanics were crucial for the division as they maintained upwards of 1,437 vehicles. In some situations, the entire division needed to be fully motorized. To achieve this assignment there were an additional 258 trucks which weighed 2.5 tons each.³⁰ Mechanics conducted routine maintenance on these vehicles as the division trekked across three countries to achieve their intended missions.

²⁸ "104th Infantry Division," United States Army Center of Military History, <u>https://history.army.mil/html/forcestruc/cbtchron/cc/104id.htm#:~:text=The%20104th%20Infantry%</u> <u>20Division%20landed,and%20overrunning%20Vaart%20Canal%20defenses</u>.

²⁹ Hoegh and Doyle, *Timberwolf Tracks*, 604-605.

³⁰ Hoegh and Doyle, *Timberwolf Tracks*, 608.

Stegall's second posting was under the 104th Infantry Division's military police platoon.³¹ Military policemen play a plethora of roles both inside and outside of combat zones. Traditionally they are "responsible for investigating all crimes and offenses committed by persons 'subject to military law." They have the responsibility of enforcing, policing, and reporting violations in their area and are expected to perform duties specifically associated with their area of specialty. These duties can range from simple tasks such as recovering stolen items and traffic control to operating the prisoner of war system.³² In times of war and in combat zones their job often expanded as they were expected to maintain normal operations while assuming additional duties. These duties closely mirrored civilian law enforcement. Thus, Stegall was likely tasked with jobs such as operating civilian evacuation and reparations, protection of general population and designated buildings from sabotage and ruin, as well as security and investigation.³³ The jobs of military police performed within combat zones were serious as they ensured the all larger-scale operations in the war were successful. As security and investigations fall under the role of an MP, Stegall likely performed his reconnaissance missions as an MP. Several oral histories from family members discuss these missions, noting that he often worked alone.³⁴

³¹ Army of the United States Honorable Discharge 003, 1945, box 1, folder 2, Horace Stegall World War Two Collection, Private Collection.

³² Christopher Evans, "Military Police Operation in World War II: Extending the Divisions Operational Reach," Master's Thesis, School of Advanced Military Studies US Army Command, 2018, 2.

 ³³Robert K. Wright, *Military Police*, (Washington: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1992,): 9-11.
³⁴ Greg Allen, Oral History interview with Morgan Condrey, June 22, 2023.

The Journey Begins

On March 7, 1945, Stegall boarded an airplane headed for France and arrived in the Eastern Theatre, 'ETO', on March 18, 1945.³⁵ At the time of his arrival, the 104th Infantry Division had just completed its fifth phase known as "Objective Cologne." This phase was a portion of a larger six phase operation which was conducted to aid the United States Army during the campaign in Europe. Objective Cologne's goal was to push from the Roer (Rur) River to the Rhine River which bordered the major German city of Cologne.³⁶ The capture of Cologne began outside of Düren on Feburary 23, 1945, at the edge of the Roer River, a major waterway which flowed through both Belgium and Germany. Commandeering Cologne was crucial to the infantry division's success in central Germany. The 9th Armored Division reached the Rhine River on March 7, 1945, beginning the United States Army's liberation of Western Germany from the Nazi regime. Seizing Cologne meant that many of the soldiers had their first true contact with German city dwellers. At the time of its capture, Cologne was the largest German city seized by the Allied forces.³⁷ The 3rd Armored Division, 9th Armored Division, and the 104th Infantry Division worked together to take Cologne.³⁸

Phase VI: Spearhead

Stegall most likely participated in the phase six, known as "Spearhead," as he arrived in Europe at the start of that operation. The divisions objective was to reach

³⁵ Chelsea Valainis, Oral history interview with Morgan Condrey, April 9, 2023.

³⁶ The Roer (Rur) River should not be confused with the Ruhr River. The Roer (Rur) River flows through Belgium, Germany, and into the Netherlands.

³⁷ Hoegh, *Timberwolf Tracks:* 395-396.

³⁸ Hoegh, *Timberwolf Tracks:* 382-383.

Torgau, which is located on the far eastern end of Germany. The first portion of this phase was titled "Encirclement of the Ruhr," the goal was to reach the city of Lippstadt and then from Lippstadt to the Mulde River. The 3rd Armored division with assistance from the 104th Infantry Division conducted this operation. The next twelve days following the division's occupation of Cologne on March 5, 1945, were spent defending the west bank of the Rhine.³⁹ After securing the area, the division was instructed on March 21 to move fifty miles south of Cologne, to reach the outskirts of the city of Remagen.

Army soldiers crossed the river at Honnef on March 22. Several groups including the 8th Infantry Division and 413th Infantry had pushed up onto the Remagen bridgehead to begin its takedown the following evening. The 104th's VII Corps directed the rest of the division to push further east to assist the 413th Infantry and 415th Infantry in resuming the previous night's attacks until daylight on March 24.⁴⁰

By March 25, both the 1st Division as well as the 104th Infantry Division had begun their decent on Altenkirchen to assist the 3rd Armored Division. The seizure of the city was a strategic maneuver to access the Dill River, which lies fifty miles east.⁴¹ This movement would begin the division's impressive nine day, 193-mile push to the city of Paderborn in which they arrived to on April 1st. During the successful push, the division captured 6,456 prisoners and thousands of Nazi weapons and vehicles as

³⁹ "Combat Chronicle," 104th Infantry Division, <u>http://www.104infdiv.org/WORLDWAR.HTM.</u>

⁴⁰ Hoegh and Doyle, *Timberwolf Tracks:* 406.

⁴¹ Ibid, 406-407.

they covered 4,100 square miles.⁴² From there the division continued thirty-five miles northeast to the city of Marburg.

The 104th encountered determined German resistance on March 26th, with assistance from the 3rd Armored, the division gained twelve miles, seizing the town of Hemmelzen. As with most towns, the 104th again met strong resistance before reaching the vicinity of Heiberg.⁴³ By the end of the day on the 27th they had reached the city of Gunterdorf, an advance of fifty miles to the east. Dillenburg, Lagenbauch, Holzhausen, and Niedersselndorf were taken on March 28, while the division's command post neared the town of Herborn in the late afternoon.⁴⁴ By this time, it was evident that the German Army had taken significant losses and was beginning to collapse. March 29, 1945, signified the division's "swing to the north," as they pushed towards Paderborn.⁴⁵ As the 104th made headway towards the city alongside the 1st Army and 3rd Armored Division, they met up with the 9th Army. These groups worked together to encircle a vital industrial area. The operation trapped over 335,000 German troops and cut off the Third Reich's access to its industrial factories in the area.⁴⁶

On March 30th the division moved to Medebach and established their command post. The next day, the post was moved thirty-five miles to the north in the city of Marsburg, which had been secured by the 104th Division's VII Corps the

⁴² Ibid, 441-442.

⁴³ Ibid, 410-411.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 410-413

⁴⁵ Ibid, 413-414.

⁴⁶ Terry Allen, 1888-1969, "Letter from Maj. Gen. Terry Allen to the 104th Infantry "Timberwolf" Division," UAH Archives, Special Collections, and Digital Initiatives, accessed October 3, 2023, http://libarchstor2.uah.edu/digitalcollections/items/show/1169.

evening prior.⁴⁷ Marsburg sits just south of the city of Paderborn. The division withstood heavy resistance at this stage; commandeering this roadblock was not an easy fight.⁴⁸ Even as they withheld enemy fire they were required to move through the towns and clean out the remaining German troops and their weaponry. Doing so required 15 to 20 infantry and tank forces to slowly move throughout and comb the streets.⁴⁹

After several attacks between Medebach and Paderborn, the Army captured the city on April 1, 1945.⁵⁰ It should be noted that the 104th Infantry Division did not complete objectives as one massive unit which seized cities together, but rather the division was made of several smaller units which worked simultaneously in different areas/places to reach the objectives overall goal. The division was composed of several groups of brigades and regiments; the 104th infantry division was made of 18 individual sections.⁵¹ For example, while portions of the division made headway north towards Paderborn, other groups from the 104th remained south-west towards Medebach and Winterberg. The groups further south spent the first few days of April fighting and pushing German resistance away from previously liberated areas.⁵²

⁵⁰"104th Infantry Division" U.S. Army Center of Military history,

⁴⁷ Hoegh, *Timberwolf Tracks*, 415-419.

⁴⁸ Terry Allen, 1888-1969, "Letter from Maj. Gen. Terry Allen to the 104th Infantry "Timberwolf" Division."

⁴⁹ Hoegh, *Timberwolf Track,:* 418-419.

https://history.army.mil/html/forcestruc/cbtchron/cc/104id.htm#:~:text=The%20104th%20Infantry% 20Division%20landed,and%20overrunning%20Vaart%20Canal%20defenses. ⁵¹ "104th Infantry Division," U.S. Army Center of Military

https://history.army.mil/html/forcestruc/cbtchron/cc/104id.htm#:~:text=The%20104th%20Infantry% 20Division%20landed,and%20overrunning%20Vaart%20Canal%20defenses.

⁵² Hoegh, *Timberwolf Tracks*, 420-438.

Paderborn to Torgau

The final portion of the Spearhead operation was reaching the City of Torgau. After several days, the 104th regrouped and resumed their march east on April 4, 1945; the division reached Trendelberg on the 7th. Careful planning determined it was crucial divisions crossed the Weser River quickly; otherwise, the German troops would have the advantage of securing a strong defensive position. The Weser River lays just east of the Trendelberg. Before the sun began to rise the following morning of April 8, division troops from the 104th and 3rd Army began crossing the river. After much resistance, the bridge was secured in the early afternoon.⁵³ On April 9 the division seized Adelebsen and Duderstadt which was taken the following day.⁵⁴ The goal from there was to reach the town of Nordhausen and continue to the east. At first, commanders thought the 104th would reach the outskirts of Nordhausen by April 10, 1945. Even with support from the 3rd Armored Division and 2nd Battalion of the 414th regiment, they failed to do so. Supplies were running short and to make up for time and loss of transportation, troops requisitioned farm carts for those on foot.⁵⁵

When the division entered Nordhausen on April 11, 1945, it became apparent something was wrong there. Soldiers discovered Nordhausen had been badly damaged from air raids conducted by the British Royal Airforce on April 3 and 4, 1945. But through the rubble, troops noticed an overpowering stench of

⁵³ Ibid, 450-456.

⁵⁴ "Command and Staff," 104th Infantry Division, U.S. Army Center of Military History, <u>https://history.army.mil/documents/eto-ob/104ID-ETO.htm</u>

⁵⁵ Gretchen Schafft, *Commemorating Hell: The Public Memory of Mittelbau-Dora* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011) 51-52.

decomposition miles from the town. As they entered the areas, emaciated persons in stripped clothing staggered alongside the roadside. Soldiers of the 3rd Armored Division were the first to discover the Mittelbau-Dora concentration camp on the outskirts of the town. Later, numerous subcamps of Camp Dora were found, such as the Boelcke-Kaserne Concentration Camp in the southern section of the town. Thousands of tortured souls lie on the grounds, both deceased and living, abandoned by the troops of the Third Reich. Major General Terry Allen, the head of the 104th Infantry Division, ordered division units to stay behind in Nordhausen to assist in the sanitation of the concentration camps, to aid survivors, and maintain order in the town.⁵⁶ Still, the rest of the division pushed on.

A command post was established in the municipality of Ober Tuetschenthal on April 14, just outside the city of Halle (Saale).⁵⁷ On the road to Halle, the division cleared over fifty towns and communities of its German forces. From Nordhausen to Halle was approximately fifty-three miles of forest terrain.⁵⁸ On the evening of April 13th and the following morning of the 14th, soldiers prepared to cross the Saale River into the city. Upon further observation it was determined that the Germans had set up a strong offensive on the west wall and that every bridge on that side of the city had been destroyed.⁵⁹ To the north, the 9th Infantry Division had taken areas in the southern portion of the Harz Mountains, offering relief to the 104th and an opportunity to attack Halle from the north since it would be difficult to seize the city

⁵⁶ Schafft, *Commemorating Hell*, 57.

⁵⁷ Both "Saale" and "Halle" are used interchangeably. Often the German people refer to it as "Saale," while English speakers refer to it as "Halle."

⁵⁸ Hoegh, *Timberwolf Tracks*, 465-466

⁵⁹ Ibid, 467-468.

from the west.⁶⁰ There was still strong resistance from the opposition as they moved towards the city from the north. As the night fell on April 15, 1945, the groups had captured one-eighth of the city. The citizens of Halle were well aware of the destruction of other towns who opposed Allied forces and pleaded with United States military officials to declare the city a demilitarized area. The army refused. The battle for Halle raged on from April 15 to April 19.⁶¹ By April 21st, the 104th had taken Halle, Delitzsch, and Bitterfeld.⁶² From there, the division cleared its way to the Mulde River, which lies thirty miles to the east.⁶³ On April 26, 1945, the 104th Infantry Division came into contact with the Russian Red Army at the town of Pretzsch.⁶⁴ The division would continue to make contact at all fronts with the Russian Army until May 4th. The division's six long months of continuous combat were finally over.⁶⁵

Stegall's Narrative

While we can map the 104th Infantry Division's movements across central Germany, Stegall's movements are not as clear. Each member of the Stegall family discussed that Stegall had explicitly stated he worked by himself. Greg Allen, Stegall's former son in law, detailed him often performing reconnaissance missions behind enemy lines: "He knew where to go, their houses, and he would stay with

⁶⁰ Allen, "Letter from Maj. Gen. Terry Allen to the 104th Infantry "Timberwolf" Division."

⁶¹ Hoegh, *Timberwolf Tracks*, 468-470.

⁶² They set up a command post in Delitzsch on April 22, 1945.

 ⁶³ Allen, "Letter from Maj. Gen. Terry Allen to the 104th Infantry "Timberwolf" Division."
⁶⁴ "Combat Chronicle," 104th Infantry Division, U.S. Army Center of Military History, <u>https://history.army.mil/html/forcestruc/cbtchron/cc/104id.htm#:~:text=The%20104th%20Infantry%</u> <u>20Division%20landed,and%20overrunning%20Vaart%20Canal%20defenses</u>.

⁶⁵ Allen, "Letter from Maj. Gen. Terry Allen to the 104th Infantry "Timberwolf" Division."

these Germans in their houses while he was collecting information."⁶⁶ This narrative seems to correspond with the images from the collection, a number of which do not overlap with the areas where the 104th were present. It is safe to assume Stegall did not entirely reside with his division during the duration of his time in Europe as it is confirmed he took these photographs himself. However, there are a few photographs which contents indicate they could not have been taken by Stegall. The cathedral in Nuremberg is an example.

Little is known about the reconnaissance missions he undertook. Most information pertains to his personal experiences like staying with the German families. It was noted that Stegall appreciated these people because they were kind, offering shelter and food. He walked on foot and at some point, commandeered a motorcycle as he trekked across Germany.⁶⁷

The Stegall's photographs range as far west as Hellenthal, as far north as Nordhausen, and as far south and east as Nuremberg. Most of them lie to the west, centering in areas north of Cologne.

Stegall departed the United States on March 6, 1945, on a plane to France. He arrived in Europe on March 18th, almost two weeks after the 104th infantry division captured the city of Cologne. It is unknown how he was transported into Germany, only that he flew into Europe alongside several other servicemembers. It is safe to assume his journey began near Düsseldorf as a result of his photographs and the movements of his division.

⁶⁶ Greg Allen, Oral History interview with Morgan Condrey, June 22, 2023.

⁶⁷ Mary Condrey, Oral history interview with Morgan Condrey, August 27, 2023.

A large number of the photographs were taken between Düsseldorf and the municipality of Beilstein further south. If his journey did begin in Düsseldorf, it would have been likely he continued south towards Cologne. Approximately six photograph sites lie in or around the road from Düsseldorf to Cologne: one in Meerbusch, two in Ratingen-Homberg, one in Zons, one in Solingen, and one in Odenthal. Moving southwest of Cologne is a photograph of a church in Hellenthal. The photographs taken further south include one at Wierschem, two in Cochem, and two in Beilstein.

Two of Stegall's photographs feature St. Sebald Church in Nuremberg, Germany.⁶⁸ Throughout the war, Nuremberg had suffered heavy damage from air raids, meaning, it is likely Stegall was not the photographer of these two images. The largest air raid was conducted by the British Airforce on January 2, 1945. But, if they were taken by Stegall, it would have been some time before mid-April 1945, as April 20th was considered the day in which "the weapons were silent."⁶⁹

It was confirmed, however, that Stegall was present for the liberation of Nordhausen and the concentration camp Boelcke-Kaserne. Liberation occurred between his division's arrival in Nordhausen on April 11 and departure around April 13, 1945.⁷⁰ With the exception of a few division members who remained behind for sanitation and clean-up of the camp.⁷¹

There is a gap between his departure from Nordhausen and when Stegall returned to the United States. But it is possible that Stegall continued east towards his division's intended destination of Torgau. On May 7, 1945, the division

⁶⁸ St. Sebald Church, Sebalduskirche.

⁶⁹ An interpretive panel from inside St. Sebald Church.

⁷⁰ Schafft, *Commemorating Hell*, 43,45; Hoegh, *Timberwolf Tracks*, 465-466.

⁷¹ Schafft, *Commemorating Hell*, 57.

headquarters received word that Germany would surrender unconditionally and that all troops would remain in their current positions until notified further.⁷² It is unclear where Stegall was during this time or what he was doing. A month following this order, the 104th Infantry Division began sending their troops home on June 27, 1945, the day after Stegall's departure from Europe.⁷³

Stegall arrived in the United States on July 3, 1945. At some point he was reassigned to the 6th Army.⁷⁴ He remained in the 6th Army until his official separation. During his time in the United States after the war, Stegall was assigned to San Francisco, California where he worked as a prison guard at Alcatraz.⁷⁵ This assignment correlates with his photographs which pertain to the San Francisco Tea Gardens, as well as the photographs of For Point which also lies in San Francisco. The exact dates of his California posting are unknown.

Friends and family were not surprised he had been chosen to conduct solo reconnaissance missions or that he had worked as a guard at Alcatraz. Stegall was a well-tempered man with a hard exterior. In an interview, Greg Allen reminisced about one of Stegall's stories:

They called him into the office [a higher-ranking officer], he said they sat him down and told him that they had determined that "he was a man that could not be broken," and so that was kind of the beginning of his journey to Alcatraz and Germany and all the places they sent him, doing not so average duties.⁷⁶

⁷² Hoegh, *Timberwolf Tracks*, 498-500

⁷³"Combat Chronicle," 104th Infantry Division, U.S. Army Center for Military History.

⁷⁴ This is because the 104th Infantry Division was entirely disbanded December 20, 1945.

⁷⁵ Greg Allen, Oral History interview with Morgan Condrey, June 22, 2023

⁷⁶ Greg Allen, Oral History interview with Morgan Condrey, June 22, 2023

Stegall separated from the United States Army August 20, 1946, and returned to his home in Anderson, South Carolina. He attended Clemson University for a degree in mechanical engineering. Although he never completed his degree, he fueled his love for building and designing gadgets to make his work around the family farm easier. Chelsea Allen recalled:

Everything had big daddy's touch on it, mom called it 'a big daddy.' Where it's some hodgepodge of metals welded together, or some contraption to solve some problem. It was his ingenuity, he just tinkered... I remember there was a storage sheds full of stuff.⁷⁷

Stegall's family believed he gained his interest in mechanics from his time in the army. His granddaughter Chelsea described him having a rough and tough exterior, with calloused hands and clothes covered in oil. Those attributes were why the family called him "Big daddy." But he was also known for being a helpful and tenderhearted soul with kind eyes. He was a deacon of his church and offered a helping hand to anyone in the community, often using his quick wit and gadgets to help solve the problems of daily life. Stegall rarely spoke of his military career, certainly not the concentration camp experience unless asked directly. But he kept the photographs. Those make for a powerful legacy today.

⁷⁷ Chelsea Valainis, Oral history interview with Morgan Condrey, April 9, 2023.

Chapter Three: The Conservation of Family Records

Historians can benefit today from the Horace Stegall World War Two Collection because of the stewardship of Stegall family members over the last seventy years. They intentionally chose to keep these artifacts together after he returned home from the war. Stegall's mother, Mae Stegall, was not known for her attachment to items, often throwing things away that the family found important. However, she did not do the same with the historic photographs and military release documents, choosing instead to tuck them safely away in her cedar chest at the old family farm. Stegall's youngest son, Doug Stegall, discussed in his oral history his grandmother's proclivity towards not keeping material items and his surprise that the collection had been saved in its entirety.

From Mae Stegall's cedar chest to Stegall's adult home, Doug related in detail about the number of places the collection had resided within the homes. The collection stayed together as it moved from place to place. Whether intentional or not, each member viewed the collection as its own entity, an important piece of history stored with purpose and care. Finally, the collection ended back at the Stegall family farm, where it was discovered in another cedar chest after Stegall's death. Preservation does not need to be inherently intentional; it comes from placing artifacts in an area one believes to be safe, with safety comes passive preservation. People contribute to the public history process and are often doing it every day, by saving photographs, discovering family research, stories, and safeguarding items of significance.

Public history is such a multifaceted subject, a web branching in different directions, often overlapping in a plethora of areas. The ways in which the public participate in the field is crucial. Whether the public is knowingly or unknowingly

practicing, it ensures the preservation of history in all of the ways that professional historians cannot. Afterall, it is simply not possible for public historians to preserve everything. People outside of the profession make the first selections or deletions; and public historians move forward from those initial acts of stewardship.

In the case of the Stegall collection, it all begins with Horace Stegall's initial documentation of historic events and places, looking at a subject before him and taking a photograph. To capture a moment in time may have been for his own pleasure, but it still offers important information in relation to everything pictured. The same can especially be said for the photographs pertaining to the Boelcke-Kaserne concentration camp. The composition of the image and its subjects photographed holds key information, enriching its value as a primary source.

The same is true for his effort to process and print the negatives as well. The photographs present back-printing markings of Agfa-Lupex, Agfa-Brovira, or Velox, these marks indicate that the photograph negatives may have been printed at various times and in different locations. The process of printing the negatives implies purpose in preservation of each captured moment in time, to display each moment in a way that can easily absorbed by the human eye.

Next, is Stegall's intention to keep these photographs safe for the remainder of his time in the United States Army. As the 104th Infantry Division moved through Europe, so did the photographs. The titles "Agfa-Lupex" and "Agfa-Brovira" found on the backs of most of the photographs are German; it is possible they were printed while he was in Europe. Whereas the back-printing displaying "Velox," comes from

the American brand the Eastman Kodak Company.⁷⁸ His choice to keep the items safe ensured their preservation until he returned home to Anderson, South Carolina.

The entire Stegall family became participants in the stewardship of the collection which Mae Stegall placed in the cedar chest. Whenever another family member moved the collection, they did so with care. The separation papers in their original envelop and the entire collection was stored in the dark corner of two cedar chests. Cedar chests act as a natural dehumidifier to reduce moisture and prevent pest damage to items placed inside. Alongside the natural darkness, the chest prevented fading, molding, water damage, and overall deterioration of whatever was inside. It is likely that Mae Stegall was unaware of the science surrounding the cedar chest and its combative protection against moisture. Upon its movement from the Stegall family farm in 2009, the photographs were placed into a ziplocked bag to protect against the elements, and once again placed in a dark environment.

These steps, both small and large, eventually led to the family contacting a public historian for further assistance. I assessed the collection for further preservation, turning to such professional sources like the American Library Association's "Save Your Stuff" webpage to move the preservation process forward, while allowing the family to maintain stewardship.⁷⁹

Minding the Gap

A public historian's practice is about offering effective methods to educate the interested public on different subjects and preserving history for the future. The multi-disciplinary world of public history seems almost limitless to those who work within

⁷⁸ Paul Messier, "Notes on Dating Photographic Paper," *Topics of Photograph Preservation, Vol. 11* (2005): 125-126.

⁷⁹ "Save Your Stuff," Preservation Week, The American Library Association, June 2023, https://www.ala.org/alcts/preservationweek/howto.

the field, especially when centred in the community based reciprocal relationships. Yet, often a gap develops between community, practice, and theory, and if not addressed the gap creates a mutual distrust.

For the public historians, the gap seems to be fueled by limited practice and limitations beyond their control. The limitations come from a plethora of directions, many of which led back to lack of resources. But hyper-professionalism and elitism are probably larger problems than the paucity of funding. Public historians often speak of how they are doing effective community-based work, but are they? There are key principles of practice that can be applied to fix the issues at hand.

An institution's inability to add an artifact donated or loaned by a community member inevitably adds to the gap even when this choice may often stem from lack of resources. In certain circumstances and through no fault of their own, public historians will have to deny a donation because it does not meet the requirements laid out by the institution's accession policy or they do not have space for proper storage and/or exhibition. Public history institutions such as museums and archives house many publicly donated collections. The job of the archivists/curators is to manage accession and organization within their institutions. To ensure there is proper space, care, and placement of artifacts, museums and archives have implemented collections policies. Collections policies determine what an institution can access as well as what they can de-access. It lays the groundwork for what the institution wishes to achieve and keeps it on track. Without it, these institutions collections would grow chaotically and become uncontrollable.⁸⁰ Preservationists cannot do their job if the collection grows way beyond their limits of capacity. There is a spectrum.

⁸⁰ Christina Zamon, "What is This Stuff: Collection Management," in *The Lone Arranger: Succeeding in a Small Repository*, (Washington, D.C.: Society of American Archivists, 2012), 14.

On one end you have preservationists who wish they could accept everything their communities have to offer, their shelves stocked with rich history and information. On the other end, there may be preservationists that enjoy the exclusivity of their institution's collections policies by limiting their accessions to the standard they solely deem necessary to maintain their desired image.

Lack of space and limited acquisition through collections policies may protect public history institutions, but the bones of their collections derive from what the public has to offer them. How often does the public truly make an impactful donation? That question is not simple to answer, but is still relevant.

In 2018 Laura Young visited a Texas thrift store to find an item which captivated her intrigue, a fifty-pound bust with Roman aesthetics which she purchased for \$34.99. After reaching out to a Sotheby's specialist, to consult on her findings, it was discovered that Laura had in her possession a two-thousand-year-old ancient Roman statue from the Julio-Claudian-era. It is suspected that Nazis looted the bust during the Second World War and it had remarkably ended up on United States soil. Because Mrs. Young knew to reach out to a public historian, she was better able to track information and help care for the statue which is now temporarily housed at the San Antonio Museum of Art.⁸¹ This instance may seem a remarkable story but is truly not when discussing artifacts from the Second World War. After the Allies extinguished the Nazi regime in Europe, it would be discovered that there were hundreds of thousands of artifacts looted and moved across Europe, many of which would never find its way back to its owner. Today, holding facilities sit filled to the

⁸¹ Elizabeth Djinis, "Ancient Roman Sculpture Likely Looted During WWII Turns Up at Texas Goodwill," *Smithsonian Magazine*, April 29, 2023, <u>https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/ancient-roman-sculpture-likely-looted-during-wwii-turns-up-at-texas-goodwill-180980045/</u>.

brim with objects and artifacts.⁸² But it isn't everyday a person finds an artifact so rare.

In October 1996, a young man entered the ever-popular Antiques Roadshow event in Chicago, Illinois. He had, an actual Revolutionary War discharge slip signed by George Washington, whom at the time was the Commander in Chief of the Continental Army. The young man began to detail that his mother happened upon the document in a black tin box which belonged to her deceased aunt. The family was unaware how long the artifact had been in their possession, but realized its value and tucked it away for safe keeping.⁸³ The discharge papers may not have been a 2000year-old Ancient Roman bust, but still a truly unique and invaluable find, one example among infinite of an everyday person finding a piece of history.

But what about the pieces of history created by our own families that we purposely save? This is where the Horace Stegall World War Two Collection becomes an example. When Horace Stegall returned home from the war and both he and his mother chose to safely tuck the collection into the family's old cedar chest. Later, family members would find a piece of their history and understand the impact the collection had on themselves as well as others. When our older generations share their past or families find artifacts after their passing, they are participating in the process of public history. They perceive value in these objects and people; they understand these items to be a part of their heritage. These instances of the public

⁸² Ander Rydell, *Book Thieves: The Nazi Looting of Europe's Libraries and the Race to Return a Literary Inheritance*, (Viking, 2017).

⁸³ "Revolutionary War Discharge Signed by George Washington," Antiques Roadshow, PBS, <u>https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/roadshow/season/1/chicago-il/appraisals/revolutionary-war-discharge-</u> <u>signed-by-george-washington--199613A20/</u>.

discovering and safeguarding important artifacts is quite common. News stories may make it seem of a miracle, but it truly is not, we are uncovering history every day.

Family collections are filled to the brim with raw materials in the form of objects, documents, images, and memories, all of which offer different perspectives from different places and people. ⁸⁴ Thus, while some might rank the Horace Stegall World War Two Collection with the Boelcke-Kaserne Concentration Camp liberation photos at the top, and the photograph labeled "Empty side street," at the bottom, that ranking misses the significance of the collection as a whole. These photos taken by Horace Stegall narrate a story. In its entirety the collection follows the experience of a rural farm boy who was drafted into World War Two and endured both the horrors of war and beauty of life. Breaking up the collection and sending the Concentration Camp photos to Holocaust institutions for 'better use,' takes away that vital context of the creation and stewardship of the collection.

Public historians need to see the value of family curated and preserved collections to better understand the powerful role objects play in the creation of one's sense of the past.⁸⁵ Otherwise, public historians control if not eliminate dialogue with larger audiences. Public historians can do effective community-based work, reaching out and making meaningful relationships. We must see the value in everyday objects.

Openness to public-curated collections may eventually open more doors for more professional dialog and reciprocity. The public is often fearful of professional rejection of assistance, donation, or the institution in general. They fear 'ivory tower' attitudes whereas some historians see themselves as the one true authority on history

⁸⁴ Hannah Holtschnieder, "Narrating an Archive? Family Collections, the Archive, and the Historian," *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies*, 37, no. 3, Winter 2019: 345-346

⁸⁵ A. Woodham, L. King, F. Blair, L. Gloyn, and V. Crewe, "We Are What We Keep," 207

and how it should be practiced. Within this tower above the average person, too many historians believe that only a professional's work and opinions matter because their research, writing, and position holds authority and prestige.⁸⁶ Increasingly, professionals with doctoral degrees are dominating the public history field, separating it from broader communities. The ivory tower attitude adds to the gap as it leads the public to not feel comfortable forming relationships, asking for assistance, or donating their personal artifacts.

If the interested public believes that their history is not important enough to preserve, they will stop trying to do so or refrain from reaching out in the future. Many of these institutions, big and small, rely on donations. If the public stops engaging with these institutions what will our museums and archives become? What will the narrative created by historians look like? Better practice urges the professional to take time to consider the object's importance and understand its value to avoid these issues.⁸⁷

In addition to fear of rejection is fear of loss, both physically and emotionally to their artifacts and history. When a member of the public approaches a public historian, or vice versa, regarding gifting an artifact or collection to an institution, one can understandably resonate with the feeling of loss that person may feel. To part with an artifact that they have personally cared for and protected can be difficult, especially when there has been a direct physical or emotional connection. To donate the Horace Stegall World War Two Collection the Stegall family would feel they are losing a piece of Horace. There is always an option to loan the artifact, but that requires the subject being brought up or the donor to be aware of the option. If the

⁸⁶ Alexandra Lord, "The View from the Ivory Tower," *Perspectives on History* (January 2005).

⁸⁷ A. Woodham, L. King, F. Blair, L. Gloyn, and V. Crewe, "We Are What We Keep," 205

public is unaware of the option in its entirety, they may not even approach the subject of donation at all. What will happen to my artifact? Will they understand its importance as much as I do? Will they care for and understand what this object means to me?

With gifting an object comes the transition of power and narrative from owner to institution. Archives, just as any other public history institution, hold a particular form of power which affects us all. Yes, they house history for preservation and research purposes, but they are also the enablers and silencers of the historical narrative. In the past, archives have been places that only the elite and educated could visit and research. Even now, many institutions limit who and what can be seen and used for research. By limiting those they deem worthy of harnessing the information they hold, they control the who and what academics are writing about and for. In addition to what people are allowed to view, are the historic subjects given attention and preservation. Historically, that was reserved for the prominent or "important" members of society. As a result, archives have been the root of silences found in history books in the past.

Archives also have the power to choose what information they store for preservation and viewing. For decades, they focused largely on the preservation of the white and wealthy, completely neglecting the roles people of a lesser hierarchical status played throughout history. One great example comes from the creation of the State Archives of Mississippi and its first archivist, Dunbar Rowland. While Rowland is famous for successfully running the first state archive and pushing the field forward, he also held it back as he refused the accession of collections related to

minority communities. Known to be a white elite of his time, Rowland certainly played that role in society.⁸⁸

Refusing to access any artifacts or archival resources from minority communities or those not deemed wealthy or important enough, Dunbar Rowland's collection policy left massive gaps in history within the state of Mississippi. His racism and elitism are to blame for the lack of inclusivity and information offered on subjects outside of white society. Rowland's agenda as an archivist is not uncommon; many institutions ignored minority histories leading to silences for those already unnoticed.⁸⁹

Gaps are created every day in the realm of public history as a result of the power of the preservationist, between what institutions allow within their collections and what subjects they highlight. Family collections have the opportunity to fill the gaps created by silences, but that requires the public to trust the professional.

The critical issues of public history discussed above create a gap, one that prevents public historians from doing their job and the public from participating. The solution to these issues comes from better public history practice, one where there are better community relationships, care for all histories, and the absence of the ivory tower which subjugates artifacts and stories to negligence.

At its core, public history requires these strong relationships to thrive and push the field forward. Afterall, institutions rely on the public to offer materials which they can research and interpret to create a cohesive narrative. It is imperative communities continue to engage and donate; the field simply cannot survive without this bond.

⁸⁸ Patricia Galloway, "Archives, Power, and History," *The American Archivist*, Vol, 69 No 1. (Summer, 2006): 79-116.

⁸⁹ Hannah Holtschnieder, "Narrating an Archive," 348

Building better relationships seems like an easy fix, but it is not. You must show communities that you care for them, respect them, and value their history. It is not simply enough to approach a community and ask for information that simply benefits your research.

There must be a reciprocal partnership. In so many instances historians take more than they give, using communities to fulfill career goals or complete projects, only to walk away afterwards. I feel however that there should primarily be a 'give,' we as professionals should be offering preservation services that help communities thrive, because we are servants of the public. How do we implement better practice? By reevaluating our purpose and putting care into our work. But being thoughtful is not enough, we must put money and time into projects these communities find meaningful and promote education in the field when we as professionals cannot cater to every need. Institution's would find less push from the public to access objects, if there were options for the public to preserve them correctly themselves. Free classes and informational sessions are just the first steps; showing the public that they too can participate in the world of public history ensures the field thrives at every opportunity.

Better Practice in Practice

With my work with the family collection of Horace Stegall, I was able to implement better practice by mindfully addressing critical issue gaps along the way. The first step was imperative, sitting down with the family and **asking them what their needs and goals are**. What do they need? How can I help them? What resources can I provide them? What do they want out of this? Sometimes it may be as simple as advice; other times the request is much larger. My intention was to create a level ground for them to tell how and what they wanted accomplished.

With that trust in hand, I moved to the next steps: moving and preserving the collection. Keeping the collections in its plastic bag on a bookshelf would contribute to the deterioration of the images and documents. First, I offered the family basic conservation services. During my Christmas break in 2022 I met with my stepmother, Mary Condrey, I sat in the living room asking her what she wanted and expected from my working with the collection. She stated she worried about losing the photos and how much they had faded in the last seventy-seven years. I asked if she would allow me to bring them from Greenville, South Carolina to Murfreesboro, Tennessee for conservation work; she agreed. Mary's father was one of the most important people in her life. It was even more obvious when she spoke of him and his legacy. This discussion was one of those crucial moments as a public historian where I paused, reflecting on this collection's importance to the family and what that should mean to me. I am the preservation professional in this situation, they are relying on me. It is crucial I treat this project with care and consideration, that I work with the collection to the best of my ability. Mary wished she knew the stories of her father's travels while in the service. She wanted a narrative, a story told from the documents and images within the collection. She then wanted the collection returned safely to the family. I drafted a contract of loan, one that swayed in their favor for their comfort. I listed four terms and conditions for loan of the collection and its use:

- *A.* The purpose for this loan is for the preservation of the objects as well as to aid in the research and writing of Ms. Morgan Condrey's Master's thesis.
- B. These objects will solely be used for the purpose of the completion of Ms. Morgan Condrey's Master's thesis. Any further use of the objects must be authorized by the lender.
- C. Any changes to this loan agreement must be mutually authorized by both

parties.

The fourth addition described the loan period for my work with the collection. These terms and conditions ensured all needs were met for the Stegall family. Those were my ultimate goals. I next met with two of the four children of Stegall, his granddaughter Chelsea, and her father to ask and confirm the same questions. What did they want? How could I meet those expectations? The answers were the same, to preserve the collection, write a narrative about Horace Stegall's service, and write my thesis.

By maintaining a relationship with understanding, empathy, and respect, I was allowed to work with these documents. I confidently say this process has worked profoundly well with other projects as well. With those three components I can better do my job as a public history professional. I am not simply taking from the family; I am giving back as well. Although I understood these people to be family members, it is imperative that I do not allow that to overshadow my work. Therefore, I removed myself as best I could from that position. I decided to work with Stegall's collection as I would any other professional project. I did not feel ownership over anything related to the collection or its preservation process, in addition, I did not keep materials or parts of the collection. At the end of this project all scans and information were given in various formats to the family. I stepped away from this project with only my thesis in tow. The project officially began in January 2023.

Reciprocal practice is central to what and how I work with the family throughout the project's process, giving them updates I knew were both important, but also exciting. I located over half of the architectural buildings within these photographs from around Germany and placed them in real time. We spoke often, once meeting to discuss my thesis' proposal for their personal approval before submission to my committee. I allowed them to look over it and ask questions,

change, or add things to their comfort. Sharing the proposal emphasized that we were working together. In addition, I organized a series of oral histories where they spoke organically about their family and Horace Stegall. I asked deep and inquisitive questions in relation to the collection and its original owner. "How did you perceive Horace Stegall as a child? How did that change into adulthood? How has that changed in his passing?" "What does this collection mean to you?" "In his essence, who was big daddy?" "Why do you believe he kept those photos?" The exchanges gained in invaluable insight on Horace Stegall, his collection, and so much more. Doing so would not have been possible without a good relationship with his family members.

The emphasis and importance of the collection stunned the family. The thought to professionally preserve his photographs and papers did not cross their minds. Had the family and their community had better understanding of what public historians are and their role to preserve, they may have reached out for help sooner. It is here better education on the role of the public historian came into play.

The gap created by lack of space and power over interpretation was filled by helping the family preserve and create a space to house the collection. If more people knew how to properly care for and house their items, there would be less push for space in institutions. I sat down with the family on several occasions to explain the process of what I was doing with the objects. In turn, when I delivered them back to the family I will review with them how to handle, store, and care for the objects. The gap relating to power and narrative is quite simple; because the collection resides with the family, it cannot be broken apart or information misconstrued.

Doing the Work: Preservation in Motion

For my work with this project, it was imperative that I move collection to the Rutherford County Archives for temporary hold. From there I laid each photo and document out individually to access them and formulate a plan. The creation of an excel spreadsheet to itemize and document each artifact's condition was imperative. This clerical work helped to organize the collection and understand its needs and limitations. There are eighty-one artifact's within the Horace Stegall World War Two Collection, six United States Army documents and seventy-four historic photographs. Any and all handling of the collection was done so with proper precautions and safety, i.e., the use of cotton gloves and archival materials.

I began by assessing the military documents first. I laid them on an appropriate surface and gave them working titles. I next evaluated them individually for damage and decay, making note of the discoloration, fading, staining, and tearing. From this inspection I found many of the documents showed exposure to moisture. Such damage was a concern for the longevity of the collection.

I followed similar steps with the photographs, laying each one out and conducting an overview of the collection. As there were more photographs than documents, I needed to take a different approach. I would not simply just lay them out and start filling in the spreadsheet. It was decided it would be better to group each of the photographs by characteristics: 'Architecture' for any photos with buildings, 'Concentration Camp' for any photos pertaining to the Boelcke-Kaserne Concentration Camp, 'Landscape' and 'People.' Careful deliberation of where each photo belonged was a lengthy process. One photo had the potential to pertain to several of the categories and is labeled as such. I then gave loose titles to each photo based upon what is pictured. The categories made it easier to find photos until I assigned their final names. Next came a careful assessment of the integrity of each photograph for damage and decay. Conversation between myself, Rutherford County Archivist John Lodl, and historic photograph specialist Amy Thompson devised a plan as to how I could best preserve the collection.

Each photograph title, assessment of the photograph, and accompanying notes were added to the spreadsheet. As for the assessment of each photo, I began looking for damage such as ripping, tearing, bending, cracking, discoloration, staining or fading. All of these components could lead to deterioration of the photographs, assessment and preservation are crucial to the ongoing longevity of the collection. When assessing the artifacts, it is important to note any issue big or small. Larger issues are of great concern. As with the separation documents, the photos gave an abundance of important information about the collection and Stegall's story. For instance, I was able to find most of the architecture in each photo, meaning I could place Stegall on a map. The photographs also allowed us to investigate the mind of the man. Priceless information can be found within the artifacts. Cleaning came after naming and categorization. I dusted each photograph with a horsehair brush, as it is soft and will not cause damage to photographs if used properly.

The next step in the preservation process was scanning. The Rutherford County Archives staff were a huge help in the preservation process of the collection. The archives allowed me to use its Epson "V700Photo" scanner for each artifact. The DPI of each scan varied based off the objects contents, clarity, and detail. For example, photographs such as "St. Sebaldus Cathedral, Nuremberg, Germany," received a higher quality scan so I could assess the architectural qualities for identification. This particular cathedral holds unique markings, such as cut-out section on the top of the right spire and the lip that dips which connects the spire's base

towards the top. Another great example was scanning the handwritten text on the backs of the photograph or the print on the separation paperwork. The ink from any of the documents will fade and smudge over time. Those images should be scanned in a higher quality for preservation and general readability. The front and back of each object were scanned and titled accordingly.

After scanning was complete there was no further need to physically handle the collection. It was imperative to touch the collection as little as possible and keep it away from light. That being said, the next step was placing the artifacts in proper preservation folders. I used acid free archival envelopes for each of the photographs and a flip top archival box for storage. I added a handmade acid free paper mechanism to push the photographs flush against the back of the box. By doing, overtime the curling of the photographs will lessen to ensure there is not further cracking. All eight of the separation documents and their corresponding envelopes were placed in their own acid free archival folders. The final step was combining all of the objects by placing them in a larger archival box and storing them within the archives for safekeeping until their return.

After the physical preservation of the collection came the much larger task of research. The Stegall friends and family wanted more than just the collection preserved; they wanted his story narrated and saved as well. To say I started in one place and made my way down a list would be untrue; the research process was quite chaotic and difficult. Beginning to assess the separation paperwork was the start, I then moved into photograph identification. The contents of both as well as the history of the 104th Infantry Division would lead me in a reasonable direction. I cross referenced all three things and just dove in. Starting with the separation paperwork, I gathered regular information like dates and induction information, travel, and

separation, in time I created a general timeline with numerous gaps. By researching the 104th Infantry Division's history within *Timberwolf Tracks*, I understood their general route.⁹⁰ I wrote down towns and cities which could be associated with the photographs.

The largest help with photograph research was *Timberwolf Tracks*, and an image reverse search engine. I took low resolution scans which I had watermarked in photoshop and inputted them into the engine. I began with more prevalent pieces of architecture like St. Sebaldus Cathedral in Nuremberg or the photograph of Eltz Castle. Taking images that looked similar and matching the architecture from the scans, then matching it with the maps from the book. The process was not easy by any means, I spent entire days deliberating the cross-referenced images. I found St. Sebladus to be one of the trickier ones to identify. The architecture of the cathedral was so similar to other cathedrals around Germany, and yet so different. Indicators like the gap in the right-hand spire made it difficult. The gap is not obviously present upon first glace and could only be confirmed by a corresponding photograph of Nuremberg with the cathedral in the background.

After photograph identification I moved to general research related to Stegall's movements throughout Germany. It was difficult to create a concrete timeline. Estimating Stegall's movements around Germany required various research outlets, like *Timberwolf Tracks*, and the *Army Almanac's* combat chronology for the 104th Infantry Division.

⁹⁰ Leo Hoegh and Howard Doyle, *Timberwolf Tracks: The History of the 104*th Infantry Division 1942-1945, (Washington: Infantry Journal Press, (2014)

Setup for Success

Upon the completion of preservation and research, the collection will be safely returned to the Stegall family. Their wish to keep the collection in a home environment means my scope for this project reaches beyond research and general preservation. I will need to visit the home and designate a safe and reliable space for the collection for the future. My funding from The Nancy Rupprecht Scholarship for the Study of Contemporary Germany helped to fund the supplies needed for this endeavor. To fight humidity and moisture I have purchased a dehumidifier. For further protection, I have purchased a temperature and humidity gauge, and I will monitor for bugs and other pests in the future.

For continued efforts in consideration for the collection as well as the Stegall family, I have offered services for any further needs for the collection. If the family feels they need extra preservation assistance or wishes to place the collection elsewhere, I will be available in the future. To ensure the collection's longevity I have reserved some money from the scholarship for a preservation fund for any issues in the future.

Chapter Four: Assessment of the Collection

The heart of the Horace Stegall World War Two Collection are the photographs he took in Europe. The collection includes seventy-four black and white photographs, with sixty-six of the photographing having back printing. Back printing is where photo paper manufacturers place their logos, on the reverse side of the photograph to signify the brand. The most common back printing from this collection is "Agfa-Lupex," "Afga-Brovira," and "Velox." These terms are especially helpful in dating each of the photographs. For the photographs labeled Agfa-Lupex or Agfa-Brovira, the first term is the manufacturer and the second indicates the brand name. Velox is simply just the manufacturers name created by the Eastman Kodak Company.⁹¹

Paul Mendelssohn Bartholdy and Carl Alexander von Martius founded Agfa, known today as Agfa-Gevaert in 1867. The company began as a dye and stain factory in Rummelsburg, Germany. Agfa has made significant changes in products and fields over the last one hundred and fifty years. Starting as producers of photograph paper and dye in 1894, the company began dabbling in the world of healthcare and technology in 1947 with the creation of their x-ray films. Today Agfa is a corporation which specializes in digital imaging products, software, and systems.

Agfa played a major and complex role in World War Two for the Nazi party. First, they were the largest photographic manufacturer in Germany from the 1920s into the 1940s. Agfa had international ambitions to be the prominent photography manufacturer, rivaling the Eastman Kodak Company of the United States. By 1939,

⁹¹ Paul Messier, "Notes on Dating Photographic Paper," *Topics of Photograph Preservation,*. 11 (2005): 125-126.

Agfa had successfully placed their cameras and photopaper in the hands of most of the Nazi soldiers.⁹²

Photography was popular among soldiers on both sides, as many had never left their home countries prior to the war. For both Allied and Axis soldiers, photography taken during the Second World War had an almost tourist quality about it.⁹³ The other component Agfa played for the Third Reich was deeply disturbing and gruesome. In 1925 companies like Agfa, BASF, Bayer, and Hoechst signed a merger contract for creation of the corporation I.G. Farbenindustrie. Also known as IG Faben, the company produced the Zyklon B chemical that the Nazis used to exterminate the enslaved in their concentration camps.⁹⁴

George Eastman founded the Eastman Kodak Company in 1880. The company began by manufacturing dry plates but moved on to incorporate motion pictures in 1889. In 1912 the company made its way into the world of printing and publishing. By the First World War Kodak had grown immensely in popularity and prestige. As with most American brands it wished to support the war and did so by the establishment of a photographic school intended to train Allied pilots for the purpose of aerial reconnaissance.⁹⁵ Kodak continued similar efforts again during the Second World War, when it began production of various products for the United States Government.⁹⁶ However, Kodak did not just support Allied war efforts, the company additionally produced similar goods for the Nazi party. During events like

⁹² Hartmut Berghoff and Berti Kolbow, "Flourishing in a Dictatorship: Agfa's Marketing and the Nazi Regime," 86-89.

⁹³ Berghoff and Kolbow, "Flourishing in a Dictatorship," 86.

⁹⁴ United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Bayer," *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, <u>https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/bayer</u>.

⁹⁵ Douglas Collins, *The Story of Kodak* (New York: Harry N Abrams Inc., 1990,) 150-151.

⁹⁶ Ibid. 242-244.

Germany's occupation of France in 1940 the company used its French facilities to support the Nazi war effort.⁹⁷

Twenty-three photographs in the collection contain the Velox logo, thirty-six contain the Agfa-Lupex logo, and seven contain the Agfa-Bavaria logo. Specific logo changes on the back printing of photographs are key indicators of the timeframe in which the photo was taken and printed. As for the Horace Stegall Collection, the logos Agfa-Lupex and Agfa-Brovira correlate to their manufacture prior to the 1950s, confirming these photographs had to have been taken during World War Two. The photos printed on the Kodak paper, which have the logo as "Velox," also indicate a specific timeframe. The Kodak logo for printed material after the 1950s was displayed as "Kodak/Velox/Paper." That logo was used until the 1960s when it changed once again. Photographs displaying just "Velox" are dated between the late 1920s to the late 1940s. Although this timeframe is large, it is safe to assume that the photos with that logo from the collection are from the Second World War, as they meet the time criteria of when Stegall was there. The timeframe of these photos is confirmed not just by their innate qualities, but additionally from the Stegall family themselves.⁹⁸

There are only eight photographs without any logos or indication of time frame, but as all subject matter within the collection fits a similar style, aesthetic, and are in similar vicinities of the other photographs, it is safe to assume the same time period. For example, the Müngstener Brücke photograph lies approximately thirtyfive miles east of the town of Zons. Or, the assumed Water Castle is less than seven miles from Düsseldorf. In addition, not all Agfa photopaper had back printing.

⁹⁷ Ibid. 255.

⁹⁸ Messier, "Notes on Dating Photographic Paper," 125-126.

Gaps Presented in the Project

Each image held its own silences and presented its own gaps. There were the photographs I could locate, but could not find information, such as the water castle. Or photographs I couldn't locate, leaving uncertainty about where Stegall might have been. Some of photographs I could not identify as being taken during Stegall's timeframe in Europe, included ones without back printing. I dated other images but they in turn dated to years before he was drafted. The documents left several gaps as well, they both lacked or added too much time, making the timeline skewed and confusing. One example is his separation paperwork. But the largest gap came from his solo missions; I could not place him at certain times in certain places.

I found it difficult to accept that I could not locate the origin of each photograph. The failure was concerning because it meant that Stegall's entire journey in Europe remained unknown. Locating physical places from the photographs was not a simple task. There were some photographs I had no hope of identifying if at all, without external assistance.

The photos taken in the San Francisco Japanese Tea Garden was one example. Where was this place? In Europe, in the United States? A graduate student colleague Victoria Peck looked at the images based on her prior visit to the Japanese Tea Gardens in San Francisco in the past, she thought Stegall's 31.81 photograph looked exactly like something she had seen. After cross referencing, I confirmed her hunch.

When was Stegall in San Francisco? An interview with Greg Allen, Stegall's former son in law, confirmed why he was in San Francisco. Another graduate student colleague, Brandon Stephens, a military historian discussed with me the United States Army's points system whereas after the end of World War Two, men who were drafted and did not have enough points to leave the army, were placed elsewhere until

they did.⁹⁹ During World War Two, U.S. Army servicemen were required to obtain a certain number of points before they could be discharged. Points were accrued based off how long that service member had served overseas, the number of decorations awarded, how many campaigns they had fought in, and how many children they had.¹⁰⁰ The running theory was that Stegall was placed in San Francisco serving out his time until he gathered enough points. My interview with Greg Allen confirmed insight. Allen stated that Stegall had worked as a guard at Alcatraz until discharge later in 1945.¹⁰¹

I find it important to note that my research materials from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and other academic resources were abundantly helpful, but without the oral histories from Stegall's friends and family this narrative would not be possible. Oral histories are stories yet to be physically documented; they are history and heritage passed down and stored in a figurative family archive. History books tell stories of history's "important" and powerful people, but everyday men and women have powerful stories as well! Wars are not won by singular powerful men and women, but by the many everyday people that execute the actions in harmony.

Mr. Stegall's physical movements did not mirror that of his division. *Timberwolf Tracks* documents the 104th Infantry Division's movements as best it can. Regiments within the division did not move in unison, but each regiment within has their own objectives and completed missions separately. Maps of the division's

⁹⁹ Brandon Stephens, "After fighting was over he likely came back to the US but didn't have enough points to leave the Army (servicemen got points based on time served, number of battles, etc. and couldn't leave the Army until they hit a certain number of points)," Email to author, March 29, 2023. ¹⁰⁰ "The Points Were All That Mattered: The US Army's Demobilization After World War II," the war, The National WWII Museum: New Orleans,

https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/points-system-us-armysdemobilization#:~:text=GIs%20more%20commonly%20referred%20to,how%20many%20children%20 they%20had.

¹⁰¹ Greg Allen, Oral history interview with Morgan Condrey, June 22, 2023.

general movements did not match up with the physical locations of Stegall's photographs. Why was Stegall hundreds of miles south of his division? The working theory comes from oral histories with family members. Each person described Stegall informing them of his additional duties, ones that fell outside the realm of his automotive mechanic position and were actually solo reconnaissance missions. Conversations between all of them detail Stegall trekking across Germany alone with a camera to gather information for his division. He described being assigned the task while also noting he stayed with various German families as he traveled. This oral testimony not only solves the displaced photograph sites, but how he came into possession of a camera to capture these moments in time.

A research trip to Germany in the summer of 2023 which was funded by the Nancy Rupprecht for the Study of Contemporary Germany, helped to fill a plethora of gaps. One of the most important gaps filled in this narrative comes from the concentration camp photographs. It was originally assumed based off scan 025, which states "Nordhausen Germany 1945 104th Infantry Division 7th Corps," that the camp presented was Mittelbau-Dora. The National Timberwolf Association's website pertaining to the division's liberation of Nazi concentration camps only details Mittelbau Dora.¹⁰² The academic literature seemed to support the same narrative as "Timberwolf Tracks" solely mentioning Mittelbau-Dora.¹⁰³ However, during my visit to the Mittelbau-Dora site while in Germany, I had the opportunity to meet with Anett Dremel, the provisional director of the Mittelbau-Dora Concentration camp memorial and head of its documentation centre and library.

¹⁰² "Mittelbau Dora Concentration Camp: Nordhausen, Germany," National Timberwolves Association, <u>http://www.104infdiv.org/concamp.htm</u>.

¹⁰³ Lt.-Col. Leo A. Hoegh, "Timberwolf Tracks: The History of the 104th Infantry Division, 1942-1945," Arcole Publishing, 457-464.

During my visit with Anett, we looked over scans of the photographs and she confirmed the scenes depicted were from the Boelcke-Kaserne and not Mittelbau-Dora. Both of these concentration camps lie within the city of Nordhausen and Boelcke-Kaserne is a sub-camp of Mittelbau-Dora, but they are not the same place. Mittelbau-Dora lies on the outskirts of Nordhausen whereas Boelcke-Kaserne was more centered in the town. The photographs could be placed in Boelcke-Kaserne as the background of each photo depicts large garage-like buildings which match the two structures offered in research on the site.

In addition is artifact 027, which pictures what is assumed to be a German water castle. Research has left me virtually empty-handed on the history, purpose, or name of the building. I did identify its location. There was no way of confirming the picture found on the search engine was the same as the collection's photo without venturing to the site. Although I can confirm the site to the photograph, I still struggle to define what the building is/was.

Even with proper documentation from Stegall's separation paperwork, gaps were still present. There are time periods I have no idea where he is or what he is doing. For example, Stegall was inducted October 14, 1944, and left for the ETO March 7, 1945, a period of four months and twenty-one days. His paperwork explains that he attended basic training for four months. Additionally, he attended school to become an automotive mechanic for thirteen weeks which matches his 'summary of military occupations.' The almost five months between induction and leaving for France does not leave time for both basic training and his training as an automotive mechanic. We will never truly know why the dates from certain pieces of paperwork do not correlate with others.

The final gap I will raise is the physical timeline of the photographs and Stegall movements through Germany. We have the photographs with no real indicators of when they were taken or in what order. This lack of information means we have no way of accurately tracking Stegall as he moved, but more importantly why. His paperwork seems to suggest he was an automobile mechanic, but Stegall's stories and the photographs tell otherwise. He recounts taking the photographs while working on solo reconnaissance, staying alone with German families, and traveling to places in which his infantry division did not. As I write Horace Stegall's narrative, I must be cautious and attentive to all of this information in my attempts to recount his experiences.

The Excel Spreadsheet

I created an Excel spreadsheet for the collection, one that would be useful for future preservationists as well as the family. The Excel spreadsheet has eight cells on the x-axis and eight-two on the y-axis. The y-axis consists of the number of artifacts within in the collection. The x-axis holds more descriptive information. The first cell numbers the object within the collection. It can be traced on each archival folder, within the titles of scans on the OneDrive, and on the flash drives. This number indicates each artifact's place in the physical collection. The second cell are the titles of each object which can be found in all three places as well.

The third, fourth, and fifth cells detail the preservation, damages, and deterioration of the objects. The information offered here ranges from overall damages, discoloration, fading, cracking, staining, etc. The overall damage range is scaled from one to five, one being 'good' to indicate the best condition, and five being 'severe' to indicate the worst condition. This scale ranks the decay of artifacts within the collection and offers notes and concerns for the family and future

preservationists. Noting and keeping an eye of the decay of the artifacts can ensure their longevity. A person can view the spreadsheet and understand if further action needs to be taken, such as if one were to find increased water damage, that would indicate better monitoring of the room's humidity and temperature control. The third cell details the integrity of the front of the artifact, the fourth the artifacts back, and fifth the four edges. The sixth cell is for notes about each object. Such as preservation indicators, back-printing notes, translations, and numbering systems. The seventh cell are the tags for each object, which separates its contents into five categories based off of the objects contents. "A" for photos with attributes relating to architecture, "CC" for photos related to Nazi concentration camps, "D" for documents, "L" for photos displaying landscapes, and "P" for photos displaying persons/people. Column eight are the scan numbers associated with each object. These numbers can be found on the preservation folders, OneDrive, and flash drives.

This system makes finding information on the collection manageable. The spreadsheet is an important component of the preservation process. It works as a preservation report, archival system, small database, and keeps the collection organized. All information was inputted as I worked with the collection.

Preservation Conclusions

The collection has two major sections: The photographs and the separation papers. In the case of the separation documents the overall issue is humidity, water damage, bending, and tearing. Most, if not all of the documents had various levels of damage and deterioration as a result with contact to some form of moisture, resulting in curls and crinkling on the edges of the documents. The greatest issue is the tearing and folding which is indicated best on "Army of the United States Separation Qualification Copy 3 Front-side 009." Without care the damage could lead to a point

the document is unsalvageable. Although most would think to straighten it back out before being placed back in the collection, I was instructed to simply leave it how it was. Because the paper is so fragile, by bending it in a way the paper does not feel is natural can cause further damage. The best option is to keep them lightly pressed in their acid free archival folders and in a dark environment with low humidity. By keeping the documents pressed it eliminates any further ripping or bending. The dark environment ensures the documents do not fade or continue to yellow. Both of these issues are not brought about by poor preservation. The acid from the papers causes yellowing, the ink smears and bleeds over time, and light bleaches the pages.

As for the photographs, multiple preservation approaches are necessary, to address a different conditions as each photograph has different needs. Proper storage in a dark environment with low humidity is a start. The photographs are also curling due to age, meaning they could not simply be placed in folders. The issue of curling is not brought about by poor preservation, but is a natural process brought about by time. Best practice has them stored in their own individual acid free folders and placed flush against the back of an archival flip-top box. The flattening of the photographs must be a gentle and slow process, as not to cause any cracking from sudden bending. If it does crack it will permanently damage the face of the artifact. A good example of concerning cracking is on the photograph titled "Two people in a Canoe with Cochem Castle in Background." There is a large crack on the upper lefthand side of the face of the artifact. Scratches and staining are other concerning elements. There issues can easily be solved by leaving them in their designated folders.

The final and larger issue comes from the fading and discoloration. Fading and discoloration is a natural process of photograph deterioration. It comes from

exposure to light, contact with oils from the skin, and improper storage and handling. Light causes bleaching and discoloration as a result of the paper they are printed on. But fading, staining, and discoloration also come from handling them. It is best practice with photograph preservation to refrain from handling images with your bare hands or pulling them out of their folders. Keeping the objects in their boxes and sleeves ensures their longevity; by handling we are only speeding up the deterioration process. When personally working with photographs I used clean cotton gloves, kept them out of light as much as possible, and ran scans in various formats with the intention the collection is not removed after completion of preservation.

Artifacts are composed of organic materials and are not meant to last. Paper disintegrates over time and ink bleeds and fades. Historic preservation is not a time stopping mechanism, but one that attempts to slow the process to the best of its abilities. As we move forward, these photographs and documents will be lost to time, as nature moves through its cycle. For the time being though, we made necessary alternations to their environments to keep these objects with us as long as possible. In addition to the physical artifacts are the scans taken in a high DPI to best reflect their contents. The scans have been saved in various formats and in various places and may outlive the life of the physical artifacts themselves.

The images featured in this chapter come from The Horace Stegall World War Two Collection, many of the photos have a corresponding modern-day image, these were taken on a research trip to Germany in August 2023. A number of photographs are titled based of writing found on the back. For example, the seven Boelcke-Kaserne images are labeled based off Stegall's writing on the back as he labeled the images one through seven. Any images from Boelcke-Kaserne have been censored to prevent the objectification of the deceased victims.

Chapter Five: Catalog of the Collection

White House to Horace Stegall Letter, 1.81:

A letter written to Stegall thanking him for his service during the World War II is signed by President Harry Truman.

Preservation: The front has mild discoloration and a stain on the center left. The back has slight discoloration and small stains on the top. All four edges have line lines of discoloration, there is bending at each corner. All seven separation documents have water damage.

Horace Stegall Collection

HORACE STEGALL

To you who answered the call of your country and served in its Armed Forces to bring about the total defeat of the enemy, I extend the heartfelt thanks of a grateful Nation. As one of the Nation's finest, you undertook the most severe task one can be called upon to perform. Because you demonstrated the fortitude, resourcefulness and calm judgment necessary to carry out that task, we now look to you for leadership and example in further exalting our country in peace.

HangKunas

THE WHITE HOUSE

Figure 1

Enlistment Record and Report of Separation Front/ Army of United States Honorable Discharge, 2.81:

The front of this document states that Horace Stegall was honorably discharged from the United States Army. The back of this document offers a lot of information in relation to Stegall's military service, which are broken down into three main sections. The first section is general personal information, which can be found on several separation documents. The second is his military history, which includes his occupation, campaigns, decorations as well as service dates and places. The third section is Stegall's pay data.

Preservation: The front has slight discoloration and noticeable bending from the left to center. The back has slight discoloration. All corners are bent, the worst on the left.

LISTED RECORD AND REPORT HONORABLE DISCHAR *PFC 44 026 210 TEGALL, HORACE PLATOON, 6TH ARMY SEPARATION CENTER FT BRAG Inited 20 APR 26 5'9" RED TUDENT, HIGH SCHOOL 14 OCT 44 FT JACKSON, S.C MECHANIC (014) Honorable Discharge TRAL EUROPE SERVICE MEDAL, GOOD CONDUCT MEDAL, WORLD WAR II VICTORY MEDAL This is to certify that E STEGALL 44 026 210 PRIVATE FIRST CLASS 9DEC44 TYPH 23APR45 18 MAR 45 3 JUL 45 7 MAR 45 ETO Army of the United States orably Discharged from the is hereby Ho PEC ice of the United States of America. tificate is awarded as a testimon OVT RR 1-1 DEMOBILIZATION AR 615-365 15 DEC 44 ial of Ho Faithful Service to this country. TOO" NONE 13.90 150.83 H N E SEPARATION CENTER FORT BRAGG NORTH CAROLIN Gi nat 30 SEP 46 . 6.40 Onate 8 AUGUST 1946 20 MIC 10 1046 9 39 MI ANDERSON S. C Horace Stegall Horace Stegall Collectio

Figure 2

Enlistment Record and Report of Separation Honorable Discharge: Single Sided, 3.81

This document is a copy of the front of 2.81.

Preservation: The front has noticeable discoloration as well as bending on the bottom left to center. The back has noticeable discoloration. All four edges have some form of damage, but the bottom and right edges have the most noticeable bending and tearing.

			IETED		D AND I		T DE 9	FPA	PATIO	IN	
		ENI	LISTED		RABLE			JEFA	RAILE		
	AME - FIRST NAM	-		HUNC		SERIAL NO.	3. GRA	DE	4. ARM OR S	ERVICE	S. COMPONEN
	LL, HOR				44 02	26 210	PF	:	CMP		AUS
6. ORGANI	ZATION			h		OF SEPARATIO		CE OF SEI			TRACO
NP PL	ATOON.	OTH A	G PURPOSES	200	B AUK		OF BIRTH		II. PLACE OF		T BRAGO
*	10047	10.0	and the state		h		APR 26		ENDLE	TON,	S.C.
Section States	SS FROM WHICH	EMPLOYME	INT WILL BE SOUG	нт		13. COLOR	EYES 14. COL		519"	16. WE	Gas. 0
SEE 9	RACE	19.			20. U.S. CITIZ	EN 21. CIVIL	IAN OCCUPATIO	ON AND NO			
XITE NE	GRO OTHER (SP	ecity) sinc	LE MARRIED OTH		YES NO	HISTO	DENT, I	HIGH	SCHOO	L (X-	-02)
22. DATE	OF INDUCTION	23. 0	ATE OF ENLISTM	ENT 24. DAT	E OF ENTRY INTO ACT		S. PLACE OF	ENTRY INT	O SERVICE		1
14 001	T 44	_	- Carlos	14 24. COUNTY AN	OCT 44		. HOME ADD	T JAC	KSON,	S.C.	RVICE
SELECTIVE SERVICE DATA	No		CAL S.S. BOARD NO.		TON. S.C		SEE 9				
30. MILIT	TARY OCCUPATION		and the second s	1. 1. 1. 1. S.	31. MILIT	ART QUALIFICATIO			, aviation ar	nd marksn	anship badges
	LES AND CAMPA		NIC (014	1)	MM 30	CAL I	GIFLE I				
	AL EURO										
12 150	PATIONS AND C	TATION			DAL WITH	A ONE I	200475	scou	HEF C	TAP	AMEDICA
THEAT	FR SERV	ICE	MEDAL.	GOOD CO	NDUCT M	EDAL.	WORLD I	NAR I	I VIC	TORY	MEDAL
1. 1	NDS RECEIVED IN										
NONE	IDS RECEIVED IN	N ACTION									
35. SHALLPOX	с Түрно		INMUNIZATION DA	TES OTHER (SP	ecify)	36. DATE OF DEP		DESTINAT	TION	U. S. AND	RETURN
15DEC			DEC44	TYPH 23	APR45	7 MAR	45	ET	0	1	18 MAR 1
37.	TOTAL LEN	GTH OF SE			T GRADE HELD	S JUN		US	A		3 JUL 4
YEARS	ENTAL SERVICE	YEARS	MONTHS DAYS								
39. PRIO	R SERVICE	0	3 2	PFC						1995	1000
NONE											
	SON AND AUTHOR	RITY FOR S	EPARATION					1			
ONVN	OF GON	T.RR	1-1 DE	40BILIZ	ATION A	8 615-	365 15	DEC	44	42.	EDUCATION (Yes
TT. SERVI	CE-SCHOOLS AT	TENDED			1.00					Gramman	High School
NONE					PAY	DATA			NT. NAME OF		A OFFICER
43. LONG	MONTHS DA		44. MUSTERIN	G OUT PAY		5		- 0-			
4	9 8	5	300	100	HURTY-ONE DAYS	E NOTICE	INSURANCE	1.05	I NO L	CRIME N	
IMPOR	TANT TO THE	E 49.	HOW PAID	SO. Effective Da ment Discon	HIRTY-ONE DAYS TO COLLECTIONS I	Date of Next Pre		PREMIUM	DUE 53.	INTENT	TON OF VETERAN
Nat. Serv.	U.S. Govt. No	one Allota	ment Direct to V. A.				ner so)	· 6.4	0	stinue C	ontinue Only Di
A		A		31 AUG	completion of a	bove items o	r entry of oth		1 Commence	W. D. D	irectives)
	and the second	2									
		EA	APEL BU	E (2 SE	P 45) 20	0					
		INB I	DATE OF	RANK 1	1 MAY 4	5			C.	11	- 11 ···
		PRINT					H	orac	e Steg	gall (Collecti
1. 1. 1. 1. 1.	NATURE OF PERS	ON BEING	SEPARATED	57.	PERSONNEL OFFIC	ER (Type no	me, grade ar	nd organiz	zation - sign	ature)	-
56. SIGN											
56. SIGN					E EMERS	ON					

Figure 3

Army of the United States Separation Qualification Record Copy One, 4.81

This document is a record of job assignments and special training received in the United States Army; it is given to the soldier when they leave the service. The front details Stegall's personal information, date of entry and separation, his military occupational assignments, and a summary of his military occupation. The back discusses his military education, civilian education, and any additional information.

Preservation: The front has slight discoloration with indicators of exposure to humidity or liquids, as a result, the text is smeared and there is prevalent curling. The back has mild discoloration and similar indications of exposure to water. There are small stains throughout. All four edges have noticeable curling.

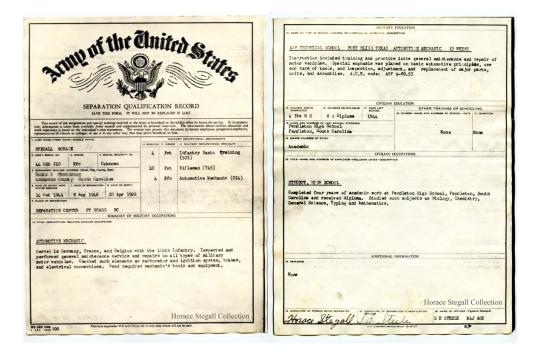


Figure 4

Army of the United States Separation Qualification Record Copy Two, 5.81

This is a copy of the artifact 4.81.

Preservation: The front and back have mild discoloration and some ink staining from the text. All four edges have bending and indications of exposure to water.

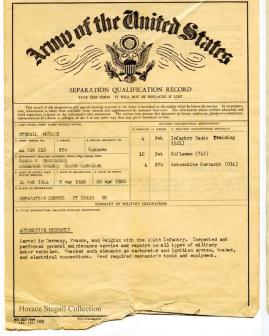
of the Eln	id	14. NAME ON TYPE OF SCHOOL-COURSE ON CUMBICULUM-DURATION-DES	DRUPTION		
of the Cln	14.4				
	IPA A	ASF TECHNICAL SCHOOL FORT BLISS TEXAS.	AUTOMOTIVE MECHANIC 13 WEEKS		
Army of the Cla	Stilles	Instruction included training and practic motor vehicles. Special esphasis was pla- and care of tools, and imprection, adjust units, end assemblies. A.O.E. code: ASI	ment, and replacement of major parts.		
		CIVILIAN	EDUCATION		
- Mar		15 HIGHEST GRADE 16. DEGREES OR DIFLOMAS 17. YEAR LEFT	OTHER TRAINING OR SCHOOLING		
SEPARATION QUALIFICAT		4 Yrs H S H S Diploma 1944	20. COURSE-NAME AND ADDRESS OF SCHOOL-DATE 21. DURATION		
SAVE THIS FORM. IT WILL NOT BE RE	A LOUDER A C LI LI LI D PI A				
This record of job assignments and special training received in the Army is furnish as information is taken from available Army records and supplemented by personal ark experience is based on the individual's own statements. The veteran may present	ed to the soldier when he leaves the service. In its prepara- interview. The information about civilian education and to this document to former employers, prospective employers,	Tendleton High School ATTENDED Pendleton, South Carolina	None None		
resentatives of actions of coneges, of use it in any other way that may prove below	ctar to max	18. MAJOR COURSES OF STUDY			
AST NAME-FIRST NAME-MIDDLE INITIAL	MILITARY OCCUPATIONAL ASSIGNMENTS	Academic			
TECALL HORACE	The second se	CIVILIAN	OCCUPATIONS		
THY SERIAL NO. 3. GRADE 4. SOCIAL SECURITY NO. 4	Pvt Infantry Basic Training	22. TITLE-NAME AND ADDRESS OF EMPLOYER-INCLUSIVE DATES-DESCRIP			
	(521)				
4 026 210 Pfc Unknown IO RMANNERT MARLING ADDRESS (Street, City, Crewity, Siste) 10	Pvt Rifleman (745)	and the second second second second			
into I Persiliante	Pfc Automotive Mechanic (014)	STUDENT, HI GH SCHOOL			
andersten försatt gri fligarde flavelstern. 4	FIC AUCOMOCIVE ACCIDING (OM)				
ATE OF ENTRY INTO 7. DATE OF SEPARATION & DATE OF BIRTH	frank and the state water of state	Completed four years of academic work at	Pendleton High School, Pendleton, South		
14 Oct 1944 8 Aug 1946 20 Apr 1926	the second second in anti-	Carolina and received diploma. Studied s General Science, Typing and Mathematics.	uch subjects as Biology, Chemistry,		
LACE OF SEPARATION	and a loss of the same of the same of the	General Science, Typing and Mathematics.			
SEPARATION CENTER FT BRAGG NC					
SUMMARY OF MILITARY OCCU	IRATIONS				
SUNSTART OF MILITART OCCU	TAILONS				
UTOMOTIVE MECHANIC					
Served in Germany, France, and Belgium with the 10	04th Infantry. Inspected and	ADDITIONAL	L INFORMATION		
setemad seneral maintenance service and renairs	on all types of military	23. REMARKS			
motor vehicles. Checked such elements as carbured and electrical connections. Used required mechani	icis tools and equipment.	the state should will be the			
and electrical connections. Used required mechan:	To.a coote an edations	None			
			Horace Segall Collec		
		24. SIGNATURE OF PERSON BEING SEPARATED 25. SUGNATURE OF SET	PARATION CLASSIFICATION 28. NAME OF OFFICER (Typed or Stamped		
	Hannas Staarll Callestian	Harres Strach I a Vi	S E STEELE MAJ AGD		
	Horace Stegall Collection	around sugar J. 6. M	lette min		
and the say where a c			atias proce - O-457477		

Figure 5

Army of the United States Separation Qualification Records Copy Three, 6.81

This is a copy of the artifact 4.81.

Preservation: The front has slight discoloration and a large tear from the bottom-right to center; there is large tear at the bottom. The back has the same problems as the front, tearing and bending, with the bottom edge of the document is the greatest concern.



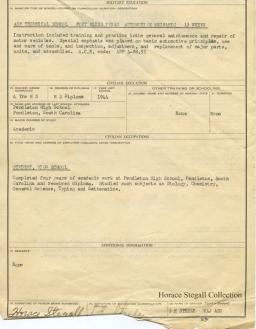


Figure 6

Müngstener Brücke, Solingen, Germany, 07.81:

Located in Solingen, Germany, Müngstener Brücke is the highest railway in the country. Sitting 107 meters high it connects the cities of Remscheid and Solingen. Trains began using the bridge after its opening in January 1897. During World War Two Allied forces made several attempts to destroy the bridge, but today it remains unscathed.¹⁰⁴ The photographer took this image on a hill above what is today that bridge park. Accompanying image was taken on a research trip to Germany in 2023. Preservation: The front of the historic photograph has mild discoloration and three

small cracks towards the upper right-hand corner. The back has level 3 discoloration.

All four edges have thicker stains, and the right corner is slightly bent.

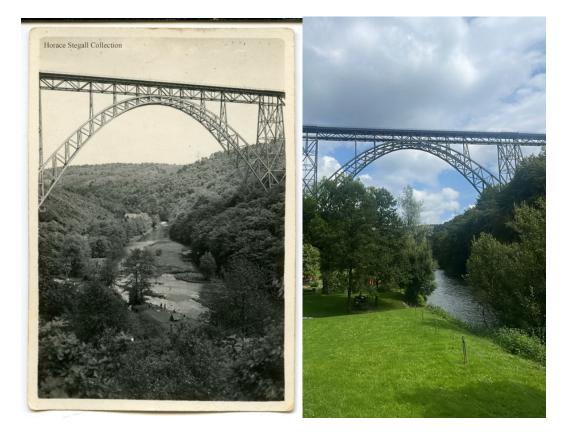


Figure 7

¹⁰⁴ "The Müngstener Brücke Bridge," The Müngstener Brücke Bridge, <u>https://www.die-muengstener-</u> <u>bruecke.de</u>.

Northeast Wall, Zons, Germany 08.81

First mentioned in a will and testament in the seventh century, Zons is a small town in the North Rhine-Westphalia. The town was fortified with its famous wall, in the mid thirteenth century, within Stegall's photograph of the town you can see how that wall still stands in 1945 and well as today. This image was printed on Agfa-Lupex photopaper. The accompanying image was taken on a research trip to Germany in August 2023.

Preservation: The front has mild discoloration. The rear has slight discoloration and a crack on bottom left-hand side. All four edges have thin staining visible from the front and back.





Figure 8

Inner City with Cow, location unknown, 09.81

Pictured is a small cobblestone side street with a cow in the center. The architecture surrounding is of stone and half-timber, which gives evidence towards this street being in Europe. "Agfa-Lupex," is printed on the back. Preservation: There is noticeable discoloration on the front, as well as small staining which is primarily noticeable on the portions of the photo above the center, stone building. The back also has noticeable staining and discoloration. The sides have indications of small thin staining on each side.



Figure 9

St. Matthias Catholic Church, Hellenthal, Germany 10.81

Sitting above the town Hellenthal, the church's origins are unknown, but documentation mentions its existence next to Reifferscheid Castle in 1130 A.D. The building has been reconstructed several times, the most impactful in 1486 and 1865.¹⁰⁵

Preservation: The front of the photograph has slight discoloration and a crack located in the bottom right, the back has mild discoloration. The edges of the artifact have thin staining on all four edges which can be seen on the front and the back.

¹⁰⁵ Notes from field visit to church, in possession of author.

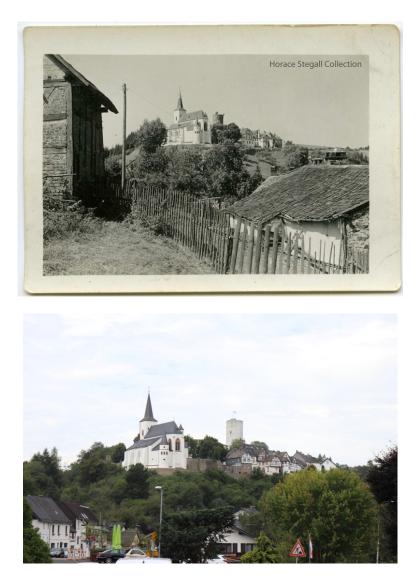
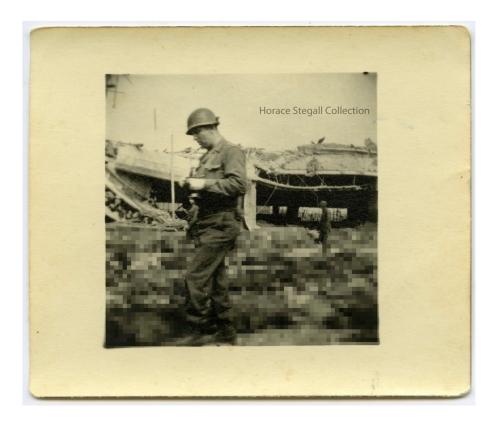


Figure 10

Boelcke-Kaserne Liberation 1 of 7, 11.81:

The first of seven liberation photos, it portrays a military soldier walking through the concentration camp as the deceased are laid on the ground in rows. Towards the back of the photograph there is considerable damage to the building, due to Allied bombing on April 3, 1945. Damage can be seen to buildings throughout the liberation photos. The back lefthand corner of the photo has the number one written in pen, this indicates the start of the Mittelbau-Dora photos. All seven Boelcke-Kaserne photographs are printed on Agfa-Brovira paper.

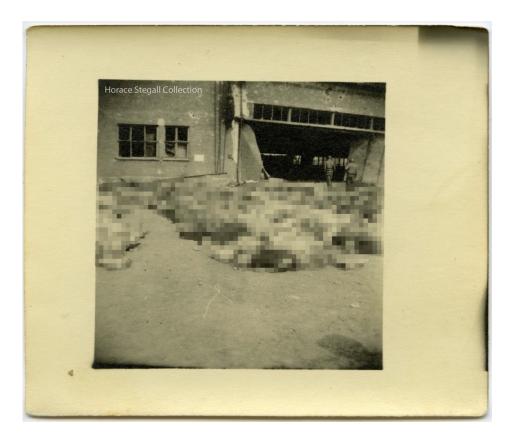
Preservation: The front of this photo has suffered severe discoloration and has small stains throughout. The back is in better condition as discoloration is level 3. All four edges have thin lines of staining.



Boelcke-Kaserne Liberation 2 of 7, 12.81:

This photograph shows rows of murdered Polish and Jewish people, it may detail the haunting experience of their last moments. The back reads, "Most of these people (Polish and Jew) were shot in the back of the head or neck while, apparently, kneeling in prayer." He wrote text on the rear of the photographs as a way to discern what is happening and the purpose of each photo. The bottom lefthand of the back of the photograph has a number two written in blue ink.

Preservation: This photograph has noticeable discoloration on the front. The back has slight discoloration and stains throughout, the largest stain being on the top left. The edges have thick stain lines on each edge and cracking and bending on all four corners.



Boelcke-Kaserne Liberation 3 of 7, 13.81:

All seven of these photographs are a testament to the crimes committed by the Nazi party towards innocent people. This photograph has the deceased within a portion of the camp laid out in two rows. It highlights the emaciation, brutality, and cruelty the enslaved within the camp endured. The number three is placed in the upper left-hand corner to symbolize this photograph's placement within the Boelcke-Kaserne group.

Preservation: The front of the third Boelcke-Kaserne photograph has severe discoloration, the ink towards the bottom lefthand of the picture is smeared a bit. The back has level 3 discoloration, and all four edges have thicker stain lines.



Boelcke-Kaserne Liberation 4 of 7, 14.81:

Several rows of deceased are laid in rows in front of a partially demolished building. This photograph better highlights the destruction and state of the camp at the time of the 104th Infantry Division's arrival. In pen on the back left-hand corner of the photograph is what appears to be the letter 4, based off of the marking's appearance. Although not entirely confirmed, of the seven photographs the only visible number missing was four, so I placed this photograph in that position.

Preservation: As with the previous photograph the front has level five discoloration, the back has level three discoloration, and the edges have thicker staining on all four sides. But the back also has several small stains.



Boelcke-Kaserne Liberation 5 of 7, 15.81:

Pictured in the fifth Boelcke-Kaserne photograph are several military soldiers viewing the deceased whom are laid out on the ground in several rows. During the liberation process of the camp many of the soldiers took their own photographs and made notes just as Stegall did. In many instances commanding officers ordered soldiers to visit camps and view the depravity themselves. Doing so motivated the men and gave them a sense of moral conviction to continue fighting to save others.¹⁰⁶

Preservation: This liberation photograph is in worse condition than the other six. The front has severe discoloration, several small stains, and large cracks from the top right to the left of the artifact. The back has slight discoloration and small stains. The edges have thick stain lines on all sides which can be seen from both front and back. The top left and right edges have both bending and cracking present.



¹⁰⁶ Thersea Lynn Ast, "Confronting the Holocaust: American Soldiers who Liberated the Concentration Camps," (PhD. Dissertation, Emory University, 2000). 100.

Boelcke-Kaserne Liberation 6 of 7, 16.81:

This photograph gives a better picture to the large number of people found murdered at the camp upon arrival. Soldiers are viewing rows of deceased. The back has writing which states, "Nordhausen Germany 1945 104th Infantry Division 7th Corps." The note places these photographs, dates them, and explains who is in the picture.

Preservation: The front of the photograph has slight discoloration and small stains, the back has slight discoloration, and the edges have thin staining with all four corners bent.



Boelcke-Kaserne Liberation 7 of 7, 17.81:

The final photograph in the collection related to Boelcke-Kaserne's liberation pictures several of the Nordhausen civilians moving the deceased to a burial ground. The soldier in the bottom right-hand corner is a military police officer who was probably tasked with ensuring the civilians completed the task. The back of the photographs reads, "The German civilians had to carry the dead P.W. about a mile to a big field where they were buried." It was commonplace for German civilians near concentration camps to be forced to view the camps, as many ignored the issue or tried to pretend that they were ignorant of its existence.¹⁰⁷

Preservation: The front of the photograph has severe discoloration and several stains towards the top. The back also has severe discoloration, while all four edges have thin lines of staining.



¹⁰⁷ Ast, "Confronting the Holocaust," 60-62.

Flowers, 18.81:

The centerpiece for this photograph are peony flowers in full bloom. Although this is not a conventional photograph for a World War Two Collection, it highlights beauty in places one might not expect. The back of the artifact details in German, the camera, lens type, and methods in which the photograph was taken. It is printed on Agfa-Lupex photopaper.

Preservation: The front and back of the artifact have slight discoloration, but overall looks to be in good condition. The edges have some thin staining, as does every other piece in the collection.



Flower with Bee, 19.81:

As with the previous image this photograph also portrays a flower. In it a bee lands on what appears to be a flowering dandelion. The shot is so detailed that one can see each individual hair on the bee's body. The photograph is printed on Agfa-Lupex paper.

Preservation: The front of the photograph has slight discoloration and a small stain on the upper left-hand corner. The back also has slight discoloration as well as various pen markings of which do not appear to be intentional. All four edges have thin stains.



House by the Water, location unknown, 20.81:

A house sits by a river, the scene is delicate and peaceful, foliage and half wood architecture are the highlights.

Preservation: This photograph is one of the few that has severe discoloration, which is a cause for concern, it is primarily visible on the front. The back has slight discoloration, all four edges have thin staining visible from the front and back. The back printing on this image is Agfa-Lupex.



Side street with Stairs, unknown location, 21.81:

This photograph features the interior of a village. As with much European architecture of that time period, there are high cobblestone walls and a staircase leading to a door.

Preservation: The front has noticeable discoloration. The back has slight discoloration and mild stains throughout. All four edges have thin staining from the front and back. This image is printed on Agfa-Lupex photo paper.



Empty Side Street, 22.81:

Portrayed here is a long and narrow street; it winds around buildings and offers more than one path to enter and exit. In the foreground is a wall with an arched opening made of stacked stones. Further in the distance the cobblestone road leads deeper to another wall made of half-timber; the arch is made of stacked stones. This scene is common and could be from any number of German villages.

Preservation: The face and back of the photograph have slight discoloration. A noticeable stain can be seen on the right side of the front. The edges have thicker and more noticeable staining. The back has "Agfa-Lupex" printed.



House with Water Wheel, location unknown, 23.81:

Here the viewer sets their eyes upon what appears to be a well-preserved structure surrounded by forests and a field. Consisting of a stacked stone base, the structure then leads up towards traditional half-timber architecture which sits just under the roof in the shape of a triangle. Both stacked stone and half-timber are common forms of construction in Germany. The back of this photograph holds many questions, dates stamped throughout in German, ranging from January 1931 to March 1932. The most extravagant and most recent stamp found on the bottom left. In German it reads, "Wasserport club, 1. März 1932, Düsseldorf-Heerdt," which translates to 'Watersports Club, March 1, 1932.' Düsseldorf-Heerdt refers to the city and quarter in which the photo was stamped for the last time. It is likely that Stegall did not take this photograph as it dates to years prior to his deployment to Europe.

Preservation: The front of the photograph is in good condition, with only mild discoloration. The back has slight discoloration. As with most of the photographs, all four edges have thin staining on the front and back. The bottom right of the artifact has a small bend in the corner, there is not much cause for concern as the bend does not impede on the picture itself but should remain monitored.





Empty Street with Homes, unknown location, 24.81:

This photograph depicts an empty European cobblestone street lined with houses from an unknown European village. The simplicity of this photo should be noted, as with a number of photographs from this collection it appears to have been taken out of mere interest. The homes all contain similar architectural elements, stacked brick or stones and half-timber make this street a site typical to a German town or city as it matches a particular aesthetic. This artifact was printed on Agfa-Lupex photo paper.

Preservation: Both the front and back of the artifact have slight discoloration, the front being a little more noticeable. All four edges have thin staining noticeable from the front and back. There is minor cause for concern for all four of the corners which indicate very slight bending.



Elz Castle, 25.81:

Taken from a dense forest-covered mountain, this photograph presents Eltz castle standing tall and proud. Owned by the same family for over 850 years, this medieval castle is located in the Rhineland-Palatinate. The castle was built prior to the 12th century, the building remained under construction by the Elz family well into the 16th century. Today Eltz Castle consists of 120 rooms, 80 of them have been converted into a museum for the public to view.¹⁰⁸ This image was printed on Agfa-Lupex photopaper.

Preservation: The front and back of the photograph have slight discoloration, but the back has a large at the bottom. All four edges have thin staining and both top corners have very slight bending.

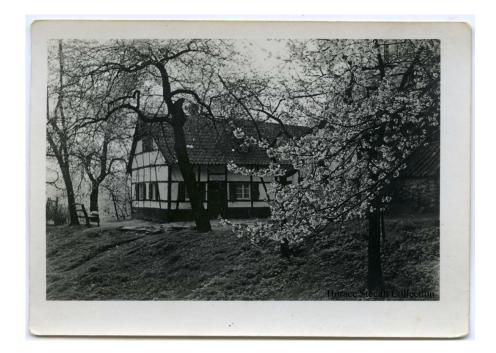


¹⁰⁸ "Architectural Chronicle of the Castle," History from Castle & Family Eltz, Burg Eltz, <u>https://burg-eltz.de/en/history#:~:text=Eltz%20Castle%20was%20erected%20in,Eifel%20and%20the%20fertile%20Maifeld</u>.

European Style House Surrounded by Flowering Tree 26.81

This image portrays a home composed of half-wood; this form of architecture is popular throughout Europe.

Preservation: The front has mild discoloration while the back is slightly discolored with ta large stain on the bottom center. All four edges have thin staining visible from the front and back.



Water Castle, Meerbusch, Germany, 27.81:

Little is known about the building pictured within this photograph, there are no indicators of its physical purpose, and it lies on private property. Some claim it to be a water castle; others believe that it has some form of religious significance.¹⁰⁹ This impressive piece of architecture is located in the town of Meerbusch, Germany, surrounded by lush fields and farmland, it overlooks the Stinkesbach River. The turnip field seen in the foreground of the photo is still in existence today. The land is still farmed in the same manner and for the same purpose.

Preservation: There is very mild discoloration on the front of the artifact, the back has slight discoloration, and all four edges have thin staining visible from the front and back. The top left corner is also bent.

¹⁰⁹ Cite from conversation with barista from adjoining hotel



St. Sebaldus Cathedral, Nuremberg, Germany, 28.81:

Pictured is the city of Nuremberg with St. Seblad Sebalduskirche as the centerpiece. The medieval cathedral is one of the oldest churches in the city, opening its doors in 1225.¹¹⁰ Nuremberg was not on the identified route, but Stegall obviously traveled to the city at some point. During World War Two the cathedral suffered extensive damage; reconstruction was completed 1957.¹¹¹ It is likely that this image was not taken by Stegall as there was extensive damage to the cathedral in January, 1945.

Preservation: The photograph has a number of concerns. The front has mild discoloration, the back, slight discoloration and a large stain on the bottom center. The edges have a thin stain line on all four corners on both sides. There are no cracks, but the biggest concern is the discoloration which is more severe on the front.

¹¹⁰ "Construction History," St. Sebald Nuremberg, <u>https://sebalduskirche.de/sebalduskirche/</u>.

¹¹¹ "A monument to Peace," St. Sebald Nuremberg, <u>https://sebalduskirche.de/sebalduskirche/</u>.





Nuremberg, Germany with St. Sebaldus, 29.81:

Pictured is a street view from the city of Nuremberg with St. Sebaldus in the background. The structures in the foreground are a combination of half wood and brick and are possibly residences. This image and the previous photograph seen of St. Sebaldus, were taken from the walls of Kaiserburg Nürnberg (Imperial Castle of Nuremberg).

Preservation: The discoloration on front of this photograph is mild, but the biggest cause for concern is the large crack on the bottom left. Although it is not clearly visible in the photo it extends through the bottom right portion of the flowering tree. The crack is not as visible from the back of the photo but should be monitored for progression. Discoloration on the back is slight, and there are thin lines of staining following each of the four sides. The photopaper is Agfa-Lupex.



Two Men Standing Together, unknown location 30.81:

Pictured here are two men in United States Army uniforms. The gentleman on the left is ranked corporal via his rank insignia displayed on his right arm. Evidence supports that both men were military policemen based off of the sigil on their upper right chest, just above the pocket. This photograph was printed on Velox photopaper.

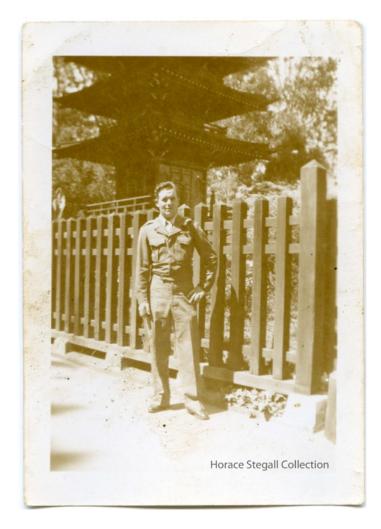
Preservation: There is mild cracking on the front, from the top of center of the photo right down to the bottom. The back has a large pencil marking. All four edges have thin stain lines. The back printing shows the Velox logo to support it is printed on Kodak paper.



Man Standing in San Francisco Tea Gardens, United States, 31.81:

A man stands in his United States Army uniform in front of one of the structures inside the San Francisco tea gardens. The building behind the individual is one of the traditional Japanese pagodas built around 1915. This photograph is printed on Velox photopaper.

Preservation: There is slight discoloration on the front and back of the photograph. Problems come from the small cracks and staining throughout, which is mostly prevalent on the top right-hand corner. The edges have thin staining visible from the front and back.



Man Sitting on Stairs, unknown location, 32.81:

A man with dark hair sits on a stairway in a United States military uniform, he smiles lightly at the camera.

Preservation: The front has mild discoloration. There is a large crack on the bottom left, smaller cracks on the center right, and small stains on the center left. The rear has mild discoloration. There are small stains throughout, most in the top right. The largest stain is on the top left. All four edges have thin stains on the front and back. This photograph was printed on Velox photopaper.



Soldiers Standing by Bus, unknown location, 33.81:

Seven men in military uniforms stand cheerfully next to a bus; the three on the left are smiling and joking.

Preservation: The front has noticeable fading, large cracks on the center right, and small stains on the center left. The back has mild discoloration. The rear has thin staining with slight folding on the top left, top right, and bottom right corners.



Man Standing at Attention by Stairs, unknown location, 34.81:

Pictured is a man standing against the stairs in military police uniform, confirmed by his left armband with an "MP."

Preservation: Discoloration on the back has progressed further than the front, sitting at a level two. The concern is the crack on the front of the photo that starts in the bottom center and extends to the right. The edges have thin staining all sides, they are small but darker in color. The photo is printed on Velox paper.



Man Standing by Car, unknown location, 35.81:

A man in his military uniform stands smiling in the foreground; cars appear to pass by him as the photograph was taken.

Preservation: This photograph has noticeable discoloration and severe fading on the front with small cracks on the top and bottom right. All of these issues are cause for major concern. The back has mild discoloration and severe staining. Edges have staining on all four sides which is thicker than most of the collection. This photograph must be kept pressed flat in the case where it can also remain without exposure to light. This photograph was printed on Velox photopaper.



Man Standing by Gate Booth Vertical, unknown location, 36.81

Portrayed is a military man standing at what appears to be a gate booth. Based on his uniform he is a member of the United States Army, just as Horace Stegall was. The back of the photograph has two items written, one being "Velox" for the photograph paper company, and the numbers "425." The purpose of the numbers is unknown, but there are two other images with the same markings.

Preservation: This image has severe fading and discoloration on the front, there is a large stain on the left side against the edge. As this is one of the damaged photographs it is not recommended that it be handled. The back has slight discoloration and staining throughout, with the largest being on the center right. The bulk of the staining on the edges is on the back. The front left-hand corner is bent which is a cause for concern of cracking in the future.



Man Standing by Gate Booth Horizontal, unknown location 37.81

This is a larger view of the same setting as the previous photograph, but it was taken horizontally. The same man in a United States Army uniform stands at attention next to what appears to be a gate booth. As with the two pervious photographs the word "Velox," is printed on the back to indicate the photo company's paper, as well as the number "425."

Preservation: The front of this photograph has severe fading and mild discoloration. There are five large cracks starting at the top right continuing towards the center. In addition, there are larger, but less visible crack starting from the center/bottom right and extend to the center of the photograph. The back has mild discoloration with one stain on the top left and two on the right. All edges have thin brown staining that can be seen from both front and back. 37.81 has some of the most concerning damages and indications of deterioration. It is not recommended that this photo be handled or removed from the archival box.



Bushels of Hay, unknown location, 38.81

In the forefront are small bushels of hay or grass piled against each other. The background pictures rolling hills with forests and fields. Stegall took and kept several similar photographs since he was an avid lover of landscapes and farming.

Preservation: There is slight discoloration on the front of the photograph, with a small crack throughout, mostly on the top and bottom left. The back has mild discoloration, but no further concerns. There are small stains on all four edges on the back.

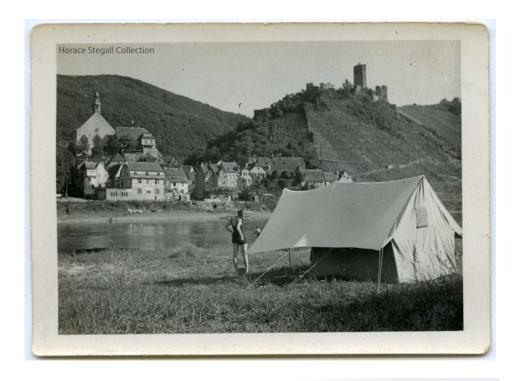


Beilstein, Germany Close, 39.81

Pictured is the town of Beilstein, a town southeast of Düsseldorf in the eastern portion of Germany. A lady stands by a tent in front of the Moselle River, the town lies in the background. I was able to identify the town based off its church and castle on the hill to the right. Metternich Castle's history begins in the early 13th century. Although in ruin now, the castle was once bustling and vivacious as it looked down upon Beilstein.¹¹² The church pictured sitting above the city is Saint Joseph. Known for its striking pink interior, Saint Joseph's construction began in the late 17th century. "Agfa-Lupex" is stamped on the back, indicating the company and photopaper it was printed on.¹¹³

Preservation: The front of the photograph has slight discoloration, while the back has mild discoloration. There are thin stains on all four edges of the photograph.

 ¹¹² "Metternich Castle Ruin," Mosel, <u>https://en.visitmosel.de/cities-culture/poi/metternich-castle-ruin</u>
¹¹³ "Bielstein- Sankt Josef," Moselkrampen, <u>https://www.pg-beilstein-moselkrampen.de/unsere-kirchen/beilstein-sankt-josef</u>





Beilstein, Germany Far, 40.81

From this more landscape composition, you can see the town of Beilstein as it looks down upon the Moselle River. Quite striking in contrast from today, the town is much smaller, with only a few buildings. The castle and church are the forefront of this photograph. "Agfa-Lupex," is stamped on the back.

Preservation: The front and back have slight discoloration, but there are several small marks on the back. All four edges have thin staining on the back.



Two People by a Lake with Cochem Castle 41.81

A man and a woman sit near a tent by the Moselle River with Cochem Castle on a hill in the distance. This photograph highlights the more domestic side of life in a war-torn country. The two appear to be in conversation, sitting calmly with the German countryside around them. The back of the photograph has "Agfa-Lupex" printed, indicating the photopaper it was printed on.

Preservation: The front of the artifact has slight discoloration with small stains throughout. There are two cracks, one in the top right corner and one in the bottom right corner. The back has some slight discoloration. There are thin stains on all four edges of the photograph.





Two People in a Canoe with Cochem Castle in Background 42.81

This image centers two people in a canoe on the Moselle River with Cochem Castle in the background. The palatinate count Ezzo, built Cochem Castle around 1000 A.D. since it was first mentioned in a formal document in 1051.¹¹⁴ The castle looks over the town of Cochem, which is known for its production of wine. "Agfa-Lupex" is printed on the back.

Preservation: There is slight discoloration and a large crack from the top left to center of the front of the photograph. The back only has mild discoloration. There are thin stains of the front and back of all four edges of the artifact.

¹¹⁴ "History of Cochem Castle," Reichsburg Cochem, <u>https://reichsburg-cochem.de/the-</u> <u>castle/?lang=en#:~:text=It%20is%20generally%20assumed%20that,to%20palatinate%20count%20Her</u> <u>mann%20Pusilius</u>.





Farmland with House and Hay Bushel, unknown location, 43.81

Pictured is a small house nestled between two large trees. In front of the house are several piles of hay/grass in a field. The land surrounding the home is flat, indicating that it may be farmland used from the growing of crops and raw materials.

Preservation: The front has mild discoloration. The back has slight discoloration and several small stains on the bottom left. There is very thin staining on all four edges of the photograph.



Ratingen-Homberg, Germany 44.81

Part of the city of Ratingen, this small village lies just to east dates to 1067. St Jacobus Catholic Church lies to the right, to the left is the Evangelical Parish of Homberg. This image is printed on Agfa-Lupex photopaper.

Preservation: The front has slight discoloration and a crack on the bottom right. The rear has mild discoloration. All four edges have thin staining visible from the front and back and the bottom left-hand corner is bent.





On a Boat in the Mountains, unknown location, 45.81

This image captures several men on a boat looking onward to a small town, surrounded by large mountains in the background. The placement of this photo is unknown, but the back reads "Agfa-Lupex," as the manufacturer of the photopaper.

Preservation: The front and back of the photograph have mild discoloration. The edges have thin stains on all four sides.



Large Flowering Tree by Water, unknown location, 46.81

A waterway is pictured accompanied by a forest line; the forefront highlights a flowering tree reflecting against the water. This photograph is printed on Agfa-Lupex photo paper.

Preservation: The front and back of the photograph have mild discoloration. The edges have thin stains on all four sides.



Riverside Town in the Mountains, unknown location, 47.81

Situated on a hill side, the photographer focuses the lens on the accompanying town across the river. The whereabouts of this town is unknown, but the photograph puts into perspective the size of small towns in Germany in the 1940's. "Agfa-Lupex," is printed on the back to signify the printing paper.

Preservation: The front of the artifact has noticeable discoloration and a small stain on the center-left of the image. The rear has slight discoloration and a large stain on the top left. There are thin stains on all four edges which are visible from the front and back.



On a Boat with Mountains in the Background, unknown location, 48.81

A ship pushes forward through a waterway with mountains in the background. It was commonplace for the military to use boats such as steamboats to cross into different portions of Germany. This photograph is printed on Agfa-Lupex photopaper.

Preservation: The front has mild discoloration and a small stain on the top left corner. The back has mild discoloration as well, but with small stains throughout. All four edges have thick staining.



Altenberger Dom, Altenberg, Germany. 49.81

A little over 18 miles to the east of Cologne sits the town of Altenberg, the home of the Altenberger Dom. Pictured is the gothic style church built in the 13th century around 1259 B.C.E. Although the building was partially destroyed during the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, the town took great pride in the cathedral and restored it to its former glory. It still functions today as a cathedral holding service every Sunday and on important Catholic holidays.¹¹⁵

Preservation: The front and back have mild discoloration with no other visible issues, although all four edges have thick staining which shows on the back. Agfa-Lupex is printed on the back indicating the company who made the photopaper.

¹¹⁵ "Info in English," Ev. Domgemeinde, Evangelische Domgemenide Altenberg, https://www.altenberg-dom.de/ev-domgemeinde/info-in-english/





Man Fishing in Pond, unknown location, 50.81

A man fishes in a small pond, surrounded by a forest. This photograph is a good example of what the German countryside looked like in the 1940s.

Preservation: The front has slight discoloration and small cracks on the top and bottom left of the photograph, the back has slight discoloration as well. All four edges have thin stains visible from the front and back.



People Dining Stack 1, 1 of 2, North Rhine- Westphalia, 51.81

People dine at a restaurant overlooking a body of water and bridge. This photograph is an excellent example of how people in Germany made attempts to continue to live and enjoy their lives despite the war. The back says "Niederrhein No 1. 1/25 Sec Bl. 9. Eisenberger Platte...," which translates to "Lower Rhine No 1." This caption indicates that this photo was taken in the Lower Rhine section of the river Rhine in North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany. The image was printed on Agfa-Lupex photopaper.

Preservation: The front has mild discoloration and two small stains on the lefthand side. The back has slight discoloration. All four edges have thicker staining visible from the back.



Mieterohim. Mr. 1. Horace Stegal Collection 1/25 res Rel. 9 his en harge AlmAte, Plombel, Impro avondoro 13,9 Photo Fricht Grindlort

Children Playing Stack 1, 2 of 2, unknown location, 52.81

Children play as they join hands to create a circle. One smaller child sits in the middle. The countryside can be seen in the background. The back of this image says, "Niederrhein No. 2 1/25 Sec Bl 9 Eisenberger Platte...." This photograph was taken in the same region as the previous one. This image was printed on Agfa-Lupex photopaper.

Preservation: The front has mild discoloration with small cracks throughout, the rear has slight discoloration, and all four edges have thinker stains visible from the back.



Micharchin NA. 2. 125 sec Rl. 6 Sion harger Pl. Plombel Important 13.9 Plinto Truth Brindh at

Riverside with House in the Background, unknown location, 53.81

This photograph shows a rural landscape with thick grass lining the riverbank and a small house in the middle left.

Preservation: The front has slight discoloration with cracking at the top and bottom left-hand corner. The only issue with the back is mild discoloration. All four sides have thin staining on the front and back. "Agfa-Lupex" is printed on the back.



Small Forest Snapshot, unknown location, 54.81

The rough terrain of a forest floor is the focus of this photograph. The image is incredibly clear; the viewer can see each rock and stick at the forefront.

Preservation: There are few concerns for the longevity of this photograph, the front has mild discoloration while the back has slight discoloration. All four edges have very thin stains of the front and back. "Agfa-Lupex" is printed on the back.



River Mountain Pass, unknown, 55.81

This photograph places Stegall in the center of a waterway between several large mountains. Ripples can be seen in the water indicating some form of movement.

Preservation: The front has mild discoloration and a prevalent crack towards the bottom lefthand corner, while the back has slight discoloration. All four edges have thin staining on the front and back. The biggest issues for this image are the bending and crack at all four corners, the worst being in the bottom lefthand corner.



River with Mountain and Small Town, unknown location, 56.81

This photograph features a waterway in the foreground with larger mountains in the background. A small town with a church are visible on the lefthand side.

Preservation: The front has mild discoloration and larger yellow stain at the center of the bottom of the photograph. The rear has slight discoloration with staining on the upper right-hand side. All four edges have thin staining visible from the front and back. The back printing is Agfa-Lupex.



Hilltop Snapshot of Farmland, unknown location, 57.81

This photograph allows its viewers an excellent understanding of the terrain in rural Germany in the 1940's. The landscape has changed vastly in in the last eighty years, but during World War II Stegall found small unpaved roads and towns followed the waterways and avoid the mountains. This photo offers evidence of how Stegall photographed different landscapes.

Preservation: The front has slight discoloration with smalls stains on the upper righthand corner. The back has slight discoloration. The larger issues pertaining to the photograph can be found on it edges; all four have staining visible from the front and back. There is great cause for concern with the bending of the upper lefthand corner and the deterioration on the three edges of the righthand side. The back printing is Agfa-Lupex.



Mountain Snapshot of Terrain, unknown location, 58.81

This photograph is another example of the various terrains. From farmland to the mountain ranges, central Germany is known for its lush thick forests.

Preservation: Slight discoloration on the front and back. Concerns are centered more towards the edges. All four have thin staining visible from the front and back. There is slight curling on the upper lefthand corner. The back printing indicates "Agfa-Lupex."



Underneath of Bridge on Base, unknown location, 59.81

I suspect the placement of this photo resides on some form of military base. Images 62.81-64.81 are of different vantage points at the same military site.

Preservation: The front has a large crack from the top right to the center left. Overall small cracks are found throughout, and the discoloration is mild. The back has mild discoloration. All four edges have thin brown staining, there is a crack forming on the bottom right-hand corner. The photograph is printed on Velox photopaper.



Top of Bridge, unknown location, 60.81

The photographer captures an image on the top of a bridge on a foggy day, however, the placement of this image is unknown. It is printed on Velox photopaper.

Preservation: The front has mild discoloration, large cracking on the center left, and a stain on the top right to center. The back has mild discoloration and stains. All four edges have thin staining visible from the front and back.



Fort Point, San Francisco 61.81

Photo taken from above, the photographer looks into Fort Point of San Francisco. Completed at the start of the Civil War, this base was a United States military installation from the start of the California gold rush, up until after World War Two.¹¹⁶

Preservation: The front of this photograph has a large stain on the top left and small cracks towards the bottom. The rear has slight discoloration and pen marking. All four edges have thin staining from the front and back. This image was printed on Velox photopaper.



¹¹⁶ "Fort Point National Historic Site," National Park Foundation, https://www.nationalparks.org/explore/parks/fort-point-national-historic-site

Aerial Side of Base 1 of 3 62.81

Pictured here, as well as the next two photographs, is what appears to be a United States military base. Its origins are unknown. Military vehicles are visible in the forefront as well as barracks-style buildings.

Preservation: The front has slight discoloration, a large crack on the left side, and small cracks throughout. The back has slight discoloration. All four edges have thin staining visible from the front and back. This image was printed on Velox photopaper.



Aerial Side of Base 2 of 3, 63.81

This image shows the same view as the previous, but the camera has moved slightly to the right.

Preservation: Front has slight discoloration with cracks on the right side. The back also has slight discoloration. All four edges have thin staining visible from the front and back, there are small cracks on all four edges as well. This image was printed on Velox photopaper.



Aerial Side of Base 3 of 3 64.81

This is the third accompanying image. The photographer settles more to the left, overlooking the sea and the horizon.

Preservation: The front has slight discoloration and a stain on the center left. The back has little discoloration or deterioration and is classified as 'good.' All four edges have thin staining on the rear. This image was printed on Velox photopaper.



210 Hardy Court Gulfport Mississippi 65.81

Very little is known of the origins of this photograph, Stegall wrote on the back what appears to be an address:"210 Hardy Court Gulfport Mississippi."

Preservation: The front of this image has noticeable discoloration and a large stain on the bottom right to bottom center. The back has noticeable discoloration, a large stain from the bottom center to bottom left, and smaller stains throughout. All four edges have thin staining visible from the front and back, as well as bending on all four corners. The phrase "A1461," is printed on the back.



Possible Military Building, unknown location, 66.81

Pictured here is what appears to be a military-related building, this assumption is made based off the on the Jeep-like vehicles and trailers.

Preservation: The front has slight discoloration and severe cracking throughout. There is a large stain on the bottom right and a smaller on the top center. A very concerning crack has formed a hole in the image at the top left. The back has slight discoloration, severe staining on the top and bottom, as well as small stains throughout. All four edges have thin staining visible from the front and back. The phrase "A1461," is printed on the back.



Buildings in Front of a Mountain 67.81

The placement of this photograph is unknown, there are no indicators that hint to what or where the site of this image is.

Preservation: The front and back have slight discoloration. All four have thin staining visible from the front and back. This image is printed on Velox photopaper.



Possible Barracks, unknown location, 68.81

The placement of this photograph is unknown. But it is believed to correspond with the previous artifact 67.81 because of the similar site layout and mountain in the background.

Preservation: The front has slight discoloration and a stain at the bottom left. The back has slight discoloration. All four edges have thin staining visible from the front and back. This image is printed on Velox photopaper.



Possible Military Building with Sign, unknown location, 69.81

The same form of architecture which resembles that of a military building is visible in this photograph as well. Two signs are found on the front of the building; one sign next to the entrance which appears to say "Col F..."

Preservation: The front has slight discoloration with two stains on the top right. The rear has slight discoloration with several stains. All four edges have thin staining visible from the front and back. This image was printed on Velox photopaper.



Possible Military Building Side, unknown location, 70.81

This photograph corresponds with the previous four in that they appear to be taken at the same site. Pictured here is another military style building with waste disposal receptacle that says left to right, "Trash, Bones, Grease."

Preservation: The front and back have slight discoloration and all four edges have thin staining visible from the front and back. This image was printed on Velox photopaper.





House on a Hill, unknown location, 71.81

A small white house sit atop a small hill. The placement of this site is unknown and other features are undiscernible due to the severe fading of the photograph.

Preservation: The front of this object has severe fading, so much so that most of the image is blurred to almost white. The back of the photograph is in good condition. There are thin stains on all four edges which are visible from the front and back. This image was printed on Velox photopaper.



Mountain Range with Small Buildings, unknown location, 72.81

The photographer of this image sits in front of a road to capture the mountain range in the background. Two buildings sit on the center righthand side. The placement of this is unknown.

Preservation: The front has slight discoloration and a small crack towards the bottom. The back also has slight discoloration and a small stain on the top left. All four edges have thin staining visible from the front and back.



Faded Mountain Range, unknown location, 73.81

This image is an odd one to say the least. When it was printed it included its intended shot as well as an overlap of the previous 71.82 image. That is confirmed by the exact overlay of the mountain range, the nonorganic line just above the original mountain range on the center right, and lack of the Jeep and lamppost on the center left of this image. Either way, the setting of this image is rural and unknown.

Preservation: The front has noticeable fading and slight discoloration. The back has slight discoloration and mild stains. The back of all three edges are stained. This image was printed on Velox photopaper.



Ocean Snapshot from Beach, unknown location, 74.81

This photograph appears to have been taken form the ocean shores overlooking the horizon. A large shipping vessel sails just beyond the horizon.

Preservation: The front of this photograph has severe fading, discoloration, and staining. The rear has slight discoloration and several stains. The bottom righthand corner is bent and is causing severe cracking. This image was printed on Velox photopaper.



Forest Creek 1, unknown location, 75.81

Appearing to have been taken in a wooded area, this photograph features a small creek surrounded by trees and foliage.

Preservation: The front has fading and slight discoloration. The back has sight discoloration. All four edges have staining and slightly bent corners. This image was printed on Velox photopaper.



Forest Creek 2, unknown location, 76.81

A unique perspective within a forest, the flowering trees are separated in a way which makes a small creek possible. The forest floor is densely covered in rocks and leaves.

Preservation: The front and back have slight discoloration. All four edges have thin staining on the back. This image was printed on Agfa-Lupex photopaper.



Forest Creek 3, unknown location, 77.81

Another creek in the forest is pictured here. This creek is wider and appears to be deeper within the forest.

Preservation: The front of this photograph is in good condition. The back has slight discoloration and a stain on the top right. All four edges have mild bending. This image was printed on Agfa-Lupex photopaper.



Bend in Road, unknown location, 78.81

This image is of a bend in a road, giving no information as to where it is placed or what it is of, but was printed on Velox photopaper.

Preservation: The front has severe fading and discoloration. The back has slight discoloration and several stains. All four edges have discoloration and there is a noticeable bend on the bottom right.



Hillside Snapshot, unknown location, 79.81

A forest dense, mountainous terrain is photographed from above. The placement of this image is unknown, but it closely resembles the forests near Elz Castle. In addition, it is printed on Agfa-Lupex photopaper.

Preservation: The front has slight discoloration, with mild cracking on the right and in the center. The back has slight discoloration and mild staining. The top right, top left, and bottom left corners are slightly bent.



Forest Trail Snapshot, unknown location, 80.81

A walking path leads out of the forest, towards a grassy hillside.

Preservation: The front and back have slight discoloration. Four edges have noticeable discoloration and bending on the bottom right. There is also slight bending on the other three corners.



Chapter Six: Historical Trauma, A Frank Discussion

During the duration of Mr. Stegall's time in central Germany, his Infantry division found themselves on the path to Nordhausen, a city in Thuringia. On the banks of the Zorge River, Nordhausen is found in the southern slopes of the Harz Mountains. Historically, it is known for its farming, distilleries, and the manufacturing of machine and transportation equipment.

During World War Two the functions of the town remained the same, until the fall of 1943, when the first concentration camp prisoners were placed by the Nazis and their collaborators outside the vicinity of the town at Mittelbau-Dora.¹¹⁷ Dora was a prominent concentration camp known for its role in the manufacturing of the V2 rocket. At the camp, guards forced the enslaved into the tunnel facilities for the purpose of production. Camp Dora also operated as the primary camp associated with the several subcamps in the surrounding area.¹¹⁸ Nordhausen's close proximity to the concentration camps meant the townspeople were habitually aware of the existence of the enslaved and their suffering. Forced labor was a consistent presence in the everyday routine of Nordhausen's residents because the Nazis forced their prisoners to work in businesses throughout the city. By 1945, the Nordhausen district held more then 150 forced labor camps, twenty of those being subcamps of Mittelbau-Dora.¹¹⁹

The Boelcke-Kaserne Concentration Camp

¹¹⁷ Jens-Christian Wagner, "Die Apotheose des Lagerterrors: Die Boelcke-Kaserne in Nordhausen (1944-1945), *Sowi* 29, no.3, (200): 153.

¹¹⁸ Johanna Grützbauch, Regine Heubaum, and Jens-Christian- Wagner, *Mittelbau-Dora Concentration Camp 1943-1945*, (Regensburg: Wallstein Verlag, 2011): 7.

¹¹⁹ Jens-Christian Wagner, "Die Apotheose des Lagerterrors, 153-154; Definitions for Nazi camps differed based off its function, as the purpose of the site changed so did its official title. Regardless of its function, all camps participated in extensive killing of enslaved prisoners.

Seven of the photographs from the Horace Stegall World War Two Collection are of Mittelbau-Dora's subcamp, Boelcke-Kaserne. Known to be the most horrid of the Mittelbau subcamps, Boelcke-Kaserne was considered the "dumping ground" for the enslaved of other camps.¹²⁰ It played a plethora or roles and was everchanging throughout the duration of the end of the war.

The camp sat in of southern portion of the town of Nordhausen and functioned as an air intelligence school from the mid-1930s until 1933/34. The first forced laborers were French and Soviet prisoners. Around 200 were brought and housed at the site in 1942/1943, they were made to the work for Mabag, a German machine production manufacturer.¹²¹ Kaserne would not gain its status as a "foreign worker camp," until the spring of 1944.¹²² Once the Junkers Group moved their weapons production project known as "Nordwerk" into the tunnel facilities of Kohnstein. They began housing the enslaved at Boelcke-Kaserne.¹²³ By summer of 1944 more than 6,000 enslaved workers occupied the barracks and were transported via freight wagons to the Nordwerk tunnels each day. During this phase, the Kaserne was

¹²⁰ Geoffrey P. Megargee, *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933-1945, Volume I. Early Camps, Youth Camps, and Concentration Camps and Subcamps under the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA).* In association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2009: 974, 980.

¹²¹ There are discrepancies over the time frame in which the foreign workers were brought to Boelcke-Kaserne. To remedy this issue, I have left both years as a rough estimate.

¹²² Wagner refers to the camp as a "foreign worker camp," while other literature defines it differently in different timeframes. That being said, I have found it necessary to opt for the Boelcke-Kaserne to be labeled a "forced labor camp" until it gained the official title of "concentration camp," because it definitively meets the qualifications for the term. Forced labor camps are camps in which prisoners are forced to preform physical tasks to appease their captors. The prisoners of Boelcke-Karserne were forced to preform labor in the tunnel facilities for the production of the V-2 rocket.

¹²³ The Kohnstein is a hill three kilometers outside of Nordhausen, within the hill were a system of tunnels used by various companies for production purposes. It famously housed the Mittelwork, a project created for the production of V-2 rockets; Schafft, *Commemorating Hell*, 45; Wagner, "Die Apotheose des Lagerterrors, 154-155.

divided by an electric fence which separated the enslave laborers from the Junkers Group and the prisoners from Mittelbau-Dora who could no longer work.¹²⁴

The living conditions within the barracks of the foreign workers camp were very cramped. Forced labor survivors detailed that the barracks were covered in vermin and extremely contaminated. They were not offered adequate nutrition or clothing, as a result disease and death spread rapidly. The prisoners at the camp were divided based on their nationalities. Camp management sought to house and treat the workers differently because of their background and origin.¹²⁵

A sick camp was later constructed. It consisted of two isolated wooden barracks which operated as an infirmary for both the Junkers Camp as well as other forced labor camps in Nordhausen. An additional barrack was added as a maternity ward in the fall of 1944. Further components of the site included a jail which was created in the fall of 1944 and penal camp in the winter of 1944.¹²⁶

Boelcke-Kaserne did not become a concentration camp until it was formally attached as a subcamp to Mittelbau-Dora on January 8, 1945.¹²⁷Although Boelcke was supposed to be a holding camp for prisoners, its final and primary function became a sick and death camp.¹²⁸ The SS-Totenkopfverbände assumed control of the two, on site, two-story vehicle garages previously known as the Luftwaffe barracks.¹²⁹ These two garages would become Boelcke-Kaserne's concentration camp. Vehicle

¹²⁴ Jens-Christian Wagner, "Die Apotheose des Lagerterrors, 155.

¹²⁵ Gretchen Engle Schafft, *Commemorating Hell*, 45.

¹²⁶ Jens-Christian Wagner, "Die Apotheose des Lagerterrors," 155-156.

¹²⁷ According to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museums 'Holocaust Encyclopedia, concentration camps are defined as "a camp in which people are detained or confined, usually under harsh conditions and without regard to legal norms of arrest and imprisonment that are acceptable in a constitutional democracy."

¹²⁸ Megargee, The United States Holocaust Memorial Museums Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, Volume I: 974

¹²⁹ The SS-Totenkopfverbände (SS-TV) was a Nazi organization which was acted as the administration for the concentration camps. They were also responsible for facilitating the Final Solution.

hall 1 housed almost 6,000 prisoners who were deemed 'fit to work.' The enslaved from this hall were driven to their assigned workplace each day. Guards forced most, if not all, prisoners to work in the underground tunnels for the production of the V-2 rocket. It consisted of blocks one through four, as well as a kitchen.¹³⁰

The second and more notorious hall, vehicle hall 2, was isolated from the rest of the camp and surrounded by barbed wire. The ground floor, blocks six and seven, held the ill and dying. The first floor, block five, functioned as an infirmary where prisoners of Mittelbau-Dora and its other subcamps were transferred by the Nazis. This process began in March of 1945 as a result of tuberculosis, which ran rampant in the camps.¹³¹ Leading Boelcke-Kaserne academic, Jens-Christian Wagner, referred to the second garage as the "death camp Mittelbau complex."¹³² The ground floor, blocks six and seven, consisted of 2,153 square meters, and was where more than 3,000 severely ill were crammed together and left to die as they were deemed useless. Without proper accommodations, they were forced to lie on concrete floors thinly layered with saw dust and shoved next to one another.¹³³ Conditions in these blocks were extremely cruel; prisoners were left without necessities which included medical care, toilets, food, water, and protection from the elements. Often left lying in their own excrement, they would occasionally be hosed off by guards once the smell became unbearable. Those who survived the ordeals of block six and seven referred to

¹³⁰ Megargee, The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, Volume I: 991.

¹³¹ Ibid., 991.

¹³² Wagner, "Die Apotheose des Lagerterrors," 154-155.

¹³³ Megargee, The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, Volume I: 991.

them as "living crematoriums," because it was a place where people were left to die of neglect.¹³⁴

As the Allied forces continued making headway throughout Germany, the Nazis began moving concentration camp prisoners deeper into the center of the country. By 1944 the regime was in shambles and the movement of prisoners from different camps was erratic. As these camps dissolved there were no concrete plans as to where to send them. The response was often death marches for those who could still walk, and abandonment of those who could not. Towards the end of January 1945, numerous prisoners arrived at Boelcke-Kaserne from Auschwitz-Birkenau and Gross-Rosen, all of whom were either sick, dead, or dying of exhaustion. That number increased in mid-February, when more than 3,500 additional prisoners were brought to the site from Gross-Rosen again. Each person was severely emaciated and on the brink of death.¹³⁵ The initial transport of enslaved in January of 1945 meant that Boelcke-Kaserne had the largest population of Jewish prisoners of any of the Mittelbau-Dora subcamps. Boelcke-Kaserne began its dissolution April 2-3 when 3,000 people were transferred to other Mittelbau camps.¹³⁶

On the afternoon of April 3, 1945, bomb squadrons of the British Royal Air Force attacked Nordhausen. As the raid continued April 4, Allied forces were aware of the presence of Mittelbau-Dora and avoided those areas. However, Boelcke-Kaserne was not so lucky as the site was assumed to be one of military interest. The result was heavy bombing, much of which destroyed parts of the barracks and the abandoned prisoners inside. The infirmary had been decimated, as it was not marked

¹³⁴ Wagner, "Die Apotheose des Lagerterrors," 157.

¹³⁵ The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, Volume I: 974.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 991.

with a Red Cross symbol. Both large garage buildings of the concentration camp portion of Boelcke-Kaserne were heavily damaged. Vehicle hall 2, which included block six and seven, was almost entirely destroyed. Nazi guards that remained on the premises took cover in bomb shelters but left the prisoners trapped in the buildings to suffer at the hands of the explosions.¹³⁷ The number of deaths as a result of the bombings are unknown, as thousands lie living amongst the dead. Those alive and well enough to escape hid in the surrounding forests and rubble.

During this time American forces made impressive ground as they breached the boarders of Nordhausen on April 11, 1945.¹³⁸ The United States 104th Infantry Division, 3rd Armored Division, and troops from the 2nd Battalion of the 414th Regiment worked simultaneously to reach the city form the West.¹³⁹ Soldiers first became aware that something horrifying had happened, as they passed emaciated enslaved persons struggling to escape on the roadsides outside of the city.¹⁴⁰

The first troops to discover Boelcke-Kaserne were from the 3rd Armored Divisions, Combat Command B, which was headed by Brigadier General Turman Everette Boudinot. Liberators recounted their initial experience:

Over all the area clung the terrible odor of decomposition and, like a dirge of forlorn hope, the combines cries of these unfortunates rose and fell in weak undulations. It was a fabric or moans and whimpers, or deliriums and outright madness. Here and there a single shape tottered about, walking slowing like a man dreaming.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ Ibid., 991-992.

¹³⁸ Schafft, Commemorating Hell, 43-45.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 51.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 103, 105

¹⁴¹ Theresa Lynn Ast, *"Confronting the Holocaust:* American Soldiers Who Liberated the Concentration Camps." (M.A. Thesis, Emory University, 200): 116.

Upon the arrival of the Americans divisions, the atrocities that occurred there became increasingly apartment. Boelcke-Kaserne was one of the first Dora camps to be liberated and the soldiers were horrified by its state.¹⁴² When the 104th Infantry Division arrived on scene, remnants of men, women, and children lay on the ground. Father Edward P. Doyle detailed his astonishment:

I recall vividly . . . we took pieces of carpet and they became a litter, if you will, or a sheet or a door, any way by which we could carry these bodies and lay them out and find any living among them before we prepared for the mass grave. I saw men and women—some deny it—but I saw for myself women, and somewhere in my mind there is always a picture of a child, a bloated child, which has lived with me all these years.¹⁴³

The exposure of women and children in the camp was shocking, but Boelcke did in fact have a maternity ward. The charred bodies of children and infants were reported by American soldiers.¹⁴⁴

Liberation

Liberation of these camps was done in an orderly fashion as to keep the peace and effectively care for survivors. The first task was medical assistance. Soldiers made quick work of assisting the living by establishing hospitals, notifying the Red Cross, and bringing in additional medical personnel.¹⁴⁵ There were few living survivors compared to the deceased. The Army units and Red Cross volunteers struggled to keep them alive as a result of the prisoners severely impaired physical state. Nurses, doctors, and other medical personnel assessed each person, tending to their ailments and attempting to save them. Finding open hospital beds was a difficult

¹⁴² Wagner, *Mittelbau-Dora Concentration Camp 1943*-1945, 142-143.

¹⁴³ Linda Hunt, Secret Agenda, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991,) 57-77.

¹⁴⁴ Wagner, "Die Apotheose des Lagerterrors, 153-154.

¹⁴⁵ Megargee, The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, Volume I: 992.

task. Often soliders converted barracks into hospitals to try to meet the dire needs of Boelcke-Kaserne and the surrounding camps. Supplies were recruited from the town of Nordhausen in an attempt to aid the situation.¹⁴⁶ Unfortunately, many of the survivors perished upon liberation and medical attention, as they could not hold out any longer.

Sanitation and disease control was a large obstacle to overcome; how does one make a concentration camp site "clean?" Through neglect of the sick, the Nazis murdered thousands on these grounds, leaving their bodies to decompose while still covered in their own excrement. The removal of the dead was needed, but they also needed to document their findings. In Boelcke-Kaserne the dead were lined up in front of the remains of the two vehicle halls, where the number of deceased were counted. Photographs and news reels were taken for documentation purposes to convict the Nazis as well as reveal their atrocities to the world. An honorary cemetery was constructed next to Nordhausen's municipal graveyard for the victims of the camps.¹⁴⁷ As a result of the large number of dead, burial in mass graves was required. It began April 13, as American soldiers forced able-bodied Nordhausen civilians to handle the job.

The 104th organized most of the males—or a goodly number of the males left in Nordhausen to come out and dig trenches and carry the dead and bury the dead in these trenches.¹⁴⁸

This process took four days to complete as more than 1,278 victims of Boelcke-Kaserne were laid to rest.¹⁴⁹ Civilians, including women and older children,

¹⁴⁶ Ast, "Confronting the Holocaust," 163-173.

¹⁴⁷ Wagner, *Mittelbau-Dora Concentration Camp* 1943-1945, 142-143.

¹⁴⁸ Wagner, *Produktion des Todes: Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2001) 206-107.

¹⁴⁹ Schafft, *Commemorating Hell*, 57.

were required to attend funeral services for the victims.¹⁵⁰ During the sanitization of the site, the 104th Infantry Division's commander, Terry Allen, ordered the members of his unit tasked with sanitation to stay behind and aid in burying the dead.¹⁵¹

Clean water sources were another daunting task at hand. Most if not all, water had to be transported to the camp via military personnel. The concern came from sitting water and waste on site which was extremely hazardous. To address this issue, sewage solutions were implemented in the form of effective removal of contaminated water as well as the introduction by engineers of clean waterlines. General waste and infestation were a prominent issue. Both soldiers and townspeople were tasked with the removal of garbage and other hazardous materials. In some instances, sanitation was performed by the burning of dirty and diseased buildings and objects. These buildings could not be cleaned, and liberators did not wish to place the traumatized people back in the same building in which they suffered.¹⁵²

Feeding the emaciated survivors was another challenge. It was difficult to care for these people as they were so fragile and close to death; special attention had to be given towards their diets. Reintroduction to food and water in overabundance led to death or further medical complications. Upon finding the camp, American soldiers often gave what they had on hand in an effort to help. Candy, food rations, and cigarettes were commonly handed over without knowledge of the need for slow introduction.¹⁵³ Assistance from the Nordhausen civilians was once again utilized, a

¹⁵⁰ Ast, "Confronting the Holocaust," 157-158, 161.

¹⁵¹ Schafft, *Commemorating Hell*, 57.

¹⁵² Ast, "Confronting the Holocaust," 157-163.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 147-159.

bakery in town was used to produce thousands of loaves of bread to be sent to hospitals and those remaining in the camps.¹⁵⁴

The Boelcke-Kaserne concentration camp was open for less than three months, during that time upwards of three thousands of people died, meaning more than 100 people perished each day. In addition to the unknown number of dead, are the total number of prisoners which passed through the camp during its operation. Nazi documentation reported that one day prior to dissolution, there were approximately 5,000 victims on site. In addition, it is difficult to determine the number of people who suffered there. Between the camps everchanging functions, lack of correct administrative documents, and the British air raids, we will never truly know the extent of how many perished at the hands of the Nazis or the air raids.

Horace Stegall's Boelcke-Kaserne Experience

Horace Stegall's assistance in the liberation of Boelcke-Kaserne mirrored that of numerous other soldiers' concentration camp experiences. Warfare was something many were used to, but the inhumane conditions and treatment towards the enslaved was not something they had experienced or expected. Stories had been passed along from American and British troops across Europe of barbed wire encampments filled with starved and abused souls, but that still did not prepare them as they encountered these camps. Thousands had perished in Boelcke-Kaserne's short three-month lifespan as a concentration camp, death and decay enveloped the site. Stegall shared his experiences with his close friends and family in the form of oral histories. His son, Doug Stegall, expressed that Stegall occasionally used these stories as a teaching

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 156-157.

element for his children, making sure they understood how lucky they were and how terrible the prisoners were treated in the camps. Doug emphasized that though his father may have scolded them for poor behavior and complaints, that true to Stegall's nature, "he was very gentile when he did it [discussed his experience in the camp]."¹⁵⁵

Upon Stegall and his division entering Nordhausen, he noted that the towns people were "a bit afraid of them... he ran into this woman that was absolutely terrified of him." ¹⁵⁶ It is believed that Stegall did not speak German but was in communication with the town's population. They claimed that they were not only unaware of Middelbau-Dora, less than five miles from the city center, but were also ignorant of Boelcke-Kaserne which lay within the city itself. "You could smell the stench of rotting flesh four or five miles away... he didn't understand how, when he did communicate with the [German] people... [how they could claim] 'well we didn't know that was going on there."¹⁵⁷

Liberators of concentration camps were often left psychologically scarred, memories imprinted in their minds of the inhumanity in which they witnessed. One of the most profound things Stegall discussed was his initial intake of the camp. He said, "you'll never really know what it's like... looking through the cracks and the boards at the people who were up to their knees in their own [excrement]... eaten up with bugs... starving, and you couldn't feed them."¹⁵⁸ Doug detailed that his father remembered the people in buildings the most, that he would never forget their eyes which stared back at him through the boards.

¹⁵⁵ Doug Stegall, Oral history interview with Morgan Condrey, April 7, 2023.

¹⁵⁶ Doug Stegall, Oral history interview with Morgan Condrey, April 7, 2023.

¹⁵⁷ Doug Stegall, Oral history interview with Morgan Condrey, April 7, 2023.

¹⁵⁸ Doug Stegall, Oral history interview with Morgan Condrey, April 7, 2023.

Academic literature and oral histories narrate the events which took place in the camp. They attempt to covey to the reader the horrid reality of the victims and their suffering. Photographs of that reality imprinted people's minds. To physically look at the state of the victims and witness the depravity of humanity at its lowest times is shocking. U.S. General Dwight D. Eisenhower implemented policies ordering the documentation of the concentration camps in the form of photographs and formal write-ups as evidence. By doing so, the government was able to publicize the atrocities and gather information for the conviction of the perpetrators.¹⁵⁹ It is probable that Stegall's photographs which pertain to Boelcke-Kaserne were taken for this intended purpose. The seven images convey his story in a way that is informative, but also raw and emotional. It is through these images that we see and attempt to understand the traumatic experiences of both the victim and the liberator.

Returning Home

As the Second World War ended and soldiers returned stateside, they could not escape their experiences. Suffering from physical, emotional, and psychological scars, they were burdened as witnesses to the brutality of warfare and genocide. Infantry divisions which served in the ETO, like that of the 104th, suffered devastating causalities. The loss was so severe that the turnover rate for soldiers in these division exceeded 300 percent.¹⁶⁰ The sudden environmental changes did not invoke a calm state of mind. It was difficult to cope with such immense grief, loss, and severe trauma. They may have received a welcomed homecoming in the form of victory parades and cheering, but these moments were short-lived. The war lasted for four

¹⁵⁹ "World War II Liberation Photography," *USHMM*, <u>https://www.ushmm.org/collections/the-</u> museums-collections/about/photo-archives/world-war-ii-liberation-photography.

¹⁶⁰ Ast, "Confronting the Holocaust," 222.

years for the American people, they wished to return to their old lives and move on in a more positive, forward-thinking direction.¹⁶¹ Many citizens in the United States had once opposed the war in Europe; they rather not be involved anymore. They were not pleased with the legislation the government had attempted to pass in 1933 and 1944.¹⁶² Overall attitudes towards the war and its veterans left former soldiers to suffer by themselves. Assistance in healing from their trauma was pushed to the back burner, in numerous instances the public downplayed veterans experiences. Many felt compelled to suffer in silence, repressing their memories in an attempt to appease others.

The same response was directed towards concentration camp liberators. They had experienced depravity at its core, violence and negligence of the highest degree. Still, nobody was willing to listen to their stories and veterans could not process their distress. It extremely difficult to imagine the look, smells, and violence orchestrated in those horrific camps. Civilians would never truly understand their experiences or the impact the concentration camps left on its liberators. These issues made readjusting to life back home an almost impossible task. Divisions of the ETO had experienced the traumas of war and the Holocaust only added to their suffering. Soldiers and liberators were scared, angry, overwhelmed, and anxious, and as a result, they did not respond well to uncomfortable or stressful situations. Many could not overcome the hurdles of daily life. They could not endure physical contact and responded poorly when attempts were made to restrain them while they were in a

¹⁶¹ These bills would require "Compulsory peacetime training" in the form of mandatory military training for all American Men for at least a year.

¹⁶² Ast, "Confronting the Holocaust," 236.

state of panic. Their minds plagued them with flashbacks and attacks on their psyche.¹⁶³

Horace Stegall was widely known to be a calm natured individual, so much so that his family is unsure of the ways in which the war affected him. Even when discussing his part in Boelcke-Kaserne's liberation, Stegall maintained his mellow temperament and composed demeanor: "he's not one to be [overly] emotional about anything back then, he didn't embellish anything, he said [it was difficult] looking through these cracks and seeing the eyes of the people."¹⁶⁴ There is little known about his physical and mental state upon returning home after leaving the Army, and even less known about his initial return from Europe. In many instances he would only discuss his time in the ETO when asked. As the collection was kept in a cedar chest in their back bedroom, it would occasionally be discovered by his children and grandchildren. It was then he took the time to sit down and tell brief stories about the photographs and the things he experienced. In Stegall's older age he would more openly discuss the topics, but it was more geared toward his time as he traveled around Germany and not the concentration camp. From the oral histories it does not appear that Stegall associated that time as one of immense grief, but rather appreciation for his experiences and his home.

But, it should not be misconstrued that because he did not outwardly express or mention any difficulties with his time in the war, that he did not struggle. Stegall experienced traumatic events, ones that can be processed differently by different

¹⁶³ Robert J. Harighurst, *The American Veteran Back Home*, (New York: 1951,) 69-82.

¹⁶⁴ Doug Stegall, Oral history interview with Morgan Condrey, April 7, 2023.

people. It would not be wise to assume that Boelcke-Kaserne did not affect him. Often liberators like Stegall were uncomfortable discussing the camps with people that did not have the same experiences. Even with oral histories, photographs, and objects it is unimaginable to understand what it felt like to be there. Stegall's stories emphasize looking into the eyes of the people in the camp and smelling the decay of human bodies. It is impossible to empathize and comprehend what that situation must have looked and felt like. As a result, liberators did not trust civilians enough to share those experiences. "[I] do not often talk about them (his time at the camp). But I do at times talk with my buddies in the 157th Infantry Regiment. They understand." Reacalled Sergeant Donald MacLoed.¹⁶⁵ These veterans were not searching for sympathy or prying ears; they wanted someone to understand them. To share a traumatic time in their lives without fear that people would see them differently or become uncomfortable.¹⁶⁶

There were those that did feel the need to share their experiences by stories and photographs. Many felt they were morally obligated to discuss what they saw so that people understood the egregious crimes the Nazi regime had orchestrated and implemented. Doug Stegall remembers being in school and listening to other children deny that the Holocaust had happened. He felt the need to defend the victims as well as his father, telling his classmates that it did happen, that he had seen the photographs his father keeps in the cedar chest.

That being said, Stegall's family does not believe he kept these photographs of Boelcke-Kaserne for the purpose of evidence, but more as a reminder of an important time in his life. But Stegall's calm demeanor should not be misunderstood, he was not

¹⁶⁵ Sergeant Donald C. MacLeod (45th ID), World War II Survey, MHI.

¹⁶⁶ Ast, "Confronting the Holocaust," 258.

carless about his time in Germany, nor did he be harbor dulled emotions or ideas about his experiences. His family, including myself, simply knew him to be a calm and sympathetic man. He was not quick to anger or overwhelming emotions, his family could hardly recall a time in which he yelled at anyone. In my interviews with various family members, it was noted that we all knew Stegall to be a gentle and kind, none of his stories were told with theatrics, but in a calm and composed manner.

Public History, Trauma, and the Collection

The Horace Stegall World War Two Collection is correlated to both public history and Holocaust studies as a result of its contents related to the Boelcke-Kaserne Concentration camp. The collection exists as a primary source created by one man's experience while liberating a concentration camp in the 1945. The photographs offer an opportunity to interpret personal experiences within the realm of larger traumatic events. Stegall's photographs do not exist as just a narrative for himself, but rather a testimony for hundreds of thousands of people, both Holocaust victims and liberators. It is a fragment of a story, but by piecing the experiences of these people together we contribute to the larger Holocaust narrative.

This thesis featured pieces of oral histories from family and friends, who recall the things Stegall spoke about in relation to Boelcke-Kaserne. Oral histories are a form of intangible cultural heritage, they are often passed down by word of mouth as stories.¹⁶⁷ The oral histories from this thesis were recorded by Stegall's friends and families, they offer important information that would otherwise be missing from the narrative. Without these stories it would be impossible to understand what he smelled,

¹⁶⁷ "Oral traditions and expressions including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage," UNESCO, <u>https://ich.unesco.org/en/oral-traditions-and-expressions-00053</u>.

saw, and how he felt. The photographs from the collection do help, but ultimately these stories capture the essence of his liberation experience. As you listen to Stegall talk about the eyes, how the site smelled, and how he felt, listeners understand the gravity of how liberators felt. You can hear the pain in his words even if he is not there physically.

Personal photographs are another important aspect of this process of reflection because they often showcase stories that are missed. The photographs and oral histories from Mr. Stegall follow his experience, but they also shed light on those who are no longer here to do it themselves. Artifact 12, "Boelcke-Kaserne Liberation 2 of 7," pictures several rows of deceased persons. Stegall took care to note their final moments on the back, "Most of these people (Polish & Jew) were shot in the back of the head or neck while, apparently, kneeling in prayer." By doing so he is able to convey a piece of their story, while honoring their faiths and communities. It does not follow each victim's story from a personal aspect, but viewers are still able to understand parts of who these people were, what they experienced, and their last moments.

In addition, information from historical narratives can be confirmed from the photographs. The collection's images of the deceased which were lined up on the ground further emphasize the number of murders which occurred there. People are well aware Boelcke-Kaserne was a concentration camp, but by physically investigating the photographs these victims become more than just a number in a history book. Some scholars heed the use of Holocaust photographs because they feel it disrespects the dead. But Holocaust photographs are testimonies; they validate the experiences of those who were affected by the event. Afterall, you cannot deny something you can physically see. In the case of this thesis none of the photographs

166

display any of the deceased, the images have been censored because although I address the Holocaust, that is not what I wish to highlight. The images of the camp from the photographs of the collection also helps to confirm the site is in fact Boelcke-Kaserne, rather than Mittelbau-Dora or one of the other subcamps. The destruction of the area which can be seen in the photographs are a result of the April 3, 1945, air raids.

Artifact 17, "Boelcke-Kaserne Liberation 7 of 7," also helps confirms the participation of Nordhausen civilians in the burial and sanitation process. As his note on the back of the photograph says, "The German civilians had to carry the dead P.W. about a mile to a big field where they were buried." In addition to the photographs, there are also oral histories from others which discuss the same information. These photographs operate as testimonial objects, primary sources, and play an impactful role in postmemory. They determine how events are remembered as well as how they are written about.

Conclusion

Although the Horace Stegall World War Two Collection is what many public history professionals consider to be a smaller collection, it does not negate from its overall importance. The legacy of Stegall is detailed in these photographs. The collection is uniquely catered to Stegall's mind, his interests and what he considered to be important to document. Anyone that knew Stegall, will speak of his love for farming, nature, and animals, all of which lie within the collection. He was a tall man with a rough exterior but held a gentleness within his eyes and soul. We are able to see the 1940's through the eyes of a man who endured great tragedy and an exciting journey. In its essence, the collection is a microhistory of one man's personal experiences but adds to the interpretation of larger historical events.

Through conversation with the family, it was decided that the collection remain in the hands of the Stegall family. I have created a family archive and preserving the collection to the best of my abilities. Additionally, I have left any of the digital image scans with the family. Some professionals believe archival documents and artifacts belong strictly within the walls of a public history institution; I could not disagree more. My previous conversations regarding closing this ever present 'gap,' detail all the ways in which that ideology is faulty. Between the everoccurring issue of space and accessions policies, there is no better place for this collection than in the hands of the Stegall family. Additionally, a parallel conversation surrounding place-based archivism is very much at hand here. By place-based archivism I mean the importance of choosing a place to house items in spaces where their purpose and existence is the most meaningful. Collections belong where their owners believe they should reside, in a place where its importance and legacy can be met with the respect it deserves. In the case of the Horace Stegall World War Two

168

Collection, for now, that space is with the family. Should that space change in the future, I am more than willing to assist them with the selection of institution for donation, should that be what they want. The family is hesitant in donating the collection because of its close relationship with to the original owner. By offering them an opportunity to preserve and learn about the collection, they continue to hold power and protection over the artifacts and their relative's legacy. The collection should not be broken up or a photographs purpose misconstrued through the powerful pen of an institution or historian. The power lies solely with them, as it always should.

Stegall's collection is not just a singular example of the importance of placebased archivism, but one of many. There are millions of people worldwide caring for their own collections and history in the best way they know how. But through better understanding and education of the public history field, these people can reach out for assistance. Mutually, by public history professionals making meaningful community relationships, educating, and opening their doors for more than just donation, both parties can work together to provide better preservation in the future. In addition, professionals should reevaluate their role and purpose as a public servant.

The gaps within the Horace Stegall World War Two Collection's narrative were the most difficult roadblocks to overcome. They are the thing separating this thesis from the full story of Horace Stegall. As with any narrative, the historian is writing merely based off known information, which does not account for the full and complete story. I was hesitant in my abilities to fully encompass the story of Horace Stegall, as was requested by his loved ones. Entirely too much time was spent fretting over details I would never truly be able to confirm. Navigating these roadblocks and inherent silences was truly the most difficult process of this project. When do I stop falling further into the rabbit hole? What if I do stop and miss important details? More

169

importantly, what silences am I creating? I had to address hard truths and find comfort in my abilities as a researcher. To note these gaps and silences present within this thesis. These hurdles are the researchers challenge. Working with communities and collections are the highlight of my job as a public historian, research and gaps are where I find the most difficulty. Still, I can overcome these problems by implementing better public history practice and forming good relationships with the collection's owners. As a result, the Horace Stegall World War Two Collection is an excellent example of public history at work.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources:

Allen, Greg. Oral History with Morgan Condrey. June 22, 2023

Allen, Terry de la Mesa. 1888-1969, "Letter from Maj. Gen. Terry Allen to the 104th Infantry "Timberwolf" Division." UAH Archives, Special Collections, and Digital Initiatives. accessed October 3, 2023, <u>http://libarchstor2.uah.edu/digitalcollections/items/show/1169</u>.

Condrey, Mary. Oral history with Morgan Condrey. August 27, 2023.

Houston Deford Photographs. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives, Bowie, Maryland.

"Letter from Lt. Gen. J. Lawton Collins commending the 104th Infantry "Timberwolf"

> Division for its role in capturing German territory at the end of World War II." John Rison Jones. University of Alabama in Huntsville Archives and Special Collections, Huntsville, Alabama

- National Archives at St. Louis; St. Louis, Missouri; Draft Registration Cards For South Carolina, 10/16/1940-03/31/1947; Record Group: Records of the Selective Service System, 147; Box: 182
- Rudolph Daniel Sichel Papers. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives, Bowie, Maryland.

Stegall, Doug. Oral history interview with Morgan Condrey. April 7, 2023.

Steven Fenves Papers. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives, Bowie, Maryland.

Thomas McFarland Jr. Photograph Collection. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Bowie, Maryland.

United States of America, Bureau of the Census; Washington, D.C.; Seventeenth Census of the United States, 1950; Record Group: Records of the Bureau of the Census, 1790-2007; Record Group Number: 29; Residence Date: 1950; Home in 1950: Garvin, Anderson, South Carolina; Roll: 5292; Sheet Number: 22; Enumeration District: 4-70

Valainis, Chelsea. Oral history interview with Morgan Condrey. April 9, 2023.

Secondary Sources:

- "104th Infantry Division." United States Army Center of Military History, https://history.army.mil/html/forcestruc/cbtchron/cc/104id.htm#:~:text=The% 20104th%20Infantry%20Division%20landed,and%20overrunning%20Vaart% 20Canal%20defenses.
- "A monument to Peace." St. Sebald Nuremberg. <u>https://sebalduskirche.de/sebalduskirche/</u>.
- "Architectural Chronicle of the Castle." History from Castle & Family Eltz. Burg Eltz. <u>https://burg-</u> <u>eltz.de/en/history#:~:text=Eltz%20Castle%20was%20erected%20in,Eifel%20</u> <u>and%20the%20fertile%20Maifeld</u>.
- Ast, Theresa Lynn. "Confronting the Holocaust: American Soldiers Who Liberated the Concentration Camps." (M.A. Thesis, Emory University, 2001)
- Becker, Carl. Everyman His Own Historian; Essays on History and Politics. F. S. Crofts & Co., 1935.
- "Bielstein- Sankt Josef." Moselkrampen. <u>https://www.pg-beilstein moselkrampen.de/unsere-kirchen/beilstein-sankt-josef</u>.
- "Construction History." St. Sebald Nuremberg. https://sebalduskirche.de/sebalduskirche/.
- Coopersmith, Jonathan. "Biographical Dictionary of the History of Technology." *Business History* 41, no. 4 (October 1, 1999).
- Cox, Richard. No Innocent Deposits: Forming Archives by Rethinking Appraisal. Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2004.
- Djinis, Elizabeth. "Ancient Roman Sculpture Likely Looted During WWII Turns Up at Texas Goodwill." *Smithsonian Magazine*. April 29, 2023. <u>https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/ancient-roman-sculpture-likely-looted-during-wwii-turns-up-at-texas-goodwill-180980045/</u>.
- Dodd, Lindsey. *Feeling Memory: Remembering Wartime Childhoods in France.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2023.
- Eastman Kodak Company. *The Velox Book : The Working of a Simple Paper Told in Simple Terms*. Rochester, N.Y. : Nepera Division, Eastman Kodak Co., 1915.

Eliach, Yaffa, and Brana Gurewitsch, editors. The Liberators: Eyewitness Accounts of

the Liberation of Concentration Camps: Oral History Testimonies of American Liberators from the Archives of the Center for Holocaust Studies. Brooklyn: Center for Holocaust Studies, Documentation and Research, 1981.

- Evans, Christopher. *Military Police Operation in World War II: Extending the Divisions Operational Reach*. Master's Thesis, School of Advanced Military Studies US Army Command, 2018)
- Field, Sean. "Loose Bits of Shrapnel: War Stories, Photographs, and the Peculiarities of Postmemory." *The Oral History Review* 41, no. 1 (January 1, 2014): 108.
- Foot, Mirjam. "Preservation Policy and Planning." In *Preservation Management for Libraries, Archives and Museums.* London: Facet, 2006.
- "Fort Point National Historic Site." National Park Foundation. https://www.nationalparks.org/explore/parks/fort-point-national-historic-site.
- Galloway, Patricia. "Archives, Power, and History." *The American Archivist.* Vol. 69 No1. (Summer, 2006): 79-116.
- Gilliland-Swetland, Luke J. "The Provenance of a Profession: The Permanence of the Public Archives and Historical Manuscripts Traditions in American Archival History." *The American Archivist* 54, no. 2 (April 1, 1991): 160–75.
- Grützbauch, Johanna. Heubaum, Regine. And Wagner, Jens-Christian. *Mittelbau-Dora Concentration Camp 1943-1945*. Regensburg: Wallstein Verlag, 2011.
- Gudmundsdottir, G. "Emptying the Attic: The Family Archive in Transition." *Life Writing* 20, no. 2 (January 1, 2023): 409-420–420.

Havighurst, Robert J. *The American Veteran Back Home*. New York: Longmans, Green and Co, 1951.

"History of Cochem Castle." Reichsburg Cochem. <u>https://reichsburg-cochem.de/the-</u> <u>castle/?lang=en#:~:text=It%20is%20generally%20assumed%20that,to%20pal</u> <u>atinate%20count%20Hermann%20Pusilius</u>.

- "How Do We Define Public History?" About the Field, National Council on Public History. <u>https://ncph.org/what-is-public-history/about-the-field/</u>.
- Hoegh, Leo and Doyle, Howard. *Timberwolf Tracks: The History of the 104th Infantry Division 1942-1945.* Washington: Infantry Journal Press, 2014.
- Holtschnieder, Hannah. "Narrating an Archive? Family Collections, the Archive, and the Historian." Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies, 37, no. 3, (Winter 2019)

Hughes, Kate. Class discussion defining public history. (Intro to Public History,

Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, Fall 2021).

Hunt, Linda. Secret Agenda. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991.

"Info in English." Ev. Domgemeinde. Evangelische Domgemenide Altenberg. https://www.altenberg-dom.de/ev-domgemeinde/info-in-english/

King, Laura and Hammett, Jessica. *Family Historians and Historians of the Family: The Value of Collaboration*. Boston: De Gruyter, 2020.

Lavédrine, Bertrand. *Photographs of the Past: Process and Preservation*. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 2009.

Liddington, Jill. "What Is Public History? Publics and Their Pasts, Meanings and Practices." *Oral History 30*, no. 1 (Spring 2022).

Lord, Alexandra. "The View from the Ivory Tower." *Perspectives on History* (January

2005).

- Megargee, Geoffrey P. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933-1945, Volume I. Early Camps, Youth Camps, and Concentration Camps and Subcamps under the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA). In association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2009.
- Messier, Paul. "Notes on Dating Photographic Paper." *Topics of Photograph Preservation, Vol. 11* (2005).

"Metternich Castle Ruin." Mosel. https://en.visitmosel.de/cities-culture/poi/metternich-castle-ruin.

"Oral traditions and expressions including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage." UNESCO. <u>https://ich.unesco.org/en/oral-traditions-and-expressions-00053</u>.

Preservation of Photographs. 1st ed. Kodak Publication; No. F-30. Rochester: Eastman Kodak

Co., 1979.

"Public Humanities at Yale: History and the Public." Yale University. https://ph.yale.edu/areas/history-and-the-public.

"Revolutionary War Discharge Signed by George Washington." Antiques Roadshow. PBS. <u>https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/roadshow/season/1/chicago-</u> <u>il/appraisals/revolutionary-war-discharge-signed-by-george-washington--</u> <u>199613A20/</u>. Rydell, Ander. Book Thieves: The Nazi Looting of Europe's Libraries and the Race to Return a Literary Inheritance. New York: Viking, 2017.

Sergeant MacLeod, Donald C. (45th ID). World War Two Survey. MHI.

"Save Your Stuff." Preservation Week. The American Library Association. June 2023.

https://www.ala.org/alcts/preservationweek/howto.

- Schafft, Gretchen Engle. Commemorating Hell: The Public Memory of Mittelbau-Dora. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011.
- Stolz, Bill. "Preserving the Story behind the Document." *Kentucky Libraries* 86, no. 4 (Fall 2022): 8–9.
- "The 104th Infantry Division During World War Two." Holocaust Encyclopedia, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, <u>https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/the-104th-infantry-division</u>.
- "The End of a Benign and Ancient City: Six Centuries Lost in an Hour." City by City Index of Destruction. Revisionist. <u>http://www.revisionist.net/nuremberg-bombing.html</u>.
- "The Müngstener Brücke Bridge." The Müngstener Brücke Bridge. https://www.die-muengstener-bruecke.de.
- Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History.* Boston: Beacon Press, 2015.
- Wagner, Jens-Christian. "Die Apotheose des Lagerterrors: Die Boelcke-Kaserne in Nordhausen (1944-1945). *Sowi* 29, no. 3 (200).
- Wagner, Jens-Christian. *Produktion des Todes: Das KZ Mittelbau-Dora*. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2001.
- "What is an Infantry Division." First Division Museum, <u>https://www.fdmuseum.org/about-the-1st-infantry-division/what-is-a-division/</u>.

Woodham, A., King F., Glovn L., and Crewe V. "We Are What We Keep: The Family

Archive, Identity and Public/Private Heritage." *Heritage and Society* 10, No. 3 (2017).

"World War II Liberation Photography." United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. https://www.ushmm.org/collections/the-museums-collections/about/photoarchives/world-war-ii-liberation-photography.

Wright, Robert K. Military Police. Washington: U.S. Army Center of Military

History, 1992.

Zamon, Christina. "What is This Stuff: Collection Management." in *The Lone Arranger: Succeeding in a Small Repository.* Washington, D.C.: Society of American Archivists: 2012.