

# Disruption of Freedom: Life in Prisoner of War Camps in Europe 1939-1945

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This paper will explore the disruptive nature of Prisoner of War (POW) life, and comparatively analyse responses to their captive experience by taking a 'cross camp' approach, exploring a wide cross section of POW camps in Europe under both German and Italian control. I will consider the culture of prison camps, and the actions of men in the face of this tumultuous period in their lives by drawing on war diaries - both contemporary and retrospective - oral testimony, objects from camp, contemporary and academic articles, and photographs or sketches.<sup>1</sup>

This overarching method is to be used in tandem with previous research, building on the individual explorations of specific camps or specific activities. Although there have previously been detailed investigations into specific camps such as Colditz, and specific themes such as sport or theatre in POW camps, there is no current comparative analysis thereof. Viewing camps as a whole allows an analysis of common occurrences, and anomalous areas within them. These features can then be considered in terms of the camp conditions, the time period for which the camp existed, who controlled the camp, and where it was located. The following analysis therefore offers a broader assessment, drawing together a range of source material to provide a comparative view of a variety of camp experiences.

Becoming a POW was at least the second major disruption in prisoners' lives, the first being the war itself. Even career soldiers experienced a change with the outbreak of the Second World War; they were in the military, but no existing conflict was similar in scale to that of the Second World War. Examining the psychological effects experienced by Second World War veterans in the USA, Glen Elder Jr discusses the disruptive effect of early entry into the armed forces – classifying this as anything before the age of twenty one – he states that this 'maximized changes for a redirection of the life course through development growth, a delayed entry into family roles, and

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<sup>1</sup> This article is the early summary of an ongoing investigation into the different events, clubs, and objects within prisoner of war camps in Europe during the Second World War. The research will be developed further.

greater opportunity to get ahead'.<sup>2</sup> Elder further surmises that the older the recruitment age of the men, the more likely the disruption in family and career, concluding that 'delayed entry into the service exacts more from and offers less return to the lives of men'.<sup>3</sup> There was no way in which becoming involved in active combat in the Second World War did not disrupt these men's lives – whether they were called up, or joined voluntarily, they were still removed from their own personal concepts of normality and thrown into uncertainty.

The second layer of disruption arrived when men were taken prisoner. More than 170,000 British POWs were taken by the German and Italian forces during the Second World War, and 41,000 British prisoners were in captivity for more than four years.<sup>4</sup> Being taken prisoner of war is, in itself, uncertainty. The Geneva Convention's protection applied to those who were Prisoners of War, however – semantically – men were not POWs until they were accepted as such, and although the convention also ambiguously states that 'reasonable steps' must be taken to ensure each POWs safety, this was not afforded to all men, and the sheer logistics of attempting to restrain prisoners was highly complex for the capturing power.<sup>5</sup> As Niall Ferguson states: 'the captor's dilemma is simple - accept the enemy's surrender or kill him'.<sup>6</sup> As a captor, one is faced with a hostile enemy who has now surrendered, and it is essential to consider one's own safety before taking action. It is not always possible to take a prisoner – when two men surrender to a unit it is possible to secure them, and avoid further threat; however, if an entire garrison surrenders it is not necessarily possible to secure them without risking the safety of the capturing power.<sup>7</sup> As well as low captor to prisoner ratio, a situation of insufficient rations, or specific logistics (such as the surrender of an entire ship) leaves only the option of killing those who have surrendered so they cannot return to the fight or overpower their captors. This situation does little to assuage the uncertainty of the prisoners involved.

Despite the fact that both the Germans and the British had signed the Geneva Convention – an agreement that provided regulations regarding the treatment of prisoners of war – there was still a large number of casualties: 3.5% of all British POWs in German captivity died. This may seem like a relatively small amount, but less than 1% of the German POWs held by America and Britain died.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, the convention states that POWs were not supposed to be coerced for information other than their rank, name, and serial number; nonetheless, they were regularly isolated and

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<sup>2</sup> Glen Elder Jr., 'War Mobilization and the Life Course: A Cohort of World War II Veterans', *Sociological Forum*, 2, 3 (1987), p. 449.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, p. 449.

<sup>4</sup> Prisoners of War in Europe During the Second World War, *Imperial War Museum*, last accessed 23 August 2013, <<http://www.iwm.org.uk/history/prisoners-of-war-in-europe-during-the-second-world-war#>>; Arieh J. Kochavi, *Confronting Captivity: Britain and the United States and Their POWs in Nazi Germany* (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), p. 56.

<sup>5</sup> Pat Reid, *Prisoner of War* (London: Hamlyn, 1984), p. 38.

<sup>6</sup> Niall Ferguson, 'Prisoner Taking and Prisoner Killing in the Age of Total War: Towards a Political Economy of Military Defeat', *War In History*, 11, 2 (2004), p. 153.

<sup>7</sup> Pat Reid, *Prisoner of War*, p. 62.

<sup>8</sup> Ferguson, 'Prisoner Taking and Prisoner Killing in the Age of Total War', p. 186.

interviewed for information, especially flight crew who received routine interrogation.<sup>9</sup> Additionally, POWs were entitled to retain all personal belongings (excluding arms, and some other military equipment); to be removed from danger as soon as possible after capture; and to be given food and water equal to that of the capturing power's own troops. This was certainly not the case, and many men found themselves starving. Alan Barrett speaks of very poor rations immediately after capture; no food was given to them on the march from the point of capture to Suda Bay, and once at a transit camp in mainland Greece, he describes getting 'one cup of vitamin tea, and that was your lot'.<sup>10</sup> Dick Jones' diary also indicates very poor rations during the initial period post-capture.<sup>11</sup>

The landscapes, physiology, and locations of the different camps varied widely, and had a large effect on the type of activities developed and undertaken within them. The sandy soil at Stalag Luft III allowed for the fairly easy construction of a golf course; however, the same soil also made it more difficult for prisoners to grow items in the gardens which were present there.<sup>12</sup> Particularly low temperatures in winter allowed ice rinks to be constructed by building a low wall of snow or soil, and filling it with water which was allowed to freeze. Ditches could also be allowed to freeze over for the same effect.<sup>13</sup> However, the permissions of the captors were also an important factor in what was allowed in the camps. Often, behaviour which was considered poor (such as escape attempts internally, or the Dieppe Raid handcuffing externally) could lead to a sudden change in attitude; this can be seen in the decision to shoot the men involved in the Great Escape, and the handcuffing which went on after the Dieppe Raid.<sup>14</sup>

There were four main types of POW camps. The significance of the type of camp such as Stalags (general prison camps for soldiers), Stalag Lufts (camps for flight crew), Oflags (officers camps), and working camps (for those below Non-Commissioned Officer (NCO) status who were compelled to work) is important when considering the frequency, amount, and type of activities undertaken by prisoners. I will consider the differences in activity displayed across the different types of camp, and the effects that rank, and the type of work undertaken by POWs, could have on the general activities.

Certain activities can be identified as spanning a range of camps; sports are especially popular, and theatre is, at present, the most popular activity identified. Currently, the analysis has encompassed forty-three camps which have been analysed using an

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<sup>9</sup> Raymond Toliver, *The Interrogator: The Story of Hanns Jochim Scharff, Master Interrogator of the Luftwaffe* (Atglen, Pennsylvania: Schiffer Publishing, 1997).

<sup>10</sup> Alan Barrett, Interviewed by Stacey Astill, Clareville Isle of Man, January 2013.

<sup>11</sup> Michael G. Priestley, *Dick Jones of the Holylake Horses* (Newark: Michael G. Priestley Books, 2014), p. 45-56.

<sup>12</sup> Warwick Franks, 'Sport in Prisoner-of-War Camps in the Army and on the Home Front. Cricket in Stalag 344: Sport in German Prisoner-of-War Camps During World War II', *Sporting Traditions*, 11, 2 (1995), p. 82; J.K. Pringle, P. Doyle, L.E. Babits, 'Multidisciplinary Investigations at Stalag Luft III Allied Prisoner-of-War Camp: The Site of the 1944 "Great Escape," Zagan, Western Poland', *Geoarchaeology: An International Journal*, 22, 7 (2007), p. 742.

<sup>13</sup> Letter from Michael Farr, to Mr. and Mrs R.P. Farr. Durham County Record Office, Ref: D/DLI 7/208/64; Franks, 'Sport in Prisoner-of-War Camps', p. 82.

<sup>14</sup> Jonathan Vance, 'Men in Manacles: The Shackling of Prisoners of War, 1942-1943', *The Journal of Military History*, 59, 3 (1995), p. 483.

attributes table (Appendix 1, 2). Each camp has been given a line on the attributes table, and each activity has been given a column to allow for cross referencing. Camps have been added to the list as and when a relevant activity has been mentioned in one of the fifty-one unique resources which have currently been analysed. These span a range of mediums, classes, and camps. This not only identifies which activities are occurring in camps, but also allows for an analysis of the number of sources present for each activity, and each camp. The table does not differentiate between sources (diaries, memoirs, photographs), but does allow consideration for the weight of sources in each area. This means that more specific topics are less likely to obtain a repeated mention, but that is reflective of their “niche” status within the camp; for instance, topics such as bird watching were not popular with large numbers of men, even though there is evidence of bird watching within seven different camps. This evidence is largely from a specific book about this activity in Allied POW camps during the Second World War, and it follows the diaries of multiple men who travelled to different camps and took their hobby with them. Therefore, although this activity was present in seven camps, it cannot be taken as an indication that it was inherently popular. The majority of mentions are from Derek Niemann’s book *Birds in a Cage*, which is itself based on the diaries of the specific men mentioned in the book.<sup>15</sup> There are further mentions of this activity within *Ten Thousand Birds*; however, these all reference the same prisoners that Neiman discusses.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, although this source is credible, and has further references to indicate that the activity was taking place in certain camps, it cannot be assumed that bird watching was a hugely popular activity within them, as the recurrent mention of the same prisoners travelling within camps implies that there was only a limited amount of participants involved in the activity. In this way, POWs can actually skew the statistics presented – if one prisoner transfers camps regularly and continues an activity, it appears as though that activity was ongoing within many camps, whilst in reality the activity may instead be specific to a particular POW.

Similarly, some activities are highly specific to a certain nationality of prisoner. In 1943, L. Bdr Frank McMullin wrote a letter home, telling his mother he had given a talk about the Isle of Man as a tourist destination, and that he had planned a further talk on folklore and customs.<sup>17</sup> Although Manx POWs were representative of only a small number of the total Allied prisoners taken during the Second World War, the talks that McMullin gave were indicative of the larger educational culture within the camp. Out of the three sources currently analysed which mention Stalag 383 – one of which is specific to sport in prison camps – two of them mention the educational programme within the Stalag. A scrapbook, produced by Cliff Stansfield (in which pictures are described to give a representation of camp life), refers to the variety of education which

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<sup>15</sup> Derek Niemann, *Birds in a Cage: Warburg, Germany, 1941* (London: Short Books Ltd, 2013), Kindle, pp. 1306, 1353, 1503-1608, 1680-1686. For references to: Bird watching book left with instructions for other bird watchers who will be keeping notes as Condor is leaving camp, see pp. 1691, 1705. For references to: German guards assisting bird watchers, see pp. 2325-2353, 2369.

<sup>16</sup> Tim Birkhead, Jo Wimpenny, Bob Montgomerie, *Ten Thousand Birds: Ornithology since Darwin*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2014), p. 266.

<sup>17</sup> Stacey Astill, ‘Are Friends Adjacent? The Manx Experience in European POW Camps’, in *Imprisonment: Identity, Experience and Practice* ed. by Rose Ricciardelli, and Katharina Maier (Oxford: Inter-Disciplinary Press, 2015), p. 3.

was ongoing within the camp. Stansfield lists the official qualifications available to study as ‘...Secretaries; accountants; bankers ; grocers; co-op farmers; elec eng; mech eng; beekeepers’, and further stating that ‘...about 110 subjects were taught, including at least 10 languages’.<sup>18</sup> Five other camps also offer evidence which indicates an ongoing education programme during captivity, and Stalag XXB even had a lecture programme, whereas other camps had less specific lecture schedules. School classrooms are also present in two camps, and eight had libraries.

The Red Cross and other charitable bodies aided and fostered this enthusiasm for study through the provision of resources and by facilitating exams, which both benefitted the POWs and helped motivate them further.<sup>19</sup> Uptake of education in camps was highly common, with the Red Cross’s official report stating that ‘...by the end of the War 10,845 candidates had taken exams with a 79 percent pass rate’.<sup>20</sup> Article 34 of the 1949 Geneva Convention even included education as an area that Detaining Powers should encourage. However, the presence of education in camps cannot be attributed explicitly to external factors, and some prisoners discuss arranging their own education sessions, or choosing to undertake language learning without support having been offered to them.<sup>21</sup> One might expect that due to the officer’s status the presence of libraries was more common in the Oflag camps, as NCO ranks and above were not required to take part in any work. Conversely, this hypothesis is not currently reflected in the research. Oflag camps only represent three of the eight library sources, all three of which are sourced from the same book. Of the remaining five sources – all of which are from individual documents – three libraries were in Stalags, and another two in Stalag Luft camps. This suggests that reading was undertaken in a range of camps, and not just by the NCO classes and above. However, it should be noted that none of the specific working camps contained in the current table have any evidence of a library being present. The working hours in these camps were often very long; Arthur Evans, captured in 1939 and based in Stalag VIIIIB and Neurode (Nowa Ruda in Polish) Working Camp, discussed these long working hours. The prisoners were woken at 04:30 for the early shift, and the late shift began at 13:00. Each shift was eight hours and after they were finished, an extensive shower was required to remove the coal dust.<sup>22</sup> This left little time for developing and undertaking activities, and in an interview with Alan Barrett – captured in 1941 during the fall of Crete – he states that he ‘...didn’t have time to read, that was for the Officers’.<sup>23</sup> These are currently a small portion of sources, but out of six referenced working camps, none had a library,

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<sup>18</sup> Cliff Stansfield Scrapbook, Private Collection, created post-war - page titled "Education 383"

<sup>19</sup> British Red Cross, British Red Cross Services for British Prisoners of War: Refusing to Ignore People in Crisis, *Online Booklet*, last accessed 16 October 2015, <<http://www.redcross.org.uk/~media/BritishRedCross/Documents/About%20us/Second%20World%20War%20-%20British%20Red%20Cross%20services%20for%20British%20prisoners%20of%20war.pdf>>, p. 6.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, p. 6.

<sup>21</sup> Arthur Evans, *Sojourn in Silesia: 1940-45* (Seattle, Washington: Amazon Digital Services Inc., 2013), Kindle, p. 726; Denys Cook, *Missing in Action: Or My War as a Prisoner of War*, (Bloomington, Indiana: Trafford Publishing, 2013), Kindle, p. 854.

<sup>22</sup> Evans, *Sojourn in Silesia*, p. 629-678.

<sup>23</sup> Alan Barrett, Interview with Stacey Astill, St Johns, Isle of Man, 11 July 2015.

classroom, or formal education programme (although the previously mentioned language learning was evidenced).<sup>24</sup>

This division appears a fairly obvious one - due to the nature of working camps there is less time for leisure activities. Although many of the men in the Stalags were not at NCO level or above, they were not all forced to work. There was, therefore, further spare time available to create microcosms of wider society within the camps. Two prisoner accounts are from men who visited the same camp multiple times, but with a substantial break between. Evans, captured in 1939, initially spent some time in Stalag VIII B before being transferred to Neurode coal mines, and eventually back to Stalag VIII B; and Denys Cook, captured and incarcerated in Stalag XX B Marienburg, was then transferred to work detachment 110 at Klein Jauth before returning to XX B. Both of these men wrote of the changes that occurred in the camps during their time away.<sup>25</sup> Cook states that ‘...in fourteen months the camp had changed a great deal’, and Evans writes ‘...we entered the compounds where I had first set foot four years previously. Lamsdorf was transformed. It was like a Persian market’.<sup>26</sup> These testimonies demonstrate the changeable nature of the camps, as well as evidencing the development that occurred within them during the war. This development required resources to build infrastructure and arrange activities; such items were provided by the Red Cross or created by the men in the camps.

One of the most popular areas of camp life was sport. I have, so far, found evidence of twenty-one types of sport ongoing in various camps, which are mentioned sixty-seven times in total (Appendix 3). This is an extensive list of sporting activities, and there are references to sports in each of the four types of camp currently analysed. The importance of fitness is also stressed by many prisoner accounts, as the men hoped to remain as healthy as possible. Ronald Fermor (POW number 27411) often discusses this in letters home, emphasising exercise, and mentioning both physical training to improve his fitness, and the regular football and cricket played within the camp for entertainment. Sport offered an activity which could provide quality entertainment; for instance, Fermor wrote ‘...we have some really good [football] players here so it’s quite good entertainment’.<sup>27</sup> The presence of sport in working camps is also significant, as these camps were – as discussed previously – less likely to have as many activities, as the men had less time to engage in these. However, there is evidence of the men engaging in sports, including boxing in the Stalag VIII B E250 working party detachment.<sup>28</sup>

Gardening appears, at present, to represent a division between Oflags and general Stalags. There are currently four Oflags with evidence of gardening (Appendix 4). The two references to gardening in Stalag Luft III initially appears to subvert this trend;

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<sup>24</sup> Evans, *Sojourn in Silesia*, p. 726; Cook, *Missing in Action*, p. 854.

<sup>25</sup> Cook, *Missing in Action*, p. 1067.

<sup>26</sup> Evans, *Sojourn in Silesia*, p. 1444.

<sup>27</sup> Ronald Fermor, Letters to Mrs R Fermor, Private Collection, Letters Dated: 23/07/44, 18/06/44, 23/4/44.

<sup>28</sup> Alan Barrett, Interviewed by Stacey Astill, Personal Interview, St Johns, Isle of Man, December 2012.

however, the camp – despite its name – was actually initially an Officers’ camp under a Stalag name. Compounds were later added for non-NCO servicemen, and it is unclear in which section of the camp the gardens were. Nevertheless, there is reference to gardening at Stalag XXIA (Schildberg), including a photograph of the gardens with prisoners working on them.



*Garden Seeds and Tools, American Red Cross POW Bulletin, Vol 2, No.3, March 1944  
Stalag XXIA, 9.*

At present, the evidence from the sample of sources indicates that Oflag were more likely to have access to gardening facilities, but this is not fully exclusive to Officers’ camps and could be relevant to location and soil quality. Nor should it be assumed that the conditions and amenities in all Officers’ camps exceeded those of Stalags. Regardless of any divisions which may or may not have occurred, it is also relevant to consider the usage of the gardens: some specifically mention the growing of foodstuffs, while other gardens were dedicated to flowers.<sup>29</sup> Gardening within camps was not always an essential response to starvation rations, but instead represented a means of activity in the face of endemic boredom, or perhaps even a link to home.

Religion is represented in many prisoner diaries, and appears to be a constant feature of prison life. Many of the men write their thanks to god for their survival. Libraries have previously been mentioned, and large amounts of books were sent to the various camps. In 1944, 19,602 religious books were shipped to the American POW camps. The American Bible Society also sent 5,100 Bibles, or sections of the Bible, to Geneva for

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<sup>29</sup>For instance: “The birds hunted among the cabbage and potato crops in the prisoners’ vegetable garden” quoted in Derek Niemann, *Birds in a Cage, 1941*, p.2263.; ‘Garden Seeds and Tools’, *American Red Cross POW Bulletin*, 2, 3 (1944), Stalag XXIA, 9; Letter from Lieutenant Michael Farr to R.P. Farr, Durham County Record Office, Ref: D/DLI 7/208/66.



distribution.<sup>30</sup> Currently there is reference to four churches, or church buildings, in a variety of camps. There is also reference to four camps with church services, with only one of these instances represents the same camp. These services were often explicitly mentioned in regards to Christmas, Thanksgiving, and other important holidays.<sup>31</sup> There is also mention of Hanukkah, and other Jewish holidays being celebrated within the camps (Appendix 5). Religion was therefore a prominent theme within the camp, and further scholarly research needs to be dedicated to ascertaining whether religion became more widespread as a reaction to the turbulent circumstances of POW life.

News about the war was specifically forbidden in the camps. Prisoners were not permitted to listen to the BBC, and instead were supposed to be provided only with German propaganda newspapers and updates. From the currently analysed sources, contraband radios have been mentioned in twelve camps – one in an Italian camp, four in Officers' camps, and the remaining references in Stalags. The existence of radios was far more widespread than this; there was a radio in nearly every major camp and news was often spread from hut to hut to keep the men updated. There are even examples of them being present in the incredibly strict Japanese camps.<sup>32</sup> Radios provided both a form of resistance – directly disobeying orders about possessing them – but also represented a link to home for POWs, bringing news of the war effort, as well as the familiarity of home in broadcasts.<sup>33</sup> The creation of the radios themselves required ingenuity, and across the camps differing items were used to build them, spanning from candle grease to parts stolen from the camp loudspeakers.<sup>34</sup> Prisoners often went to great lengths to obscure the radios, demonstrating not just the fact they were forbidden in camp, but also their value. Great effort went into the creation, operation, and concealment of radios.<sup>35</sup> In times of disruption, these men took extreme action to retain the power of knowledge.

Presently, 103 activities, clubs, or objects have been added to the attributes table; of these, there are fifty two activities which are only referenced in a singular camp. This is partially due to the fact that research is still ongoing, but some developments within the camps – such as camp cobblers, DJs playing records, and camp chimney sweeps - were

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<sup>30</sup> David Shavit, "The Greatest Morale Factor Next to the Red Army": Books and Libraries in American and British Prisoners of War Camps in Germany During World War II', *Libraries and Culture*, 34, 2 (1999), p. 117.

<sup>31</sup> For instance: "Leo and I went to Thanksgiving Service" quoted in Michael G. Priestley, *Dick Jones of the Holylake Horses*, (Newark: Michael G. Priestley Books, 2014), p. 50; Harry Korger, A Wartime Log, Red Cross, Private Collection, p. 72; 'Xmas Services, Midnite Mass' (Dec 24 1943).

<sup>32</sup> Stacey Astill, 'Creativity, Humour and Resistance: An Exploration of their Uses by Allied Prisoners of War During the Second World War', Unpublished Thesis, University of Newcastle, 2013, p. 20.

<sup>33</sup> For instance: "Whilst sitting in the spring sunshine with my back against a hut wall, from inside the hut I was surprised to overhear the BBC news" quoted in Evans, *Sojourn in Silesia*, p. 1566. Also see: "Whilst sitting in the spring sunshine with my back against a hut wall, from Inside the hut I was surprised to overhear the BBC news", *ibid*, p. 1579.

<sup>34</sup> Ian English, Harry Moses, *For you Tommy the War is Over* (Sunderland: Business Education Publishers, 2006), p. 96; Ingenious POW Radio Goes on Show, *BBC News*, last accessed 18 August 2013, <[news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/4460319.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/4460319.stm)>.

<sup>35</sup> Marilyn Walton, Michael Eberhardt, *From Interrogation to Liberation: A Photographic Journey Stalag Luft III - The Road to Freedom*, (London: Author House, 2014), pp. 151-152.



fairly camp specific.<sup>36</sup> These were less common allowances, often depending on the residents of the camp, and what the Commandant would permit.

This inquiry forms the beginning of a much larger study, but nonetheless allows initial patterns to be identified and analysed. This has been achieved by highlighting three key areas: activities which were more likely to be practiced across various camps, the men who travelled through multiple camps influencing activities, and the differences between the activities in NCO and non-NCO camps. The research on Prisoners of War allows an exploration of human nature and resilience. The men experienced extreme disruption, and were placed into captivity with poor and often limited resources. The microcosms of society that began to build offer an insight into the reaction to these stimuli; the camp experience was difficult, there were high instances of mental health issues as classified by Geoffrey Vaughn, and suicide was not uncommon.<sup>37</sup> Yet, in spite of the difficult situation, and the huge strain that the men were placed under, they remained capable, and were able to react to their disrupted circumstances in a positive way, by building on what was made available to them, and ensuring that they were making use of their time in the best possible way they could: through education, fitness, crafts, and general entertainment. Further study of a broader nature can allow deeper analysis of the range of activities within the camps, indicating patterns of behaviour, the nature of class division between Stalags and Oflags, as well as the way information spread throughout the camps and led to the foundation of camp activities, or the innovative creation of new objects.

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<sup>36</sup> Evans, *Sojourn in Silesia*, p. 1083; Cliff Stansfield Scrapbook, Private Collection; Rikki King, 'Snohomish Man's WWII Service Included 9 Months as POW', *Herald Net*, last accessed 13 September 2015, <<http://www.heraldnet.com/article/20140604/NEWS01/140609703/1172/9-months-a-prisoner-of-war>>.

<sup>37</sup> Geoffrey D. Vaughn, *The Way it Really Was* (New York: The Granary Press, 1985), pp. 27-31.

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Ingenious POW Radio Goes on Show, *BBC News*, last accessed 18 August 2013, <[news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/4460319.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/4460319.stm)>.

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## Appendices

### *Appendix One: Web Based Version of the Attributes Table.*

This document can be viewed online at:

[https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1Wlk\\_aKNbsl3S40J9x\\_9iPFu2vAgPqT50KVMN-tVDeVk/edit?usp=sharing](https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1Wlk_aKNbsl3S40J9x_9iPFu2vAgPqT50KVMN-tVDeVk/edit?usp=sharing)

### *Appendix Two: Table of Camps Currently Mentioned in Analysed Sources*

<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>Italian Camps</u></b> Camp IX A/H Campo 65 Gravina Campo 66 near Naples Campo 70 Campo 75 Bari (Torre Tresca) Campo 78 Sulmona in Abruzzi Campo 148</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>Transit, and Yet to be Classified Working Camps</u></b> Crete Transit Camp Gleiwitz Aerodrome Prison Camp Neurode (Nowa Ruda) Working Camp</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>Oflag – Officers’ Camps</u></b> Oflag XXI Schubin (closed) Oflag 64 Schubin (same as above, but reopened and renumbered, for American officers) Oflag 79 Brunswick Oflag IXA Oflag VB Biberach Oflag VIB Dossel Oflag VIIB Eichstätt Oflag VIIC Laufen Oflag XC Lubeck Oflag XIIB Mainz</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>Stalag – Lower Rank than NCO Camps</u></b> Stalag 13a Hammelburg Stalag 18a Wolfsburg Stalag 344 Stalag 357/XXA Stalag 383 Stalag IVB Stalag IXA Stalag Luft I Stalag Luft III Stalag Luft IV Stalag Luft VI Stalag Luft VII Stalag VIIA Stalag VIII B Lamsdorf</p>

<p style="text-align: center;">Stalag VIIIIB Working Camp E119 Mankendorf                  Stalag VIIIIB Working Camp E250 Max Ledler Timer Works Wood Wool Factory                  Stalag XIB                  Stalag XVIIB Gneixendorf                  Stalag XXA Working Camp E109                  Stalag XXB Marienburg                  Stalag XXB Work Detachment 110 Klein Jauth                  Stalag XXIA Schlidburg                  Stalag XXID Posen</p>
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*Appendix Three: Table of Sports Currently Listed in Resources Analysed*

<u>Type of Sport</u>	<u>Current Number of References</u>
Scottish dancing classes	1
Boxing	5
Judo (or other martial arts)	2
Basketball (or similar adaptations)	6
Baseball	4
Football	9
Rugby	4
Rounders	1
Cricket	5
Tennis	2
Gymnastics	4
High Jump	1
Physical training and weight lifting	7
Running races	1
Swimming or water sports	4
Quoits	1
Hockey	1
Ice Hockey (and other winter sports)	3
Volleyball	3
Golf	2
Supervised parole walks	1

*Appendix Four: Table of Camps Which Refer to Gardening, and Amount of References to Each.*

<u>Camps</u>	<u>Number of References</u>
Oflag VIB (Dossel)	One Source
Oflag VIIB (Eichstatt)	Three Sources
Oflag XXI (Schubin)	One Source
Oflag 64 (Schubin)	One Source

*Appendix Five: Photograph of a Hanukkah Celebration*



Hanukkah Celebration - Palestine Pioneer Corps Stalag VIIIB 1943 - Courtesy of Pal. Pioneer Corps 1939-1945 Facebook Group