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THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF REFORM AT A GERMAN PRISONER OF WAR CAMP IN A CANADIAN NATIONAL PARK DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR (1943–1945)

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
AND THE COMMITTEE ON GRADUATE STUDIES
OF STANFORD UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Adrian Myers
May 2013

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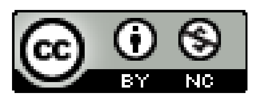

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ABSTRACT

During the height of the Second World War pressure from Great Britain resulted in the transfer of thousands of German prisoners of war (PoWs) from British to Canadian control. To house them, Canada built a system of PoW camps, including Riding Mountain Camp in southwestern Manitoba. The PoWs sent there soon realized their good fortune: they lived in warm barracks, ate abundant food, and were able to purchase goods from a mail order catalog. But while the PoWs were well treated, they were at the same time subjected to a concerted reeducation campaign organized by the Allies. This reveals that these Canadian camps were not merely warehouses for the PoWs, but in fact, classic reforming institutions.

Initially subjected to ideological training under Nazism, the PoWs were next subjected to another kind of education under the Canadians. Evidence collected from oral history interviewing, archival research, and three seasons of field archaeology combine to reveal that material culture was a key nexus in this competition for the minds of the PoWs. In addition to providing books and teaching courses on history and political science, the Canadians introduced the PoWs to a democratic, capitalistic way of life by familiarizing them with North American consumer goods and by allowing them to fraternize with Canadian civilians. The Nazi bureaucracy, in turn, used material things to try to keep the PoWs from turning to the other side. For example, by sending them crisp new Wehrmacht uniforms from Germany, heartening Christmas cards, and packages filled with German goods adorned with Nazi symbolism.

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Though clichéd, it is also the plain truth that the completion of this project was not a solitary effort and plainly would not have been achieved without the support of what can only be described as a fabulous array of mentors, colleagues, friends and family. I state here without hesitation that the first mention must go to my primary thesis adviser at Stanford, Dr. Barbara Voss. Since it is impossible to explain everything she did for me in the five years, I will distill it thus: Dr. Voss is, simply put, the consummate graduate adviser. Any success I have had at Stanford, any kudos for completing this PhD relatively efficiently, is owed to her in equal part. Thank you Barb. In addition to Dr. Voss, through my postsecondary scholastic journey I have been blessed with generous guidance from both formal and informal advisers hailing from four institutions in three countries. For their support over five or more years I must thank Christopher Friedrichs at the University of British Columbia, Ross Jamieson at Simon Fraser University, John Schofield at the University of York, and Ian Hodder, Lynn Meskell, Mike Wilcox, and James Sheehan at Stanford University.

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DEDICATION

To Stephanie, who has been with me from start to end.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 A Former German Prisoner of War in Canada

He embellished the book himself, using parts of his khaki, *Wehrmacht*-issue, tropical uniform. The metal shield with national colors from his pith helmet is glued to the front cover, as is his *Afrika Korps*–emblazoned armband. One of his two shoulder straps, cut from his tunic with its corresponding olive green pebbled button, has been affixed from the back cover to the front cover to create a fastening system that keeps the cover closed (Figure 1.1 and 1.2). Open the photo album and you find a chronological photo tour of his wartime experiences: a studio portrait photo of a fresh-faced young man in a new uniform (Figure 1.3a), the Italian countryside, the beach in North Africa, a street bazaar in Libya, a tank in the desert, the young soldier standing with ammunition belts around his neck (Figure 1.4), later with his head bandaged and, finally, a prisoner of war (PoW) mug shot (Figure 1.5). This unique photo album, a curated personal artifact, in its own way tells the story of how this man ended up living in Canada, and how many years later I ended up in his living room.

I'm sitting at a small round table looking through this brittle photo album with Gunter Poppe, an 89-year-old veteran of the Nazi Wehrmacht now living in a modern apartment tower in British Columbia's Fraser Valley. The year is 2011. Sixty-five years prior, in the mid-1940s, Gunter was in the gunner's seat of a Panzer Mark V tank rumbling southward through North Africa along with his intimidating host, Adolf Hitler's specially commissioned Afrika Korps. The Korps' commander, Erwin Rommel, as famous for his sangfroid as his strategic skill, shared with his infamous patron and many underlings the goal of wresting the African Theater from Allied control. This, however, was not to be. Devastating defeats suffered by the Nazis at the hands of the Allies in bloody battles, most critically on Egypt's Mediterranean coast in late 1943, would lead to the end of Hitler's designs on Africa.

My experience speaking with Mr. Poppe and other German veterans of the Nazi campaign in North Africa revealed that most of them view their time as soldiers with

some pride. This does not appear to be a pride in Nazism or what it stood for—or the havoc it wreaked—but rather, seemingly, simply the pride of a soldier. This is the pride of having been part of something impressive, having played a role in significant historical events. But despite how they might *speak* about their experiences during the war (usually with enthusiasm), and despite the positive light they might even cast on those times, the relationship between these men and their pasts is in fact fraught with tension.

Recall that first photo in the album, the studio portrait of a young Gunter Poppe in his new Wehrmacht uniform. Have a second look at the right breast of his tunic (Figure 1.3a). The sewn-on patch (known as "the tropical breast eagle patch" [Figure 1.3b]) has been altered in the black-and-white photo. Where there once was a Nazi swastika, there is now a small scribble of blue ballpoint pen. The marking looks relatively recent, apparently added decades after the photo was developed. Whether it represents shame, fear, political correctness, hope, or something else entirely, that scribble—a simple pen marking—is a powerful symbol of the weight of the past.

During the Second World War, 33,000 Nazi soldiers, including Gunter Poppe, were captured by the Allies and transported to Canada for internment in a network of PoW camps. These 33,000 were just a percentage of the hundreds of thousands, and later millions, taken prisoner during the Second World War. Those with the misfortune of being captured by the Soviet Army faced a grim, likely short future. The Soviets were furious over Nazi atrocities on the Eastern Front, and in the later years of the war, treated German PoWs so poorly that 50 % or more would die in captivity (Rees 2007). The Japanese held a disdain for surrender, and utter contempt for enemy captured, which led to similarly despicable treatment (Hata 1996; Roland 1991). Those captured by the British and any of her allied former colonies fared incomparably better. These nations, Canada included, took pains to follow the 1929 Geneva Convention, which governed the treatment of captured enemy soldiers (Geneva Convention 1979). German PoWs sent to Canada soon realized their good fortune.

But while the PoWs were on the whole well treated in Canada, evidence suggests that they were at the same time subjected to a concerted reeducation campaign organized by the Allies. While the stated intention of the Canadian captors was in accordance with the spirit of Geneva Convention criteria that PoWs be simply held for the duration of hostilities and not subjected to psychological manipulation, in practice the PoW camps were not merely warehouses for the PoWs but in fact classic reforming institutions in the Victorian tradition. The goal, though not stated publicly, was to shift the PoWs from fascist to democratic ideals, to reform them from their allegiance to Nazism. This complicates slightly the otherwise benign picture of internment in Canada, since attempting to influence a PoW's ideology is a grey area under the rules of the 1929 Geneva Convention.

Initially subjected to physical and ideological training under Nazism, the PoWs, once settled in Canadian camps, were subjected to another kind of education, this time prescribed by the Canadians. With the PoWs' arrival in Canada, two very strong forms of ideology came into contact with one another, and the PoWs were caught between the two. Material culture was a key nexus in this competition for the minds of the PoWs. The Canadians used material things to their advantage as part of a wider program of reeducation: in addition to teaching courses on English, American, and Canadian history and political science, the Canadian captors also introduced the PoWs to North American style democratic capitalism by granting them easy access to consumer goods available at the camp canteen and out of mail order catalogs. This Canadian focus on consumer goods would have built on the PoWs' prior experiences in Germany, where providing access to quality modern goods was one of the ways that the Nazis developed public support (Wiesen 2011).

The Nazi bureaucracy in Europe, in turn, used material culture to attempt to keep the interned PoWs from turning to the other side: for example, by shipping care packages to the PoWs that contained desirable items adorned with National Socialist symbolism. The tins of German chocolate in these packages had the Nazi eagle and swastika proudly embellished on their lids (Figure 1.6). In December 1941, Nazi leader Herman Goering

sent a Christmas card and care package to every PoW in Canada. These and other moves by the Nazi bureaucracy revealed their strong interest in maintaining the PoWs as loyal followers.

1.2 Internments and Archaeologies

The time is right for the archaeology of the Second World War. The global commemorations of 50th, 60th, and 70th anniversaries of key events of the war have increased attention on the conflict, and introduced it to younger generations, particularly through movies, television specials, and even video games. The anniversary milestones are significant: for the Baby Boomer generation, who grew up in the shadow of the global conflict, it is sobering to note just how many years now separate them from those stirring, immediate post-war boom years.

On the scale of a human life, sixty-five years is a long time. Increased temporal distance from the war influences the likelihood that it will be studied by archaeologists in at least two ways: first, there is the simple fact that with the passing of time material remains are more likely to fall under the purview of legal frameworks for the protection of heritage. In the United States, for example, the rolling "50-year rule" now covers the entire decade of the 1940s (and the 1950s and 1960s for that matter) (Sprinkle 2007). In France and Germany, material remains of twentieth century conflicts are just beginning to be considered worthy of investigation under heritage legislation (Chapter 2). Canadian heritage laws are far less inclusive, but fortunately the remains of Riding Mountain Camp are legally protected because they are in a national park.

There is also a growing realization that internment was an important theme of the twentieth century. Some of the most infamous episodes of the last century relate to various forms of confinement, including—to name a selection—the first uses of civilian concentration camps during colonial conflicts such as the Cuban Insurrection, the Spanish-American War, and the Boer War, the detention of civilians during the First World War, the use of work gangs during the Great Depression era in North America, the internment and murder of innumerable categories of men, women, and children during

the Second World War and in the Holocaust, the vast "Gulag Archipelago" of the Soviet era, and the disappeared people of the South American dictatorships, such as the Argentinian Junta. In the first decade of the twenty-first century, much scrutiny has focused on American directed imprisonment abroad at places such as Abu Ghraib in Iraq, Guantanamo Bay in Cuba, and so-called black sites operated by the CIA in Eastern Europe. Penitentiaries and jails—holding people accused or convicted of behavior deviant of social norms—though usually out of everyday view and discourse, are of course quotidian features of every society. The United States, in particular, is in the midst of a drastic 30-year rise in mass incarceration (Garland 2001; Wacquant 2008).

Mass group internments in camps and imprisonments in jails, prisons and holding cells, then, are key components of our society. And when we look at internment in the recent past, we are partly seeking to understand critical issues facing us today. But the study of internment does more than illuminate specific historical or contemporary events and issues: the experience of internment incorporates key themes of the human condition—many of which have long been studied by social scientists. Through internment, archaeologists query classic themes such as migration and culture contact, changing ideologies and identities, power relations and human agency, trade and exchange, sexuality, the role of institutions in society, and artistic expression.

1.3 Research Topic and Questions

This dissertation is about a forced movement of 33,000 German PoWs to Canada, and about the lives of these German men during their internment in Canada. My research focus is on Riding Mountain Camp (Figure 1.7), one specific, relatively small, PoW camp that held about 450 men in a remote forest in Manitoba; and while I treat the wider story of internment in broad strokes, I save close analysis for a case study of this one camp. This is a study of a quintessential modern moment, a time and place typified by circulation and dislocation. *People* are in motion. The PoWs traveled far from home with their own army and then took the most circuitous of routes to Canada after their capture. And *things* are in motion. At Riding Mountain Camp, everything had to be shipped in—via train, truck and horse-drawn carriage or sleigh—including official camp supplies and

personal packages and letters for both PoWs and guards. This is also a short lived, ephemeral site (it was only occupied for two years) that provides something of a temporal snapshot of life in a PoW work camp rather than the long-term perspective more commonly sought after by archaeologists.

The project primarily addresses three interrelated research questions, each of which considers how power operates and how ideologies compete in institutional settings, in general, and in the PoW camps holding German soldiers in Canada specifically:

> *1) What philosophical models of prisoner management underpinned the Allies' approach to holding Axis prisoners during the Second World War?*
>
> *2) In what ways does material culture mediate between competing people, powers, and ideologies in institutional settings?*
>
> *3) How do institutionalized people respond when stuck between the push and pull of two ideologies?*

The arguments put forward and the conclusions reached in this dissertation are based on five years of research and data collection, analysis, and contemplation. Primary data collection comprised archaeological field work over three summers, archival research in person and through correspondence, and collection of oral histories through interviews with former PoWs. The archaeology produced about 53,000 artifacts that provide evidence of daily life in the PoW camp. The archival research produced thousands of pages of historical documents related to Riding Mountain Camp and to internment operations in Canada more generally. These documents primarily speak to the Canadian perspective on the PoWs, and the bureaucratic side of running the camps in Canada. The oral history interviews conducted with former PoWs and others provided firsthand recollections of Riding Mountain Camp and the emotions and opinions on life as a PoW. Both the archival research and the oral history interviews produced historical photographs—some unboxed for the first time in seventy years—of Riding Mountain Camp, and these photos are discussed throughout the dissertation.

Buchli and Lucas (2001) suggest that the abundance of information on events of the recent past can be just as obscuring as the dearth of information available for the deep past. The statement certainly resonates with this project, for which some sort of coherence had to be sorted out of thousands of artifacts, photographs, and archival documents, hours of oral history interviews, months of personal experience in the field, and shelves full of history books. This surfeit of data is complicated further since every line of evidence is, in its own way, always incomplete. No line of evidence provides any kind of complete story, of course. Each is partial.

1.4 Introduction to Results

This project is characterized by a series of counterintuitive results. From an archaeological perspective, perhaps the first surprise was simply the sheer quantity of materials produced from excavations at this prison camp. A common assumption about prison settings is that these are hermetic, insular places where humans are caged and have severely limited access to material things. That assumption is proving to be false (Chapter 2). The PoWs and guards at Riding Mountain Camp clearly had access to a great deal of material things, some provided in bulk by the institution, others purchased or procured in some other way by individuals. Much of these materials ended up in the camp's trash middens, left to be excavated by archaeologists sixty-five years later.

These excavations revealed the vast assortment of things that the PoWs and guards had and used, many of them seemingly unlikely possessions in a prison camp in a remote forest. For example, excavations at a midden associated with a barrack that housed PoWs revealed an immense number and variety of personal grooming implements, although not just the usual institutional items such as toothbrushes and hair combs, but also items like hair pomades, mouthwashes, face creams, aftershaves, baby powder, and even cologne. This abundance of excavated personal grooming supplies, combined with photos of the camp showing well-dressed and carefully groomed PoWs, suggests that personal presentation was important to the prisoners.

That the PoWs had the time, resources, and frame of mind for such extensive and particular personal grooming suggests that their basic needs of food, clothing, and shelter must have been well taken care of. Extensive evidence from multiple sources backs up the suggestion that not only were the PoWs well fed and warmly clothed and sheltered, but they had ample free time. With any institute or prison, one would expect at least some hardship or certain deprivations, but as it turns out, at Riding Mount Camp there appears to have been little of either. Of course the PoWs were restricted in their movements. Their freedom was, in theory at least, limited because they were not supposed to leave the camp. But by all accounts, the PoWs at Riding Mountain Camp were treated in such a way that many did not even resent their being held. In light of the alternative of fighting in horrible conditions in Africa or Europe, their lives in jeopardy daily, it is no exaggeration to state that many were happy to be interned.

Riding Mountain Camp was not a typical PoW camp. In addition to the unusual abundance of material goods and other comforts afforded the PoWs, the camp had a particular architectural and spatial layout that contributed to creating a less oppressive than usual prison setting. At Riding Mountain Camp, the PoWs were not subjected to an overt, physical architecture of control. There was no fence around the camp, and neither were there guard towers. Rather than these usual, tangible signs of institutional surveillance and control, at Riding Mountain a ring of simple red marks on trees marked the boundaries of the camp, a small hut sat at the entrance road, and guards undertook walking patrols. The PoWs took advantage of this relaxed security and went on lengthy out of bounds walks and hikes, getting as far as the nearest towns, where they befriended local Ukrainian Canadian families.

Despite how the Canadian government presented their efforts publicly, it is clear that the network of PoW camps was a system of *reforming institutions*. These were patently not simply warehousing camps, where prisoners were held and provided for and not influenced in any way. The Canadians developed and implemented a reeducation campaign aimed at reforming the PoWs from their upbringing under Nazism and at changing them into potential proponents of a hoped-for, newly democratic, postwar

Europe. Inside the camps in Canada the imprisoned Wehrmacht soldiers, previously subjected to physical and psychological training and indoctrination under Nazism, were subjected to carefully developed curricula of political reeducation.

The soldiers were subjected to the double pressures of ideological education and reeducation. They were first pulled one way, then the other. The Canadian program included careful selection of what magazines, books, and movies would be approved for use in the camps; spying on PoWs and use of informants to root out Nazi true believers so they could be separated from the general population; provision of education materials, courses, and university professors lecturing on authorized topics; and interviewing and classifying each PoW into a hierarchical system that ranked his adherence to Nazism on a color-coded scale (Chapter 10).

The negotiation of power and the push and pull between competing ideologies that occurred daily at Riding Mountain Camp was largely mediated through small material culture. At the outset, small material culture was destined to play a larger role in power relations in this particular prison setting, lacking as it did the most conventional features of institutional control: fences and towers. Without that backdrop of imposing architecture, the institution and the guards fell back on other, less overt symbols to levy their control over PoWs: their persons and their rifles surely, but also, less obviously power-related items such as the quotidian, institution-provided plain hotel ware ceramics and simple steel cutlery. These institutional items served to reinforce conformity among camp inhabitants.

The PoWs, in turn, used small material culture of their own selection, demonstrated for example by the PoWs' meticulous personal grooming habits, which depended on products personally chosen out of mail order catalogs. The Nazi bureaucracy in Germany, in opposition to the reeducation efforts of the Canadians, shipped care packages to the PoWs that were adorned with patriotic imagery such as Nazi eagles and swastikas, and filled with reminders of home such as German chocolates.

That scribbled-over swastika in Mr. Poppe's photo album is a most telling symbol of tension between competing ideologies. This tension existed in the PoW camps during the war, but clearly—for Mr. Poppe at least—continues to this very day. The question of what happens when institutionalized people are stuck between the push and pull of two idealistic ideologies has no single, easy answer. Every individual surely acted and reacted in unique ways. Nevertheless, the surviving PoWs with whom I spoke shared a surprising, common perspective on their internment in Canada: they enjoyed their time as PoWs, look back on it fondly, are grateful for the generous treatment they received, and think highly of Canada and Canadians for it. In short, they were happy to have been interned in Canada.

1.5 Project Organization, Schedule, and Public Outreach

1.5.1 Rationale for Project

In early 2009, after having read about twentieth-century internment camps built in Canadian national parks (Waiser 1995b), I contacted archaeology staff at Parks Canada about the possibility of developing a field research project on the topic. These initial discussions led to me apply for a Parks Canada research and collection Permit for summer 2009 (permit # JNP-2009-2217) and, subsequently, for two more permits for summers 2010 (permit # RMNP-2010-5195) and 2011 (permit # RMNP-2011-8140).

The archaeological field work conducted in partnership with Parks Canada as approved by those three permits composes the bulk of the research that supports this PhD dissertation. Archaeological data collected at the site of the PoW camp is supported by archival documents held at Library and Archives Canada and other repositories, oral history recorded with former PoWs and other living informants, and a rich secondary literature on the history of the Second World War and of German PoWs held in Canada specifically.

1.5.2 Site Location, Access and Description

Riding Mountain Camp was located in the southwest of the province of Manitoba, Canada, within Riding Mountain National Park. Established in 1933, the national park

extends over about 3,000 square kilometers in Canada's boreal forest over a rise known as the Manitoba Escarpment (Lang 1974). The park comprises varied microclimates and vegetation zones—including boreal forest, deciduous forest, fescue grasslands, and wetlands—containing abundant flora and fauna (Bailey 1968; Cody 1988; Johnson et al. 1995). The lands, today as then, are administered from the town of Wasagaming, Manitoba, by Parks Canada.

The main site is located at 14U 404,045E 5,629,802N (Nad 83) (Figures 1.8 to 1.10). It is marked on Canada National Topographic Series map 062K/16, its Borden number is EeMc-0002, and its Parks Canada site number is 31K. The midden dump area of the camp was assigned the Parks Canada site number 32K in 2010. The central concentration of remains of the camp is located at the Whitewater Lake Backcountry Campground, about 500 meters east of Whitewater Lake, a 10.5-square-kilometer (1,050-hectare) lake in the backcountry of the park. To access the site, leave the town of Wasagaming via Highway 10 north (toward Dauphin), and turn left onto Lake Audy Road. Continue on Lake Audy Road until you reach a small parking area and signs for the Central Trail (approximately 43 km from Wasagaming). Walk (about two hours) or bike (about forty-five minutes) 10 km north on the Central Trail until you reach the sign marking the Whitewater Lake campground. Turn left off of the Central Trail to arrive at the site. (Note that the whereabouts of this historic site are already publically known, and the locational information released in this dissertation was approved by Parks Canada.)

The central area of the camp is a flat clearing of about 0.032 square kilometers (3.2 hectares) filled with thick grasses and some bushes. Approximately ten to fifteen large trees are located near the main camping area. The surrounding area is moderately to heavily vegetated with trees and bushes (primarily spruce and willow) (Figures 1.11 to 1.13). The site is bounded to the west and south by the Little Saskatchewan River (also known as the Minnedosa River) draining from the lake, and to the east by the Central Trail, the decommissioned road that provides access to the site. Nonarchaeological features around the archaeological site include wooden picnic tables, round metal fire

pits, metal bear bin food storage containers, trail signage, a horse corral, and a hitching post.

1.5.3 Legal Designation of Archaeological Sites

Prior to my involvement in this project, the site of the PoW camp was assigned a Parks Canada site number and a Canadian Borden number. After our summer 2010 confirmation of the existence of a large midden (later named "Official Midden A") about 500 meters northeast of the PoW camp, Parks Canada decided to assign this area its own Parks Canada site number. At the time of this writing, this second site has not yet been assigned a Canadian Borden number. Table 1.1 shows the basic legal descriptions for the two sites. The far right column shows the relevant Canadian National Topographic System (NTS) map sheet.

Table 1.1: Legal Designation of Archaeological Sites

Site Name	UTM Coordinates (Nad 83)	Parks Canada Site Number	Borden Number	NTS Map Series
Riding Mountain PoW Camp	14U 404,045E 5,629,802N	31K	EeMc-0002	062K/16
Official Midden A	14U 404,515E 5,630,210N	32K	N/A	062K/16

1.5.4 Public Outreach

During all stages of archaeology field work in the national park, the field crew made every effort to invite park visitors and staff to observe, discuss, and participate in our work. To increase the visibility of the project, we posted signage around the park and had park staff promote it with park visitors. Tours of the site and the in-progress work were provided, both prearranged and impromptu, whenever groups arrived at the site (Figure 1.13). We also gave public lectures at the national park's visitor center that included a display table with recently excavated artifacts. I gave a site tour to a large group of archaeologists, members of the Manitoba Archaeological Society.

We also regularly worked with media outlets. This resulted in articles on the National Geographic Society and *Archaeology* magazine websites and the news websites Scotsman.com, Lenta.ru (in Russian), CTV News, and CBC News; print articles in the *Toronto Star*, the *Minnedosa Tribune*, the *Dauphin Herald*, the *Winnipeg Free Press*, the *Brandon Sun*, the *Stanford Daily*, *Britain at War* magazine, *Canoeroots* magazine, and *Der Spiegel* (in German); and television and radio coverage including Radio Canada International's "The Link," CBC Radio's "As it Happens" and Radio One news, CBC/Radio-Canada, and CBC TV's "The National." Throughout the field season the project website and blog (whitewaterpowcamp.com) was updated regularly. I have also presented research on this project at academic conferences hosted by the Society for Historical Archaeology, the Manitoba Archaeological Society, the European Archaeological Association, and the American Anthropological Association.

1.6 Document Organization

Following this introductory chapter, I provide a literature review on the archaeology of institutions and internment in Chapter 2. This chapter shows the evolution of the modern institution starting with its medieval origins. In Chapter 3, I outline my theoretical approach and argument, and in Chapter 4 provide an overview of relevant historical context. The theoretical approach chapter reviews three philosophical models of prisoner management, key theories on the nature of power relations, and sociologist Erving Goffman's perspective on the institutionalized individual; the historical context chapter provides an overview of the various experiences of PoWs during the second world war, reviews the various reeducation efforts undertaken by different countries, and provides an overview of the basic history of German PoWs in Canada and at Riding Mountain Camp specifically.

The next two chapters are devoted to methods and initial results: Chapter 5 presents the methods taken in course of the research, including oral history recording, archival research, and the field and lab work; Chapter 6 explains the preliminary results of the excavations and laboratory analyses, and presents interpretations of the disposal practices of the camp inhabitants. Chapters 7 through 10 present the major analyses and findings of

the research program: Chapter 7 discusses the camp in its wider landscape, Chapter 8 addresses the space and architecture of the camp, Chapter 9 examines the relationship and tension between the institution and the individual, and Chapter 10 explores the competing powers of the Canadian and the German bureaucracies. The dissertation concludes with Chapter 11, which reviews the findings of the dissertation, discusses its implications for the discipline and related interest areas, and offers some closing thoughts.

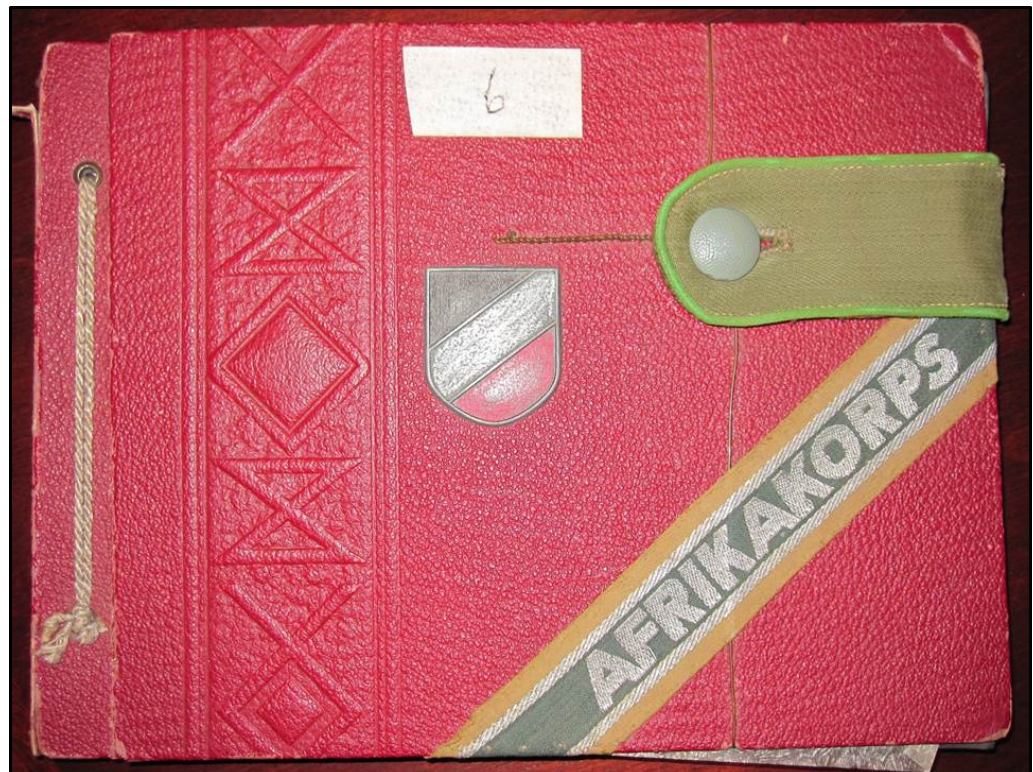

Figure 1.1: Gunter Poppe's uniquely adorned scrapbook. Note the metal shield from his Wehrmacht helmet, and armband, shoulder strap, and button from his uniform. (Courtesy of Gunter Poppe)

Figure 1.2: Gunter Poppe at his kitchen table in British Columbia, Canada. He is holding one of his wartime scrapbooks. October 2011.

Figure 1.3a: Spring 1941 portrait of Gunter Poppe. Note that in the photo, the swastika at the base of the Tropical Breast Eagle patch has been covered over with a blue ballpoint pen. (Courtesy of Gunter Poppe)

Figure 1.3b: Unaltered Tropical Breast Eagle patch. (Courtesy of Bender Publishing)

Figure 1.4 (Left): Gunter Poppe in battle in North Africa. June 1942. (Courtesy of Gunter Poppe)

Figure 1.5 (Right): One of Gunter Poppe's Canadian PoW mug shots. July 1943. (Courtesy of Gunter Poppe)

Figure 1.6: Nazi Red Cross chocolate tin excavated from Informal Midden B at Riding Mountain Camp.

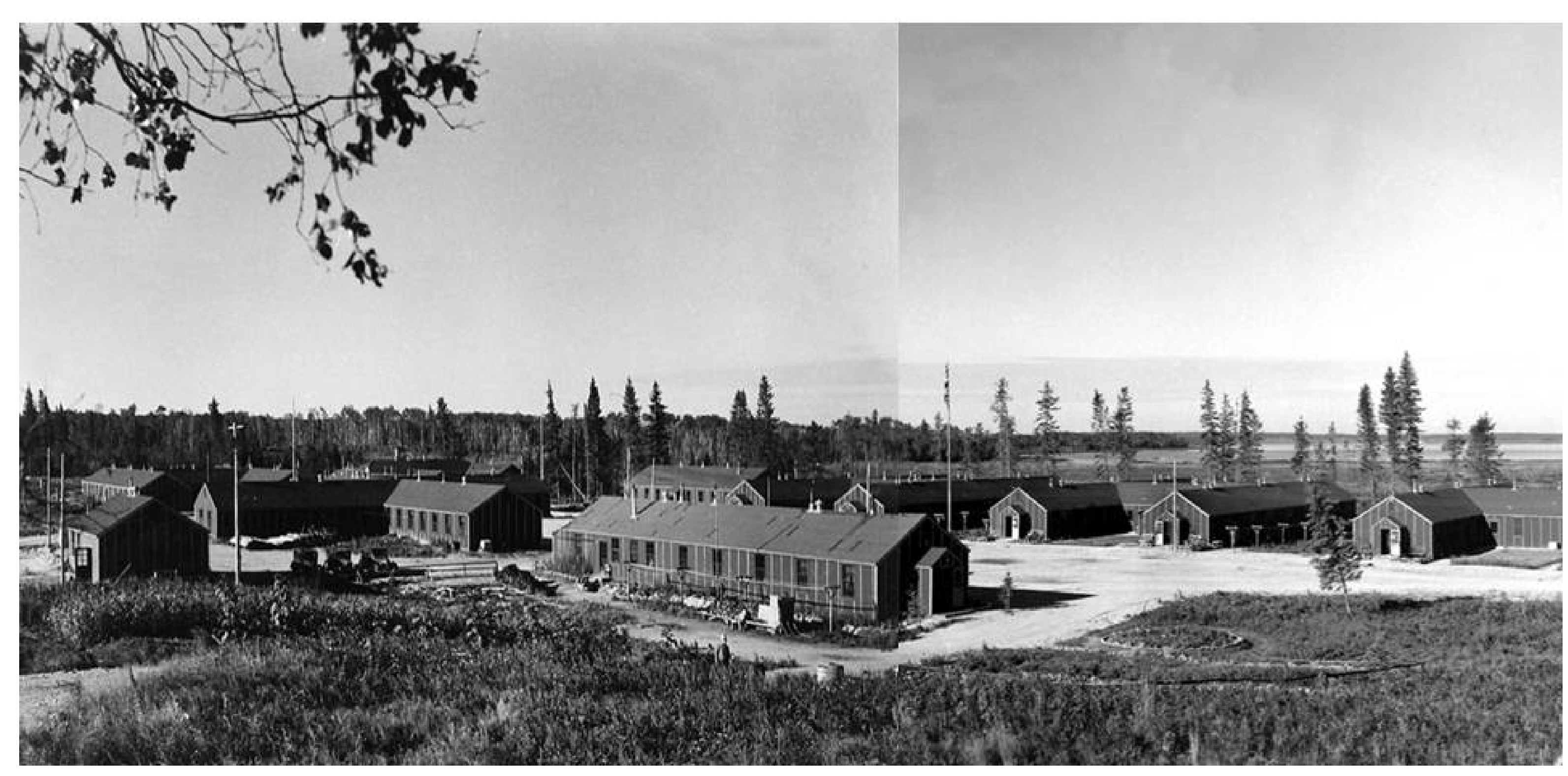

Figure 1.7: Composite panorama image of Riding Mountain Camp. Circa 1943. Facing south west. (Courtesy of Parks Canada)

Figure 1.8: Site Location within North America.

Figure 1.9: Site location within Southern Manitoba**.**

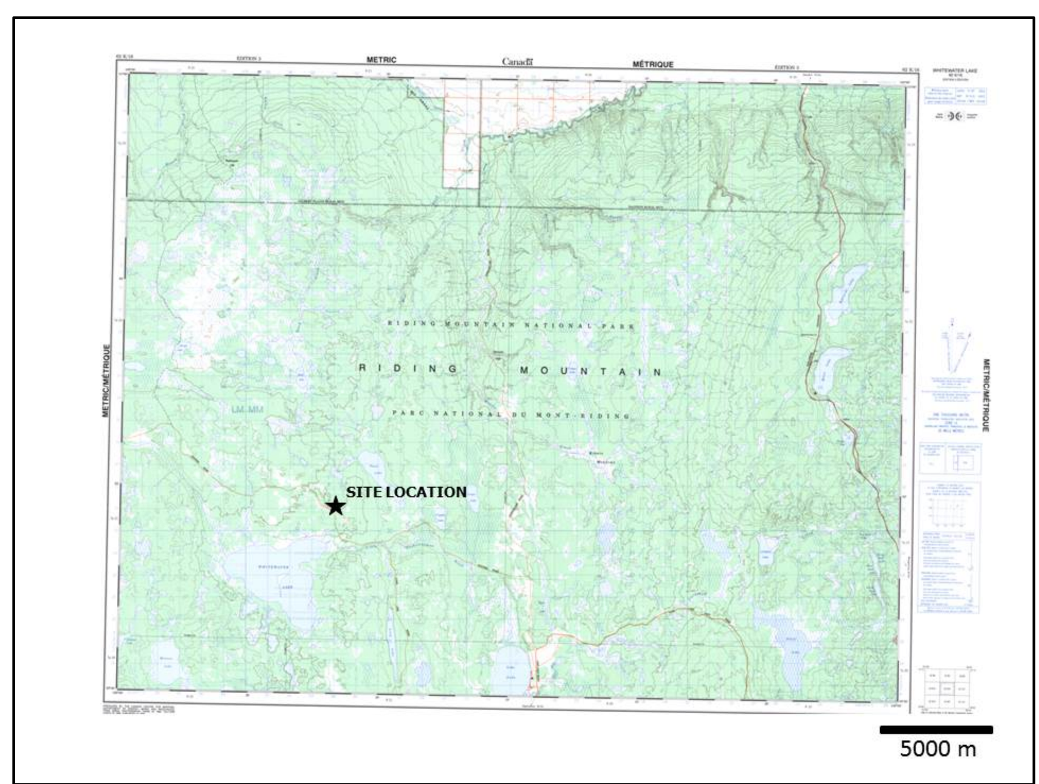

Figure 1.10: Site location within Riding Mountain National Park.

Figure 1.11: Site clearing facing northeast.

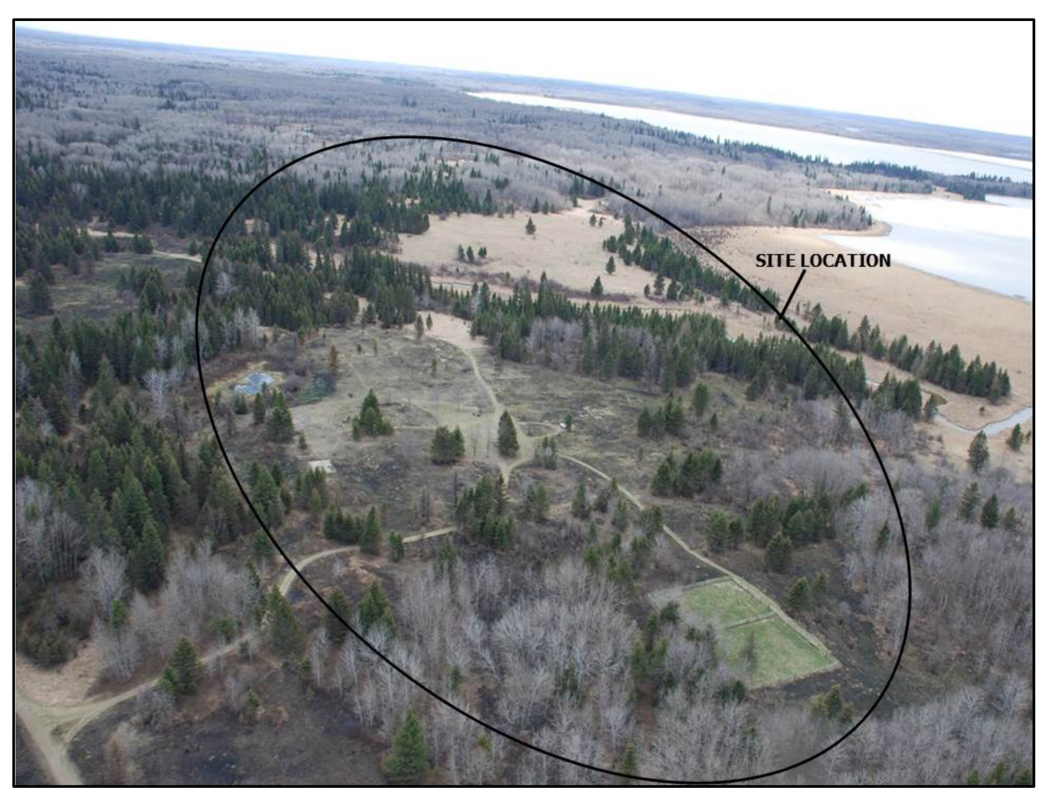

Figure 1.12: Oblique aerial photograph of site clearing. Little Saskatchewan River in middle background, and Whitewater Lake in top right corner. (Courtesy of Parks Canada)

Figure 1.13: Myers speaking to a tour group visiting the site in June 2011.

CHAPTER 2. THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF INSTITUTIONS AND INTERNMENT

> I am not questioning that a bath was opportune for us in our condition: in fact it was necessary, and not unwelcome. But in that bath, and at each of those … memorable christenings, it was easy to perceive behind the concrete and literal aspect a great symbolic shadow, the unconscious desire of the new authorities, who absorbed us in turn within their own sphere, to strip us of the vestiges of our former life, to make of us new men consistent with their own models, to impose their brand upon us.
>
> From Primo Levi's *The Reawakening* (Levi 1993: 22)

2.1 Defining the Institution

In a recent discussion of institutions, Flexner examined the multiple meanings of the term "institution" found in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Although there are at least seven distinct definitions for the word, Flexner noticed that a reading of this list makes clear a close association between the term and themes such as law and lawfulness, order, and "what are seen as higher social ideals" (Flexner 2010: 31; Oxford English Dictionary 2012). Telling terms that stand out from my own reading of the dictionary entry include "Christian Church," "cure of souls," "custom," "practice," "training, instruction, education," "organization," and "residential care." But what exactly is an institution? The section of that entry that seems most appropriate from an archaeological standpoint is the following:

> An establishment, organization, or association, instituted for the promotion of some object, especially one of public or general utility, religious, charitable, educational, etcetera, e.g. a church, school, college, hospital, asylum, reformatory, mission, or the like. (Oxford English Dictionary 2012)

To this bare dictionary definition I add De Cunzo's (2006: 167) notion that "institutions are places that embody and challenge the boundaries of socially, philosophically, scientifically, or legally acceptable actions, minds and bodies." Ethnographer Turney-High (1968: 346) defines the institution as "a ritualized system of groups in equilibrium organized around goals considered too important to trust to informality." In Upton's (1992: 63-64) words, these are the "therapeutic institutions for social rehabilitation that loom so large in the social history of the Euro-American Enlightenment" that operated

directly “on the body to reform morals.” In Tarlow’s (2007: 136) important survey of “improvement” in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain, she explains that the institution pursues “the aims of containment and reduction (of poverty and criminality), reform (of moral and legal malefactors) and improvement (of the character and accomplishment of the people).” The dictionary definition and each of these quotations adds something to our understanding of what we mean by an institution of the modern world in the context of this dissertation.

Foundational sociologist Erving Goffman uses the term “total institution” to denote a particular kind of institution, a subset of institutions broadly conceived that are especially controlling of their inmates or residents. According to Goffman (1962: xiii), a total institution is a “place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time together lead an enclosed formally administered round of life.” The central physical characteristic of the total institution is the “barrier to social intercourse with the outside” that is “built right into the physical plant, such as locked doors, high walls, barbed wire, cliffs, water, forests or moors” (Goffman 1962: 4). Again, a few words from De Cunzo (2006: 167): “total institutions in the modern world seek to create self-directed, moral, normal individuals.” In this dissertation I highlight Goffman’s formulation of the institution, but I do so recognizing that other, often much more comprehensive, definitions of institutions circulate as well (e.g. Giddens 1984: 31).

The goal of this chapter is to provide an overview of the archaeological interest areas of modern institutions and sites of internment. I identify the current state of the field through a close review of the history of archaeological research on institutions, showing how this interest area initially developed, where research has been focused, and what trends are emerging. I organize the body of the review into three unifying themes: 1) precursors to modern institutions of reform, 2) institutions of reform and capitalist control, and 3) institutions of modern military internment. While organization is necessary to make sense of such a large body of work, clearly any attempt at overly precise categorization is

arbitrary. The borders between these three themes are, of course, porous, and some institutions might fit into more than one category.

In the section on precursors to modern institutions of reform, I discuss a selection of early modern institutions related to European Christianity and imperialism and to American slavery. These contexts are especially relevant to the archaeology of modern reforming institutions as they are important examples of early institutional landscapes, and antecedents to the proliferation of post-Enlightenment institutions, including twentieth-century internment (Mbembé 2003: 23). The institutions of Spanish colonialism include the tripartite system of presidios, missions, and pueblos. I choose to focus on the Spanish example since its institutions reveal so many thematic connections, such as forcible confinement and attempted reeducation, with the PoW camps I am mainly interested in. American slavery created institution-like settings such as plantations and slave quarters that teach us about the relevance of surveillance in institutional settings.

In the section on institutions of reform and capitalist control, I discuss that set of modern reforming institutions that proliferated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as famously described by Foucault in his key works.

In the final section, on institutions of modern military internment, my review details the emerging trend of archaeological research on twentieth-century military internment sites. Such sites include the many formulations of the military prison camp: civilian internment camps, transit camps, labor camps, and PoW camps, to name a selection.

2.2 Precursors to Modern Institutions of Reform

2.2.1 Medieval Monastic Communities

The modern, post-Enlightenment institutions of primary concern to this chapter were built on the traditions of medieval religious institutions, monastic communities in particular (Voss 2008b: 327). The rigid scheduling of daily activities in monastic settings, which "provided an established rhythm for daily activities, imposed particular activities, and regulated and reinforced the cycles of repetition" (Shackel 1992: 76), is a precursor

to the time discipline strategies employed in later institutions. Monastic settings were strongly controlling of their residents: new members underwent initiation rites that included renunciation of all previous aspects of personal identity (for example, sexuality, family ties, social status), the shaving of their hair, and replacement of previous clothing with plain robes. Cloisters employed architecture to regulate behavior, with residents' sexuality seen as a primary concern. In fact, a strong focus on control of sexuality is a common trend among religious institutions of all eras.

Gilchrist's (1994; 1996; 2000) extensive research on twelfth- to fifteenth-century European monastic communities reveals how a combination of architectural design and placement of iconography guided personal and social behavior, led to communal movements through interior spaces, and fostered patterns of repetitive behavior. Control of women's sexuality was a central element of monastic life. Sexuality for the religious women was anchored in a physical celibacy but a spiritual union with Christ. Since women were seen as more susceptible to sexual temptation (in fact, their physical bodies were seen as more naturally given to sinfulness), architecture was employed to control their movements and delimit their access to space.

Largely based on architectural plans and surviving structures, Gilchrist's work reveals clear patterning related to gender: there are female and male spaces, and a very strong emphasis on deep enclosure that was seen as safeguarding the women's virginity. The allocation of space was marked both by the architectural features and through judicious placement of signaling sculptures and paintings. Gilchrist's work reveals early examples of some fundamental aspects of total institutions such as initiation rites, the use of institutional architecture for social and sexual control, and the implementation of time discipline that were passed on to the institutions of the colonial era and later.

2.2.2 Spanish Colonial Institutions in Alta California

While colonialism—the territorial, economic, and cultural expansion of Europe beginning in the fifteenth century—might be broadly conceived as a far-reaching institution in its own right, colonial endeavors also established specific places and

structures that are rightly described as institutions. Voss outlines how Spanish colonial expansion in the San Francisco Bay region of California in the eighteenth century was underpinned by the tripartite settlement system of presidios, missions, and pueblos—three uniquely Spanish colonial institutions (Voss 2000: 37; Voss 2008a: 54). This was a system perfected over two centuries of Spanish conquest in which native landscapes were rapidly and violently transformed into that of colonial institutions. The presidios provided defense and administration, the missions served to Christianize local indigenous people, and the pueblos supplied agricultural products and craft goods to the settlement. Voss (2008a: 62) argues that the "institutions that Spain deployed in its northward colonial expansion structured the lives of both colonists and Native Californians, albeit in very different ways":

> From 1776 until the end of Spanish colonial rule in 1821, most people in the San Francisco Bay area lived within a matrix of rules and regulations formed through military ordinances and religious doctrines. The spatial organization of their communities, their movements, the architecture of their homes, the work they performed, the objects they used, the food they ate, the clothes they wore—all of these aspects of daily life were informed by secular and sacred directives.

The first archaeology of Spanish missions, starting as early as the 1930s, focused on uncovering architectural remains to be used as the basis for historical reconstructions (Baugher 2009: 5-7; Lightfoot 2006: 277). Such work was part of a wider trend directed toward informing reconstructions through excavations since, at the time, historical archaeology was not seen to be capable of contributing to the creation of long-term culture histories. Historical archaeologists of this era had to be content with working to fill in the gaps of what was not already obvious from the historical record.

With the advent of the New Archaeology, research in the 1970s developed interests in social questions. For example, Deetz's (1978) excavations at La Purísima Mission in California focused on the conditions of life in the mission and the acculturation of the Chumash people. Deetz argued that while the "decline of the Chumash under missionization was rapid, spectacular and complete", the "culture probably disintegrated more rapidly in some aspects than in others" (1978: 180). Based on excavated material culture that he identified as either European or native and associated with either female or

male work, Deetz goes on to argue that men's roles changed more rapidly than women's roles and that, in general, Chumash residents in the mission were more acculturated than those in a nearby Chumash village.

As with historical archaeology as a whole, research on Spanish colonial institutions has become more sophisticated with time and now contributes important insights on issues such as race and ethnicity, class and inequality, ideology and power, and gender and sexuality. Of particular importance here is that research on Spanish colonial institutions is beginning to reveal enduring themes that resonate and connect with the more recent institutions of the modern world. Readings of archaeologists Voss (2008a) and Lightfoot (2005), for example, reveal four themes in Spanish colonial institutions that seem strikingly relevant to the archaeology of modern institutions: indoctrination, coercion, standardization, and time discipline.

The Spanish mission's central purpose was to enculturate and Christianize local aboriginals, who were seen as uncivilized, repulsive savages. This was a project of spiritual conquest, of indoctrination and forced religious conversions, that was intimately tied to military violence. This enforced enculturation of the colonial era is very similar to what in later contexts we call reform and reeducation. The colonial institutions were clearly coercive institutions too. Not only did they work to forcibly convert; but, also, discipline and punishment were daily aspects of life in the mission. Colonial institutions were even prisonlike in some ways, as the neophytes could not leave the confines of the mission without explicit permission from the padres. Spanish colonial institutions promoted standardization both in the landscapes and architectural forms they designed and built and in the people they sought to mold. Though the bureaucratic ideal was rarely realized, presidio, mission, and pueblo layout and specifications were intended to be standardized, built following a generalized plan.

The inculcation of time discipline, a key theme of the modernizing world in general (Shackel 1992; Shackel 1993; Thompson 1967), was an equally fundamental aspect of the training of mission neophytes. Mission residents were subjected to roll calls, daily

schedules, repetitive tasks, and training in new skills (such as sewing and domestic work, for women). Lightfoot (2005: 60) explains how "the padres subjected the neophytes to a rigid schedule" which included "prayers, meals, work, and more prayers, announced by the ceaseless tolling of the mission bells":

> The day typically began with the morning bell at sunup for mass and prayers, followed by a meal of *atole* (a soup of barley meal or other grains); then work commenced and lasted until the bell tolled at noon, when a meal of *pozole* (a thick soup of wheat, maize, peas, and beans) was consumed. The neophytes returned to work after lunch and labored until about sunset, when they went to church for evening prayers, for about an hour, before breaking for a final communal meal of *atole*. About one hour after this meal, the padres locked up for the night those women whose husbands were gone, the young unmarried women, and children over the age of about seven." (Lightfoot 2005: 60)

The powerful combination of these classic institutional forces of indoctrination, coercion, standardization, and time discipline at Spanish colonial settlements reveals the patent connection between Spanish colonialism and missionization and other reforming institutions of the modern world.

2.2.3 Slavery and Surveillance in Antebellum America

Research by historical archaeologists on the African diaspora and American slavery provides insight into some key themes in the archaeology of institutions. Particularly germane aspects of this body of research include its perspectives on domination and resistance, discipline and the threat of violence, hierarchical landscape design, and the related themes of surveillance, perspective, and viewing. Each of these areas of insight connects to the archaeology of modern institutions generally and to PoW camps specifically.

Singleton and de Souza (2009: 453) highlight that the master-slave social relationship, which is inherently connected to issues of power, is a predominant theme in the archaeology of the African diaspora. This is immediately apparent in nearly all research. Early work in historical archaeology on plantation slave quarters focused on descriptive outlines of field methods and material findings (e.g. Ascher and Fairbanks 1971); but

even in this early work it is clear that power relations are of central importance—for example in the suggestion that slaves represent the "inarticulate" and "powerless" whose stories are recoverable through archaeology (Ascher 1974; Ascher and Fairbanks 1971).

Later research by McKee (1992; 1999) is representative of a body of work that examined power relations on plantations within the patently dichotomous perspective of "domination and resistance." In this model, the plantation master is seen as actively working toward dominating the slaves, partly through communication of ideology through architecture, and the slaves in turn react to this attempted imposition with their own messages back to the master (McKee 1992). McKee's suggestion is that the more powerful group communicates messages of dominance toward the subordinate group, and this communication elicits a response. Singleton (e.g. 1995; 2001) sees power exercised through a dialectic of domination and resistance, but her work emphasizes slaves' resistance in both overt and covert forms.

Leone's work reminds us that the "quest for freedom" is one of the defining diasporic experiences (Leone et al. 2005b: 590), and runaways and maroonage are some of the clearest signs of overt resistance (Singleton and de Souza 2009). Covert resistance might include day-to-day events such as feigning illness, modifying living arrangements, or activities that include cultural continuities from Africa. Increasing evidence for this agency of slaves—small moments of agency, often—has moved some to think of power relations less in terms of domination and resistance and more in terms of "negotiations" of power (Delle 2000; Thomas 1998), what Thomas (1998) calls the "give and take" in daily life.

Fennell (2011: 15) points out that the late 1600s saw a shift in plantation design from centralized housing systems to more hierarchical layouts that clearly separated the main house from the slave quarters. In these settings, the spatial arrangement between main houses and slave quarters is seen to embody overt messages of hierarchy and order. Singleton (2001) borrows themes from Foucault to suggest that plantations could be prisonlike and the modes of surveillance panoptic even. Slaveholders manipulated space

and architecture and deployed overseers in strategic ways to control the enslaved people on the plantation.

Epperson's work (1990; 1999; 2000; 2001) has also focused on a Foucauldian notion of surveillance and discipline. One of Epperson's contributions is a discussion about the "construction of difference" on the plantation as part of discipline. The master had ultimate power over his slaves, and undertook to maintain a disciplined workforce not only through overt brutality but also through what might be called more subtle methods: giving slaves European names and baptizing them, for example. This dual approach appears to combine a nonphysical (or discursive) sort of discipline with the threat and reality of physical punishment.

Surveillance and lines of sight are also important in Epperson's analyses, and he considers the plantation in terms of spaces of high and low visibility (1990; 1999). In a key article (Epperson 2000), he shifts full attention to the issue of surveillance on plantations. Epperson suggests that, while plantations are generally seen to embody a sovereign style of power—a premodern approach that relies on threats and application of violence—plantations designed by Thomas Jefferson (Monticello) and George Mason (Gunston Hall) were founded on the modern principle of panopticism. While earlier plantations were ostentatious and imposing, Monticello and Gunston Hall were much less imposing in outward appearance. The key to the wielding of power at these two plantations then was the ability to see rather than be seen. In Fennell's (2011: 17) words, the "cultural landscape of plantations deployed hierarchies of spatial segregation and surveillance." This corpus of work on American slavery provides a foundation of insight on themes such as powered landscapes and discipline and surveillance on which future research on modern institutions might build.

2.3 Institutions of Reform and Capitalist Control

2.3.1 Introduction

What I call "institutions of reform and capitalist control" is that set of modern reforming institutions that proliferated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and were most

famously described by Foucault in his key works (e.g. Foucault 1977; Foucault 1988). These are institutions of religion, education, care, and rehabilitation: monasteries, schools, hospitals, and prisons, to name a few incarnations. De Cunzo (2006: 167) calls them social institutions of the modernizing world, and Upton (1992: 63) describes them as therapeutic institutions for social rehabilitation. These are places that exert physical and psychological pressures on residents (or patients, inmates, etc.). Note, however, that not all residents of reforming institutions are held against their will. Flexner (2010: 34) rightly reminds us that there are both voluntary and involuntary institutions, as well as contexts that fall somewhere in between.

I have limited my review in two ways: First, I focus attention on those institutions that fit Goffman's (1962) tightly defined definition of a "total institution." Many institution-like settings, places that exhibit some traits of total institutions, are excluded—places such as factories and factory towns (e.g. Cowie 2011; McGuire 1991), summer camps (e.g. Andrzejewski 2008; Maynard 1999), university fraternities (e.g. Wilkie 2010), and mining and logging camps (e.g. Caltrans 2008; Van Bueren 2002). Second, I exclude a subset of total institutions less relevant to this dissertation's central interest in PoW camps of the Second World War: those focused on caring for people seen as sick, whether physically, mentally, or morally; for example, almshouses and poorhouses (e.g. Huey 2001; Spencer-Wood 2001), lunatic asylums (e.g. Piddock 2007), and hospitals and leprosaria (e.g. Flexner 2010; St. Denis 2008). Once again, the futility of categorization is clear, however, since, for example, prisons and poorhouses were sometimes interchangeable, and all modern institutions were invested in caring for residents seen as sick in one way or another.

I have grouped the institutions of reform and capitalist control that I cover into three categories: religious institutions, institutions of education, and prisons. I review religious institutions because these places reveal aspects of the genesis of the modern reforming institution, and their legacy reverberates through all institutions of the modern world. I review institutions of education due to the connecting theme of education in schools and education and reeducation in the PoW camps of interest to this dissertation. Finally, I

review prisons due to the patently close association between the forcible confinement of criminal incarceration in prisons and the forcible confinement of internment in PoW camps.

2.3.2 Religious Institutions

Gilchrist's work on medieval monastic settings discussed in the introduction to this chapter reveals early examples of some fundamental aspects of total institutions, including initiation rites, the use of institutional architecture for social and sexual control, and the implementation of time discipline. All three of these themes are seen at a related yet much later religious institution, the Magdalen Society Asylum, a nineteenth- and twentieth-century Philadelphia institution for "fallen women" extensively studied by De Cunzo (1995; 2001; 2006). The Magdalen asylum's goal was to reform and transform young women deemed sinful as a result of their sexual activity. Here, architectural features including a high wall around the compound were used to ensure, if not virginity, at least celibacy among the young female residents. Like monastic contexts, the institution enforced a dress code and dictated daily schedules of activities, including healthy doses of prayer and religious rituals and services. De Cunzo's work also reveals that, given enough time, even tradition-bound religious institutions can change drastically. Over time, under the growing influence of American progressive ideology, the Magdalen Society Asylum actually became increasingly secular.

Themes initiated in medieval monastic communities also connect with other religious settings, including those of utopian religious communes and settlements. Warfel (2009) conducted a decade of research and excavations at the Ephrata commune in Pennsylvania, a German religious community founded in 1732. The community was a utopian settlement with a charismatic leader who dictated the many rules governing daily life. The group believed in union with God through self-denial, including the rejection of personal property. The Ephrata commune was "ascetic to the extreme" (White 2000: 59), and seems to have consciously emulated "regimented monastic life," for example, establishing "specified hours for contemplation and prayer, for work, for meals, and for attending worship service" (White 2000: 59).

Along with time discipline and segregation of activities, the Ephrata commune also practiced strict sexual segregation and a veneration of celibacy. Although there were some families located in a separate housing area, celibacy was the higher calling, and the male and female celibate members lived in sex-segregated housing physically separated by a river. Initially, men and women shared the same worship area, but they later built a new, men's-only prayer house to lessen the chance of improper contact between the sexes at nightly prayer meetings. In this religious context too, residents were impelled to wear uniforms of covering robes, which were expected to hinder physical sexual attraction between male and female members. Personal property was supposedly disdained in the community; but Warfel's archaeology revealed surprising evidence of disjuncture between the stated philosophy of the commune and its material record: commune members' initials were scratched into the bases of many excavated earthenware pottery vessels.

Disconnect between the idealistic intentions of utopian visions and the reality on the ground in daily life is further exemplified by Kozakavich's (1998; 2006) research on Doukhobor colonies in Saskatchewan, Canada. The Doukhobors were a Russian Christian sect that transplanted entire communities from Europe to western Canada, taking advantage of free land to establish these communities. The Doukhobors practiced egalitarianism and communal farming, and the strictest of them were pacifists, vegetarians, and abstained from alcohol and tobacco. Like the Spanish colonial missions, Doukhobor settlements followed a precise, carefully planned spatial layout. Buildings were placed in a standardized arrangement, the "strassendorf plan," in which two identical rows of houses faced each other across a main avenue.

Kozakavich's research revealed that the social prescriptions seen as central aspects of Doukhoborism were in reality practiced to varying degrees. Not all settlers strictly followed the classic Doukhobor prescriptions of vegetarianism and abstention from alcohol, for example. Though they were strongly religious practicing Doukhobors, this did not preclude them from wavering from some of the supposed rules of the religion.

According to Kozakavich (2006: 124), at one settlement, Kirilovka village, alcohol, for example, had “a small but definite place in village life.” Faunal remains of warm-blooded mammals reveal that members did not always practice vegetarianism either, and the presence of commercial goods suggests that they sometimes allowed mass-produced items into their homes. Kozakavich (2006: 124) finds that the restrictions to behavior found in Doukhobor prescriptive literature were likely instituted more as social-control mechanisms than as spiritual necessities or core beliefs of the faith. The ideal living practices seem to have remained more philosophy than reality.

Religion is not limited, of course, to expressly religious institutions: the majority of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Western reforming institutions, whether prisons, hospitals, asylums, or otherwise, were imbued with Christian ideology. The legacy of those early European Christian institutions influenced the development of later institutions: practices such as daily schedules, uniforms, rites of initiation, and the use of architecture to control movement, activities, and sexuality that would later come to be standard at a whole range of types of institutions to the present day.

2.3.3 Institutions of Education

In her 2006 review, De Cunzo (2006: 181) notes that total institutions of education have received very little attention from archaeologists. This situation appears not to have changed much in the intervening years. Although few studies have appeared in total, at least two of these, by Zarankin and by Lindauer, have had an impact and a lasting relevance beyond the specific study of schools.

The one-room schoolhouse was a ubiquitous feature in the rural American landscape. According to Beisaw (2009: 50), these schoolhouses have stories to tell about the histories of education and small communities. Since they often developed prior to compulsory education laws, their forms and material culture reveal a community’s own interest in educating its children. In their 2001 review of archaeological work on northeastern American schoolhouses, Beisaw and Gibb note that, while these structures are regularly encountered in cultural resource management surveys, they are rarely

recommended for intensive study. On the whole, their treatment has been cursory and almost entirely limited to the grey literature (Gibb and Beisaw 2001).

Beisaw (2009) contributes to changing this trend with her development of a predictive model for the one-room schoolhouse site type. Based on a review of many grey literature reports, combined with her own work at schoolhouses, Beisaw develops a model for excavation of one-room schoolhouses that predicts that architectural activities (in her terms: construction, renovation, rebuilding, and demolition) are the processes that will dominate site formation and artifact deposition, as opposed to quotidian discard by individuals over the use life of the school. Her model is based on the discovery that in most cases the actual daily life of schools, unlike that of households, does not lead to high rates of artifact deposition.

Rotman's (2009) study of the Wea View Schoolhouse No. 8 in Wabash Township, Indiana, reminds us that schoolhouses were not just used for the education of children, but they also served as community centers for all manner of events and gatherings. Rotman suggests that small material culture excavated at rural schools must be analyzed with this in mind, since the source of small artifacts could have been a political gathering just as easily as a classroom lesson or lunchtime play. Rotman's study of the Wea View Schoolhouse shows once again how institutional spaces are consistently and systematically organized, with formal rules to direct the flow of people and the creation of gendered spaces. At Wea View, the privies were sex-segregated, and the school curriculum was tailored by sex as well. Predictably, the boys' education emphasized manual training and the girls' education prioritized domestic training.

Zarankin (2005) analyzes the interior architectural layout of Buenos Aires elementary schools. He employs gamma diagramming (after Hillier and Hanson 1984) to create a typology of the city's schools, finding that there are twelve types of architectural designs, and that school design has shifted over time as governments and ideologies have changed. The architecture of the schools is seen as a technology of power, as a strategy employed by "The System" to produce disciplined individuals who ensure the

reproduction of the status quo. The school is of critical importance to such a project, since, along with the household, the school is one of the two most important contexts for socialization and development of individuals. Though the long-term shift was from monumental structures in the late nineteenth century to the patently panoptic designs of more recent decades, Zarankin finds that it is, in fact, only the aesthetics of the buildings that change, while the deeper structures of the organization of space, with their focus on control and surveillance of pupils, stay relatively constant.

Lindauer's (1996; 1997; 2009) important work on the United States Industrial Indian School at Phoenix (Arizona), later renamed the Phoenix Indian School, describes a setting of a true total institution of education. Incredibly, it operated specifically as a school for American Indian children from 1891 right through to 1990 and, with its nearly 1,000 pupils, was at one time the largest school in the western United States. The boarding school students were drawn from reservations across the West following forcible removal from their homes. This was part of a program of mass forced assimilation. Traditional practices were, of course, treated with scorn, and residents were forced to adopt modern, "American" ways of living.

Initiation into this total institution would have been an utterly shocking experience for new arrivals. Their hair was shorn, they were provided with new clothes (with military-style uniforms for the boys), and they began learning their daily marching and drilling exercises. As in other school settings, appropriate gender roles were taught through play with sex-specific toys (such as dolls for girls) and curriculum (boys were taught "productive" trades, and girls were taught housekeeping and medical skills). Teaching the adoption of clock time was a central task, and was supported by the use of a steam whistle and the marching exercises, for example. A particular vision of hygiene was also promoted, including three-times-daily "toothbrush drills." Christianity was enforced, along with the notions of individualism, American citizenship, and consumerism. The pupils were encouraged to develop interest in owning their own possessions—they could earn and spend pocket change on candy and trinkets—as a way of introducing them to notions of ownership, self-worth, self-reliance, and American-style consumerism.

For Lindauer, the story of the Phoenix Indian School is one of acculturation and resistance. The school aimed to make Indians into mainstream citizens, to forcibly Americanize them. The students, in turn, resisted these forces in both overt and covert ways. Forces and signs of Americanization are everywhere, from small items like excavated toothbrushes and uniform buttons, to the buildings of the school itself. Material symbols of resistance are less frequent but stand out when they are found: stone tools, a glass spokeshave, a clay bird effigy. The excavated small material culture suggests that the students did not change over wholesale; rather, they incorporated their native identities with their developing "American" identities. The students attempted to reconcile what they knew from their home lives with what they were taught at the boarding school.

Archaeological research on schools reveals that the broader powers of institutions come through at sites of children's education too. Projects that approach schools through the lens of power see these institutions as places that work to forcibly shape young people into productive, obedient citizens. This is achieved through imposition of time discipline, teaching of appropriate gender roles through spatial segregation and sex-specific curricula, and architectural designs that facilitate surveillance of students. So far, archaeological research on small rural American schools has had limited engagement with these wider themes in the study of power and discipline; but even in the studies that don't specifically discuss schools as part of wider systems of disciplining power we see evidence of the connections, including discussions of sex-segregation, time discipline, and training.

2.3.4 Prisons

The modern penitentiary is perhaps the quintessential total institution, and its relevance to the related institutional form of the PoW camp is clear: both contexts hold prisoners against their will, under lock and key, and supervised by armed guards. Though many classic penitentiaries held prisoners in isolation, today prisoners in penitentiaries, as in PoW camps, are usually held in large common rooms. In both contexts the prisoners are

under close surveillance by guards at all times, with this task aided by architectural design and technology. Perhaps the clearest distinction between prisons and other institutions is the level of surveillance, discipline, and control. Although we can speak of these exact same three themes in an analysis of a school, certainly they are much more pronounced in a prison setting. The study of penitentiaries, perhaps more than any other institution type, is most pressing today as the presence and impact of the penitentiary continues to grow rapidly in America and elsewhere.

In possibly the earliest example of archaeological research at a prison site, in the summer of 1973, Cotter (Cotter et al. 1988) brought students from his historical archaeology class to excavate at the Walnut Street Prison Workshop. The group's work at the site of this eighteenth-century Philadelphia prison uncovered foundation walls, exposing the location of solitary confinement cells and a workshop area. One of Cotter's students (Kim 1988) analyzed the resulting artifact collection with the specific goal of testing it against South's (1977) predictive models on historic artifact patterns. Kim considered the prison site as "domestic," assigned the 7,000 artifacts into South's classes and groups, and proceeded to calculate frequencies and distributions. Kim's brief conclusion is that South's patterns are valid for prediction and interpretation at the Walnut Street site. But perhaps a broader lesson learned from this early excavation at a prison is the revelation that prison sites can reveal abundant small material culture and not just architectural remains. At this and other early digs at prisons, often the target of the excavations was specifically the architectural remains, with small material culture almost an afterthought. Kim's attention to the collection shows the potential for and interest in the small material culture of prison sites.

A similar pattern of initial interest in architecture with a later shift to small material culture occurred at the excavations at the Louisiana State Penitentiary in Baton Rouge (1835–1917). Hahn and Wurtzburg (1991) report that when they began their 1989–1991 excavations—federally sponsored prior to construction of a courthouse—it was assumed that excavations would reveal architectural remains but little small material culture, and few signs of the daily lives of the prisoners. This assumption is linked to the notion that

prisoners have scant possessions and that prisons are always stark places. Their excavations in fact ended up revealing an abundance of small items, including everything from an intricately carved bone toothpick to shoes, wheelbarrow parts, and an industrial sewing machine. Hahn and Wurtzburg conclude that the small material culture excavated relates less to individuality or personal aspects of prisoners' lives and more to the forced group labor in the prison workshops. Inmates worked sunup to sundown, which left little time for personal activities. Again, we have here an example of an early project on a penitentiary revealing that small material culture is present and relevant even at bleak prison settings.

A rich and thoughtful approach to Victorian-era prisons is demonstrated by Casella in her extensive work on the Ross Female Factory in Tasmania, Australia, a nineteenth-century women's prison (1999; 2000a; 2000b; 2001a; 2001b; 2001c; 2001d). In a key article, Casella (2001b) deploys archaeological evidence in support of a Foucauldian landscape of domination and resistance. Casella presents the material evidence of the modern ethic of punishment through bodily domination, instruction, and examination directed toward attempted reformation. The prison's spatial arrangement, architecture, and material culture were structured according to the central principles of surveillance, discipline, and control. These combined into the perfect disciplining power: convicts were supposed to reform through Christian prayer and forced training in feminine industries such as sewing, laundering, and cooking. Prisoners were classified into categories and housed in three convict "class" areas: the "Crime Class," the "Hiring Class," and the "Solitary Cells" (punishment class).

The dominance of the prison bureaucracy was ever present and powerful, but Casella also finds signs of prisoner resistance at the institution—small moments in which the prisoner was able to withstand the power of the institution. An important contribution of Casella's work is that it extended resistance to include trade, exchange, black marketing, and sexuality in institutions (Casella 2000a; Casella 2000b). Casella even posits a "sexual economy" of the prison that considers the materiality of networks of sexual exchange. Casella's evidence, including an intriguing distribution of buttons possibly used as trade

tokens, links sexual activity by female convicts to the exchange of illicit objects such as food, tobacco, and alcohol and items of symbolic value such as the buttons. In Casella's nuanced work we see a careful argument for the importance of both architecture and small material things in prison settings. The architecture and landscape design are usually signs of institutional power. They guide movements, train bodies, and classify different social and class groups within the prison. It is in the small material culture that Casella often finds the signs of prisoner resistance: buttons were used as trade tokens, and alcohol bottle shards represent drinking in defiance of institutional regulations.

2.4 Institutions of Modern Military Internment

2.4.1 Introduction

Institutions of modern military internment seem to be created either to remove a real or perceived threat, to reeducate a named group of enemies, or to achieve some combination of both. The types of settings of internment and incarceration created by militaries and under martial conditions include civilian internment camps, temporary transit camps, forced labor camps, reeducation camps, and PoW camps. All of these sites of internment are related, and all share structural and historical connections with the distinctly modern development of army camps and the architectural form of the barrack (Garner 1993; Hoagland 1998; Robinson 1971).

The archaeological study of the Second World War, and of internment and PoW camps specifically, has rapidly gained interest in the short period of about the last ten years. As one sign of this increasing interest, three edited volumes on the theme have appeared in as many years (Myers and Moshenska 2011; Carr and Mytum 2012; Mytum and Carr 2013). Each of these compilations presents a collection of current research by a variety of authors, as well as detailed literature reviews and analyses.

In the discussion that follows, I group military institutions of internment into three categories: civilian internment camps, Holocaust-related sites, and PoW camps. Once again, these are somewhat arbitrary divisions that do not always reflect the reality of

blending categories. The three groups are related in many ways, and some sites might have served multiple purposes over time or at the same time.

2.4.2 Civilian Internment Camps

The earliest civilian internment camps were those instituted during the peak of colonialism at the turn of the nineteenth century. These were violent, brutal internments instituted in Cuba by the Spanish (circa 1868), in South Africa by the British (circa 1900), and in the Philippines by the Americans (circa 1900) (see Everdell 1997; Smith and Stucki 2011; Welch 1974). The only known archaeology on this era of internment is a PhD research project on the Cuban example that is in development (Alberto Marti personal communication 2013).

The majority of archaeological work on civilian internment camps is focused on internments of the Second World War. This is perhaps justified, since the Second World War saw an exponential increase in the use and abuse of various types of internment—more internments occurred in this period than any other in history. While only some nations used internment camps as a means to conduct institutionalized mass murder, all used internment for social and military control of one kind or another. The Nazis developed their complex system of labor, transit, and death camps as part of their mass social engineering projects and, ultimately, the Final Solution; but the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, and every other belligerent nation built their own camps for variously categorized people: internment camps for “civilian internees,” work camps for requisitioned laborers, and PoW camps for captured soldiers afforded the luxury of protection under the 1929 Geneva Convention. The end of the war saw the rise of the displaced persons camp and the refugee camp as new institutional forms (Malkki 1995).

One of the major developing themes in the archaeology of the Second World War is the study of the internment of Japanese American civilians in the western United States (1942–1945). Japanese Americans living along the West Coast were deemed potential insurgents based on ancestral and cultural ties to Japan, and about 110,000 of these “undesirable exotics” were interned in ten remote War Relocation Authority (WRA)

internment camps (Skiles and Clark 2010: 180). This archaeological focus is developing rapidly. Substantive, theoretically informed work relevant to other contexts is really only just emerging in publications, and several exciting new projects exist for which results have not yet been published. The first work on the topic was undertaken by National Park Service archaeologists, centrally Burton, who produced a series of reports and publications on the western camps, as well as a master report that summarizes what signs of each camp are extant (Burton et al. 1999). This basic yet valuable reporting of physical remains has served as a springboard for recent projects grounded in theoretically informed research questions.

Clark is currently undertaking a long-term archaeological investigation of one WRA camp, the Granada Relocation Center in southeastern Colorado, commonly known as Amache. In an article reporting on early research at the site, Skiles and Clark (2010) show how Japanese American internees proudly displayed their cultural traditions even while being persecuted for those very traditions. Since these civilians were interned partly due to their way of life, we might assume that the interned would then try to suppress signs of that way of life. But results from Colorado seem to point to an opposite effect. Archaeology shows that the internees in fact practiced a broad range of obviously Japanese traditions, including construction of koi ponds, making of mochi cakes, growing tea, and dining with Japanese ceramics.

A close study of the surface scatter of ceramics at the Amache site revealed that 8 % of total surface sherds were of Japanese origin. Skiles and Clark estimate that as many as one in twelve vessels at the camp were imported from Japan. The authors' main conclusion is that, although these Japanese ceramics were exotic in the sense that they originated a great distance from where they were in use, they would not have been seen as exotic by the internees. Rather, the importance of the Japanese ceramics is that they were familiar and mundane. In a very foreign landscape of a desert-bound internment camp, they were small symbols of home and tradition.

Skiles and Clark (2010: 179) also make the important point that not all internments leave lasting negative impressions on the interned. There can be negative *and* positive memories of internment. While the majority of adults who lived at Amache remember the experience negatively since they fully understood the unjust nature of their internment, others—often the younger interned—remember it fondly because it was the place they met their spouse, made close friends, or for the first time in their lives found themselves among people of the same cultural background. This possibility of "happy" memories of being interned resonates with the case of German PoWs at Riding Mountain Camp, who mostly have fond memories of their time interned in a setting remembered more like a summer camp than an internment camp.

González-Ruibal (2011; 2012a) reports on his innovative work on the concentration camps of the Spanish Civil War and the post–Civil War Francoist era in Spain. Franco's government interned half a million defeated Republican soldiers, along with politicians, unionists, intellectuals, and others, in a brutal system of concentration and labor camps, prisons, and detention centers. Ninety thousand of those interned, or nearly one in five, would die of starvation, disease, torture, or outright murder. The majority of the prisoners were soldiers, but Franco made no distinction between soldiers and civilians, and they were imprisoned together. The official protective status of PoW was never granted to Republican soldiers; instead, all Republicans were branded "Reds" (i.e., communists)—they were "people outside the realm of ethical obligation" (Alfredo González-Ruibal personal communication 2012). The Spanish example is a clear case showing the arbitrary nature of the imposed categories used in this review and elsewhere.

While the concentration system was murderous, and many people caught within its web died, for those that were not killed the Francoists had grand plans. According to González-Ruibal (2012a: 464), the Spanish system of camps was a "theatre of re-education." The dictatorship developed a far-reaching program aimed at transforming the defeated Republicans into compliant and law-abiding citizens of "New Spain." These were true reeducation camps, and the research on them may be the only example of archaeological work at an archetypal reeducation camp setting. (There are no known

examples of archaeological work on the most infamous Soviet and Chinese reeducation camps of the second half of the twentieth century.) The reeducation process of Republican prisoners attempted to impose right-wing, imperialistic, and ultranationalist ideas, but this entire process was also “permeated with religious ideology” (González-Ruibal 2012a: 464). The reeducation was focused on Catholic religious indoctrination, and it was violent. Daily life in camps could include hard labor but also imposed reforming Christian activities such as prayer, mass, and confession. Camps had resident Catholic priests present to administer these rituals. Ceremonial reeducation activities were also political, and these included the singing of patriotic songs, marching and parades, fascist salutes, and direct political indoctrination through lectures and meetings.

Archaeological investigations including surveys, mapping, excavations, and oral history collecting have uncovered a wealth of information on the material dimensions of reeducation in the Spanish camps. Camps were sometimes dominated by a large Christian cross with the parade ground focused on it—a potent visual reminder of the National Crusade in which the Republicans had been defeated. The Christian Fascist ideology and symbolism permeated the material culture of the camps right down to the stationery that was provided to prisoners for writing home, which was adorned with fascist logos and slogans. In a disturbing yet fascinating trend, the Francoists appropriated existing buildings and turned them into satellite concentration camps. But this reuse of old buildings was not just pragmatic, since factories, schools, and convents were often chosen for reuse as concentration camps. González-Ruibal rightly points out that, prior to their use as concentration camps, these places were all already disciplinary spaces. It is not by chance that these spaces of discipline and reform were spotted by the Francoists as appropriate spaces for their new reeducation efforts.

2.4.3 Sites of the Holocaust

The most infamous episode of internment is the Nazi Holocaust, in which an estimated eleven million people were killed (six million of them Jews). For the last seventy years a veritable litany of renowned thinkers in fields as diverse as history, sociology, philosophy, theology, and literature have attempted to make sense of the events.

Archaeological approaches to the Holocaust are, by contrast, much more recent, beginning only in the 1980s, and, in terms of philosophical and theoretical sophistication, incomparably less developed. For English-speaking scholars at least, archaeological research on Holocaust-related sites to date is as inaccessible as it is atheoretical: it is published in obscure sources (e.g. Kola 2000), exclusively in German or other languages (e.g. Hirte and Gedenkstätte 1999), or in difficult-to-understand English (e.g. Kola 2000). It is also clear, however, that archaeological approaches to the Holocaust show significant potential, and new projects could lead the interest area in rich and substantive directions. Several are currently being undertaken or are under development (e.g. Paris et al. 2012).

In a review of work undertaken to date, Gilead and colleagues (Gilead et al. 2009) note that from the 1940s to the 1980s various digs took place at sites of the Holocaust, but none were scientifically viable archaeological excavations. These early excavations at Holocaust sites were most often supported by a local museum or memorial and undertaken during building projects by well-meaning people with no archaeological training who were looking for evidence and artifacts for display. Many of the artifacts currently on display at Holocaust museums and memorials were obtained in this manner.

The first projects to excavate with organized recording and collection practices occurred in the 1980s (Theune 2010). With support from a local museum, Pawlicka-Nowak excavated at the site of the Chelmo death camp in Poland in 1986 (Pawlicka-Nowak 2004). These excavations uncovered tunnels leading to the gas chambers, crematoria, and mass graves. Excavations also incidentally uncovered many very personal artifacts ranging from jewelry to dentures, and religious items such as knives and drinking glasses with Hebrew inscriptions. Similarly, Kola's (2000) research at the Bełżec death camp in Poland focused on locating and assessing sites of mass graves. Kola systematically drilled hundreds of core samples across an expansive grid to locate mass graves as well as architectural features. Kola finds that mass graves of the Holocaust are evidenced either by layers of charcoal, solid ash and bone fragments, or a layer of oily or waxy soil. Kola also incidentally recovered thousands of personal artifacts that show incredible potential for further research and as material markers for storytelling. These include

things such as combs, lockets, earrings, cigarette cases, spoons, personally initialed items, and even a photograph of a child.

Gilead and colleagues (2009) develop some thoughts on how to approach archaeology at death camp sites. They identify five site modification processes that will have affected site creation and taphonomy at a death camp: refurbishment, concealment, pillaging, collection of evidence, and remembrance. Refurbishment refers to construction processes that occurred during the war initiated by the Nazis. Concealment refers to the deliberate destruction and dismantling of the camps by the Nazis near the end of the war. Pillaging refers to the severe looting that has occurred at these sites unabated from 1945 to present. Collection of evidence relates to the nonprofessional archaeological excavations that occurred over the years (such as those initiated to supply museums with artifacts). Finally, remembrance relates to the changes in the landscape and "beautifications" that take place as part of the construction of memorials and museums.

Gilead's team conducted their own excavations at Sobibor death camp in Poland, uncovering fence lines and, once again, numerous everyday items: knives, scissors, bottles, jewelry, and all manner of personal things. Interestingly, the authors argue for the critical importance of excavating as much as possible as soon as possible. They maintain that the artifacts, if left on site, will either be looted or will simply deteriorate in the ground. This is clearly an opinion that would not be shared by all archaeologists, since many practitioners today argue for disturbing as little as possible of any site. But the perspective presented by Gilead and his colleagues is rooted in their own shocking experiences in the field, where they daily saw the painful impact of looting, an activity that began immediately upon abandonment of death camps and, according to their reports, continues to this day. The authors rightfully fear for the integrity and future existence of eastern European (centrally Polish) Second World War sites in particular. Colls (2012) takes an opposite approach. Closely attuned to the potential for political, religious, or cultural distress at the notion of disturbing the mass graves of the Holocaust, she calls for a landscape approach to Holocaust archaeology, including use of noninvasive geophysical techniques, which removes the ethical problem of excavation.

In sum, work on Holocaust-related sites has been almost entirely atheoretical. It has focused on locating sites, making basic assessments about the presence or absence of mass graves and architectural features, and collecting artifacts. But criticism of this work would be misplaced, since the work conducted has been a necessary early step in the archaeology of the Holocaust. We must remember that for many of these sites, little or no documentary record exists, no one survives to speak of them, and nothing tangible remains on the surface. Additionally, since sites were deliberately destroyed at the end of the war and since a growing contingent denies their existence altogether, we are reminded that the seemingly straightforward task of locating sites and showing that material evidence for them exists is a very worthwhile effort. Whether excavation-based or noninvasive approaches are used in the future (and surely both will occur), certainly this interest area shows much potential for theoretically informed, substantive, and widely relevant research. The incredibly emotive collections of personal artifacts consistently found at Holocaust sites show distinct potential for impactful research. Projects that will fulfill these high standards are in development, and we will be seeing the results in the next few years.

2.4.4 Prisoner of War Camps

Internment camps designated for captured enemy soldiers in wartime are usually recognized specifically as prisoner of war camps. This class of prison and prisoner has also begun to be studied archaeologically. Projects have related to the American Civil War (1861–1865), the First World War (1914–1918), and the Second World War (1939–1945). Once again, work on PoW camps has been relatively atheoretical. I see three likely reasons for this: 1) There is a close association between these projects and "battlefield archaeology," an interest area that has traditionally been relatively devoid of theory, 2) many projects are occurring in a cultural resource management context in which there is often little time for more than basic reporting, and 3) interest in PoW camps is just emerging—only a few projects have even occurred—meaning that there has been less opportunity for comparative and theoretically informed projects to develop. This trend will change as the number of projects continues to increase.

Jameson's (2013) work at the Andersonville National Historic Site in Georgia, is one of a handful of archaeological projects to look at an American Civil War–era PoW camp (see also Thoms 2000; Thoms 2004). Jameson reports on new information about a Civil War site for which almost no documentary records exist, a case in which the value of archaeology is unquestionable. He explains that, while conditions in PoW camps of the Civil War were despicable, they were exceptionally brutal at Andersonville, the most notorious of camps. The camp was essentially just a stockade, a large fenced enclosure, open to the elements and crammed to double capacity with men, tents, and makeshift structures. Due mainly to ignorance of principles of nutrition and hygiene, the casualty rate of the Union PoWs held there was higher than in battle. Importantly, as Jameson reminds us, the brutal conditions in PoW camps of the Civil War were part of the motivation for the creation of the Geneva Convention, which would in later years ensure the fairer treatment of captured enemy soldiers.

Motivated by a mandate for public interpretation and partial reconstruction of the site, three seasons of National Park Service excavations (1988 to1990) focused on locating the stockade walls and gates. Through careful attention to stratigraphy, soil banding, and soil discolorations associated with postholes, the excavations successfully revealed the locations of stockades as well as signs of multiple construction phases. A collapsed escape tunnel that successfully passed from the inside to the outside of the camp was discovered, but it stopped just one meter into the free side, suggesting that it represented a failed escape attempt. Small finds excavated at the historic site, including pipes, bullets, and medical devices such as a tourniquet buckle, speak to small moments of life in the camp and add to visitor displays. German and Austrian coins are a reminder that very recent immigrants to the country were rounded up to fight for one side or the other in the Civil War.

Bush's (2000; 2009) work at Johnson's Island Prison, a Union stockade that held Confederate officers on an island in Lake Erie, Ohio, interrogates the culture clash that occurred when wealthy, high-born Confederate officers were held in a prison guarded by

more lowly enlisted Northerners. The clash between sides in the PoW camp was, as it turns out, less focused on the fact that they came from two different armies and more on the fact that they came from different social classes. The PoW officers were revolted at the poor conditions and complained that they had no servants present. Those with the means hired others to do their cooking, cleaning, and sewing. That these men were forced to take on domestic tasks hints at the changing gender roles sometimes prompted by incarceration. Bush finds that the prisoners staved off boredom and gained extra income and food by craft making and gardening, struggled for space and privacy by reconfiguring inside spaces, and adapted to their change in fortunes while attempting to maintain their traditional values. Some would not adapt, however, and it was this clearly desperate group that attempted to dig an escape tunnel through the bottom of a latrine.

Of the three known archaeological projects on PoW camps of the First World War, just two of them are published, and only one of those is published in English. That project is the study of a German PoW camp holding French soldiers near the town of Quedlingburg, in central Germany, reported on by Demuth (2009). As is becoming more common in mainland Europe, though the Quedlingburg site was discovered by accident during a development-driven archaeological survey focused on more ancient remains, it was deemed important enough to investigate. This is another example of a recent site with few known surviving written sources, which makes archaeology prior to possible site destruction that much more critical.

Chances of survival in the PoW camps of the First World War were much better than in the brutal trench battles on the Western Front—being taken prisoner actually increased chances of surviving the war. The Quedlingburg camp was large, at its peak holding about 18,000 men, which is likely why it was first spotted as crop marks in aerial photographs. The excavations were conducted primarily using large-scale mechanical soil removal, which appears to be a common cultural resource management approach to projects on twentieth-century military sites. Excavations revealed structures as well as many small finds that speak to everyday life in the camp. Writing supplies such as pens and ink bottles remind us of the universal PoW experience of writing home, ubiquitous

barbed wire fragments are remnants of the ever-present fence, and numbered metal ID tags could potentially connect artifacts with specific, namable former prisoners.

Excavations around the canteen building provided evidence of PoW diet. An abundance of heavily fragmented large mammal bones (primarily cow and pig) suggested a diet of stews with at least some protein-rich meat in them, and the presence of many Atlantic Ocean fish bones suggests the use of dried fish in other meals. A surprising discovery was the large number of beer, lemonade, and mineral water bottles, suggesting that the PoWs had some luxuries. The beer bottles came from local and distant breweries, including at least one French brewery in Reims, likely a remnant from a care package mailed to a PoW from France. One unique artifact is a beer bottle with a clean slanting cut on the neck, likely evidence that it was opened with a long saber. Since a swift saber cut is the traditional French military method for opening a bottle of champagne, perhaps the beer bottle was a stand-in for the bubbly drink in a makeshift ceremony of French culture.

The only known project to have studied Allied PoWs held by Axis captors during the Second World War was at the most famous of European PoW camps, Stalag Luft III in Poland, the site of the "Great Escape" (Doyle et al. 2001; Doyle et al. 2010; Pringle et al. 2007). The project's central aim was to locate one or more of the underground tunnels used in the famous escape attempt. They successfully located a tunnel and its entrance, and even a complete escape kit briefcase—certainly among the most exciting and symbolic artifacts ever found at an internment site. The project was at least partly motivated by media interest, and the field work was driven by the production of a pair of television documentaries (Channel 4 2011; Windfall Films 2005). With cameras rolling, the team used mechanical excavators to uncover the escape tunnel and artifacts and interviewed still-living English participants of the Great Escape. Although certainly thrilling archaeology, the team appears to have not properly recorded their excavations or finds, which suggests that the motivation for the project was in fact primarily the media aspect.

Most closely related to the topic of this dissertation are the projects that investigate German PoWs held by the Allies during the Second World War. Few projects have taken place, with less than a handful resulting in publications (several projects are in development, however). Thomas (2011) conducted archival research and field work at the site of the North Camp Hood Internment Camp, which held German PoWs during the Second World War on the present-day Fort Hood military installation in Texas. Thomas found that, while the concrete foundations and other remains are eligible for the National Register of Historic Places, the site is nevertheless threatened with destruction due to a combination of limited funding for cultural resources from the US Army and expansion plans for the contemporary military base. These results show how sites from the Second World War are still in a limbo period and their remains can be relatively easily destroyed in favor of new development.

Early (2013) recently reported on excavations at La Glacerie, an American-run PoW camp that held German soldiers in Cherbourg, France, near the end of the Second World War. This was a development-driven project undertaken to satisfy French cultural heritage requirements. That the French government deemed the site—a surprise discovery—worthy of excavating suggests that archaeological research on Second World War sites in France will become increasingly common in the coming years, which will certainly produce a wealth of new sites and new publications.

La Glacerie is another project that shows the potential of aerial photography for locating and gathering metrics and other data on twentieth-century sites prior to field work. Sequentially dated aerial photographs reviewed by Early revealed changes in the landscape and the camp over time, valuable data that informed the field work and excavations. The excavations revealed a layout of architectural remains that matched what was shown in the aerial photos and an abundance of small artifacts representing all aspects of life in the camp. The presence and absence of certain categories of artifacts partially reveals what was deemed worthy of stripping for reuse at the end of the war and what was simply left abandoned on site. (For example, they found many complete metal US Army–issue stoves, apparently an item not worth attempting to salvage.). This is a

relevant point for all sites related to wartime activities, as sites were often partially or wholly salvaged at the end of hostilities. Early reports showed that the combination of aerial photo research followed by large-scale earth removal (mechanical surface stripping) revealed the footprints of the many buildings of the camp and that this approach appears to be valuable for assessing the spatial organization of camp settings.

Waters (2004) directed the only major, multiyear research project on a PoW camp holding German soldiers (other than the project on which this dissertation is based). Waters led four years of historical and archaeological research on Camp Hearne, a 4,000-man, 700-acre PoW camp in Texas that operated from 1943 to 1945. The project is an excellent example of an interdisciplinary approach that combines investigation of the archival and archaeological evidence and oral history interviews with living informants. Waters provides a comprehensive overview of the camp including its founding and construction, what daily life was like for the PoWs, and the archaeological evidence remaining. Waters finds that the PoW were treated humanely and that in later years many looked back on their time as PoWs in a positive light. Revealing an important similarity with my own in research in Canada, Waters found that at Camp Hearne an ideological battle raged between different factions of PoWs. The “true believers” in Nazism in the camp formed gangs that vied for control of the camp. As with similar stories coming from Canada, at Camp Hearne at least one PoW, accused of collaborating with the Americans, was murdered by his own compatriots.

Like Waters’ research, my own project as presented in this dissertation used a multidisciplinary approach to study a PoW camp holding captured German soldiers. I combined archaeological field work with collection of oral history and reviewing of archival documents to assemble multiple lines of evidence that could be analyzed together as well as compared and contrasted with one another. My research reveals that while the Canadian government was secretly working to democratize the PoWs it had under its control, the Nazi bureaucracy in Europe was similarly working to keep those same PoWs under their ideological persuasion. The PoWs found themselves stuck in a push and pull between two idealistic political ideologies. Much of that push and pull was

mediated through small material culture; for example, the Nazis shipped the PoWs care packages adorned with patriotic imagery, and the Canadians tempted their charges with American-style consumer goods such as Coca-Cola. Many of the German soldiers were won over.

2.5 Future Directions in the Archaeology of Institutions and Internment

I organized this review around the three themes of precursors, reform and capitalist control, and the modern military. These groupings serve to organize and make some sense of a vast body of published research. Running in, out, and around the three themes are a set of unifying, underlying motifs, subtexts that seem to consistently recur in any discussion of institutions and internments. These include Foucauldian and Marxist approaches to relations of power; notions of domination, resistance, and cooperation; forces of surveillance and discipline, and of training, reform, and reeducation; and ideas about scales of landscape, space, and material culture and the relationships between the three.

In light of the rich body of work that has developed in seventy-five or more years of archaeology on institutions, and in light of the essential motifs that run throughout this corpus, I see three promising future directions in the archaeology of institutions and internment: 1) a renewed emphasis on the importance of small things in institutions, 2) a shift in focus from hierarchical to heterarchical models of power, and 3) increasing sophistication (methodological and theoretical) in the archaeology of twentieth-century military institutions. In the following stage of this dissertation, Chapter 3, I explain my arguments for a renewed emphasis on small material culture and for a shift to heterarchical models of power. My hope is that my third suggestion, for increased methodological and theoretical sophistication in the archaeology of modern military institutions, is demonstrated by this dissertation as a whole. Clearly the archaeology of institutions and internment, with a rich legacy to build on and exciting new directions in which to go, has both much room for growth and a stimulating future.

CHAPTER 3. THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO INSTITUTIONALIZATION AND INTERNMENT

3.1 Introduction

In Chapter One I charted the central goals of this dissertation, which, are briefly: to establish what model of prisoner management underpinned the Allies' approach to holding Axis prisoners; to better understand what happens when institutionalized people are stuck between the push and pull of two idealistic ideologies; and to discover in what ways this competition between worldviews is mediated through small material culture. In this chapter I provide theoretical context by discussing the key themes and key thinkers that underpin my approaches to answering these questions. I outline three important philosophical models of prisoner management, I discuss sociologist Erving Goffman's approach to institutional life, I review Marxist and Foucauldian perspectives on power relations, and I introduce theories about time discipline and training of the body. Next, I explain the framework that I use to make sense of my archaeological data—this is a move toward showing the importance of small things in institutions. I introduce my notion of the "restrictions and impositions" of material culture employed by institutions, and the "choice and personalization" of material culture deployed by the institutionalized. I conclude the chapter with an argument for why we need to move away from strictly hierarchical understandings of power, toward approaches that are more open to multiple directions of power.

3.2 Philosophical Models of Prisoner Management

One of the goals of this dissertation is to explore philosophies of prisoner management—the various ways that institutions and bureaucracies approach managing people under their supervision—and to establish what approach was used by the Canadians specifically, and the Allies in general, in managing the German PoWs they had under their control during the Second World War. The long-term and global histories of punishment and incarceration have been thoroughly reviewed elsewhere (Casella 2007; Evans 1982; Johnston 2000; Morris and Rothman 1995; Walker 1973). My goal in this section is to briefly summarize what I see as three central approaches to prisoner

management, the three main ways that the imprisoned have been and are governed in their institutionalized lives: *the punishing model*, *the reforming model*, and *the warehousing model*.

I have chosen my own term, the "punishing model," to identity the standard premodern European approach to managing offenders, in which punishment—retribution for a crime committed—was the central aim. In the punishing model, this retribution for crimes committed was usually pain, sometimes inflicted as part of a public spectacle. The premodern approach included public torture and execution for the worst offenses. In Mbembé's (2003:19) words, "well known is the long procession of the condemned through the streets prior to execution, the parade of body parts—a ritual that became a standard feature of popular violence—and the final display of a severed head on a pike." For offenders sentenced to imprisonment, incarceration under the punishing model meant being thrown into a dungeon or keep. In the punishing model there is no interest in improving, teaching, or in any way helping the prisoner to give him a second chance; the simple aim is retribution for crimes. Foucault (1977: 3-5) provides an unparalleled illustration of the brutality of premodern punishment in his retelling of "the execution of Damiens" in the infamous opening pages of *Discipline and Punish*. Though the punishing model is typified by its use in the premodern era, elements survive in present day penal systems.

Under the "reforming model" of imprisonment, the emphasis is on reforming rather than punishing offenders. Rather than being subjected to pain as retribution for alleged crimes committed, offenders are sentenced to terms in institutions—not the dungeons of old, but modern, efficient bureaucracies run by large staffs of specialists. The new, modern goal is to effect permanent change in the inmate (or patient). This change is instituted slowly, over time, through instruction and training. The ultimate goal is a renewal, or rebirth even, of the inmate from his or her previous life of crime or immorality into one of a productive, law-abiding member of society. The quintessential example of the reforming institution is the Victorian-era prison; but other reforming places might include hospitals,

asylums, residential schools, work camps, and even summer camps, religious retreats, post offices, factories, and office buildings.

Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (1977) is centrally about this shift from premodern to modern forms of punishment. Though the premodern era's violence in punishment was eliminated—in Foucault's (1977: 8) words "the body as the major target of penal repression disappeared"—the retributive approach was only replaced with what Foucault saw as a more subtle, reforming approach. This new penality was no longer principally interested in the body, rather, it did its work on the soul; "the expiation that once rained down upon the body must be replaced by a punishment that acts in depth on the heart, the thoughts, the will, the inclinations" (Foucault 1977: 16). But Foucault does not see this shift as a straightforward, positive, or progressive development. This new, more gentle, approach did not aim "to punish less, but to punish better" (Foucault 1977: 82).

Foucault's groundbreaking work was part of a revisionist movement that challenged an earlier, more optimistic, body of analysis of the history of incarceration (other revisionist work includes Ignatieff 1978; Ignatieff 1981). The revisionists were skeptical of previous, often teleological, claims of the progressive improvements of prisons over time (e.g. Johnston 1961). The revisionist work of the 1970s spawned a "counter-revisionist" response in the 1980s (e.g. Forsythe 1990; Spierenburg 1987). The counter-revisionists argued that Foucault went too far in his description of a pervasive disciplinary power in institutions, and that there are often discrepancies between grand designs and what actually happens "on the ground" at prisons. These counter-revisionists argued that Foucault's vision of power was idealized and hypothetical.

Beginning in the early 1970s there emerged a new paradigm of incarceration in America. And though the model did not yet have a name, during the Nixon presidency the reformatory model described by Foucault began to be replaced by the "warehousing" model, in which increasing numbers of inmates are simply stored behind bars with no view toward instructing, reforming, or preparing them for eventual release. Angela Davis and others in the prison abolition movement argue that this pervasive "prison industrial

complex" is driven by privatization, profit, and racism to incarcerate, specifically, as many African American men as possible (Davis 2005; Davis and Rodriguez 2000). Related work highlights the targeting of other social and minority groups, depending on context (e.g. Aguirre and Baker 2000). These academics and activists stress the close connections between chattel slavery, the convict lease system, urban ghettos, and deep-rooted structural racism and classism which maintain the current high rates of incarceration and recidivism, particularly among young African American men (Gilmore 2000; Pettit and Western 2004; Wacquant 2000).

Wacquant agrees that the current system is racist and deleterious but forcefully argues that there is no such thing as a prison industrial complex; or, if it does exist, it is not as important or powerful as Davis argues. Wacquant instead suggests that the rise of the warehousing prison since the 1970s is connected more immediately to the rise of neoliberalism and the dismantling of the social safety net (Wacquant 2001; Wacquant 2002; Wacquant 2005; Wacquant 2008). In Wacquant's model, welfare and healthcare have been replaced by the penal system as methods of governing the populace.

Discussion of these warehousing practices of the American criminal justice system in particular have become commonplace in academia. Critique from the news media and among political leaders, however, has been more circumscribed. Though some from these quarters will admit that aspects of the criminal justice and prison systems are in need of repair, few go on record in criticism of it. For the dispensers of news and entertainment, the lurid rhetoric and spectacle of crime and punishment is far too lucrative (Palmer 1998); for politicians, "soft on crime" is a most feared of possible labels. The media are not the only ones to gain from crime, as both the profits and influence of corporations in the prison industry continue to rise (Sevick et al. 1987). At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the warehousing model dominates American incarceration and is starting to make inroads into Europe and elsewhere.

3.3 Goffman's Approach to Institutional Life

My review of what I have called "philosophies of prisoner management" is necessarily a top down look at the institution—it is an approach that looks at the planning, presentation and execution of goals and ideals from the perspective of the bureaucrats running the institutions. From this large-scale, top down approach, we now switch to the very intimate and personal: an approach that forefronts the importance of the individual that resides inside the institution. Central to this dissertation is the thinking of foundational sociologist Erwin Goffman, who conducted extensive research on the inside workings of institutions, particularly lunatic asylums, leading to publication of his important work *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates* (Goffman 1962). In *Asylums,* Goffman introduces his concept of "the total institution," which he defines as a

> place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life. (Goffman 1962: xiii)

According to Goffman (1962), in a total institution all features of life are conducted in the same place and under one authority, each phase of a resident's activities are undertaken in the company of a large group of other residents (all of whom are treated alike and required to do the same things together), activities are tightly scheduled and pre-planned, the sequence of tasks and events is imposed from above by a body of officials, and these various activities are part of a supposedly rational plan designed to fulfill the aims of the institution.

In a key section, Goffman explains the initiation of new members (or recruits, inmates, etc.) of any total institution, what he calls the process of "mortification." The individual is subjected to a series of "abasements, degradations, humiliations, and profanations of self" aimed at creating a clean break from his past life (Goffman 1962: 14). This includes acts such as stripping away of clothes and possessions, washing and delousing of the body, issuing of uniforms, initiation into communal living, and entrance into a world of little privacy and individuality. (Recall the arrival of new students at the Phoenix Indian School, described in Chapter 2.)

Goffman also developed a unique way of analyzing interpersonal social relations, an approach particularly useful in the analysis of institutional settings. In *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Goffman 1959), the sociologist employed the imagery and metaphor of the theater to explain intimate interactions between people and groups. In Goffman's dramaturgical approach, interacting people become "actor" and "audience," and the interaction occurs on a "stage" with "props." Goffman's was the first research to treat interactions between individuals as a legitimate subject of sociological study. Becker (2003) suggests that Goffman developed his novel approach to institutions as way of overcoming the methodological conundrum of how to describe an institution or bureaucracy without replicating its own loaded terminology.

According to Goffman, there are front stages and back stages: an actor is on the front stage when he has an audience, and on the back stage when he is alone. A key tenet of Goffman's analysis is that when on the front stage, every actor will naturally try to portray himself in the best possible light. When there is no audience, the actor will naturally relax and no longer consider how he appears to others in that moment. Individual actors, however, are not always lone operatives. Actors can also be organized into teams of like-minded individuals who act together with a common purpose. This idea of teams is particularly relevant in prison settings, where there are clear divisions between inmates and staff, and again between different inmate subcultures.

3.4 Marxist and Foucauldian Perspectives on Power in Historical Archaeology

Goffman's contributions, like most work on institutions, is intimately connected to the study of power and power relations. Two theorists of power, Karl Marx and Michel Foucault, have been most influential, to the point where nearly every discussion of power relations positions itself in one way or another relative to their seminal contributions. Historical archaeologists have long worked on questions that address how power operates in varying contexts and under different conditions, and have often drawn on Marx and Foucault for their arguments.

McGuire (2008: 37) states that Marxism has been defined as "the science of capitalism or, more properly, as the science of the inherent contradictions of capitalism," and that Marxism is, at its core, a critical study of capitalism that pursues a transformation of the social world. An emphasis on the *contradictions* of capitalism is of critical importance, since the notion of the contradiction is at the core of the two central components of Marxist theory, dialectical reasoning and historical materialism. *Dialectical reasoning*, principally associated with Hegel, is a method of arriving at a conclusion by first stating a thesis, then developing a contradictory antithesis, and finally coming to a resolving synthesis. This dialectic, applied to the study of history, can be seen as the development of historical change through the inherent conflict found in opposing forces (i.e., history can be interpreted as a series of contradictions and resulting solutions to contradictions). *Historical materialism* is an approach to the explanation of history that places primary importance on the material conditions of any given context. Under this rubric the relationships that people enter in to (relating to their labor, and to material things, for example) to fulfill their essential needs are the most significant interactions of any society (Marx 1990; Marx and Engels 1970). Social relations, not social institutions or entities, are the entry point to making sense of history and the world.

From a Marxist perspective, power is rooted in the control of the means of production (whether economic, political or otherwise). At the level of the individual, a person's position in a dialectic relationship is determined by their relation to the means of production. Economic class (and the associated themes of class struggle and class confrontation) has traditionally been the central focus of Marxist approaches, but according to McGuire (2006: 123), class is now just an entry point "for studies that also consider race, gender, and ethnicity as loci of oppression." Marxist approaches to power, with their framing in terms of contradictions and confrontations, influenced the long-running use of the domination-and-resistance paradigm in historical archaeology.

Marxist philosophy argues that social collectives are more impactful than single individuals. McGuire and Wurst (2002), for example, criticize approaches in historical archaeology that prioritize individual agency over group struggle. They argue that

individual actors are in fact only the products of broader social relations and that humans cannot achieve impactful social change on their own. From a Marxist perspective, artifacts too, are seen as meaningful, but only within these larger ideological and social systems and as the sites of these struggles between groups (Little and Shackel 1996). This is not a claim that individuals are not important, or that there is no such thing as personal or individual agency; rather, it means that a social group will be more effective at changing structural conditions than an individual can ever be. In McGuire's (2008: 42) words, "humans make history as members of collective groups."

A long-running trend in Marxist-inspired work in historical archaeology is the argument that the ideology of the dominant class is purposefully inscribed in the landscape at multiple levels, from the layout of cities and towns, to the architecture of buildings and design of gardens and buildings. In this vision, formal rules of perspective, design, and symbolism are employed to create ideologically informed landscapes that serve to naturalize the traditional social order. Leone (1984) famously described an Annapolis, Maryland, garden as an engineered landscape that was carefully designed to communicate a message of naturalized social order. Through symbolism, geometry, and optics, the garden presented a rationalization of nature, space, and time and set precedence for social order.

Some approaches in historical archaeology suggest that the ideology of the ruling class (those in control of the means of production) tricks oppressed groups into accepting the alienation of their labor and their lowly social position. McGuire (1991), for example, describes the landscape of a factory town imbued with ideology and rationalization. McGuire uses the term "corporate paternalism" to describe how the capitalist elite presented themselves and their companies as earnestly caring for the workers (by providing health services, housing, and so on), when in fact this was just a masking of their true concern: extracting maximum labor from their workers for minimum cost.

But sometimes workers revolt, and The Colorado Coal Field War Project highlights one such moment. The Ludlow Massacre was an April 1914 attack by the Colorado National

Guard on a tent colony of striking coal miners and their families. The massacre is the most well-known event of the strife-filled era of the 1913–1914 Colorado Coal Field War. This is a story of resistance to domination, of class struggle, and of collective action on the part of the working class coal miners. The project is working to reclaim the story of Ludlow and "exhume the class struggle" toward creating an archaeology of the American working class (Ludlow Collective 2001: 94). The research reveals that the similarities in day-to-day life of miners and their families trumped their ethnic differences, and that these similarities helped to form a shared class consciousness necessary for the collective action of the strike (Ludlow Collective 2001; Saitta et al. 2005; Walker 2003).

In his ground-breaking treatise *Discipline and Punish* (1977), and in related work on power (1980; 1982), theorist Michel Foucault extrapolates on his central idea that power is not found in any specific, identifiable individual or even a specific group. In contrast with Marxist approaches that argue that exploitative power is held by those in control of the means of production, and wielded through ideology against a distinct lower class that does not hold power—Foucault sees modern power as "distributed" through all people and institutions, and as pervasive and productive. Power circulates throughout all groups and aspects of society in a "capillary" fashion, and power relies on this productive distribution for controlling individuals.

According to Foucault, power has an appetite for expansion and control, and it employs techniques such as "normalizing judgment" and "hierarchical observation" to compare, categorize, examine, surveil, and discipline people. The modern examination, be it medical, educational, or for some other purpose, exemplifies Foucault's notion of "power/knowledge," since the examination combines the deployment of power and the establishment of truth. In Foucault's analysis, modern society creates and manages "docile bodies" through discipline of time, activities, and bodies.

The distribution and pervasiveness of modern power is such that bodies become self-regulating and no longer require surveillance. Foucault's study of the panoptic prison,

which shows how a particular architectural arrangement—a circular prison with a central guard tower that has unobstructed, one-way views into the prison cells—exemplifies this notion of the self-regulating inmate (or citizen): since the prisoners can be seen at all times but do not know if or when they are actually being watched, they begin to act as if they are being watched at all times. According to Foucault, the power of the panopticon is not limited to the prison, but rather works in all modern institutions, including schools, hospitals, and factories.

The influence of Foucault, on the study of modern reforming institutions in particular, cannot be overstated. In the words of De Cunzo (2006: 168), Foucault "sought the origins, forms, functions, and perversions of total institutions in the Western world, and his analyses have framed the dominant paradigm in institutional studies." But some archaeologists have strongly criticized Foucault for his de-emphasis of the individual and perceived overemphasis on the pervasiveness of power. Meskell (Knapp and Meskell 1997; Meskell 1996) argues that we should be wary of his extreme formulations of power, his depersonalized histories, and his failure to address individuals. De Cunzo (2006: 182) agrees, and suggests that an unmodified Foucauldian approach would be essentialist, reductionist, and would "produce self-fulfilling, oversimplified understandings of society."

3.5 Training and Personal Discipline

In an influential 1967 article *Time, Work Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism*, Thompson (1967) discusses the concept of "time discipline." The research details the transition from premodern to modern experiences, impacts, and apprehensions of time and timekeeping, and demonstrates that the increasing use of clocks and their heightening precision created a disciplining process on society in general and on wage laborers specifically. The time-disciplined body has been called the "Fordist" body: regimented and economical in its movements, and geared toward productive output in factory work (Hamilakis et al. 2002; Martin 1992). Following Foucault (1977), we might say that time discipline is just one apparition of broader disciplining forces in any modern society.

Shackel (1992: 73) helpfully defines modern discipline as "a behavior based on measured time, calculated to make human action more regular, predictable, and replicable through constant surveillance, monitoring, and reinforcement." Modern discipline then, which includes time discipline as a key aspect, is a regulating force that serves to render workers, and humans overall, more controllable, efficient, and productive. (Foucault (1977: 108) even calls "time" the "operator of punishment.") One of its functions is to train the body through repeated performance of a movement or task to accustom the body to particular manners and mannerisms. This training can serve various ends, including promoting social conformity, solidifying class or ethnic boundaries, or increasing efficiency in production of goods. In an intriguing example of the use of material culture in disciplining practices, Camp (2008) found that immigrant laborers at the Mount Lowe Railway north of Los Angeles, California, were subjected to using miniature child-sized objects such as tea cups to aid in their training as new Americans.

While discipline is present at all times and in all aspects of modern society and daily life, its relevance and impact expands in institutional and military settings. Shackel (1992: 76), following Foucault, suggests that the deep roots of modern time discipline are found in medieval monastic communities, which "provided an established rhythm for daily activities, imposed particular activities, and regulated and reinforced the cycles of repetition." The factory, of central importance to Thompson, is another, more recent type of time-disciplining institution. All the usual institutions, previously discussed, are imbued with time discipline as well: prisons, hospitals, asylums, army bases, work camps, and so on.

3.6 The Focus on Architecture and the Importance of Small Things

Much research in historical archaeology locates the material manifestation of the power of dominant groups primarily in architecture, landscape design, and the built environment generally (e.g. Epperson 2000; Jamieson 2000; King 2009; Leone 1984; Leone et al. 2005a; Leone and Hurry 1998). In institutional settings specifically, such as prisons and asylums, again, major emphasis is often focused on the role of architecture and the organization of space (e.g. Baugher 2010; Myers 2010a; Zarankin 2005). This emphasis

on architecture is driven by both the Marxist and Foucauldian influences on historical archaeology: As we have seen, Marxist research sees ideology and ideological messages imbued in the built environment and planned landscapes; and Foucault's emphasis on the critical importance of architecture in the reforming institutions of the Enlightenment and later has ensured that the built environment stays at the center of any Foucauldian approaches as well.

This emphasis on architecture in archaeological studies of modern institutions is justified since it follows the original intent of the designers of modern institutions, who saw architecture and the organization of space as central elements to any program of reform. In Upton's (1992: 66) words, "the architecture was the key to the corrective enterprise." The institutional reformers of the Enlightenment period onward created architecture with a "moral purpose," and "sought to make architecture the instigator of virtue" (Evans 1982: 1). But despite the significance of architecture and spatial arrangement of landscapes, buildings, and indoor spaces, small material culture, as every archaeologist knows, can be just as important to interpretation as monumental structures (e.g. Beaudry 2011; Mullins 1999). We have no further to look than Deetz's (1977) field-defining book, *In Small Things Forgotten*, for that reminder.

3.7 Influences from Material Culture Studies

Orser (2002:383) reminds us that "two of the most nagging questions in historical archaeology" are *why people have the things the archaeologists find*, and *what they thought of them.* These and related questions have been at the foundation of much archaeological inquiry, and have led to the many different ways that archaeologists approach material culture. For many years, understanding material culture meant identifying and classifying excavated artifacts. And while these two key tasks rightly continue in the practice of archaeology today, our interest in material things has expanded. We now elaborate on the connections between material culture and individual human agency and broader social relations, and many other themes. In what Hicks (2010) has called the "material-cultural turn," anthropologists became interested in more

comprehensive definitions of material culture, and in its many potential social implications.

In the 1980s anthropologists began discussing the importance of how people interact with and through material culture. This move was underpinned by the development of material culture studies coming out of the United Kingdom. Daniel Miller (2005:2), the primary proponent of this school of thought argued that "we need to engage with the issue of materiality as far more than a mere footnote or esoteric extra to the study of anthropology." With Christopher Tilley (1996:5), he defined the study of material culture broadly, as "the investigation of the relationship between people and things irrespective of time and space." He also argued for a much more inclusive definition of material culture, going as far as to state that "we may want to refute the very possibility of calling anything immaterial" (Miller 2005:4).

As part of his wider project to uncover material aspects of daily life that were previously taken for granted, Miller extensively studied consumption (e.g. Miller 1987). Modern consumption was argued to be not only central to everyday life, but also a meaningful and creative social activity. Consumption was thus no longer seen as passive, or driven purely by economics, but in fact as an active process whereby people appropriated material things for their lives through conscious and careful choice (Buchli 2002; Miller 1987). According to Meskell (2005b:51), objects can in fact themselves be "agentic." This notion of active objects is sometimes termed "material agency," and the approach developed out of influential work by anthropologists Alfred Gell (1992; 1998) and Bruno Latour (Johnson 1988; Latour 1999). From this perspective, while only humans possess primary agency, material culture can in fact take on what these theorists call secondary agency (Gell 1998). Some more recent perspectives even suggest that materials and individuals share the ability to make decisions (Shanks 2007).

The relationship between humans and material culture has also been shown to be recursive, in the sense that while the material world is conceived and built by us humans, that constructed world equally comes back to shape human habits and experiences

(Bourdieu 1977; Meskell 2005a). Hodder (2012:1) has called this "the ways things and societies co-produce each other." Thus the construction of culture occurs though this action and interaction, and not just through ideas or conceptualization. Miller explains that it is Pierre Bourdieu's work that shows how the same ability of objects to condition human actors becomes the primary way by which people are socialized (Bourdieu 1977; Miller 2008:277). Ultimately, material culture studies reveals how material things are used in the creation of multiple and intersecting identities, and how material things are central to constituting culture and human relations. This work reveals the critical importance of everyday things generally (de Certeau 1984), but also shows the many ways that everyday things are used by people to create identities in the face of larger, more powerful social processes.

3.8 The Perspective of the Institution: Restrictions and Impositions

The remainder of this chapter outlines the framework I have developed for analyzing excavated material evidence. The framework shows how, along with architecture, small material culture is a key nexus in both enforcing and resisting institutional discipline, and how it is central to back and forth struggle between competing ideologies.

Institutions employ material culture to serve their ends in several ways, including through what I call *restrictions* and *impositions*. Restrictions include banning certain items completely, delimiting the allowed properties (such as size or number) of others, and dictating when and under what circumstances prisoners can acquire new things—generally speaking, all the rules governing the acquisition, possession, and use of material culture. Restrictions are ostensibly practical for the institution, as they support wider goals such as limiting chances of escape, or increasing the safety of the guards and inmates. But restrictions also have psychological goals and implications, because restrictions demonstrate dominance. The psychological aspects of restrictions are evidenced by the commonness of seemingly arbitrary regulations about material culture in institutions; imposing arbitrary or pedantic requirements on prisoners is a clear demonstration of power.

My notion of *impositions* relates to the institution's power to choose what material culture is provided to inmates. Selecting what an inmate wears for clothing, what toiletry items are available to him, and what food he eats, is certainly another way to demonstrate power. That it is the *institution* that provides these necessities of life further reinforces this imposition of power, since it reinforces the inmate's dependence on the institution. Imposed goods are almost always mass-produced, regularized items—the types of things that reinforce conformity and suppress the individuality of institutionalized people. From the perspective of the institution, it might be said that that strict control over material culture is pragmatic in both the short term and the long term. In the short term, control over material culture serves to limit potential undesirable behavior and events. For example, removing weapons and forbidding non-institutional clothing will ostensibly limit violence and escape attempts. In the long term, control over material culture contributes to the exhibition of power and to the broader psychological goals of the reforming institution.

3.9 The Perspective of the Inmate: Choice and Personalization

The power of the institution over material culture is not monolithic, and countering forces are always at work. Material culture is, of course, equally put to use by the inmates of any institution. Inmates, a group we might call the underdogs in an institutional setting, use material culture for their own purposes: to express resistance to the power of the institution, to cooperate with the institution or its representatives, or to simply "do their own thing" to express their individuality. As one example of this countering force, in every case of confinement, smuggling and trading goods takes place. Illicit trading or smuggling leads directly to the inmates possessing banned items such as alcohol, weapons, or radios—clear affronts to the institution's power. But this activity cannot always be seen as simple resistance, since institutional guards and staff often cooperate in these schemes.

Since inmates of an institution live in a world of enforced conformity, with their food, clothing, and possessions provided by the institution, they might attempt to regain some of their individuality through acquisition or creation of personal or unique items. Any

such item, of course, clashes with the institutional goal of conformity. Individuality for an inmate might be achieved through creating things (e.g., carving or painting), damaging or altering institutionally provided items (e.g., adding one's initials to a cup or bowl), or purchasing items at a canteen or on the black market.

3.10 Domination, Resistance, Competition, and Cooperation

While enforced confinement will by necessity include some level of domination by the captor, that confinement will equally always elicit some level of resistance by the captives. Even minor violations of any of these rules, albeit frequently petty and self-defeating when they lead to repercussions for the rule breaker, might be seen as acts of resistance. This resistance can take many forms, some of which are even visible in the archaeological record of the internment site. From an archaeological perspective, a most common sign of resistance are the remains of banal yet contraband goods such as nonuniform clothing, foodstuffs, and grooming products.

Perhaps the most blatant form of resistance to internment is escape, either by absconding from a work party outside the camp or, when necessary, actually overcoming physical barriers from inside the camp. Tunneling is the most archaeologically visible and enduring of these, and the remains of an escape tunnel have been located through archaeology at American Civil War and Second World War sites. Attempting to damage, destroy, or even improve the prison site are also forms of resistance, often symbolic but in some cases actually practical. Graffiti or murals, for instance, serve to stamp the internees' ideology and identities on an institutional space, and may even serve to intimidate outsiders and guards. Artwork or markings on walls are also a kind of cultural resistance, a common theme in internment, often demonstrated in nostalgic or defiant handicrafts produced by detainees. Such seemingly petty symbols of cultural resistance can maintain the morale of prisoners, and might even remain unnoticed by the captors.

While the theme of resistance has ridden a wave of popularity in historical archaeology generally, and in the study of internment specifically, some criticism has emerged of what is seen as an overemphasis on resistance. González-Ruibal (2011) is skeptical of

what he calls the abstracted formulations of internment that overstress the agency of the oppressed and neglect the brutal, real-world manifestations of the power of the institution. And he is right to suggest that in studying the archaeology of internment there is a risk of becoming too enamored with the "glamour" of resistance and failing to take into account the constraints, threats of violence, and psychological effects of long-term incarceration. To do so would be a betrayal of the victims of the many historical crimes related to various internments and imprisonments.

Regardless of one's position on whether we should emphasize the domination or the resistance aspects, both perspectives are still working within a hierarchical perspective on power. And the hierarchical domination-and-resistance paradigm as a whole has come under increasing scrutiny as being too simplistic and even degrading to the purported resistors. As many recent critiques suggest, why should a subordinate group only be able to respond to acts of domination, and not show agency of their own accord? Silliman (2001: 192), among and following others, reminds us that individuals in the past acted meaningfully and purposefully, but always within the context of "historical and social circumstances only partly of their own making." Individual actions occur within a wider context that both constrains and provides opportunities. In a prison or prison camp setting, we might rightly assume that the constraints are particularly strong—but this certainly does not preclude meaningful actions initiated by prisoners.

The dichotomous perspective is starting to lose traction within historical archaeology, in favor of perspectives that emphasize the multiplicity of power, and heterarchy over hierarchy. It seems that on this topic, as with others, historical archaeology is somewhat behind related disciplines such as anthropology and even other interest areas within archaeology generally: Crumley (1987; 2005), Ehrenrich et al. (1995), Rautman (1998), and Levy (1999), for example, all have discussed nonhierarchical approaches to power relations. Additionally, more recent work in historical archaeology—on institutions (Casella 2007; Casella 2011), Spanish colonialism (Liebmann and Murphy 2011), and industrial towns (Cowie 2011)—make powerful arguments for a move toward

understandings of power that are open to collaboration and negotiation in addition to domination and resistance.

In cases of internment, too, evidence often points to multiple layers and directions of control and surveillance. At a very basic level we might say that in any internment setting, other than in a perfect panopticon perhaps, the prisoners can watch the guards just as the guards watch the prisoners. Even this minor ability of a prisoner being able to watch the movement of guards might be seen as a small instance of power. But in some settings, power in the hands of the supposed weaker group goes much further than that, up to and including fraternization and cooperation between prisoner and guard. As will be seen in the next chapter, Riding Mountain Camp in Manitoba was one such setting where prisoners and guards lived in a world of heterarchical power relations.

CHAPTER 4. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the historical background of the time and place of the central events discussed in this dissertation. First, I introduce the 1929 Geneva Convention—a most important document that guided how many PoWs were handled by their captors in the Second World War. Second, I review the varying treatment of PoWs in the Second World War globally. Third, I discuss the reeducation deployed against PoWs in the war, with reviews of the Soviet, British, and American approaches to reeducation of German PoWs. Fourth, I briefly discuss the history of German PoWs in Canada. Finally, I move to the local level and cover the history of Riding Mountain Camp specifically. The chapter concludes with a discussion of how the historical context connects with the archaeological work presented in Chapter 5.

4.2 Prisoners of War and the 1929 Geneva Convention

The first half of the twentieth century saw the codification of the treatment of prisoners of war. The most relevant international treaties are the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, which primarily defined the criteria for a recognized combatant, and the Geneva Conventions of 1906, 1929, and 1949, which further defined the concept of prisoners of war and the rules surrounding them (Roland 1991; Vance 2006). This specific body of international law, which has evolved over time, today governs how soldiers captured in wartime must be treated by captor nations.

The treaty that was applicable during the Second World War was the 1929 Geneva Convention, known in full as the *Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (27 July 1929)* (Columbia Law Review Board 1956; Geneva Convention 1979; Wylie 2010a). This document guided all signatory countries' treatment of PoWs during the Second World War, and the PoWs themselves were familiar with it and used it to their advantage. Both Allied and German armed forces followed (or at least claimed to follow) the dictates of 1929 Geneva Convention, and both disseminated this information within their militaries so that captured soldiers would know their rights. Key aspects of

the 1929 document include the prohibition of reprisals or collective penalties against PoWs, ensuring the PoWs' rights to neutral representation and to filing grievances, the description of minimum standards for PoW camps and living conditions, and the rules governing using PoWs as laborers.

As described in Chapter 3, under the reforming model of prisoner management, inmates are subjected to instruction and discipline toward their moral improvement; and under the warehousing model inmates are simply held, removed from free society, with no attempt to reform or in any way change the prisoners. Although the word "warehousing" does not appear in the 1929 Geneva Convention—the term was not yet in use—close reading reveals that what the document is describing is, essentially, the warehousing model of incarceration. According to the Convention, PoWs are meant to be removed from combat and held securely, with their freedom restricted, but at the same time they are clothed, fed, and generally well provided for (in fact, they must be provided with the same food and amenities as the garrison troops of the captor nation). According to the Convention, PoWs are not guilty of any crime, and they cannot be seen as criminals or as morally compromised. They are simply unwitting pawns, captured members of one belligerent or another. This hoped-for humanitarian treatment of PoWs did not occur in the case of prisoners held by the Soviets and Japanese, who were not bound by the Convention since they never ratified it.

The 1929 Convention does not directly address the issue of reeducation (or indoctrination, brainwashing, etc.). The topic is completely absent from the document. But according to Zagovec (2006: 242), "the Geneva convention did not explicitly prohibit reeducation, yet it made clear that any form of education in PoW camps would have to work on a voluntary basis only." So while it does not expressly forbid reeducation, the intention of the Geneva Convention on this issue—that PoWs are not to be compelled into any unwanted education—is clear. As is discussed in detail in this dissertation, the Canadians actually went to great lengths to follow the requirements set out in the 1929 Geneva Convention and to provide decent care for the German PoWs in a general sense. On the issue of education and reeducation too, they generally followed the wording of the

regulations set out in the Convention; however, if there is one place where the grey areas in the legal language of the Convention were taken advantage of, it would be here. On this aspect of the Convention, it appears as though the Canadians may have followed the letter of the law but not always the spirit of it (Chapter 10).

4.3 The Varied Experiences of Prisoners of War

Despite the historical and media bias toward presenting combat as the central element of the Second World War, in fact, the much slower experience of captivity typifies that war as much as the cataclysmic events of battles. On the whole, the average Second World War soldier spent more time in captivity than in combat (Scheipers 2010: 1). But despite humanitarian advances since the Enlightenment, and the legal codifications of the early twentieth century, PoWs in the Second World War nevertheless experienced tremendously varied treatment (MacKenzie 1994; MacKenzie 1995; MacKenzie 1997; Moore and Fedorowich 1996; Moore and Hately-Broad 2005; Wylie 2010b). MacKenzie (1994: 487) provides a useful summary:

> In any examination of the treatment afforded prisoners of war (POWs), the Second World War stands out both in terms of scale—approximately thirty-five million military personnel spent time in enemy hands between 1939 and 1945—and in terms of the sheer range of behavior exhibited by captor states. Depending on the nationality of both captive and captor and the period of the war, treatment could range from strict adherence to the terms of the 1929 Geneva Convention to privation and brutality severe enough to claim approximately five million lives by the time the last prisoners were repatriated.

In the best scenarios, PoWs were fed, clothed, and housed to the same degree of comfort as soldiers of the captor's own army—as was the case for German PoWs held in Canada. But while it is important to tell the story that is told in this dissertation—a history of generally well-treated PoWs in Canada—it is also important to recognize that on a global scale most experiences of internment are certainly not happy stories. In the worst scenarios, PoWs lived the grimmest possible existences: brutal interrogations, indoctrinations, and torture; merciless slave labor; medical and psychological experimentation; starvation and disease; and in many cases death, through individual execution or as part of a massacre.

Generalizations about the treatment of PoWs by country or culture is highly fraught, however, and great care must be taken with any attempt at a broad overview. In the below passage, MacKenzie (1994: 488-489) elegantly illustrates the dangers of generalization, as well as the danger of reliance on moral or racial argumentation:

> What analysis there has been of captor policy … has in many cases been somewhat biased, and on occasion quite xenophobic. Brutal behavior toward Allied prisoners in Japanese POW camps, for example, as compared to fair treatment for Japanese POWs in Allied camps, has often been ascribed to the Japanese possessing only the veneer of Western civilization, beneath which lurked an oriental barbarism. This view ignores, among other things, the fact that during the Russo-Japanese War and the First World War prisoners taken by the Japanese forces received exemplary treatment.
>
> On a similar though more subtle level, the high standards Axis prisoners enjoyed in the United States during the Second World War, as compared to the harsher conditions endured by U.S. personnel in Axis hands, have often implicitly been treated as a matter of greater American compassion: yet recent studies suggest that Japanese troops taken by the Marines in the Pacific were often killed out of hand rather than sent back to POW camps, while Germans captured in the last days of the war in Europe and after were so neglected by the U.S. Army that tens of thousands appear to have died of malnutrition and disease.

MacKenzie's point is well taken, but statistics cannot be ignored. Soldiers with the misfortune of being captured by the Soviet Army, for example, faced a grim, likely short future. In the later years of the war, 50 % or more would die in captivity, and many of those that survived were not freed until 1956 (Rees 2007). The Soviets in many cases shared with the Japanese an utter contempt for enemy captured, and the stereotype of the cruelty of Japanese-run PoW camps is not hyperbolic (Duncan 1982; Hata 1996; Nardini 1952; Roland 1991).

The Germans treated PoWs according to race and country of origin: Americans, British, and Canadians, for example, made out the best in German captivity, while Soviet soldiers were treated mercilessly (MacKenzie 1994; Vance 2006). "By the spring of 1945 up to 3.3 million Soviet POWs had died: 57.5 % of all those taken, as against a figure of 5.1 % for British prisoners in German hands" (MacKenzie 1994: 510). Their often brutal

treatment led to decades of research on the long-term physical and psychological effects of the PoW experience (Arntzen 1948; Bondy 1943; Bondy 1944; Cochrane 1946; Duncan 1982; Kang et al. 2006; Lunden 1948; Vischer 1919).

The Allies are generally seen to have treated all PoWs under their control relatively well; but some research shows that, as suggested by MacKenzie above, this was not true in certain specific cases. Overall, however, those captured by the British and any of her allied former colonies fared incomparably better than those captured by Axis nations or the Soviets. These nations, Canada included, took pains to follow the 1929 Geneva Convention.

4.4 Internment and Reeducation of Prisoners of War

Despite the fact that the prescriptive legal framework directing the management of PoWs describes a kind of warehousing model of incarceration, during the Second World War the Allied nations in fact developed, and attempted to implement, a reforming model of incarceration. PoW camps could be powerfully acculturative institutions. Zagovec (2006: 240) states that:

> Prior to the twentieth century, prisoners of war were generally regarded as inactivated troops who would be of no further relevance to the course of events. Their mentalities and political beliefs seemed of no concern to the captors. Two factors, however, led to the full-scale emergence of reeducational programs for war prisoners during World War II: first, the war was universally understood as a contest between ideologies, and second, it coincided with the rise of modern social science and its growing influence in the field of education.

For the Allies, the PoW camps were seen as the ideal place to begin the process of reorienting the Germans away from what was seen as their militaristic and fascist tendencies. Reform work in the PoW camps was to be just the beginning of much broader plans for postwar Europe. Although the reeducation efforts in the camps were piecemeal, applied inconsistently and, according to some, in the end not very successful—the PoW camps were nevertheless seen as and run as reforming institutions.

The written history of Allied reeducation efforts is not extensive, but at least some research has been produced on PoW reeducation programs for the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Canada. The Axis nations—centrally Germany and Japan—did not try to reeducate Allied PoWs under their control. According to Zagovec (2006), this stands as a clear reminder that the Axis nations were fighting a war of conquest.

It was the Soviet Union, in fact, that had the earliest and longest-running PoW reeducation programs—operating from 1942 to 1950 (Zagovec 2006). The Soviets attempted to align the German PoWs under their control to communism through their antifascist, or *Antifa,* PoW camp schools. The *Antifa* curricula emphasized strict discipline and theoretical Marxism-Leninism. The Soviet approach was backed by force and highly coercive; but, despite the Soviet efforts, one study suggests that German PoWs returning to Germany from captivity in the Soviet Union after the war were overwhelmingly and ardently anticommunist (Biess 1999). Considering the deplorable treatment PoWs received under the Soviets generally, and the coercive and disciplinary approach the Soviets took to reeducation specifically, the PoWs' rejection of communism is understandable. The Soviets were brutal and consistent: Soviet soldiers held as PoWs in Germany, upon their repatriation at the end of the war, were labeled "traitors" by Stalin. They were sentenced to years in reeducation and forced labor camps, and many disappeared in the Gulag system (Scheipers 2010: 10).

Much has been written on German PoWs in the United States. It appears to be the country where the internment of German PoWs has been most thoroughly recorded. This record includes contemporary reporting (e.g. Fay 1945; Stanford 1946), countrywide histories and a bibliography (e.g. Bischof and Ambrose 1992; Gansberg 1977; Spidle 1975), and state-level and community-specific accounts (e.g. Billinger 1984; Billinger 2000; Fickle and Ellis 1990; Pritchett and Shea 1978). In the United States, reeducation efforts began in earnest only in 1943, coinciding with the large numbers of PoWs arriving from the African theater. Rettig (1999: 599) suggests that part of the motivation for the

United States starting reeducation efforts was the realization that the Soviets' communist reeducation efforts had already been under way for some time.

In contrast to the coercive Soviets, the American approach to reeducation was centered on the Geneva Convention instruction that all education be entirely voluntary. The Americans refrained from blatant or forcible indoctrination, and instead emphasized familiarizing PoWs with the English language and with American-style democracy (e.g. Bondy 1944; Fahey 1992/1993; Fay 1945). But despite their more subtle approach, in the words of an executive officer in the program, the mission was clear: to "re-educate 360,000 German prisoners of war and to select and specially train leaders to return to defeated Germany, pick up the shreds, and guide their nation toward democracy" (Kunzig 1946: 23). The goal was to attempt to provide anyone interested with an acceptable alternative to Nazism. Between 1944 and 1946, the Americans ran a special program of five distinct reeducation camps for PoWs especially interested in studying democracy (see Robin 1995). The American efforts were seen as modern, scientific endeavors led by expert psychiatrists, sociologists, and anthropologists (a group which included Margaret Mead), as well as Deweyite philosophers of education (Ehrmann 1947; Gerhardt 1996; Gilkeson 2010; Rettig 1999; Robin 1995; Smith 1996).

From the perspective of the United Kingdom, it was only the "collapse of the German armies [that] created the conditions in which reeducation could be carried out" (Faulk 1977: 63). Hence, the United Kingdom's reeducation efforts only really developed after the German capitulation. Even more than the Americans, the approach taken in the United Kingdom was to expose the PoWs to a democratic way of life, rather than forcibly teaching them political principles or theories (Faulk 1977; Moore 1997). In addition to the specific focus on PoWs—who were seen as a valuable captive audience, an ideal group for reeducation efforts—much thought and research was also put into the reeducation of German citizens in general, and the country as a whole (see for example Brickner 1945; Hilger 2005; Kunzig 1946; Peak 1945; Peak 1946; Pronay and Wilson 1985; Speier 1948).

4.5 German Prisoners of War in Canada

Following Britain's lead, on 10 September 1939 Canada issued a formal declaration of war against Germany. The decision was strongly influenced by the desires of its mother country, but the declaration was a significant event and statement, since it was the first time Canada had declared war of its accord as an independent nation. As part of the quickly enacted Defence of Canada regulations, plans were immediately put in place to round up suspected Canadian fascists and pro-Nazis. There was great fear of so-called fifth-column activities occurring on Canadian soil (Betcherman 1975; Hannant 1993-1994; Wagner 1977). Among others, German Canadians faced suspicion, and some were spied on and arrested. The heavy-handed treatment they received was contentious at the time, and has led to extended historical debate (Keyserlingk 1985; Keyserlingk 1988; Lorenzkowski 1998; Sauer 2000). On Canada's West Coast, a related but distinct wave of xenophobia led to the forced relocation of thousands of Japanese Canadians. Although popular at the time, that episode has come to be universally denounced (Cherniak 2000; Sunahara 2000).

Though it had formally joined the Allies in war, Canada desperately wished to fight a "limited liability war"—one which avoided major military commitments. There was initially an emphasis on noncombat contributions to the war effort (Douglas and Greenhous 1995; Stacey 1948; Stacey 1957). The trepidation stemmed partly from the recent memory of the great upheaval caused by conscription in the First World War (Granatstein and Hitsman 1977). Canada was, nevertheless, continually under immense pressure to contribute more, and would eventually come around to complete mobilization. As part of this slow increase in commitment, in June 1940 Canada agreed to begin accepting shipments of PoWs from Britain. Under the agreement, Canada was essentially holding PoWs in custody for the British, and the intent was to return them to the British at some point.

In preparation for the PoWs' arrival, Canada built two large, 12,000-man PoW camps in Alberta—one in Lethbridge, the other in Medicine Hat—and a range of smaller camps across the country (Carter 1998; Madsen and Henderson 1993). Along with Canada,

Australia, India, and South Africa also held PoWs for the British (Moore 2006; Sareen 2006). The PoWs would be guarded by the Veterans Guard, a division of the Canadian Army made up of veterans of the First World War considered too old for overseas combat service. They were in their fifties or older, and they took on many jobs within Canada that freed up younger men for overseas deployment (Davis 1986; Kilford 2004; Watts 1960).

Under the Geneva Convention, captor nations are allowed to use PoWs for labor as long as it is not directly related to the war effort. In Canada, it took until May 1943 for PoWs to be authorized for use in labor projects. Up until that point it had been perceived as too much trouble to put them to work; but, despite worries about just how much work they might actually achieve, the presence of this untapped labor force of tens of thousands of able-bodied young men at this later stage in the war proved simply too tempting to ignore. PoWs would come to be used in agriculture, road building, factories, and logging (Cepuch 1994; International Labour Review 1945). Some PoWs attempted to escape. In the most infamous example, an escapee made it all the way back to Germany (Burt and Leasor 1956; Melady 1977; Melady 1981).

Canada, too, developed and implemented PoW reeducation programs. The Canadian approach was based on the British and American models, and the three nations collaborated, sharing research and even personnel (Rettig 1999: 593). As with the United States, Canada's efforts were only established after the Nazi capitulation in Africa led to the arrival of large numbers of new PoWs to the continent in late 1942. At that time the Canadians established a Psychological Warfare Committee, with the dual task of gleaning intelligence from the PoWs and reeducating them so as to align them with democratic ideals. According to Kelly (1978: 286), the motivation was to enlighten the PoWs, to "open their minds to ideas more in harmony with those of the democracies, and thus make those returning soldiers potential supporters of political and social reform in postwar Germany." (Canadian reeducation efforts are discussed in detail in Chapter 10.)

4.6 A Prisoner of War Work Camp in the Wilderness

Though unmentioned in the standard histories of the Canadian national park system (e.g. Bella 1987; Lothian 1977; Marty 1984), internment of German PoWs in Riding Mountain National Park in Canada was, in fact, just one instance of internment in a wider twentieth-century experiment by Parks Canada to gain free or cheap labor from various forced labor gangs (Waiser 1994; Waiser 1995b). In addition to the German PoWs in Riding Mountain, other parks were hosts to relocated Japanese Canadian men and Alternative Service Workers (conscientious objectors) during the Second World War. During the Great Depression era, the parks hosted semi-forced work gangs (MacDowell 1993; St. Denis 2002); and during the First World War the parks held Ukrainian Canadian civilian internees (Kordan 2002; Kordan and Melnycky 1991; Luciuk 2006; Luciuk 2000).

The motivation for building Riding Mountain Camp was a severe fuel wood shortage facing Manitoba for the upcoming winter of 1943–1944, a problem that was rooted in labor shortages due to the war. Fuel wood was of central importance to the Canadian home front in an era when a full 50 % of homes still relied on wood-burning stoves for winter heating. But despite the wider trend of internment and labor camps in the national parks, in this instance there was much hesitation on the part of the park toward accepting German PoWs as prisoner-laborers. This hesitation seemingly stemmed from bad experiences with previous interned laborers—they had in most cases proven to be more trouble than they were worth. Additionally, it was feared that Nazis living in the park might deter visitors or become a security threat for park guests. The park eventually agreed to the proposal, however, and construction began in the summer of 1943 (Waiser 1995b). Demonstrating the expansive use of work gangs of various types in the parks, the PoW camp itself was built by a team of Alternative Service Workers.

Riding Mountain Camp was built on the northeast shore of Whitewater Lake and was ready by the fall of 1943. It was designated Department of Labour Camp 2S and categorized as a satellite camp to the much larger Medicine Hat Internment Camp in Alberta. At the end of October, about 440 German PoWs, all of whom had volunteered

for the woodcutting assignment, assembled in Medicine Hat to leave for the sparkling new Riding Mountain Camp in Manitoba. A few were chosen for a variety of specialized jobs such as barber, tailor, cobbler, and cooks, that would need to be filled around the camp, and the balance of about 400 of them would be the woodcutters (O'Hagan 2011). Almost every volunteer selected was from the German Army (Wehrmacht), so as to limit possible tensions between members of different branches of service.

In addition to the PoW workers, a group of about 100 Canadian staff, both military and civilian, was assembled to help run the camp. A park warden was placed in the camp to help oversee work and to make sure park regulations were followed. As can be seen in Table 4.1, all of the Canadians in the camp together made up about 18 % of camp inhabitants, and the PoWs made up about 82 % of camp inhabitants.

Table 4.1: Residents at Riding Mountain Camp in October 1943*

Residents at Riding Mountain Camp	**Number**	**Percent of Total**
PoWs	440	81.8
Veteran's Guards	23	4.3
Civilian guards	50**	9.3
Civilian staff	25**	4.6
Totals	538	100.0

* Table is based on Canada Department of Labour (1943) and Michael O'Hagan personal communication 2013.
**Estimate. No known exact numbers.

Against the early hopes of the camp planners and administrators, the PoWs at Riding Mountain were all toughened combat veterans, and the group—initially at least—included men of every ideological stripe. Some were ardent Nazis, others strongly anti-Nazi, and many were indifferent. Some would change their perspectives after their capture, over time through years in PoW camps. But since Riding Mountain Camp was a low-security camp, only low-security risk PoWs were supposed to be held there. When different political factions led to tensions in the camp, the Canadians attempted to identify and remove the most ardent Nazis.

In keeping with the dictates of the 1929 Geneva Convention, the PoWs drew from their ranks their own spokesman. And as with many PoW settings, the prisoners self-organized in the camp: They followed German military discipline, and observed rank hierarchy with the spokesman at the pinnacle. Table 4.2 shows the breakdown into rank hierarchy of the PoWs present in the camp on one day of October 1943 (the table presents a "snapshot" of one moment in time in the life of the camp taken from a roll call list). As can be seen from the table, the highest ranking member was the single *Oberarzt* (the camp spokesman and leader). The lower ranks are certainly the fullest categories, with 361 Enlisted Men compared to 73 Non Commissioned Officers. The self-organized PoWs' power in the camp was not insignificant; several times they organized work stoppages and protests.

Table 4.2: PoW Ranks at Riding Mountain Camp in October 1943*

German PoW Rank	**Approximate Equivalent**	**Strength**	**Percent of Total**
Company Officers			
Oberarzt	First Lieutenant (Medical)	1	0.2
Noncommissioned Officers			
Stabsfeldwebel	Master Sergeant	2	0.5
Oberfeldwebel	Technical Sergeant	3	0.7
Oberschirrmeister	Technical Sergeant (Saddler)	1	0.2
Oberwachmeister	Technical Sergeant (Artillery)	1	0.2
Feldwebel	Staff Sergeant	10	2.3
Wachtmeister	Sergeant	3	0.7
Unterfeldwebel	Sergeant	1	0.2
Unteroffisier	Corporal	52	12.0
Enlisted Men			
Stabsgefreiter	Private First Class (Administrative)	4	0.9
Obergefreiter	Private First Class (Acting Corporal)	96	22.1
Gefreiter	Private First Class (Ordinary)	134	30.8
Obersoldat	Private (Senior)	28	6.4
Soldat	Private	99	22.8
	TOTAL	**435**	**100.0**

* Table draws on Booth (2001), United States War Department (1943; 1945), Canada Department of Labour (1943).

The PoWs were paid prisoner pay of 50 cents per day for their logging work, with 30 cents paid out in camp money, and 20 cents paid to a savings account held in each PoW's name. The 30 cents in chit held immediate cash value at the camp store. But it was not all work for the PoWs. Under the terms of the 1929 Geneva Convention, they were provided with free time (evenings and at least one full day per week) and, thanks to the generous conditions of the camp, there were plenty of interesting things to do with that free time. The initial setup of the camp included diversions such as a piano, card tables, writing tables, dart boards and a ping pong table. And for things that were not provided by the Canadian government, neutral, not-for-profit aid agencies such as the Red Cross and the YMCA stepped in to help.

The Red Cross was centrally concerned with monitoring the camp for adherence to the Geneva Convention, but it also managed mail and parcels (Crossland 2010; Durand 1984; Red Cross 1944; Red Cross 1948). The YMCA's mandate was to provide for religious, educational, and recreational fulfillment for the PoWs (Buffinga 1988; Davis 1942; Vuliet 1946). They did so by procuring and delivering things such as musical and sports equipment, theatre props, books, music, and films. As a result, the PoWs filled their spare time with reading, sports (including swimming, boating, and skating on the lake), music, and theatre. They also eagerly took up drawing, painting, carving, and the creation of all kinds of arts and crafts, including ships in bottles, photo albums, and adorned boxes. They gardened extensively, raised pigs, carved full-size canoes, and played with their pet dogs and even a pet bear they named Mosche (which, interestingly, is German for "Moses") (Winter 2011). According to PoW Josef Gabski (1991), the bear ended up killing one of the pet dogs. That grim story is supported by the material evidence—we uncovered a complete dog skeleton in our excavations at the camp's official trash midden.

Riding Mountain Camp, in particular among the Canadian PoW camps, was plagued by a convoluted bureaucracy and a confused chain of command (O'Hagan 2011; Waiser 1995a). From the initial planning of the camp right through to its closing, the running of the camp was always tangled by the involvement of too many government agencies: the

Department of Mines and Resources, the Department of Labour, the Department of Munitions and Supply, the Department of Defence, Wartime Housing, and the national park itself. These six major government departments were involved, and each had a say in different aspects of the work project.

Within the camp too, chain of command was confused by a unique leadership and guarding situation. At Riding Mountain Camp, guarding duties were actually divided into two unrelated groups: the Veterans Guard and the civilian guards. The Veterans Guards, tasked with prisoner transports, roll calls, mail sorting, and patrolling the camp, were under the direction of the Canadian military; and the civilian guards, tasked with guarding the PoWs when they were working in the woods, were hired by the Department of Labour out of local farm communities. Additionally, there were various camp leaders, administrators, and staff. The Veterans Guard had their commander; the civilian staff—responsible for camp operations such as cooking, cleaning, driving, accounting, repair, and maintenance in the camp—had their head administrator; and the national park kept its in-house warden at the camp to protect the interests of the park.

By March 1944, barely five months after the PoWs' arrival, Manitoba's severe fuel wood shortage had already passed, and there was immediate regret over building such a finely outfitted work camp deep in the woods of the national park. Closing the camp at that point would have been an embarrassing admission that the project was a financial and planning failure; thus, they kept it operational for the time being. In June 1944, they did however, reduce the workforce, and about half of the PoWs were transferred out. And from that point forward, the camp continually decreased in size. Many PoWs were transferred to live and work on farms.

The camp was fully closed down by October 1945, with the dismantling beginning on 1 October (Heaslip 1945; Waiser 1995b). One administrator wrote in a letter, "The wrecking of the buildings commenced October 1st and we have had regular inspection to see that no fire damage or litter is being left" (Heaslip 1945). Although the reasons for this hasty demolition are not known, it could be related to a possible agreement with the

park authorities that the site be returned to its original condition. The buildings and hardware, and any usable contents, were quickly auctioned off. Mere weeks after the closing of the camp, all that was left at the site were concrete and earth foundations, a few outbuildings that were left standing, and scatters of trash. The canoes carved by the PoWs—a dozen or more—were left where they were last used, floating on the creek and lake.

4.7 From History to Archaeology

Prisoners in war have been treated horribly, with compassion, and everything in between. Just what treatment is doled out seems to relate both to very broad factors and to local contexts and influences. The broadest factors include things such as the era, region, and culture in question, and the local influence could be as specific as the actions of a single soldier. While the lot of the prisoner in war has clearly improved over the *longue durée* building toward the twentieth century, the Second World War was nevertheless replete with egregious violations of their welfare. Hundreds of thousands of men died in captivity, with these deaths disproportionally occurring in PoW camps run by the Japanese, the Germans, and the Soviets.

The PoWs held by Britain and her colonies and former colonies were treated vastly better. German PoWs sent to Canada were a fortunate group, and of those, the 440 sent to Riding Mountain Camp were even more fortunate. But as part of the wider story of the mostly generous treatment of German PoWs held in Canada during the Second World War, it is important to also highlight the intriguing attempts by the Canadians to secretly reeducate their captive audience of temporary German transplants. Reeducation being a grey area under the 1929 Geneva Convention, the Canadians and the rest of the Allies took advantage of that ambiguity to justify their efforts at democratization.

We know that German PoWs held by the Soviets received exceedingly poor treatment and returned to Germany at the end of the war bitter toward communism. In contrast, Canada seems to have left a mostly positive impression on German PoWs. Every former PoW interviewed for this dissertation had positive things to say about Canada and

Canadians, and held fond memories of their time interned in Canada. An autobiography by a former PoW in Canada is similarly laudatory (Priebe 1990). There is, however, an inherent selection bias in this finding, since it is possible that those who volunteered for oral history and who wrote books could be those who remember their time in Canada most fondly.

Two of my informants even lived in North America, both moving to this continent in the 1950s. As one marker of the positive impression that Canada had on the PoWs, about 6,000 (approximately 20 %) of them made voluntary applications to settle in Canada permanently, immediately after the war (Kelly 1978). All requests were denied, for the stated reason that the Geneva Convention regulations make clear all PoWs must be returned to their home countries once hostilities cease. One wonders, however, if the Canadians also considered that allowing the PoWs to stay in Canada would have defeated the purpose of their democratization efforts altogether.

The historical context presented in this chapter provides the background information needed to understand the time and place that is explored in this dissertation; but importantly, this historical research also lays a foundation for the archaeological research that is presented in the following chapters. While the history sheds light on what it meant to be a PoW in Canada during the Second World War, the archaeology will build on this by closely interrogating the material evidence remaining at the particular site of Riding Mountain Camp in Manitoba. Only through that material evidence, accessed through archaeology, do we have an opening into the more personal, daily aspects of life in a PoW camp. While the archival and historical record provides the largely bureaucratic (top-down) perspective on the operation of the PoW camp, the excavated material culture—things such as alcohol bottles, toothbrushes, and carved antlers—provides a much more intimate (bottom-up) look at life as a PoW. Through this combination of the broad historical context and the site-specific archaeological evidence, I answer the research problems this dissertation sets out to resolve.

CHAPTER 5. METHODS

5.1 Introduction and Rationale

In this chapter I outline the methods used to collect and analyze the evidence on which this dissertation's arguments are based, and show how these methods relate to this project's theoretical perspective and its specific research questions. In a most general sense, this project is rooted in a historical archaeological approach that queries the archival record, oral history, and archaeological remains (Myers 2008). The benefit of this approach is that these multiple lines of evidence can be compared and contrasted, and, hopefully, their ultimate weaving together will provide a more complete picture of the past, and surely a stronger argument than one based on any single source of information.

This project consisted of five central components: 1) archaeological field work at Riding Mountain National Park; 2) oral history recording at several locations; 3) archival research, primarily at Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa; 4) artifact analysis in laboratories at Stanford University, Simon Fraser University, and Brandon University; and 5) dissertation writing. These tasks were completed over approximately five years, as detailed in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Project Schedule

Date Range	Task	Location
June 2009	Phase I field work	Riding Mountain National Park (RMNP), MB
June 2010	Oral history interviewing	Germany
June–August 2010	Phase II field work	RMNP, MB
September–October 2010	Artifact analysis	Stanford University, CA
September 2010–present	Faunal analysis	Brandon University, MB
July–September 2011	Phase III field work	RMNP, MB
September 2011–May 2012	Artifact analysis	Simon Fraser University, BC
January 2012	Archival research	Ottawa, ON
May 2012–May 2013	Dissertation writing	Vancouver, BC

This multipronged approach revealed significant findings about the methods themselves: The archival record related to this project primarily speaks to the Canadian perspective on the historical events in question, and reveals little of the perspective of the PoWs

themselves; the oral history proved to be useful for revealing stories and feelings about the past but not for garnering specific historical information; the archaeology at the site of the PoW camp revealed the abundant material record left behind by the PoWs who lived there—a material archive that holds the potential to reveal something of their perspective.

The methods chosen to study Riding Mountain Camp contributed to a valuable, gradual narrowing of research focus. The archival record and the oral history provided baseline information about the history of the camp and about internment in Canada in general; a Canada-wide survey identified Riding Mountain Camp as a promising archaeological site; the initial field surveys at Riding Mountain Camp established the location of the former camp buildings and revealed previously unknown trash middens at the site of the camp; and finally, test excavations in and around the building and the middens revealed that, while few artifacts were located near the buildings, an abundance of artifacts would be found at the middens. This finding seemed to suggest that while the "front," or open, areas of the camp were kept very clean and tidy—clearly following the dictums of military discipline—the "back," or out-of-view, areas were used extensively to illicitly discard trash. Borrowing Goffman's terms, we might even call these "front stage" and "back stage" areas of the camp (Goffman 1959). This revelation led to a focusing of all efforts on the archaeological excavation of evaluative units into the camp's trash middens.

The theoretical framework that I use to make sense of my archaeological data, though multifaceted, comes down to an argument for the central importance of small things in institutions (Chapter 3). My three central research questions are all equally tied to this emphasis on portable material culture, either because the question is specifically about material culture, or because I aim to get to the answers to the question primarily through the excavated small material culture. A focus on the excavation of the camp's trash middens—the location of an incredible abundance of small things left behind by the camp inhabitants—is the most logical and opportune approach to both developing my theoretical arguments and to answering my research questions.

5.2 Archival Research

The bulk of what survives of the official documentary record of Riding Mountain Camp is held at Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, the official repository for all federal-level documents in Canada. I spent two weeks there, with a colleague, in January 2012. We located and scanned every document we could find related to Riding Mountain Camp specifically and German PoWs in Canada more generally, resulting in about 11,000 scanned pages.

As mentioned above, the key theme to come out of the documentary record of Riding Mountain Camp is that it was written almost entirely by Canadian officials, of every level, from minor functionaries to the highest government ministers including the prime minister. The archival record is therefore biased in a very particular way: a patently top-down view, it reflects the Canadian perspective on the PoWs—the bureaucratic side of running the camps in Canada—and reveals little of the perspective of the PoWs themselves. Lists figure prominently in this record: lists of supplies, lists of rules and regulations, lists of personnel, lists of prisoners, lists of tasks, for example. In a very general sense, this group of documents presents the power of the institution. Furthermore, it is important to note that this is a highly mediated form of evidence, since anything that is recorded on paper had to have been consciously chosen as appropriate for writing down.

5.3 Oral History

The collection of oral history—speaking with and recording living informants on the subject of Riding Mountain Camp—occurred only with approval from the Stanford University Institutional Review Board (IRB). I completed the Human Subjects Research Protections Curriculum course, developed a human subjects research plan, and created a project information brochure, a consent form, and a list of sample questions. The project received an IRB certification that was renewed four times, as detailed in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Human Subjects Approvals and Renewals

#	Protocol ID	Approval Date	Expiration	Stanford IRB Manager
1	16505	17 September 2010	29 April 2011	Mr. L. Kanerva
2	16505	30 April 2010	29 April 2011	Mr. L. Kanerva
3	16505	29 April 2011	28 April 2012	Mr. L. Kanerva
4	16505	2 June 2011	28 April 2012	Mr. L. Kanerva
5	16505	2 April 2012	30 March 2015	Mr. L. Kanerva

Corresponding and meeting with informants to record oral history occurred at any opportunity throughout the project. Informants with firsthand memories of the PoW camp—a temporary settlement occupied for just two years, sixty-five ago—were hard to come by; but over the years of research a handful were located. Informants fall into two groups: 1) Canadian civilians who lived or worked in and around the national park during the war years and interacted with the PoW camp in some way, and 2) former German PoWs (Figure 5.1). Canadian civilians were located by word of mouth and through publicity about the research in the project area. One informant who as a boy would drop his father off at the camp for work visited the archaeological site by horse-drawn wagon several times during our field work. I interviewed another man who as a boy helped his father purchase and truck away one of the PoW camp buildings when the camp closed in 1945, and another who as a teenager was a dishwasher and kitchen helper in the camp. Another elderly man I interviewed played soccer with an escaped PoW in his schoolyard, and another took a PoW out for Chinese food and beer in the nearby town of Dauphin.

The former German PoWs were located through a more concerted search effort with assistance from the *Deutsche Dienstelle*, a German government office that traces Wehrmacht veterans. I was able to meet in person with one former PoW from Riding Mountain Camp at his home in California, and with three others in Germany. I corresponded with two more in Germany via mail and e-mail. Additionally, I met in person, at his home in British Columbia, a former German soldier who was a PoW in Canada but not at Riding Mountain Camp. In most instances when interviewing, I recorded audio and video and took notes and still pictures. In Germany I employed a translator to assist with conversation. All former PoWs still living are very elderly. In June 2011, when I traveled to Germany, they were 88 to 90 years old. My informant in

California passed away in 2010 after I met with him once, and a second informant who I had hoped to meet in Germany passed away a few weeks before my first letter to him arrived. A third informant passed away a year after I met with him in Germany.

Interviewing former soldiers of Hitler's Wehrmacht was both fascinating and moving. I found that the oral history proved to be useful for revealing stories and feelings about the past but seldom suitable for establishing historical facts, or even vaguely accurate historical information. Many years have passed since the PoWs were interned in Canada, and those still living are mostly foggy on what happened where, and at what time. Although they have vivid memories of specific people and events, they often do not remember—or they confuse—the context. But the oral history is certainly no waste of time, since only through oral history was I able to access firsthand recollections of Riding Mountain Camp and the associated emotions and opinions on life as a PoW in Canada. Of the small handful of living informants I successfully found, three have already passed on. This is a stark reminder of just how close we are to the end of living memory of the Second World War.

5.4 Reconnaissance of Potential Sites in Western Canada (Phase 1, Summer 2009)

During Phase 1 field research I conducted a western Canada–wide survey of internment sites in national parks. The goal was to undertake noninvasive archaeological reconnaissance, including locating, identifying, and minimally recording sites of former internment camps in national parks in British Columbia, Alberta, and Manitoba. My assistant and I visited a selection of internment and work camps dating from the First World War, the Great Depression, and the Second World War. We visited Yoho National Park and Mount Revelstoke National Park in British Columbia, Banff National Park and Jasper National Park in Alberta, and Riding Mountain National Park in Manitoba.

The overarching goal was to assess the archaeological potential of seven sites in these five national parks, and to narrow this preliminary selection down to one or two sites that showed the most promising potential for more in-depth archaeological analysis. The seven sites that we set out to locate and report on were Riding Mountain Camp, Mount

Revelstoke Camp, Castle Mountain Camp (in Banff NP), Camp Otter (in Yoho NP), and Jasper Camp, Geikie Road Camp, and Decoigne Road Camp (all in Jasper NP).

We were not able to visit Decoigne Camp because of highway construction blocking the access road. We were not able to locate Geikie Road Camp or Camp Otter due to a lack of accurate locational information. We successfully visited Mount Revelstoke Camp, Riding Mountain Camp, Castle Mountain Camp, and Jasper Camp. We did not report on Mount Revelstoke Camp because the site had recently been recorded by Parks Canada (Francis 2008). The remaining three camps we did record, and summaries can be found in the Phase 1 Final Report (Myers 2009).

At Riding Mountain National Park in Manitoba, we hiked to the Riding Mountain Camp archaeological site (designated by Parks Canada as site 31K) and conducted two days of noninvasive informal survey. We judgmentally recorded features and artifacts using a GPS receiver and digital camera. This assessment established that abundant material remains from the PoW are extant at the site. We located historic remains, including building foundations, concrete structures, rock walls, paths and roads, depressions, scattered surface artifacts, and middens. We noted that the extant building foundations are aligned to cardinal directions (magnetic north–south and east-west). Foundations are either solid concrete pads or linear arrangements of earthen berms. Along the north side of the Little Saskatchewan River we located maritime features including the remains of dugout canoes, cut logs, and the remains of a possible bridge or dock. On a tip from a Parks Canada employee, we located a large midden 500 meters away from the main camp area (later designated Official Midden A, and Site 32K).

The initial impression was that Riding Mountain Camp archaeological site contains abundant archaeological resources; and, as reported in the Phase 1 Final Report (Myers 2009), this informal survey established that it was the most promising site for further research. It was decided to focus this project specifically on the Riding Mountain Camp.

5.5 Survey and Mapping at Riding Mountain (Phase 2, Summer 2010)

5.5.1 Datums and Provenience System

The goals of Phase 2 survey and mapping were to establish the extent of the Riding Mountain site, discover and identify features and artifacts, and to determine the best locations to place test excavation units. Toward achieving these goals we established site datums, conducted a 100 %–coverage walking survey, mapped surface artifacts, and created a topographic and feature map. Each of these tasks was completed for sites 31K and 32K (Figure 5.2).

Datums were placed systematically at sites 31K and 32K so that the least possible number of datums would be required, minimizing both disturbance to the site and error margins. At 31K, eight datums were placed (seven are rebar rods in the ground, and one used an existing historic metal rod projecting from a concrete pad); at 32K, four rebar rods were placed in the ground (Table 5.3). The datums were mapped in using the total station.

Table 5.3: Site Datums with Real-World Locations in UTM (Nad 83)

Datum Name	Northing	Easting	Elevation	Notes
31K DATUM 1	5629808.17	404151.13	598.54	metal rod in concrete pad
31K DATUM 2	5629680.57	404111.85	597.44	rebar stake
31K DATUM 3	5629746.12	404053.12	596.56	rebar stake
31K DATUM 4	5629847.10	404069.95	596.90	rebar stake
31K DATUM 5	5629956.05	404067.80	597.67	rebar stake
31K DATUM 6	5629674.91	404060.75	595.32	rebar stake
31K DATUM 7	5629665.65	404138.50	597.44	rebar stake
31K DATUM 8	5629833.02	403999.91	595.25	rebar stake
32K DATUM 1	5630224.24	404502.61	636.27	rebar stake
32K DATUM 2	5630228.81	404541.33	636.59	rebar stake
32K DATUM 3	5630198.74	404567.95	637.10	rebar stake
32K DATUM 4	5630174.72	404545.06	636.42	rebar stake

At all stages of field work we recorded sites, features, artifacts, and mapping and excavation data using the Parks Canada provenience system. The core of the system is the use of a four-part provenience number, which comprises the site number, operation,

suboperation, and lot (Table 5.4). Parks Canada's detailed explanation of the provenience system is available in their *Archaeological Recording Manual* (Parks Canada 2005a).

Table 5.4: Parks Canada's Four-Part Provenience System

Example	**Provenience Component**	**Symbol(s)**
31K	Site number	Numeric character followed by alpha character
31K**1**	Operation	Numeric character
31K1**B**	Suboperation	Alpha character
31K1B**7**	Lot	Numeric character

5.5.2 Walking Survey and Artifact Pin Flagging

The goal of the walking survey was to locate features and artifacts, to find concentrations of artifacts that might represent middens, to establish site boundaries, and to mark the location of all of these for mapping and recording. We conducted a systematic, 100 %–coverage walking survey. The method employed was to walk the length (east-west) of each clearing in straight lines following cardinal directions, with crew members lined up perpendicular to the direction of travel. We walked using 3-meter spacing between crew members. Artifacts and features were marked with color-coded pin flags. Basic information about each artifact was recorded, and artifacts were left in situ.

The walking survey established the extent of the artifact surface scatter, revealed the location of dense artifact concentrations on the outskirts of the camp (later established as five middens), and provided a sampling of artifact types. The walking survey also helped us to identify the locations of features (primarily building foundations) that we later mapped with the total station. Each individual surface artifact previously marked with a pin flag was mapped using the total station. Selected surface artifacts were photographed. After recording was complete for an artifact, its associated pin flag was removed.

5.5.3 Total Station Topography and Feature Mapping

The total station was used to create topographic maps for both 31K and 32K. We employed a methodology on the ground that allowed us to later create a map that revealed both the natural topography and the cultural features related to the occupation period of the PoW camp from the same collected data. The basic method was to collect

elevation data with the total station on a grid, at approximately 1-meter intervals across the 31K and 32K clearings. The spacing between collected points was adjusted based on local micro-topography. For example, in flat areas, the spacing between points was increased, and in areas with historic building foundations the spacing between points was decreased. The result are manipulable 3D maps that reveal the location of historic building foundations that are at times difficult to make out on the ground with the naked eye (Figure 5.3). Adjusting the vertical exaggeration (z-value) of these images also aids interpretation.

Identified features were assigned operation numbers. About 25 % of the features we identified had been previously assigned provenience by Parks Canada. In these cases we both recorded the old provenience designation and assigned new provenience to match this project's particular methodology. The complete assigned provenience data is contained in the project database. Detailed feature summaries and maps are available in the 2010 Final Report (Myers 2010b).

The mapping established the location of five different middens. Each midden was categorized and labeled either "official" or "informal" depending on the context of its creation—official middens are those that were clearly planned and approved by the PoW camp bureaucracy; informal refers to unofficial midden areas created by the camp inhabitants. The five middens established through survey and mapping are listed in Table 5.5 (and see Figures 5.4 to 5.13).

Table 5.5: Five Middens Located at Riding Mountain Camp

Name	Operation(s)	UTM Coordinates (Nad 83)
Official Midden A	32K2, 32K4, 32K6	404,526.79N, 5,630,208.21E
Official Midden B	31K1	404,142.83N, 5,629,637.85E
Informal Midden A	31K15	403,985.95N, 5,629,827.14E
Informal Midden B	31K12	404,145.09N, 5,629,735.00E
Informal Midden C	31K3	404,148.86N, 5,619,683.19E

5.6 Excavation

5.6.1 Introduction

The reconnaissance carried out in Phase 1 and the walking survey carried out in Phase 2 established the extent of the artifact surface scatter, revealed the location of dense artifact concentrations on the outskirts of the camp (later established as trash middens), and provided a sampling of artifact types. The total station mapping done in Phase 2 created a fine-grained, three-dimensional representation of the site extent, topography, and context, and the location of fifteen extant building foundations. These results informed the excavation program; thus, Phase 2 work consisted of placing and excavating 50 x 50 cm excavation units and 10 cm auger bores in and around the building foundations and middens located through the survey and mapping work. These Phase 2 test excavations and auger bores—which established the composition of subsurface materials at various locations around the site—in turn led to final decisions about where to place the 1 x 1 m evaluative units in Phase 3.

All excavation work followed instructions set out in the *Parks Canada Guidelines for the Management of Archaeological Resources* (Parks Canada 2005b). The project also followed the conventions of the Parks Canada *Archaeological Recording Manual* (Parks Canada 2005a) and the *Western and Northern Service Center Archaeology Lab Manual* (Parks Canada 2009). To maintain vertical control, excavations proceeded in arbitrary 10 cm levels. All soil was screened through 1/4-inch mesh. All artifacts were bagged by level. Detailed notes were recorded in field notebooks, and on level forms and unit summary forms. Photographs were taken and drawings were created for each level and for at least one wall at completion of the unit.

Through the excavations we established that this is clearly a single-component site. This applies both to the site as a whole, and to each of the five individual middens. The work camp was occupied for just two short years, and every artifact excavated at the middens was deposited within the short window of fall 1943 to fall 1945. Although we excavated several distinct 1 x 1 m evaluative units (and each one was further subdivided by 10 cm levels) at each of the five midden areas, in the analysis of the middens the contents of

each separate midden is considered as a group. The artifacts from all levels and all units for each midden are grouped together, allowing for useful comparison of the total contents of each of the five middens. Additional reporting on excavations appears in the Parks Canada project reports (Myers 2010b; Myers 2012).

5.6.2 Test Excavations and Augering (Phase 2, Summer 2010)

The goal of Phase 2 test excavations and augering was to determine: what deposits exist, what is their extent, and what is their composition? What is the integrity of the deposits and of their contextual associations? And, what is the research potential of the archaeological deposits?

We completed twenty-two test excavation units at 31K, and five test excavation units and twenty auger bores at 32K. This test excavation work produced an initial sampling of artifacts from the site. Test excavation units were placed at selected locations around former PoW camp buildings and in and around trash middens. Units were placed strategically in areas deemed most likely to encounter meaningful subsurface deposits. For example, at building foundations they were usually placed near front and rear entranceways; at middens, they were placed in areas that had dense surface artifact concentrations.

The Phase 2 field work answered the above three questions, allowing us to make informed decisions about the most productive locations to place 1 x 1 m evaluative units in Phase 3. A central, added discovery stemming from the test excavations was that artifact density is very low in and around the buildings and extremely high in the middens. This led to the key decision to shift all of the excavation focus in Phase 3 to an intensive sampling of the midden areas. Test excavation units were assigned suboperation letters, and individual excavated levels within test units were assigned lot numbers. Table 5.6 lists the test excavation units, assigned suboperation letters, and number and weight of artifacts recovered.

Table 5.6: 50 x 50 cm Test Excavation Units at 31K and 32K

Provenience	Positive / Negative	Number of Artifacts	Weight of Artifacts (grams)	Within Midden?*
31K1D	Positive	2443	10590	Yes
31K1E	Negative	0	0	No
31K2A	Positive	7	229	No
31K2B	Positive	11	44	No
31K3B	Positive	2	30	No
31K3C	Positive	1264	4721	Yes
31K10B	Positive	27	108	No
31K10C	Positive	4	11	No
31K12B	Positive	102	365	Yes
31K12C	Positive	124	1931	Yes
31K13B	Positive	17	112	No
31K13C	Positive	6	39	No
31K14A	Positive	24	18	No
31K14B	Positive	8	18	No
31K15B	Positive	341	3014	Yes
31K18A	Positive	77	218	No
31K18B	Positive	24	116	No
31K18C	Negative	0	0	No
31K18D	Positive	7	14	No
31K18E	Negative	0	0	No
31K18F	Positive	2	178	No
31K18G	Positive	2	1	No
32K1A	Positive	82	45	No
32K2A	Positive	1206	3810	Yes
32K2B	Positive	1129	2155	Yes
32K3A	Positive	3	12	No
32K5A	Negative	0	0	No

* "Yes" indicates that this test unit penetrated dense subsurface midden deposits. "No" indicates the unit was not placed at a midden, or was placed at a midden but missed the dense deposits associated with it.

Auger boring was used exclusively at Official Midden A, at site 32K. After feature 32K2 had been identified based on its surface signature, the auger bore was used to assist with delimiting the perimeter of the subsurface deposits associated with that midden feature. All auger bores (n=20) were 10 cm in diameter, excavated in 10 cm levels, and soil screened through 1/4-inch mesh. Results of auger boring are presented in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7: 10 cm Diameter Auger Bores at Official Midden A

Provenience	Positive / Negative	Depth (cm)	Number of Artifacts	Within Midden?
32K2C	Negative	60	0	No
32K2D	Positive	80	1	No
32K2E	Positive	70	61	Yes
32K2F	Positive	80	60	Yes
32K2G	Positive	70	31	Yes
32K2H	Negative	60	0	No
32K2J	Positive	70	38	Yes
32K2K	Positive	60	6	No
32K2L	Positive	40	1	No
32K2M	Positive	20	5	Yes
32K2N	Positive	70	16	Yes
32K2P	Positive	70	2	No
32K2Q	Positive	70	125	Yes
32K2R	Positive	70	73	Yes
32K2S	Positive	80	52	Yes
32K2T	Positive	60	4	Yes
32K2U	Positive	30	33	Yes
32K2V	Positive	80	36	Yes
32K2W	Positive	80	31	Yes
32K2X	Positive	80	3	No

* "Yes" indicates that this auger bore successfully penetrated the dense subsurface midden deposits at 32K. "No" indicates the auger bore missed the subsurface midden deposits.

5.6.3 Excavation of Evaluative Units (Phase 3, Summer 2011)

Because Phase 2 test excavations in and around the buildings produced extremely low artifact yields, and excavations in the middens produced high artifact yields, the focus of Phase 3 field work was the intensive excavation of the dense deposits associated with the camp's five middens (Figures 5.4 to 5.13). The primary goal was to recover a representative sampling of the contents of each of the five midden areas. The excavation of these five disposal contexts at the Riding Mountain site provide five unique windows into institutional life at the PoW camp. Excavation units were placed overlapping or adjacent to positive test units from Phase 2 and were distributed as indicated in Table 5.8. Excavation units were assigned suboperation letters, and individual excavated levels within units were assigned lot numbers. Table 5.8 lists the excavation units and assigned

suboperation letters. See Figures 5.6 and 5.7 for midden and unit locations on maps. The complete assigned provenience data is contained in the project database.

Table 5.8: Surface Area and Volume Excavated at Five Middens

Midden Name	Operation(s)	Excavated Surface Area (m^2)	Excavated Volume (m^3)
Official Midden A	32K2, 32K6, 32K4	5.50	2.37
Official Midden B	31K1	3.00	0.92
Informal Midden A	31K15	6.00	1.70
Informal Midden B	31K12	7.25	3.08
Informal Midden C	31K3	3.25	1.08
TOTAL		**25.00**	**9.15**

Table 5.9: Excavation Units Placed in Middens (2010–2011)*

Midden	Site	Op.	Subop.	L x W (m)	Area (m^2)	Depth (m)	Volume (m^3)
Official Midden A	32K	2	A	0.5 x 0.5	0.25	0.45	0.1125
	32K	2	B	0.5 x 0.5	0.25	0.44	0.11
	32K	6	C	1 x 1	1	0.35	0.35
	32K	6	D	1 x 1	1	0.42	0.42
	32K	6	E	1 x 1	1	0.38	0.38
	32K	6	F	1 x 1	1	0.45	0.45
	32K	4	A	1 x 1	1	0.55	0.55
Official Midden B	31K	1	D	0.5 x 0.5	0.25**	0.7	0.175**
	31K	1	G	1 x 1	1	0.35	0.35
	31K	1	H	1 x 1	1	0.30	0.3
	31K	1	J	1 x 1	1	0.27	0.27
Informal Midden A	31K	15	B	0.5 x 0.5	0.25**	0.32	0.08**
	31K	15	C	1 x 1	1	0.27	0.27
	31K	15	D	1 x 1	1	0.25	0.25
	31K	15	E	1 x 1	1	0.30	0.3
	31K	15	F	1 x 1	1	0.31	0.31
	31K	15	G	1 x 1	1	0.27	0.27
	31K	15	H	1 x 1	1	0.30	0.3
Informal Midden B	31K	12	B	0.5 x 0.5	0.25	0.40	0.1
	31K	12	C	0.5 x 0.5	0.25**	0.40	0.1**
	31K	12	H	1 x 1	1	0.45	0.45
	31K	12	J	1 x 1	1	0.40	0.4
	31K	12	L	1 x 1	1	0.44	0.44
	31K	12	M	1 x 1	1	0.41	0.41

	31K	12	N	1 x 1	1	0.42	0.42
	31K	12	P	1 x 1	1	0.46	0.46
	31K	12	Q	1 x 1	1	0.40	0.4
Informal Midden C	31K	3	C	0.5 x 0.5	0.25	0.55	0.1375
	31K	3	D	1 x 1	1	0.27	0.27
	31K	3	E	1 x 1	1	0.3	0.3
	31K	3	F	1 x 1	1	0.37	0.37

*Only units that directly penetrated midden deposits are counted in this table.
**50 x 50 cm test unit from 2010 re-excavated as part of 1 x 1 m units in 2011. Artifact totals are added together, but the area and volume of the test units are not counted twice.

5.7 Artifact Processing and Analysis

The archaeology at the site of the PoW camp, comprising three summers of surveys and excavations, revealed the abundant material record left behind by the people who lived there. Study of the architectural remains led to creation of maps that allowed me to analyze the meanings of the spatial arrangement of the camp, and the 53,000 excavated artifacts provide a rich picture of daily life in the camp. It is primarily this material evidence of excavated material culture that holds the potential to reveal something about the PoWs' perspective on life in this work camp.

Artifact processing followed the directives published in the Parks Canada *Archaeology Lab Manual* (Parks Canada 2009). Following the 2010 field season (Phase 1), collected artifacts were worked on at the Historical Archaeology Laboratory at Stanford University. Following the 2011 field season (Phase 2), artifacts were worked on at the Historical Archaeology Laboratory at Simon Fraser University. Artifacts were cleaned, dried, sorted, and bagged. All artifacts were at a minimum identified, counted, and weighed, with selected artifacts receiving additional attention and recording.

All collected artifacts were assigned to one of nine Parks Canada analysis classes (Table 5.10) and to one of six functional categories (Table 5.11). The functional categories were created specifically for this artifact collection following the model created by South (1977). Particular care was taken to identify artifacts that could be identified as either "institutional" or "personal." Examples of these artifact types are listed in Table 5.12.

Table 5.10: Parks Canada Analysis Classes*

Class	Code	Description
Lithic	01	Human-made stone objects and the material remaining from their manufacture.
Glass	02	Objects made from glass, except window glass.
Ceramic	03	Objects made from clay (except native ceramic and smoking pipes).
Nail	04	All types of driven (split) fasteners identified as a nail, tack or spike.
Fastener	05	All fasteners except nails including washers, nuts, screws, etc.
Other metal	08	All metal objects that do not fit in the other classes.
Fauna	10	All fauna that is butchered or otherwise NOT culturally modified.
Ammunition	13	All ammunition (includes bullets, shell casings, musket balls, cannon balls).
Metal container	14	All containers made of metal, regardless of function.
Pane glass	21	Window glass and unidentified flat glass fragments.
Sample	34	Material taken from site for testing including flora, fauna, and soil.
Worked fauna	38	Any fauna that is culturally modified; does not include fauna 10.
Miscellaneous	99	Any culturally modified object that doesn't fit into the above.

*Table after Parks Canada 2009:45.

Table 5.11: Functional Categories

Functional Category	Description / Artifact Types Included
Architecture	Concrete, pane glass, roofing, milled wood, architectural nails, hardware, fittings
Indefinite	Not assignable to any other category
Institutional	Items likely purchased by the institution of the PoW camp
Industrial	Heavy-duty items related to the operation of the PoW camp and the logging work
Personal	Items likely purchased, issued to, made or altered, or owned by an individual
Fauna	Animal remains

Table 5.12: Examples of Institutional and Personal Items

Institutional	Personal
Hotel ware ceramics	Other ceramics (e.g., porcelain)
Unmodified institutional goods	Modified institutional goods
Bulk-size food tins	German Red Cross tins
Domesticated animal bones	Wild animal bones
Glass food jars	Alcohol, soda bottles, and smoking items
Plain steel utensils	Grooming and health products
Plain glass tableware	Items ordered through mail order
Furniture fittings	Items of personal adornment

In addition to the Parks Canada analysis classes and the project-specific functional categories, during artifact analysis we watched for artifacts that had special or unique attributes. For example, we recorded when artifacts showed signs of being fire affected (melted or burnt), and when we came across artifacts related to alcohol consumption, artifacts that could be positively identified as Wehrmacht military equipment, and other categories. Data on these special attributes is drawn on as necessary in the following chapters.

The term "quantity" where used in the tables, charts, and analyses throughout this dissertation refers to raw artifact count (i.e., number of individual specimens [NISP]). Due to the extremely fragmented state of many of the glass, ceramic, and other artifact types, minimum number of individuals (MNI) was not seen as a reliable metric in all cases and was not much employed in analyses. Additionally, for certain artifact types it was not even possible to count all the fragments due to their fragile nature. (As they were handled they would further break apart, continually creating a higher number of artifacts.) A quantity of one was assigned to any grouping of fragments of concrete, paper, roofing tar paper, and tin can flakes.

Since this collection posed particular problems in relation to accurately counting artifacts and estimating the number of original items those artifact fragments represent, it was decided to place increased reliance on the weight of artifacts in the analyses. Since weight remains a useful measurement regardless of the fragmented state of artifacts, it was chosen as the central base metric in the comparisons between the middens. To ensure accurate comparisons between the middens, at which different volumes of earth were excavated, the raw weight of the artifacts was utilized in two different key measurements: frequency and density. Further discussion of frequency and density, and the resulting data, are presented and discussed in Chapter 6.

5.8 Conclusion

The methods chosen to study this camp led to a gradual narrowing of research focus from a very general, Canada-wide survey of internment camp sites to the specific, focused

excavations at five middens at the site of Riding Mountain Camp. Both this project's research questions and the theoretical framework I employ to answer those questions relate intimately to the role of small material culture in the institution. My ultimate focus on the excavation of the camp's trash middens—filled to their brims with small artifacts—is an appropriate approach to both developing my theoretical arguments and to answering these research questions.

The Phase 2 test excavation program revealed that test excavation units in and around buildings produced extremely low artifact densities. Of the few artifacts that were recovered from these areas, the majority are architectural (nails, roofing material, and pane glass) and likely associated with the demolition of the camp that occurred in 1946. The artifact yield for the units in and around the buildings was so low that it was determined that excavation of 1 x 1 m evaluative units would not be productive in those areas. Although the areas did produce a few nonarchitectural artifacts, a very large area and volume would need to be excavated to produce a representative sample. The test excavation units and auger bores in the five middens, in contrast, cut into dense deposits and produced a large volume of artifacts. These five middens—two "official" and three "informal"—contain a rich cache of material evidence of life in the PoW camp.

That the test excavations of the buildings and central grounds of the camp revealed very few artifacts is a telling negative result. It suggests that military discipline and cleanliness ruled the day in the most visible areas of the camp; the fronts of buildings and central grounds were kept very clean. In contrast, the discovery of five different middens in less visible areas has shown that people were likely not following camp rules at all times. It appears as though the camp inhabitants put on a show of cleanliness for the public areas of the camp, all the while illicitly dumping their trash a few meters away in out-of-sight locations. It was determined that, out of all subsurface deposits at the PoW camp, the five middens clearly held the highest research potential, and it was decided that the focus of 1 x 1 m evaluative unit excavations would be centered on them

But far from having a singular focus on excavations, this project's historical archaeological approach, in fact, leads to querying of multiple lines of evidence, including the archival record and oral history collected from living informants. These varied approaches reveal different perspectives on the history of the camp, and provide different kinds of insight. The archival record strongly represents the perspective of the Canadian government, bureaucrats, and guards at the camp; the oral history provides informative stories and emotional moments; the tangible architectural remains reveal information about the spatial arrangement and context of the camp; and the items of small material culture excavated at the camp middens speak to the daily life of the inhabitants of the camp, and perhaps can help us uncover the perspective of the PoWs that is missing from the archival record.

Figure 5.1: Interviewing informant Ewald Wellman in Germany, June 2011.

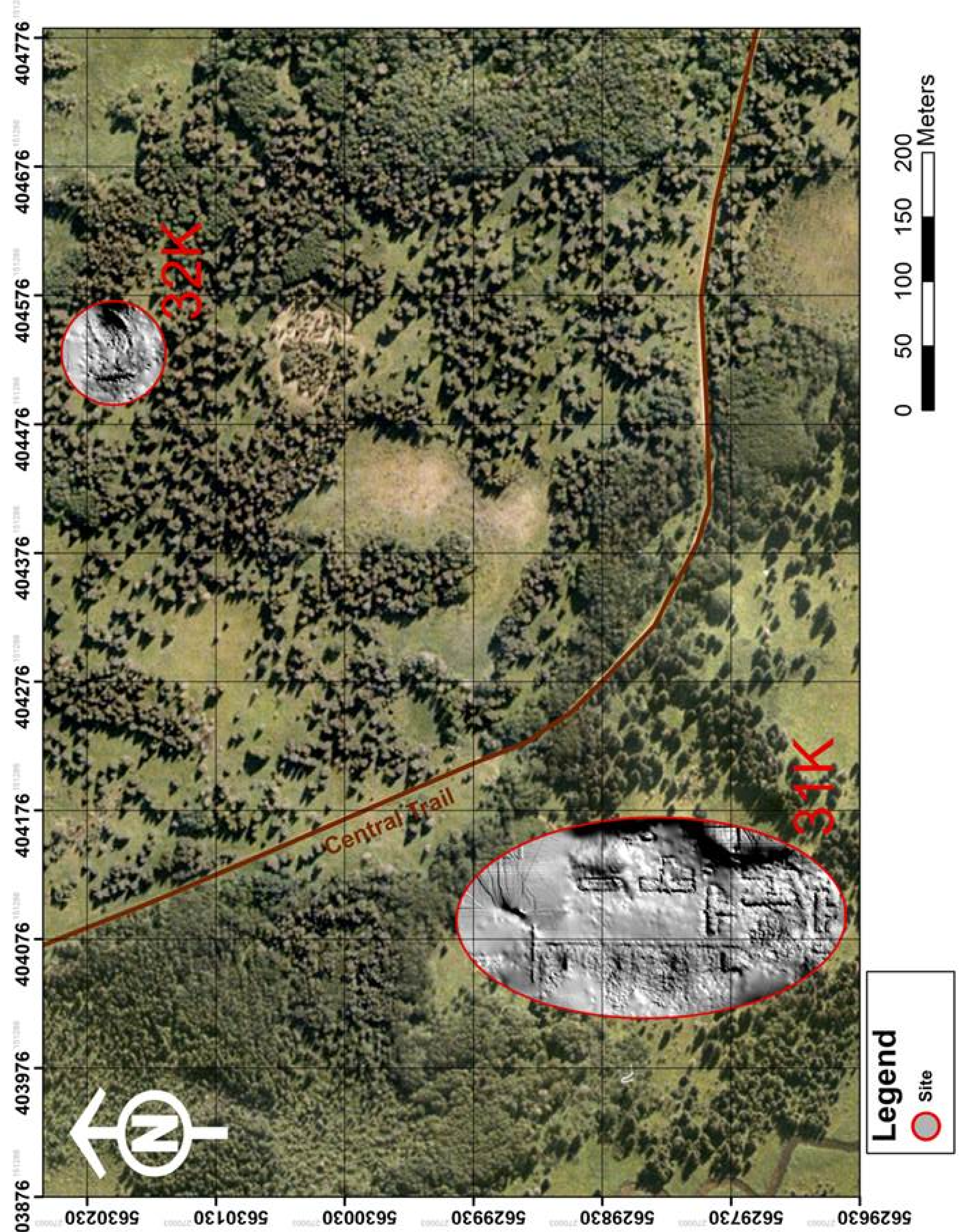

Figure 5.2: Sites 31K and 32K. 3D surface layer inset at site locations (in red circle and oval).

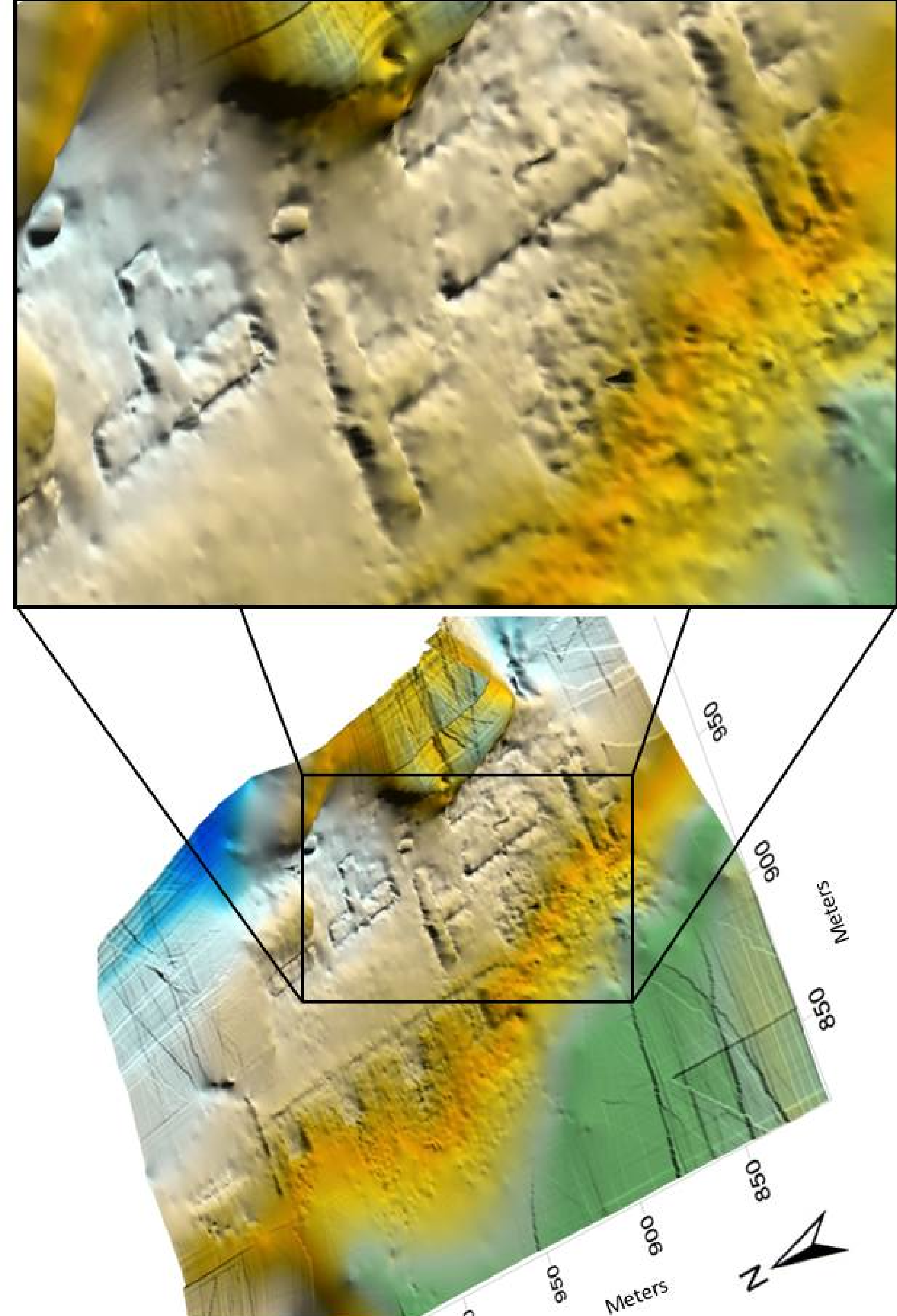

Figure 5.3: 3D total station map of 31K with expanded close-up. Note raised lines which reveal building footprints.

Figure 5.4: Oblique aerial photo of Site 31K showing locations of middens. Facing southwest. (Courtesy of Parks Canada)

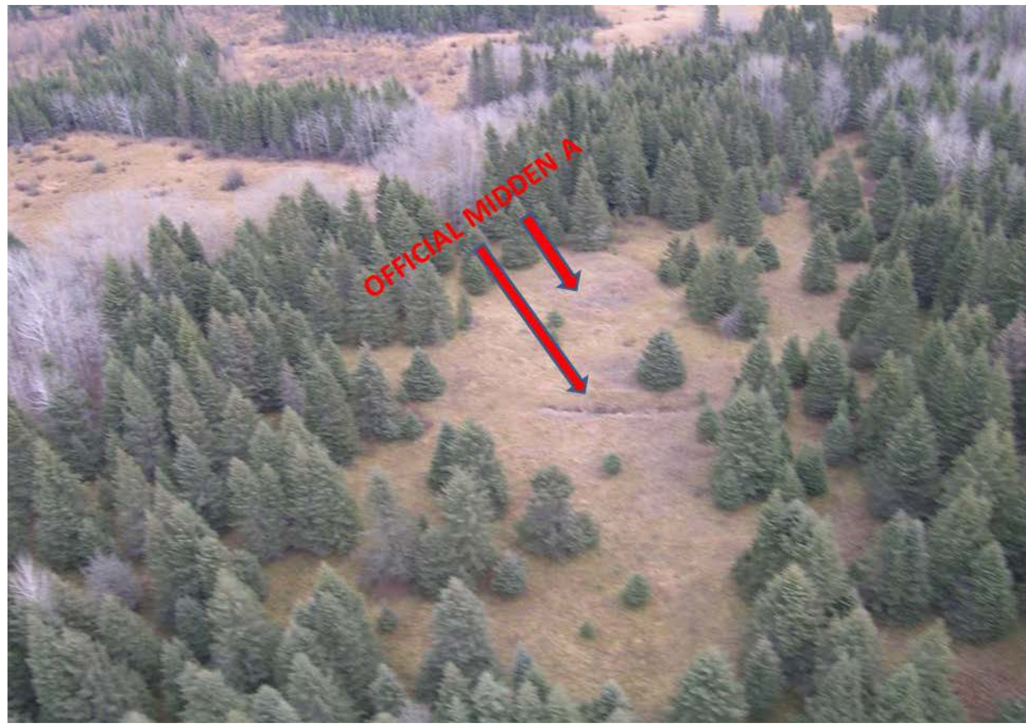

Figure 5.5: Oblique aerial photo of Site 32K showing Official Midden A. Facing south. (Courtesy of Parks Canada)

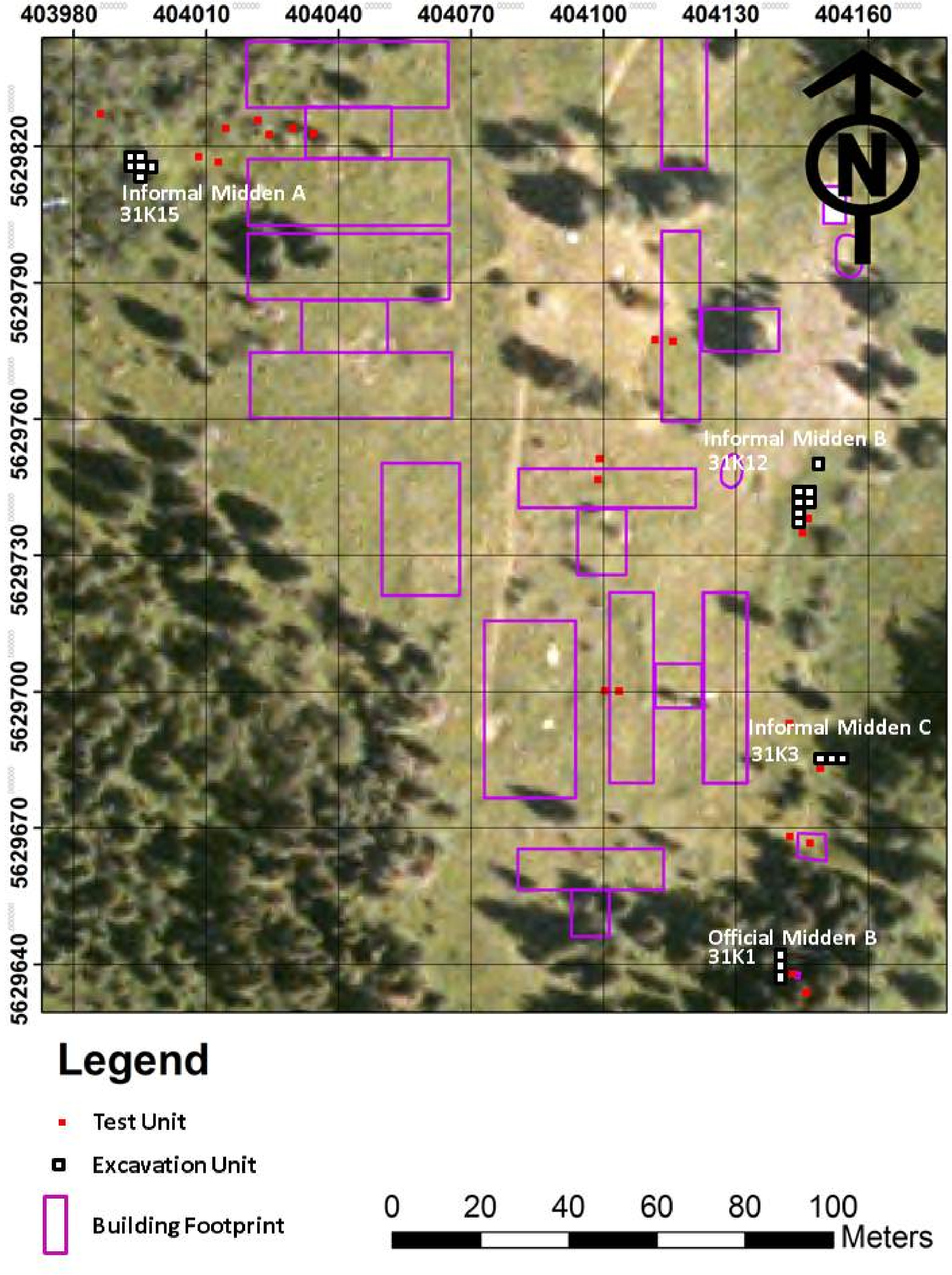

Figure 5.6: Location of test and evaluative units at Site 31K.

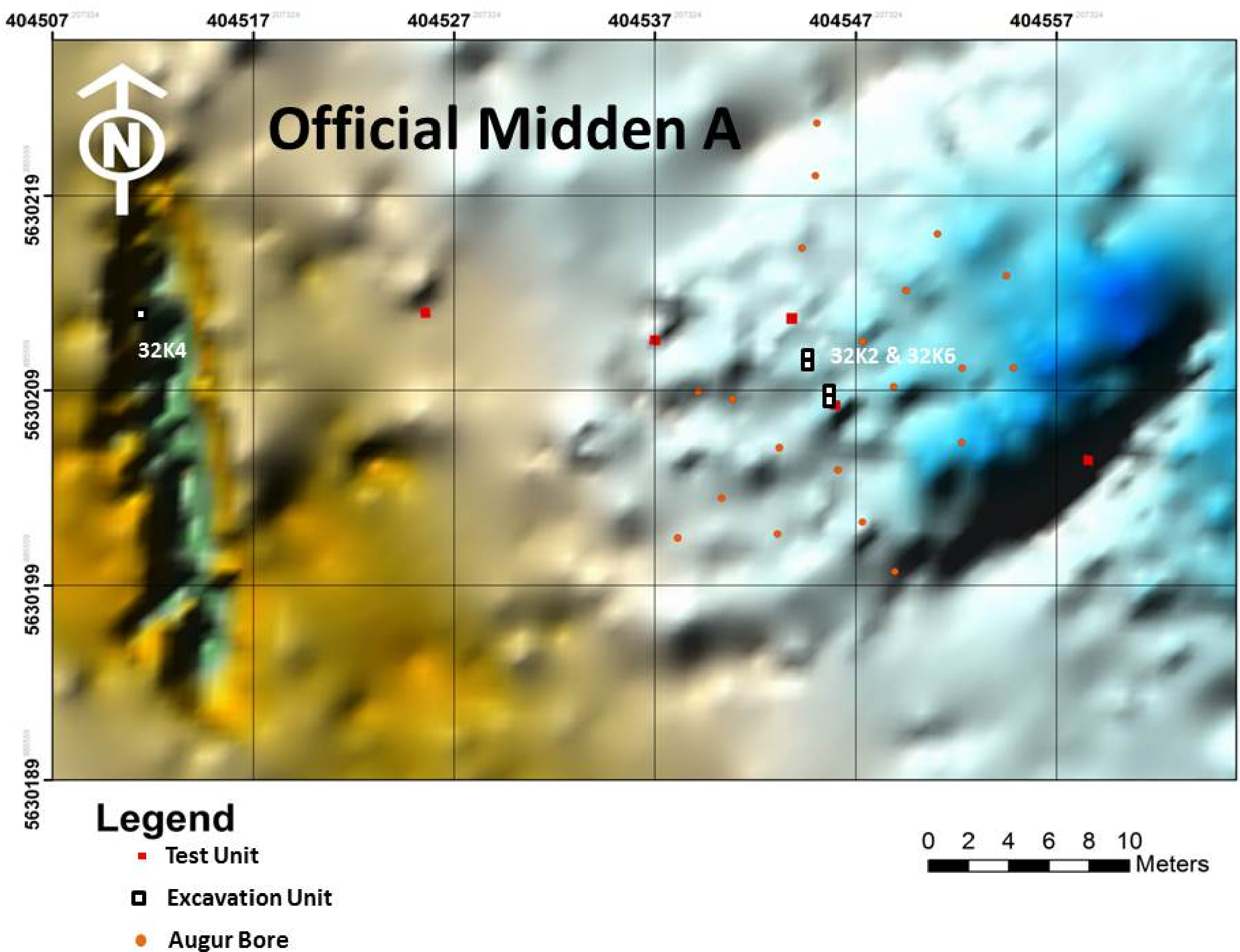

Figure 5.7: Location of auger bores and test and evaluative units at Site 32K.

Figure 5.8: Main trash trench at Official Midden A (Site 32K).

Figure 5.9: Trowel excavation in progress at 32K6 (Official Midden A).

Figure 5.10: Shovel shaving excavation in progress at 31K1 (Official Midden B).

Figure 5.11: Artifacts in situ during excavation at 31K15 (Informal Midden A).

Figure 5.12: Artifacts as they were removed from the ground at 31K15 (Informal Midden A).

Figure 5.13: Completed excavation area at 31K15 (Informal Midden A).

CHAPTER 6. RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS AND LABORATORY ANALYSIS

6.1 Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to present the basic results of the excavation program and the subsequent laboratory-based artifact cataloguing and analyses. The chapter begins by presenting a summary of the total artifacts recovered site-wide. This is aggregate data that provides an overview of what was excavated at the site. Next, it presents data that compares the contents of the five middens, and then builds on this to offer interpretations of each of the middens. Each midden has an identifiable social context of creation and can be associated with a specific group, or multiple groups, of residents of the camp. Both the PoWs and the Canadians were consciously triaging their trash to hide the evidence of illicit activities, particularly consumption of alcohol. The internal composition of the middens and the differences in the contents between middens show patterns that speak to these contexts of creation.

6.2 Aggregate Data on Artifacts Recovered Site-wide

Table 6.1 shows the essential metrics on the artifacts recovered site-wide. “Artifact count” refers to a raw count of every separable artifact recovered (for example, Official Midden A produced 23,317 individual artifacts). As discussed in Chapter 5, since the artifact collection posed particular problems for counting artifacts and estimating the number of original items those artifact fragments represent, artifact count was not used as a primary metric of analysis. “Artifact weight” refers to the raw total weight of the artifacts recovered from each midden, measured in grams (for example, Official Midden B produced 23,560 grams of artifacts). Since weight remains an accurate method of comparison regardless of difficulties with counting fragmented artifacts, it was used as the primary base metric of analysis between the middens. “Artifact frequency by weight” shows the relative distribution of the excavated artifacts from the five middens (for example, Informal Midden A produced 11 % of the total artifacts excavated). In turn, “Artifact density by weight” shows the relative artifact density of each of the five midden deposits (for example, Informal Midden B has an artifact density of 29,745 g/m^3).

Table 6.1: Artifacts Recovered at the Five Middens

	Official Midden A	Official Midden B	Informal Midden A	Informal Midden B	Informal Midden C	Total
Artifact count	23,317	6,060	6,240	6,062	12,147	53,826
Artifact weight (g)	112,656	23,560	39,983	91,615	95,291	363,105
Artifact frequency by weight (%)	31	6	11	25	26	100
Volume excavated (m^3)	2.37	0.92	1.70	3.08	1.08	9.15
Artifact density by weight (g/m^3)	47,484	25,609	23,519	29,745	88,437	39,683.6

6.3 Basic Comparison of the Contents of the Five Middens

In this section I present detailed data on the contents of each of the five middens, treated separately and compared with each other. Importantly, this analysis is based not on the comparison of the contents of individual excavation units, but of the aggregate contents of each separate midden area. Excavation units were placed at each midden area, and these groupings of excavation units make up the sum of the sampled contents of each midden (Table 5.9). I am making a comparison between the historical trash-dumping areas rather than the individual excavation units, because the trash-dumping areas are seen as socially meaningful entities, while the excavation units are at most only indirectly meaningful, historically or socially.

Table 6.2 presents selected data on the excavated artifacts from the five middens at Riding Mountain Camp (additional excavation data is included in Myers 2012). The table includes six vertical sections (bounded by thick borders), with each of these further divided into four columns (bounded by thin borders). There is one vertical section for each of the five middens, and one for site-wide totals. Each of these vertical sections is subdivided into four columns that each represent one metric of comparison: Count (C), Weight (W), Frequency (F), and Density (D). These four metrics of comparison were chosen as the most useful metrics to display in this table in light of the primary analysis goal of comparing the contents of the five middens, which in turn is based upon this dissertation's central research questions and theoretical outlook.

	Official Midden A				Official Midden B				Informal Midden A				Informal Midden B				Informal Midden C				Site-Wide (All Middens)			
	C.	***W.***	***F.***	***D.***	***C.***	***W.***	***F.***	***D.***	***C.***	***W.***	***F.***	***D.***	***C.***	***W.***	***F.***	***D.***	***C.***	***W.***	***F.***	***D.***	***C.***	***W.***	***F.***	***D.***
Analysis Class																								
Ammunition	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	0
Ceramic	283	10932	10	4608	40	760	3	827	30	891	2	501	54	3686	4	1197	97	3832	4	3556	504	20102	6	2197
Fastening	62	150	0	63	215	166	1	181	278	554	1	311	62	423	0	137	123	114	0	106	740	1407	0	154
Fauna	20407	34361	31	14483	101	101	0	109	2260	2118	5	1190	923	1981	2	643	4807	2731	3	2534	28498	41292	11	4513
Glass	333	4981	4	2099	1768	7103	30	7721	939	19991	50	11231	1877	28569	31	9276	2887	35067	37	32545	7804	95711	26	10460
Lithic	5	30	0	12	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	30	0	3
Metal	213	3467	3	1461	1066	2345	10	2549	828	4847	12	2723	1205	8999	10	2922	1980	16178	17	15015	5292	35836	10	3917
Metal Cont.	1405	57620	51	24287	8	1724	7	1874	105	7259	18	4078	741	43891	48	14250	514	31727	33	29445	2773	142222	39	15543
Misc.	166	149	0	63	339	4295	18	4669	224	495	1	278	300	1289	1	418	156	466	0	433	1185	6694	2	732
Nail	310	572	1	241	2435	6961	30	7566	1393	3028	8	1701	799	2166	2	703	1422	3368	4	3126	6359	16095	4	1759
Pane Glass	133	394	0	166	87	104	0	113	182	797	2	448	100	611	1	198	161	1807	2	1677	663	3714	1	406
Total	23317	112656	100	47534	6060	23560	100	25609	6240	39983	100	23520	6062	91615	100	29745	12147	95291	100	88437	53826	363105	100	39684
Functional Category																								
Architecture	500	1361	1	573	2783	11270	48	12250	1987	5969	15	3353	1129	6407	7	2080	1994	13280	14	12325	8393	38286	11	4184
Fauna	20407	34361	31	14483	101	101	0	109	2260	2118	5	1190	923	1981	2	643	4807	2731	3	2534	28498	41292	11	4513
Indefinite	389	1944	2	819	1629	4148	18	4508	622	3095	8	1738	1209	6613	7	2147	2539	16849	18	15637	6388	32648	9	3568
Industrial	4	33	0	14	1	2	0	2	14	366	1	0	33	2279	2	740	13	2475	3	2297	65	5154	1	563
Institutional	1782	73166	65	30839	150	3503	15	3808	383	12484	32	7014	1005	51059	56	16578	675	39132	41	36317	3995	179344	49	19600
Personal	235	1791	2	755	1396	4537	19	4931	974	15953	40	8962	1763	23276	25	7557	2119	20824	22	19326	6487	66381	18	7255
Total	23317	112656	100	47534	6060	23560	100	25609	6240	39983	100	23520	6062	91615	100	29745	12147	95291	100	88437	53826	363105	100	39684

Legend: **C.** = Count (#), **W.** = Weight (g), **F.** = Frequency, measured by weight (%), **D.** = Density, measured by weigh (g/m3)

Table 6.2: Selected Data on Artifacts Excavated from Five Middens.

“Count” is the raw count of excavated artifacts, and it is presented in Table 6.2 for reference but is not used extensively in later analyses. “Weight” is the raw weight in grams of the excavated artifacts. Since different volumes of earth were excavated at each of the five middens, from the raw weight two metrics of analysis were derived: frequency (by weight), and density (by weight). “Frequency,” presented as a percentage, shows the relative abundance of artifact categories in relation to other artifact categories. (For example, we can say that “Official Midden A contains 10 % ceramics.”) “Density” is derived from the weight metric and the volume of excavated soil, and is presented as the fraction weight/volume (g/m^3). Density shows the relative abundance of an artifact category in a volume of excavated soil.

The row data in Table 6.2 is made up of two horizontal sections (bounded by thick borders), one for the Parks Canada analysis classes and one for the project-specific functional categories. The Parks Canada–developed “analysis classes” are employed as a basic way to categorize excavated artifacts, and the system is a hybrid designation that draws on both material type and artifact function (Table 5.10). Use of the analysis class system is a requirement for any archeological project carried out on land administered by Parks Canada. As described in Chapter 5, the functional categories were created for this project as a way to attach socially meaningful labels to the excavated artifacts (Tables 5.11 and 5.12).

A small selection of four charts is also included here to help make sense of the data presented in Table 6.2. Figure 6.1 illustrates the distribution of artifacts by analysis class measured by frequency, Figure 6.2 illustrates the distribution of artifacts by analysis class measured by density, Figure 6.3 illustrates the distribution of artifacts by functional category measured by frequency, and Figure 6.4 illustrates the distribution of artifacts by functional category measured by density. The data presented in Table 6.2 and Figure 6.1 through 6.4 is drawn on in the next section, which builds on this basic comparison data by combining it with other evidence about the middens to put forward an interpretation of the social context of creation of each of the five middens.

6.4 Interpretations of the Five Middens

A careful analysis of the material contents of each of the five middens combined with other sources of evidence reveals that each of the middens can be clearly associated with a specific social context of creation and use. In addition to the material contents of the middens, my interpretations draw on the physical location, spatial associations, and size and shape of the middens, and on information obtained from archival research and oral history interviewing. For each of the five middens I will discuss its material contents, how and why it was created, and what group of people in the camp deposited trash into it. That the five different middens can be associated with different social groups in the camp opens the door to the possibility of comparing their material contents in an effort toward learning about interactions in the camp.

6.4.1 Official Midden A

Official Midden A was the officially designated dumping area for the PoW camp and, as such, trash created by everyone in the camp ended up there. It is also clear, however, that the trash that ended up at Official Midden A had been triaged prior to being sent there, and that certain types of trash did not end up in this midden.

Official Midden A has a surface component of a scatter of historic trash, and a subsurface component of dense concentrations of historic trash. It has two adjacent loci of concentration: one a sheet deposit, the other a trench deposit. Seven excavation units were placed at Official Midden A (Table 5.9). The total surface area excavated was 5.5 m^2, and the total volume excavated was 2.37 m^3 (Table 5.8). Excavation was stopped at the bottom of the historic cultural layer, which ended at an average depth of 43 cm below surface. A total of 23,317 artifacts, weighing 112.7 kg all together, were collected from Official Midden A. The density of the artifacts in this area was 47.5 kg/m^3.

The midden is located about 500 meters from the main camp area and had a purpose-built road leading to it from the main camp area that was noted in a 1949 aerial photo of the park. The road is now grown over, but its location and the route it follows, beginning at the camp and ending at the dump, were rediscovered during our field work. Additionally,

former PoW Josef Gabski (2009), one of the project informants, recalled being tasked with driving a truck full of garbage to dump a short distance down a road from the main camp. Similarly, when asked about trash in the camp, Gunter Bausdorf (2012) stated simply, “I took it to a large pit.”

The trash buildup at this midden was incremental over the two years that the camp was in operation. Although we do not know how often the trash was brought to this final repository dumping area, it was likely transported there every day, every few days, or perhaps weekly. This was the official dumping area for the camp, and trash produced by both the PoWs and the Canadian staff (military and civilian) would have been transported there. Since just 0.3 % of artifacts recovered from this midden show signs of being fire affected, it is unlikely that trash first burned in the camp incinerator was transported to this location (Figure 6.7).

The status of this area as the camp’s official trash dump is further supported by an examination of the recovered artifacts. The three most abundant analysis classes recovered from this location—metal container (51 %), fauna (31 %), and ceramic (10 %)—are all highly representative of the official operations of the PoW camp: The fauna (nearly all butchered domesticated animals) and the metal containers are clear signs of the camp kitchens, and the ceramics (all plain hotel ware items) are clear signs of the camp’s mess hall. Together these three very institutional material types make up 92 % of the contents of the midden (Figure 6.1). If analyzed through the lens of the functional categories, we see that the fauna category makes up 31 % of the midden, and the “institutional” category makes up 65 %. When measured by functional categories, about 96 % of the artifacts recovered from this midden are institutional in nature—that is, representative of the official operation of the camp (Figure 6.3).

Conversely, personal items—artifacts that evidence individuals in the camp—are almost completely absent from this midden. Relying on the functional categories, we see that just 2 % of recovered items fall into the “personal” category. This stands in stark contrast to the figures of 18 % site-wide and 40 % for Informal Midden A (Figure 6.8). Out of all

the artifacts recovered from this midden, only 4 were related to alcohol consumption, 12 to health and grooming, and 94 to personal adornment. Another 14 were personalized, altered, or homemade in some way. In total, just 235 out of 23,317 artifacts at Official Midden A fell into the personal functional category.

Of the five middens excavated, the results of the excavations at Official Midden A are the most straightforward to interpret. This midden was clearly the official camp dump where most of the camp's trash was supposed to end up. Following Sullivan and Griffith's (2005: 4) terminology, this was a "final depository." However, since we know that not all the camp's trash actually did end up there—from our field work we know with certainty that trash was dumped in other, unauthorized locations—we might ask what types of items that were supposed to end up at Official Midden A in fact did not. Seemingly, the more personal items were mostly dumped at other places. The material evidence of illicit activities, such as alcohol consumption, destruction of camp property, black marketing, or possession of weapons or other contraband, did not end up at this midden either. It appears that these types of items were consciously triaged from the official waste stream, possibly by both the PoWs and the Canadians, and deposited in other middens.

6.4.2 Official Midden B

Official Midden B is a subsurface deposit of artifacts that fans out from the ash removal opening of a historic concrete trash incinerator structure (Figures 6.5 and 6.6). The excavations confirmed the hypothesis that a subsurface midden would be present in and around the ash removal opening of the incinerator. The midden surrounding the incinerator has been labeled as an official midden because the incinerator was an original and planned part of the PoW camp, and it was intended that trash end up there. As an official trash processing location for the camp, most likely the trash at this location would have been created by all groups of people in the camp. A distinction must be made, however, since the incinerator would not have been an official dumping location but rather an official trash treatment location. According to Sullivan and Griffith (2005: 3), spillage of trash, and particularly smaller items, in and around trash transfer and treatment points is inevitable.

Three 1 x 1 m excavation units were placed at Official Midden B. The total surface area excavated was 3 m^2, and the total volume excavated was 0.92 m^3. Excavation was stopped at the bottom of the historic cultural layer, which ended at an average depth of 40 cm below surface. A total of 6,060 artifacts, weighing 23.6 kg, were collected from Official Midden B. The density of the artifacts at this area was 25.6 kg/m^3. These artifacts around the front ash door of the incinerator were deposited incrementally over the two years the camp was in operation. Specifically, it appears as though the artifacts were deposited through the action of shoveling or placing the "fresh" trash in the incinerator (through the open top), and then shoveling the ashes and burnt trash out afterward (using the ash door at the bottom). As the trash was shoveled in, and then later shoveled out (possibly into buckets or wheelbarrows), small items of broken and burnt trash would fall from the shovel and land around the opening of the incinerator.

In keeping with Sullivan and Griffith's (2005) prediction, the contents of this transfer-and-treatment midden deposit are overwhelmingly very small items. The average weight per artifact at Official Midden B is just 3.9 grams—the lowest number of the five middens (Figure 6.9). This reinforces the argument that the artifacts built up over time after falling off the shovel. As trash was being moved in and out of the incinerator, larger items that fell to the side would have been picked up, but smaller items were lost in the dirt or casually abandoned.

The midden's close proximity to the incinerator is evidence enough to conclude that the two features are associated, but the relationship is further supported by the categories of the excavated artifacts. Official Midden B contained the highest frequency of nails of all the middens (30 % of contents). The source of these nails is likely leftover milled lumber and construction materials used to stoke the incinerator fires. It is also logical that the artifacts recovered from this midden would be the most likely to be fire affected. Indeed, 15.5 % of all artifacts recovered from this midden are fire affected (Figure 6.7)—the highest frequency of all middens.

Sullivan and Griffith (2005) state that incinerators are used to "reduce volume, odor, and disease potential of raw waste in order to extend the life of the dump or landfill and make it a safer facility." But at Riding Mountain Camp the incinerator was not placed at the official dump and was clearly not used for all of the camp trash. A need to create more space to dump trash was not an issue here. The incinerator was placed close to the camp buildings and seemingly used for a particular stream of camp trash. It is difficult to ascertain, however, by what criteria trash was diverted to this incineration process. This is due to the recovered artifacts being small and fragmentary and often melted and misshapen. Furthermore, the distribution of the artifacts among the analysis classes and functional categories reveal no telling highs or lows. Looking at analysis class frequency, we see that glass and architecture have the highest frequencies, at 30 % each. The high frequency of glass is almost certainly a bias of incineration, since glass will survive that process (ending up as blobs of melted glass). The high frequency of nails is again a bias of the incineration process. Looking at the functional categories, we see that architecture is very high (caused again by the nails), fauna is very low (likely caused by the fauna being sent to Official Midden A), and the remaining categories of institutional, personal, and indefinite are relatively close together.

Often incinerators are used for trash that might attract animals, such as food scraps; but, as noted above, the results here point to the opposite practice: the frequency of the fauna analysis class is 0 % at Official Midden B. While it is possible that the fauna did not survive the incineration process, the fact that Official Midden A contains such a huge volume of fauna (34.3 kg, or 31 % of the contents of that midden) seems to suggest that fauna was specifically sent to that dump and not to the incinerator.

Because incinerators are also sometimes used for disposing of trash that is seen as unhealthful, unsanitary, or dangerous, it is reasonable to suppose that trash from the camp hospital may have been diverted to the incinerator. This theory is supported by the placement of the incinerator adjacent to the camp buildings and in fact relatively close to the camp hospital, and also by the very high frequency of artifacts related to clothing and personal adornment found in the deposit. A significant 312 clothing-related items—

buttons, rivets, clasps, and buckles—were recovered from the relatively small volume excavated at this midden. This was not only the highest number of clothing items recovered from any midden, but also the densest concentration of clothing items. It appears as though the incinerator was specifically used to dispose of clothing and uniforms. Although the reasons behind this very specific disposal practice are not known with certainty, it is possible that the clothing of the sick or injured in the camp, taken from the camp hospital, were incinerated to protect against a real or perceived health threat.

None of the interviewed informants remembered anything about the incinerator or about the burning of clothing. There is equally no mention of these things in the archival record. However the very existence of a concrete incinerator at the PoW camp—a structure that was clearly built along with the rest of the camp—is proof enough that the incinerator is part of the official trash disposal strategy employed at the camp. It is therefore safe to label the incinerator as an official feature of the camp and to interpret it as a locus for trash from all camp inhabitants. By what criteria trash was diverted to the incinerator remains unresolved, but the strongest theory based on the current evidence is that it was used for trash created at the camp hospital, including for clothing and uniforms.

6.4.3 Informal Midden A

Informal Midden A was created and filled with trash by the PoWs living in the H-hut barracks immediately adjacent to it. The trash in the midden accumulated incrementally over the two years that the camp was inhabited. It is located directly behind the central of the three H-hut PoW barracks, a short distance from where the back door of that H-hut would have been. Since there were no other buildings near this midden other than the PoW quarters, and based on analysis of the contents of the midden, it is almost certain that this midden was created exclusively by the PoWs. The midden is labeled “informal” since it was not part of the original plan for the camp, and was created and used illicitly by the PoWs.

Six 1 x 1 m excavation units were placed at Informal Midden A. The total surface area excavated was 6 m^2, and the total volume excavated was 1.7 m^3. Excavation was stopped at the bottom of the historic cultural layer, which ended at an average depth of 29 cm below surface. A total of 6,240 artifacts, weighing 39.9 kg, were collected from Informal Midden A. The density of the artifacts at this area was 23.5 kg/m^3. Just 0.8 % of artifacts recovered from this midden show signs of being fire affected.

The contents of Informal Midden A stand in clear contrast with the contents of Official Midden A, the camp's approved dumping ground. While the camp's official dump contained a high proportion of institutional items such as bulk-size food tins and jars and military-issue hotel ware ceramics, this illicit, PoW-created, informal midden contains a high proportion of much more personal items—for example, grooming products like combs, toothbrushes, and Listerine mouthwash. Informal Midden A contains 40 % personal items, the highest frequency of all five middens, in contrast to just 2 % at Official Midden A (Figure 6.8). The midden also contains 50 % glass, which is related to the many personal grooming products—empty bottles from products such as creams and soaps—excavated here. Evidence of contraband items at Informal Midden A is extremely high: 11.7 % of artifacts were alcohol related, in contrast to just 0.2 % at Official Midden A (Figure 6.10). This is the highest frequency out of the five middens. This clear difference suggests that the PoWs specifically disposed of personal items, including alcohol bottles, in the informal midden behind their barracks rather than adding them to the official waste stream that ended at Official Midden A.

Informal Midden A was created and used exclusively by the PoWs at Riding Mountain Camp. The two key pieces of evidence for this are 1) the midden's patent spatial association with the PoW barrack, and 2) the very high concentration of personal items it contains. But why did the PoWs begin throwing their trash in the bushes behind their barrack rather than use the trash cans in their barracks? One explanation is that the PoWs (or some of the PoWs) simply couldn't be bothered to do things properly. Perhaps it was just easier in some cases to throw trash out their back door than it was to dispose of it according to camp rules. Another explanation, one that perhaps works in concert with the

first, is that at times conscious triaging of trash occurred. PoWs would have wanted to hide material evidence of illicit activities such as drinking of alcohol, and would not have put empty alcohol bottles into the barracks garbage cans. The high frequency of alcohol-related items at this midden (11.7 %) supports this theory. Informal Midden A might have existed partly out of simple laziness, and partly as a consciously planned place to dispose of evidence of illicit activities. In either case, the contents of Informal Midden A provide a unique window into the material lives of the German PoWs at Riding Mountain Camp.

6.4.4 Informal Midden B

Informal Midden B is located near several different camp buildings, making conclusive association with any one building or group difficult. The midden is, however, clearly on the "Canadian" side of the camp, as the buildings that are near it were occupied by Canadian military and civilian staff (Figure 8.5). The midden is located at the bottom of a slope leading into a stagnant pond, and it appears as though camp inhabitants were illicitly throwing their trash down the slope and into the pond. A brief mention of this pond area was in fact found in the archival record: a curt December 1944 message from the Canadian camp administrator Major Keane, to the German camp spokesman stated, "Ashes from Stoves must not be put on edge of pond near Gas Tank. It is dangerous. Ashes should be put on ground in rear of huts" (Keane 1944). If ashes were illicitly being thrown near the edge of the pond, then it is not hard to imagine that trash was illicitly being thrown there too.

Informal Midden B has a surface component of a scatter of historic trash and a subsurface component of dense concentrations of historic trash. The surface and subsurface components both extend from dry land on the edge of a pond, right into the pond and underwater. Seven 1 x 1 m excavation units and one 50 x 50 cm unit were placed at Informal Midden B. The total surface area excavated was 7.5 m^2, and the total volume excavated was 3.08 m^3. Five additional 50 x 50 cm test units were placed just west and north of the midden, but these missed the midden deposits completely, so their area, volume, and contents are not counted in the midden metrics.

Unusually high water levels in the summer of 2011 made for difficult excavating at this location, as the units continuously filled with water leaching in from the pond. Despite these conditions, the fact that there are artifacts extending into the pond is to be expected—both because of the original dumping of the trash, and because of rising and falling water levels and erosion over the years. At this midden, excavation was stopped either at the bottom of the historic cultural layer, which ended at an average depth of 42 cm surface, or when further excavation was rendered impossible by the wet conditions. A total of 6,062 artifacts, weighing 91.6 kg, were collected from Informal Midden B. The density of the artifacts at this area was 29.7 kg/m^3.

The contents of this midden can be characterized as being relatively balanced between the different functional categories. While there are certainly more institutional items (56 %) than personal items (25 %), the difference in frequency between these two categories is far less stark than at Official Midden A, for example. This relative balance between institutional and personal items might be explained by the range of buildings nearby. Trash from both personal areas (such as a guard's barrack) and institutional areas (such as the camp kitchen and mess hall) could have contributed to the buildup of materials here.

At 7.1 %, Informal Midden B has, after Informal Midden A, the second highest frequency of alcohol-related artifacts (Figure 6.10). This large deposit of alcohol-related items in an illicit midden reveals that, like the PoWs on the other side of the camp, the Canadian staff and guards were also consciously triaging their trash. The empty alcohol bottles were specifically thrown down that slope, rather than into the trash cans, from where they would have eventually been transferred to Official Midden A.

Informal Midden B also revealed a mix of both Canadian military items (e.g., buttons) and items that can be associated with the German military (e.g., Wehrmacht water canteen parts). It is also here that a cache of German Red Cross chocolate tins, which would have been sent to the PoWs from Germany, were recovered. These findings might further support the notion that the Canadians were hiding their illicit activities—in this

case, black marketing with the PoWs. Red Cross packages, famous for containing difficult-to-find, rationed goods, would have been sought after trade items.

Based on the location and spatial associations of this midden, it would seem most likely that it was created and used by the Canadian guards and staff in the camp; but, the contents of the midden appear to be related to both Canadian staff and PoWs. The explanation for just what was going on at this midden is elusive. One possibility is that, despite its location close to Canadian-controlled camp buildings, somehow both Canadians and PoWs accessed and used the midden for their own purposes. Alternately, we might trust the spatial associations of the midden and assert that it was the Canadians exclusively who dumped into this illicit midden. After all, for the PoWs to have used this midden, they would have had to carry their trash across the camp and past the Canadian staff and guard barracks before arriving at the edge of the pond. Most likely then it was the Canadians who were throwing things away here—both their own garbage and PoW items acquired perhaps through confiscation or trading.

6.4.5 Informal Midden C

Informal Midden C is in many respects very similar to Informal Midden B. It is located further south along the same slope leading into the stagnant pond, suggesting that camp inhabitants were illicitly throwing their trash down the slope and into the pond at this location too. And while it is located near several different camp buildings, making clear association with any one building or group difficult, the midden is, however, still on the Canadian side of camp, as the buildings that are near to it are all buildings that were occupied by Canadian military and civilian staff. The midden is also the closest midden to the camp kitchens and mess hall, and this might be reflected in the many cans and bulk size food containers recovered here.

Informal Midden C has a surface component of a scatter of historic trash and a subsurface component of dense concentrations of historic trash. The surface and subsurface components both extend from dry land on the edge of a pond right into the pond and underwater. Three 1 x 1 m excavation units and one 50 x 50 cm unit were placed at

Informal Midden B. The total surface area excavated was 3.25 m^2, and the total volume excavated was 1.078 m^3. Excavation units at this location were placed father away from the water's edge than at Informal Midden B, so there were no problems with flooding units at this location. Excavation was stopped at the bottom of the historic cultural layer, which ended at an average depth of 37 cm below surface. A total of 12,147 artifacts, weighing 95.3 kg, were collected from Informal Midden C. The density of the artifacts at this area was 88.4 kg/m^3. This is the highest density of artifacts of the five middens.

Informal Midden C is most similar to Informal Midden B. The two middens are close together (about 25 meters apart), both on the side of the same pond, and both on the Canadian side of the camp. Informal Midden C also has mixed contents of institutional (41 %) and personal items (22 %), similar frequencies as Informal Midden B. At 6.5 %, Informal Midden C has the third most alcohol-related artifacts after Informal Midden B and Informal Midden A. Following the logic used in the discussion of Informal Midden B above, the high number of alcohol-related items could be explained by the fact that Informal Midden C is the second closest midden to the guard's barracks.

One unique aspect of Informal Midden C is that it appears that this location was where burnt trash from the incinerator ended up being dumped. Fire affected artifacts make up 13.5 % of the total. This is second only to Official Midden B, which is at the incinerator itself. Since Informal Midden C is the closest midden to Official Midden B and the incinerator (about 15 meters away), it is very likely that burnt trash from the incinerator was transported to Informal Midden C. This theory is further supported by the fact that Informal Midden C has the second highest number of nails—again, second only to Official Midden B. If what remained of the burnt trash from the incinerator ended up here, then we know that at least that portion of the midden's contents was created by both the Canadians and the PoWs in the camp.

As with Informal Midden B, it is difficult to conclusively interpret the context of creation of this midden. It clearly contains a mix of institutional and personal items, and a mix of items that could have been used by both the Canadians and the German PoWs. Because

of this ambiguity, and the fact that this midden was used for the dumping of incinerated trash, the safest conclusion is that it contains trash from all inhabitants of the camp, both Canadians and the PoWs.

6.5 Streams of Waste at Riding Mountain

Middens store collective, anonymized data on groups of people over time. Though signs of namable individuals may come through (for example, an artifact with a name carved on it), the strength of a midden-derived data set is its presentation of the sum of a group's activities over time. The key result of this chapter then is that it shows how the five middens can each be associated with a specific group or multiple groups within the camp, and how each midden has a specific social context of creation (Table 6.3). Each of these middens is a source of generalized social data on the specific group of people who deposited the trash into them.

Table 6.3: Social Contexts of the Five Middens

Midden	Spatial Associations	Social Context of Creation	Who Deposited Trash
Official Midden A	500 m from camp, end of purpose-built road	Official camp dump	PoWs and Canadians
Official Midden B	In front of concrete trash incinerator	Acatter from official camp incinerator	PoWs and Canadians
Informal Midden A	Immediately behind PoW barrack	Illicit dumping by PoWs	PoWs
Informal Midden B	Edge of pond, behind Canadian-occupied buildings	Illicit dumping by Canadians	Canadians
Informal Midden C	Edge of pond, behind Canadian-occupied buildings	Illicit dumping by Canadians and ash from incinerator	PoWs and Canadians

Official Midden A is shown to be the camp's officially approved dumping ground, where the majority of camp trash ended up. It contains a very high frequency of institutional items, and this highly generalized deposit of trash was created by all inhabitants in the camp. Official Midden B is shown to be the camp's officially approved location for incineration of trash, and though the process was officially planned and approved, the actual creation of this midden resulted from spillage during the trash treatment process.

As one of the official trash handling areas of the camp, this deposit can be considered a second generalized deposit that was created by all inhabitants of the camp.

Informal Midden A is shown to be an unplanned, unauthorized midden created behind a PoW barrack and used exclusively by the German PoWs. It contained a very high proportion of personal items and the highest frequency of alcohol-related items out of all the middens. The alcohol-related items found here are particularly strong evidence that the PoWs were actively choosing to discard evidence of illicit activities in this midden behind their barrack rather than in the barrack trash cans.

Informal Midden B and Informal Midden C are shown to both be unplanned, unauthorized middens in close proximity to Canadian-occupied camp buildings. Since it would have been impractical for the PoWs to use Informal Midden B, it is most likely that its contents were deposited illicitly by the Canadian staff and guards in the camp. The PoW-related items it contains are explained by confiscation by the guards, and trading between the guards and the PoWs. Since it contained the remains of the burnt trash transported from Official Midden B, it is most likely that Informal Midden C was made up of trash from both the Canadians and the PoWs. The Canadians too are shown to have been triaging their trash, as these two middens also contained high frequencies of alcohol-related items relative to the amount found in the camp's approved dumping ground at Official Midden A.

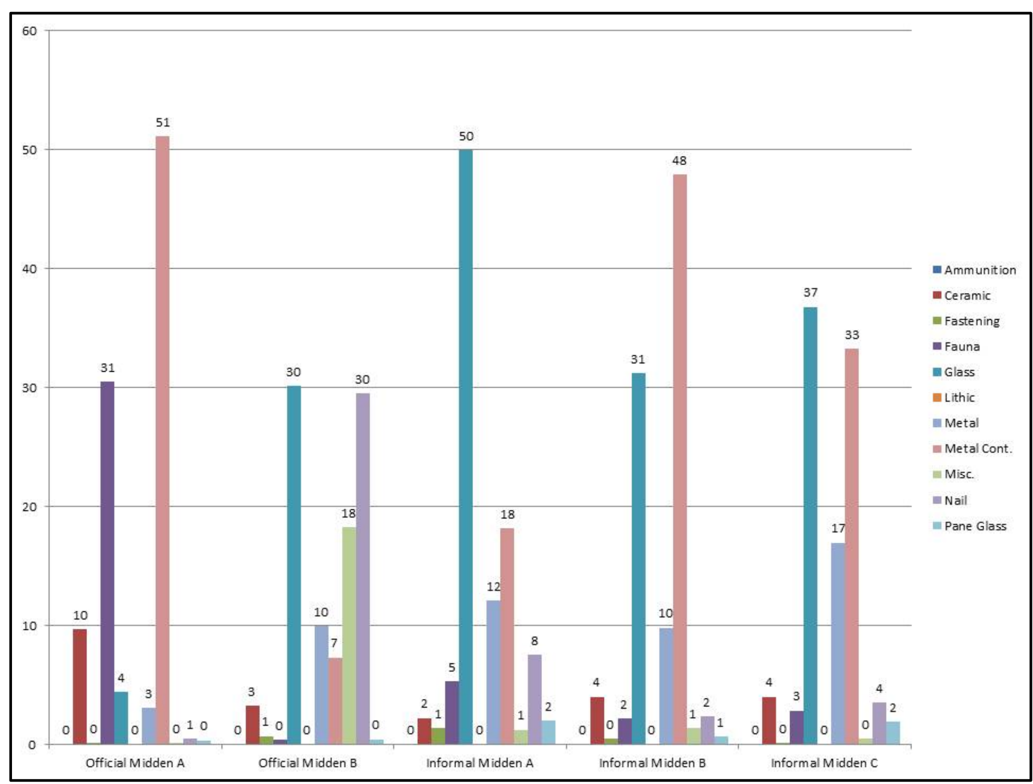

Figure 6.1: Analysis Class Frequency (%). This chart displays best in color.

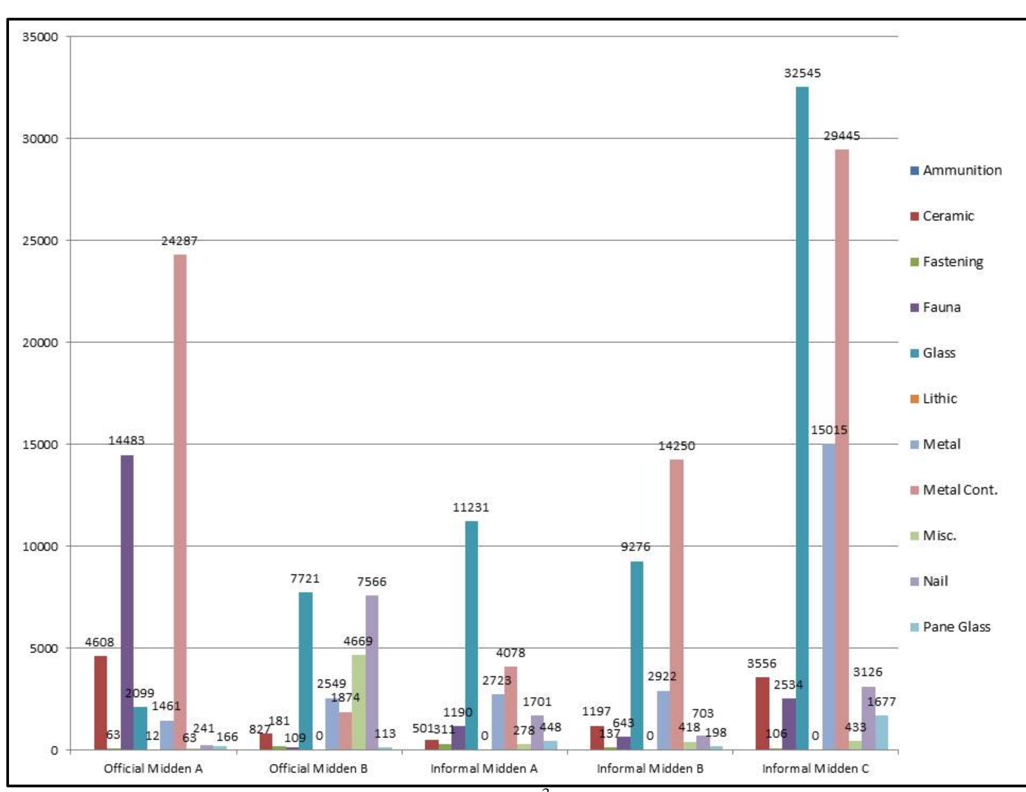

Figure 6.2: Analysis Class Density (g/m^3). This chart displays best in color.

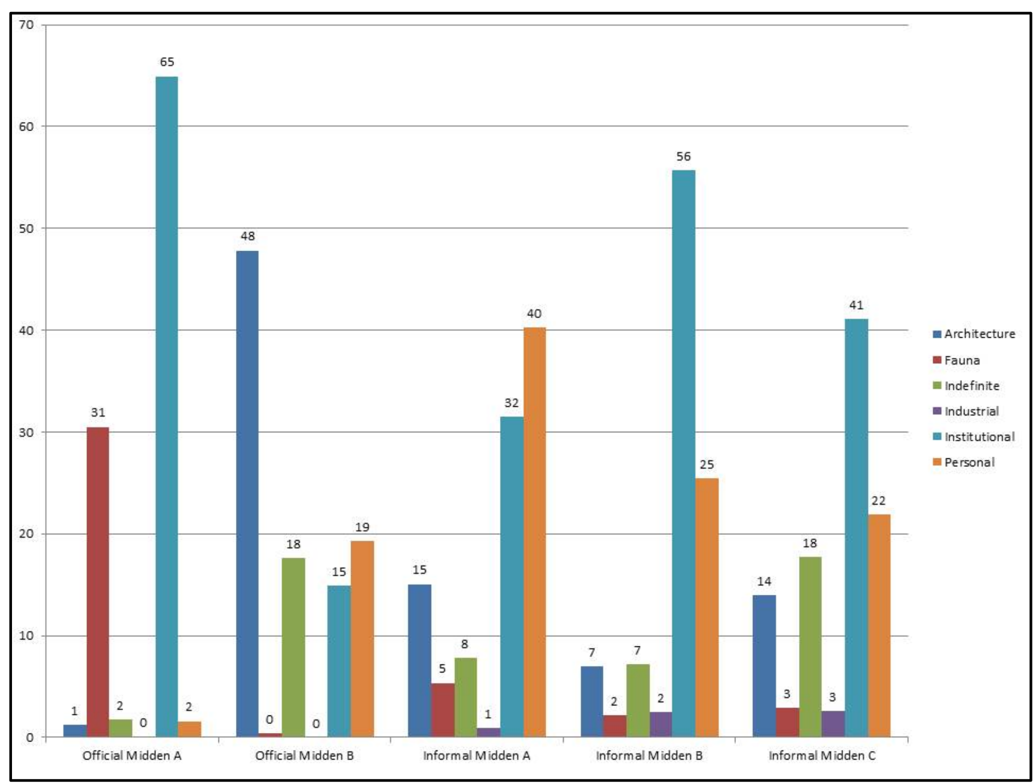

Figure 6.3: Functional Category Frequency (%). This chart displays best in color.

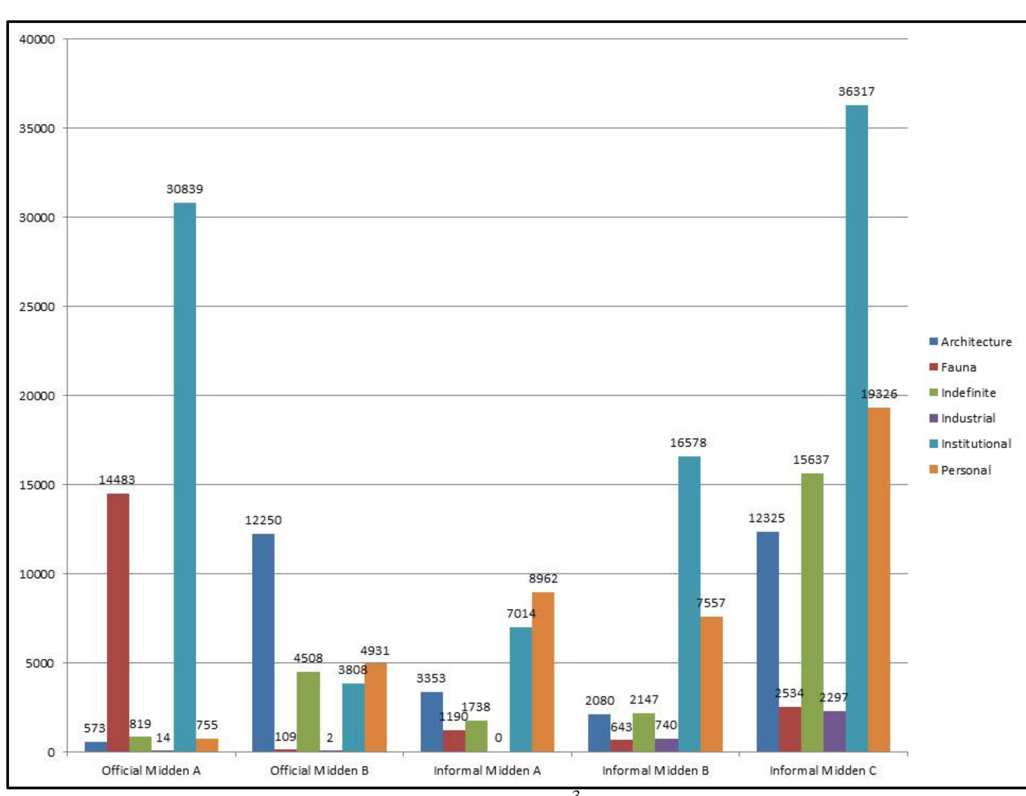

Figure 6.4: Functional Category Density (g/m^3). This chart displays best in color.

Figure 6.5: The incinerator at Official Midden B.

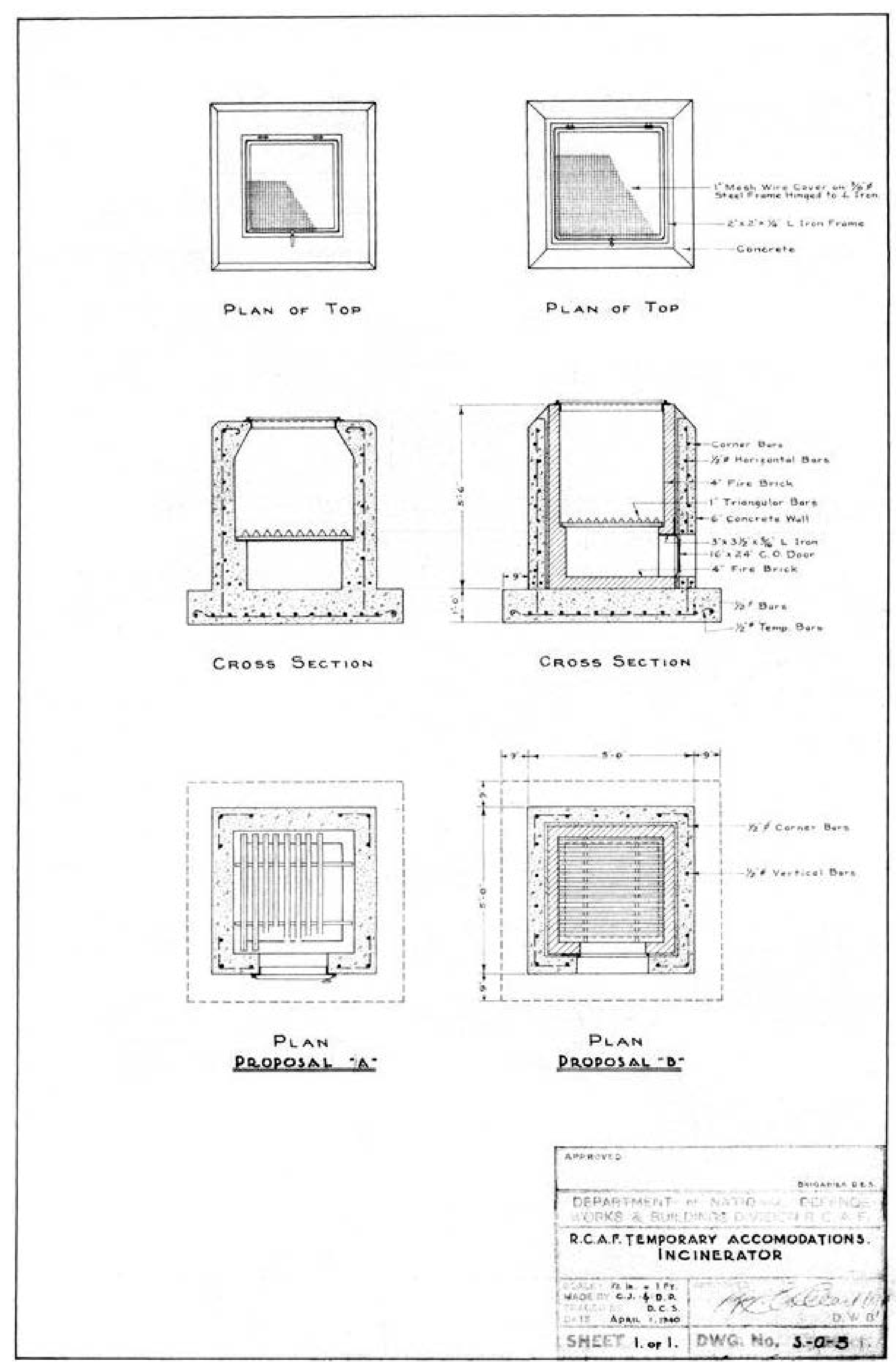

Figure 6.6: Historic architectural drawing of two incinerator types used by the Canadian military. (Courtesy of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan Museum)

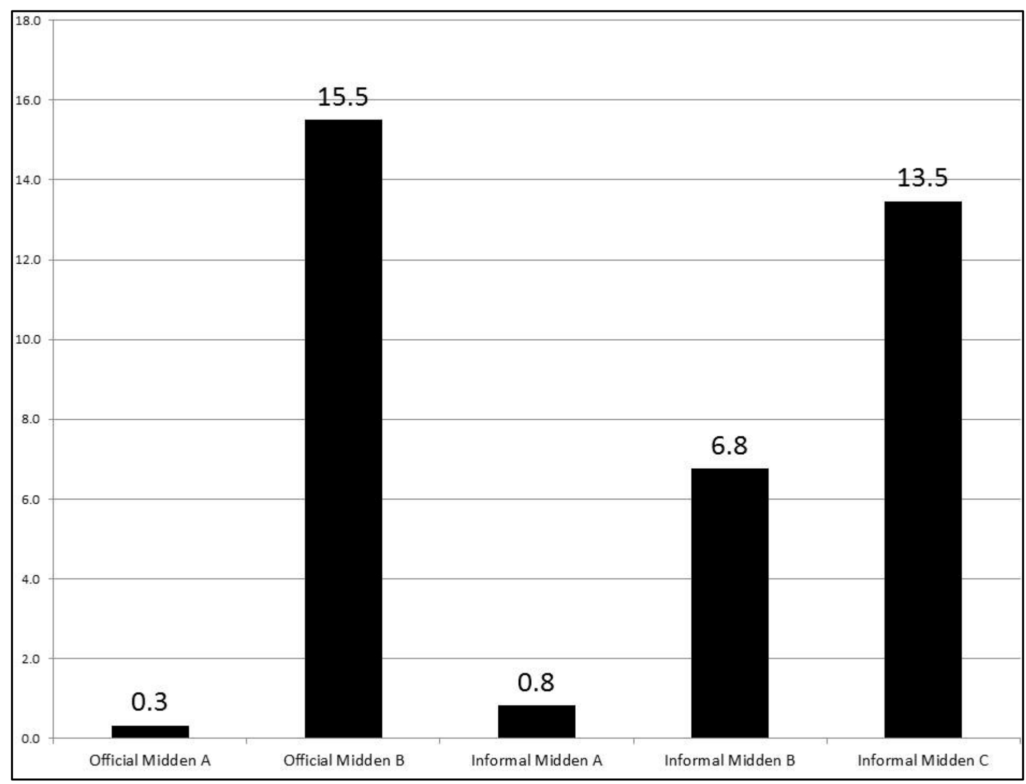

Figure 6.7: Frequency (by Weight) of Fire-Affected Artifacts (%).

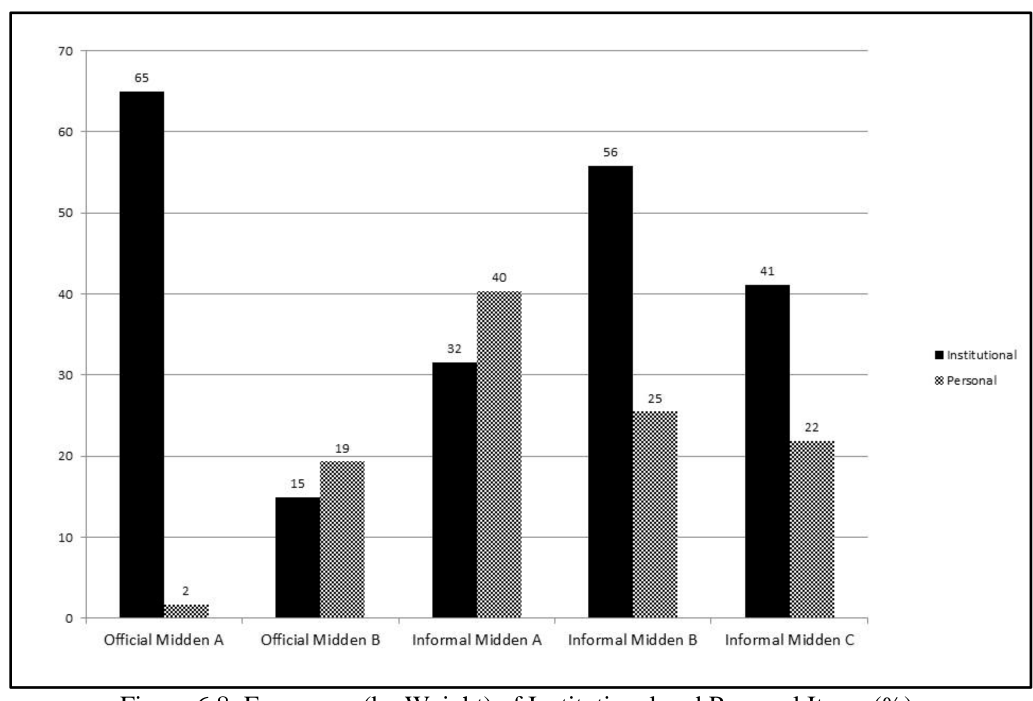

Figure 6.8: Frequency (by Weight) of Institutional and Personal Items (%).

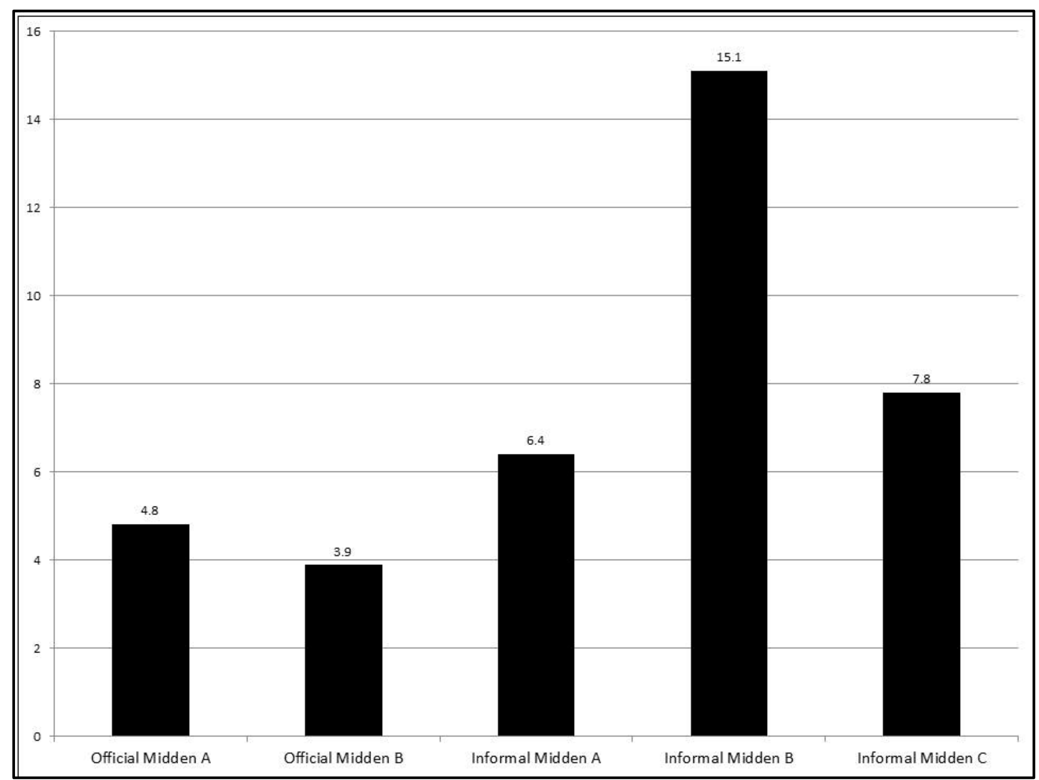

Figure 6.9: Average Weight Per Artifact (g).

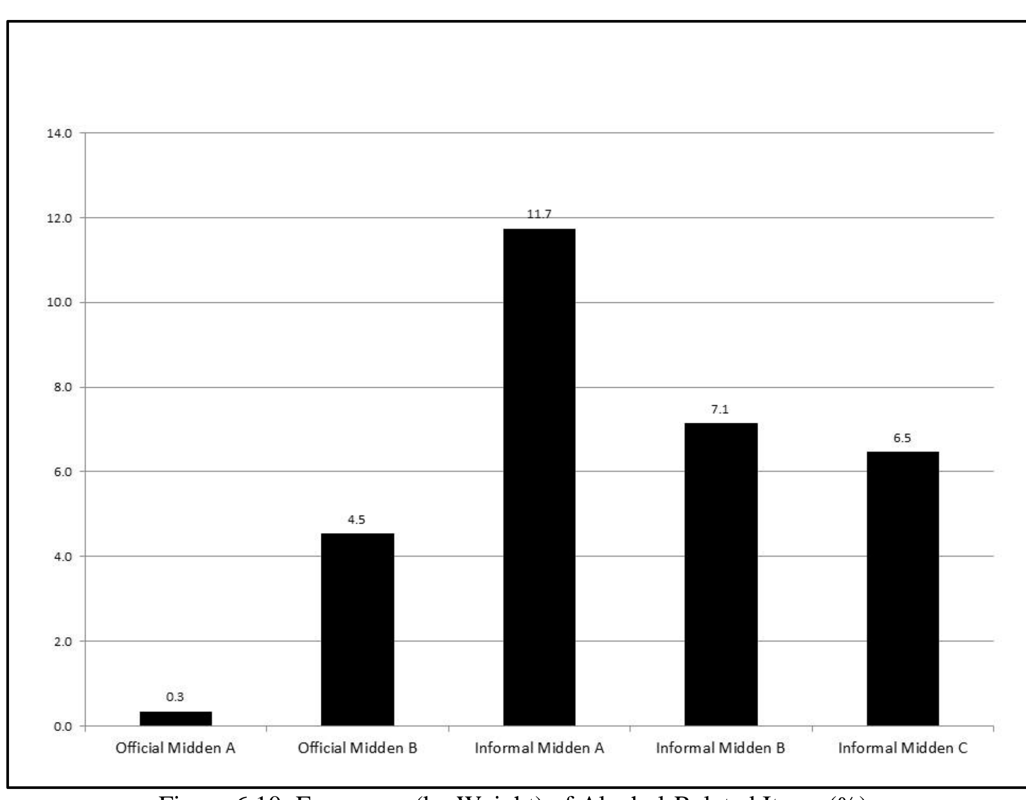

Figure 6.10: Frequency (by Weight) of Alcohol-Related Items (%).

CHAPTER 7. THE CAMP IN THE LANDSCAPE

> In our free time, we were in the forest a lot, with maps and compasses, where we could observe the animals. We'd go swimming, play ball, and play card games like Bridge. We read a lot, and learned English. We heard from the forest ranger that a large tree had fallen, out of which we built three canoes.
>
> Former Riding Mountain Camp PoW Günter Bausdorf (2012).

7.1 A Landscape of Removal and Internment

In 1936, after five years of planning and failed attempts, the National Parks Branch (precursor to Parks Canada) finally succeeded in forcibly evicting the Keeseekoowenin Ojibway from their homes on the shores of Clear Lake (Indian Claims Commission and Dupuis 2005; Sandlos 2008). The band lived in an area that had recently become designated as Riding Mountain National Park. Their homes were now encircled by a newly imagined and imposed boundary. Superfluous to this now differently valued landscape, the Keeseekoowenin were not only evicted from their settlement, but forced to watch its destruction. In Sandlos' (2008: 190–193) words, "as they hauled their belongings by wagon down the road leading from the shores of the lake they saw smoke rise above the trees as park wardens burned their houses and barns to the ground." This specific removal is, of course, just one in a long history of removals of aboriginals from parks and protected areas in Canada and around the world (Binnema and Niemi 2006; Spence 1999).

The injustice of the expulsion is magnified by contemporaneous events. In 1931—the same year that the National Parks Branch began their efforts to expel the Keeseekoowenin—Riding Mountain National Park invited the writer, naturalist, and future celebrity "Grey Owl" to live in the park. They built him a cabin, appointed him as official park naturalist, and awaited the tourists he would attract. But Grey Owl was in fact not aboriginal; he was one of the native poseurs of the early twentieth century (Deloria 1999; Dickson 1973; Smith 1990). His real name was Archibald Belaney, and he was originally from Hastings, England. After immigrating to Canada in 1906, Belaney worked as a trapper and guide in northern Ontario. He assumed the new identity around 1930, just before arriving at Riding Mountain. His stay was short lived, however, and he

soon moved on to Prince Albert National Park in Saskatchewan. Sometimes the simulacrum is more desirable than the original.

When juxtaposed with the forcible removal of earlier inhabitants, the forcible movement *into* this landscape of German prisoners of war somehow becomes more poignant: within a span of about seven years, the Keeseekoowenin were forced out and the German soldiers were forced in. As evidenced by archaeologically recovered lithic artifacts, the German PoWs would come to dispose of their trash in some of the same places as the First Nations people who were there before them. This material evidence, combined with oral and written history of interactions between park staff and First Nations people, serves as a potent reminder that the clash between fascist and democratic ideals explored in this dissertation was not the first time disparate understandings of the world came in contact here. And with the internment of German PoWs in the park, for the second time in just a handful of years, the Canadian government instituted a program of enforced ideology and values, and a particular vision for the world.

Awareness of these recently removed inhabitants contributes to a more complex understanding of the prisoners' landscape as one of multigenerational human history, spatial expansiveness, and historical depth. Prior to the building of the PoW camp, the park saw many years of varied uses, including hunting, gathering, logging, animal grazing, and settlement (Adams 1985; Bazillion et al. 1992; DeVos and Bailey 1970; Parks Canada 2000; Sandlos 2008; Tabulenas 1983). This presents a sharp contrast to the logic that motivated the bureaucrats planning the prison camp, one that conceived of that forest as a remote and desolate place—the ideal place to hide away 450 German PoWs. That the park administration had so recently forcibly removed the previous inhabitants from the area seemingly might have served as a reminder that the landscape was really not quite as empty as they imagined, and as a warning of the many interactions to come between prisoners and outsiders to the camp.

7.2 Isolation and Interaction in Institutions

Understanding enforced isolation, one of the fundamental characteristics of institutionalizations of all kinds, is a key nexus to understanding the lives of prisoners. Isolation is rightly a central element in Goffman's (1962) theorization of the total institution. The infamous solitary confinement approach, in which a single individual is separated from all others in a private space, is perhaps the most widely recognized form of isolation in prisons. In prison settings where inmates are held two or more to a room or in groups, however, "isolation" does not describe the experience of individual prisoners, but rather of that group of prisoners as a whole from the rest of society. Other than in specific cases of sentencing to punishment cells, it is this latter "group isolation" that characterized the internment of most PoWs during the Second World War. The 450 prisoners at Riding Mountain Camp were held as a group, free to associate with each other but isolated from outsiders. From the outset, then, they were not isolated men but interacted freely at least amongst each other and within their own group.

From the captor's perspective, isolating prisoners in remote locations offers several ostensible benefits: it lessens chance of successful escape, it reduces opportunities for interactions with civilians, and it keeps unpleasant institutions from public view. While average citizens might support the use of prisons in theory, they probably do not want one built in their neighborhood—they do not want to have to think about it on a daily basis. For this reason, modern societies often build prisons in out-of-the-way places. More pernicious planning is sometimes also at play, for example, in cases where prisons are built in isolated places specifically so that injustices being perpetrated there can be better kept under wraps. Although many Nazi concentration camps were built in Germany, the so-called death camps—the six camps specifically built for the industrial death of the holocaust—were all in occupied Poland, which was at the time far removed from the prying eyes of the western world.

Rarely, however, are the intentions of institutions fully realized. No prison has ever been hermetically sealed, and even under the most oppressive conditions small moments of interaction, at least, always occur. For example, such an interaction could be as simple as

the passing of a verbal message from the "inside" to the "outside" through an intermediary. But interactions increase in complexity and physicality from there, very commonly including black marketing in all manner of contraband goods, and even smuggling of people in and out of the institution. Obviously these exchanges are all offenses to institutional control and therefore targeted for eradication—if not at the level of the individual guard (who very well might be complicit in the activity), then at higher levels of administration.

Isolation is relative. Riding Mountain Camp, by virtue of its deliberate placement in the middle of a forest and national park in south central Manitoba, though certainly isolated from major urban centers, cannot be described as a lone outpost with little outside interaction. Riding Mountain Camp was, in fact, one settlement on a very busy wider landscape. This, combined with weak enforcement of rules at the camp, led to the PoWs having significant engagement with that wider landscape, and interactions with the Canadians that lived in the environs. These interactions familiarized the German PoWs with Canadian culture by creating social connections between Germans and Canadians. Ironically, this familiarization actually worked in favor of the Canadians' ultimate goal of reeducating the German PoWs away from their fascist upbringing. At Riding Mountain Camp, the enforcement of ideology on the PoWs by the Canadians was connected to relaxed security, tacit acceptance of temporary escapes, and fraternizations between PoWs and Canadian civilians.

7.3 Daily Schedule and Work in the Landscape

The purpose of the PoWs' relocation from Alberta to Riding Mountain Camp was to work in the landscape. Every morning, six days per week, the PoWs were assembled, and after roll call and breakfast, the woodcutting group either walked or were driven in trucks to the work site in the forest. About forty PoWs stayed behind to fulfill various duties in the camp. But regardless of whether one's job was in the camp or in the woods, every PoW at Riding Mountain followed the camp's official daily schedule. Strict time discipline is a standard feature in institutional settings, and at total institutions in particular (Goffman 1962). Remember that even in the earliest of modern institutions,

such as European monasteries and Spanish Colonial outposts, enforcement of careful daily schedules was standard procedure (Chapter 2). Lieutenant Mann, a former Veterans Guard who was interviewed in 1979, described the average day at Riding Mountain Camp (note: all quotations from historical sources and oral history are left unedited and unrevised):

> A normal day? Get up around between 6–7 o'clock, have breakfast, and then they'd have a roll call and then they'd tell them how many has to go out and work. The German Sergeants or whoever was in charge of them would pick the men that they wanted to go out to so such and such a job and then's when they got out in the bush, get them all lined up and I would get the guards to go out with them, it all depends how many is going out to the bush. We'd oh, 2 guards with about 10–12 prisoners and the rest of them would clean up around the camp and they'd come in for lunch about 11 o'clock and they would go out again about 1–1:30 and come in again about 4–4:30 have their supper and that and then they were through for the day until 9:30–10 o'clock at night, we would go in with the sergeant, the German sergeants and they'd get all standing behind their cots, roll call to see if they're all in there and any of them missing. They had to be in. They couldn't get out after that. But there were no barbed wire or anything, no barbed wire. They were free and open and they were easy to go away if they wanted to, you see. (Mann 1979)

Mann's narrative description of a typical day roughly fits with the time schedule reported by a Red Cross representative who visited the camp in April 1944 (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1 Daily Schedule at Riding Mountain Camp*

Time	**Event**
0700	Reveille
0715	Roll call
0730	Breakfast
0800	Depart for work
1200	Lunch on site
1645	Return from work
1745	Roll call
1800	Supper
2200	Return to bunkhouses
2230	Lights out

* Based on Maag 1944.

One discrepancy between the two sources is that Mann reports that the PoWs came back to the camp for lunch, while Maag states that the PoWs ate their lunches at the work site.

My informant Wellman (2011) recalled that he ate bagged lunches out in the woods. The reason for this discrepancy, I would suggest, is that the PoWs would have come back to the camp for lunch when they were working close in and stayed out for lunch when they were farther off.

Out in the woods, the PoWs were accompanied by the civilian guards. Work began close to the camp but moved gradually farther away as cutting areas closer to the camp were exhausted. Using handsaws and axes, the men were expected to cut and stack three-quarters of a cord of wood per man per day—but that quota proved ambitious and was never met (a cord corresponds to a closely stacked woodpile 4 x 4 x 8 feet). Wood was first stacked where it was cut by the PoWs, then picked up by teamsters and carried to the nearest road, where it was left again, and finally loaded onto trucks or sleighs and transported either to the PoW camp or out of the park to the town of Dauphin (Figures 7.1 and 7.2).

This multistep process was much criticized for its inefficiency. One administrator complained bitterly that the logging was being "conducted in a most primitive and uneconomical way":

> The method of logging is as follows: Prisoners cut and pile wood in scattered individual piles. The teamsters have to go all over the area to pick up these scattered piles, transport them by sleigh to the roadside where the wood is again piled for trucks to pick up and take away. The wood is handled and piled too many times resulting in high costs. The cause of this uneconomical method of logging lies with the prisoners themselves, or what is equally important, the handling or control of the prisoners-of-war. (Candy 1944)

Complaints and problems from the perspective of the guards and staff were surely of little concern to the PoWs. This was prison labor, and the PoWs really only had to do just enough work to avoid the punishment of being transferred out of the camp. In fact, the PoWs operated more like a union than a forced labor gang. If they were not kept happy, they threatened work stoppages. The same administrator alludes to as much. He wrote that the Canadian camp leader "runs the woods operations on the basis of consultation

and bargaining with the leader of the prisoners-of-war through an interpreter. And it is most fortunate … that he is very capable at such a doubtful form of management" (Candy 1944). In contrast to frustrated officials hoping for higher outputs, probably to justify the immense cost of building and operating the camp, the PoWs were lackadaisical. "For me, the work was fun," suggests one PoW informant (Landmann 2012).

Logging is dangerous work; and over the two years of the project it resulted in the death of one PoW. Max Neugebauer was struck in the head by a falling tree and, despite being evacuated, died in a hospital a few days later. An astounding series of photos documents his funeral, procession, and burial, with Nazi regalia on full display, in the nearby town of Dauphin (Figures 7.3 and 7.4). He was even buried in the town's cemetery. While Neugebauer's was the only death, minor injuries were common. One informant showed me his medical records, diligently saved these past seventy years, from his trip to hospital for a 3-inch gash in his right knee (Landmann 2012).

In any work camp of 450 men there are sure to be a handful or more illnesses and injuries on any given day. A snapshot perspective on a single day survives, as recorded by the Red Cross representative on his visit to the camp on 28 April 1944. On that day, the representative recorded that six men were off of work: one with a laceration on the right foot, one with rheumatism, one with inflammation of a tendon, one with conjunctivitis, one with a painful dental abscess, and one recovering from a recent tooth extraction (Maag 1944). On an unrelated visit, a Canadian administrator stated plainly that the camp has "a resident doctor and dentist who prevent very efficiently any malingering" (Davidson 1945: 7). By this he seemingly meant that the doctor and dentist skillfully separated real illnesses from made-up ones.

7.4 Escapes and Temporary Escapes

One of the most common recreational activities at Riding Mountain Camp was hiking in the woods. My informant Ewald Wellman (2011) stated simply, "We always went for strolls whenever it wasn't too cold." There seem to be conflicting reports on just how far the PoWs were actually allowed to go on these walks. Some official records of the camp

state that the camp was bounded by a ring of trees with red markings on them that formed a boundary the PoWs were not supposed to cross; but other records suggest that the PoWs were free to roam in the woods as long as they stayed within a few miles of the camp. Mr. Maag, a Red Cross representative, reported that the prisoners "enjoyed complete freedom within a boundary of about four or five miles around the camp" (Maag 1944) (Figures 7.5 and 7.6). Perhaps these conflicting reports are simply a sign that the rules changed over time or that different authorities issued different, conflicting rules. Another possible explanation for this discrepancy might be that the wider boundary was applicable during the daytime, and the closer boundary at night. Regardless of the explanation, there does seem to have been a grey area between what was allowed and what was not.

It is also well documented that the PoWs took advantage of this ambiguity and very often passed out of the grey area into activities that were clearly forbidden. They were, in fact, sneaking out of the camp regularly. The historical record is replete with accounts of PoWs missing at roll call, of all-night searches by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and of the recapture of PoWs both in the forest and in nearby towns (The PoWs most often traveled to the several small towns on the south side of the camp boundary, as shown in Figure 7.5). However, it appears that most of these were not true escape attempts; rather, they were what I call "temporary escapes." These stories of temporary escapes begin to answer the question of how the PoWs responded to being stuck between the push and pull of two competing ideologies; the PoWs, when possible, rejected these institutional pressures and controls over their lives, and their temporary escapes—clear affronts to the institution—were a central component of this rejection.

Despite the institutional pressure, the PoWs had it good at Riding Mountain Camp and they knew it. They were far from battle and eating better than they had in years. Most of them had no urge to truly escape. They also knew that that the guards were not strict and that the Canadians in general were not harsh when it came to punishing PoWs for infractions. (In Canada a PoW was unlikely to be shot for attempting to escape; the standard punishment was thirty days in a prison cell—a chance they were apparently

willing to take in exchange for leaving the camp for a night or longer.) The PoWs took advantage of this leniency to spice up their lives a bit by sneaking out of the camp on temporary escapades. One PoW even boasted of ridiculing the guards by leaving the camp whenever he liked (Schwartz 1944).

In many cases these events would be described by the Canadians as “escapes” and by the PoWs as “getting lost in the woods.” On the very first Sunday after the first PoWs arrived at the camp, a group of nineteen men went missing. They returned the next morning, cold and hungry, saying they had become lost after a walk in the forest. This event was big news in Manitoba. The next day the *Winnipeg Free Press* reported:

> What promised to be Manitoba’s greatest manhunt, ended suddenly Monday, when 19 German prisoners, missing from the new prison camp at Clear Lake, in Riding Mountain National Park, wandered back into camp. (Louth 1943)

In another incident, a sole escapee found twenty miles from camp, stated upon his capture that the only reason he had left was because he feared for his life after having been threatened by the camp Gestapo, which was powerful in the camp for a short time (Waiser 1995b: 230). It appears that he truly was not trying to escape in the conventional sense, and his claim is backed up by the existence of similar documented cases. It is a common feature of modern incarceration that an inmate sometimes fears his fellow prisoners more than the guards (Chapter 10).

From the perspective of the Canadian guards, the vast landscape around the camp would have been a formidable obstacle to guarding and controlling the PoWs. Sometimes they found the absent PoWs, and sometimes they did not—but in most cases, they simply waited for the PoWs to return of their own accord. A former Veterans Guard who would have been about 85 years old when these words were recorded in 1979 described his attempt to retrieve some missing PoWs:

> There was only two that got away one night and stayed at this farmhouse about 5 miles out and we went out there to the farmhouse, we knew they were there but they threatened us so we left them alone, we didn’t want to disturb them, fight

> them or anything like that. The farmers threatened us and that, so we came back and reported it to Colonel James and the next night they came back and after they were missing, we'd kept roll call every hour, we'd get them up every hour, for a punishment for them and I went in with our men to take a roll call every hour and the[y] had to get out of their beds and stand behind their cots … then after those two came back, the punishment they got from their own men, was they were salted and watered on their bare backs and padded with this salt and water and it sure fixed their backs. (Mann 1979)

Only one prisoner, Hans Weis, is known to have truly wanted to escape, and he attempted it several times. Upon one of his captures, Weis stated that he did not care to return to Germany; he simply wanted to find his relatives living in New York, where he hoped to settle after the war (Waiser 1995b). Overall, real escapes were not a major problem at the camp. These PoW outings in the woods and to nearby towns became almost tolerated by the camp staff; and eventually the camp staff did not bother reporting them to outside authorities unless the missing did not return of their own accord within a day or so (Waiser 1995b).

7.5 Making and Paddling Canoes

Owing partly to the uniquely relaxed conditions of internment here, the PoWs, with full permission from the guards, even carved full-size dugout canoes that they paddled and sailed on Whitewater Lake (Figures 7.5 to 7.10). According to former PoW Josef Gabski, the idea of constructing the dugout canoes came after the prisoners saw pictures of birch bark canoes in a Canadian magazine that circulated around the camp (Stozek 2007: 56). In an interview conducted many years after his internment, Gabski (1991) explained that a large tree would be cut (likely fir, spruce, or poplar) and then floated up the Little Saskatchewan River to a clearing near the camp. Once the log was on shore, the bark would be removed and the interior of the hull would be hollowed out. Gabski (1991) said that a Swedish bow saw was used to cut the trees down and that the primary tool used in hollowing out the canoes was a 2½-pound single-bladed axe. Once the interior was hollowed out, the outer hull would be shaped and sailing hardware added. Smaller tools such as chisels, hammers, and knives were likely borrowed from the camp's workshop and used for the this finishing work.

The PoWs launched the canoes in the Little Saskatchewan River, about 200 meters south of the camp, and then paddled upstream to Whitewater Lake. The prisoners could paddle out to Elk Island, where they picnicked and built bonfires (Stozek 2007: 56). These excursions would generally occur on Sundays, when the prisoners were given their mandatory 24-consecutive-hour break as specified by the Geneva Convention. One anecdote recounts the prisoners gathering up canoes, forming a small flotilla, and launching a mock invasion of the camp (Waiser 1995b: 232). Another tells of the PoWs using the canoes as transportation in their temporary escapes: Schwartz's (1944) confiscated diary describes the moment he and a conspirator slipped past the guards and into their canoe: "We started to row and the lake was ours."

7.6 Fraternizations outside the Camp

In many cases the PoWs befriended local farmers and townspeople in the vicinity of the national park. By all accounts, local people were not afraid of the PoWs and did not hate them as the enemy. On their temporary escapes, PoWs attended barn dances, played soccer with school kids, had dinner with farm families, and met up with Canadian women (e.g. Waiser 2009). Evidencing the fact that at least some effort was spent trying to stem fraternization, one unfortunate young woman ended up being convicted and fined for exchanging postal correspondence with a PoW (Figure 7.11). But nevertheless, these intriguing interactions suggest something about the social mobility of the PoWs. Clearly these PoWs had significant social purchase, at least within certain groups of people. This in turn hints at the racial element to this history: the PoWs, though prisoners and Nazis, were white and European, and probably more accepted than the First Nations people who had been removed from the area a short time earlier.

An excerpt from a PoW's confiscated diary describes a temporary escape and a first meeting with a farmer:

> Schuster and I built a canoe. We made it out of dry fir, fixed the weak spots and covered the whole with flour sacks and painted it, and we now have a good boat. It is 5.6 meters long, two men can carry it. In the winter it takes one hour to cross the lake. I can make it now in twenty minutes. (Schwartz 1944)

> At first we did not know what was around the camp. We heard there was a village and farms somewhere in the neighborhood. We built real compasses and decided to explore the country. In the night we left the camp keeping away from the roads and went on the ice of the White River, which is a small creek, to the game reserve, a fenced buffalo park. We spent Christmas and New Year's Eve in reconnoitering. We saw buffaloes and from a fire watch tower saw the country around. The White Water creek was frozen. We crossed the same and found a trail. We followed the trail which went across a long lake and then crossed a third lake, the names were unknown to us. There we found the first farm. The farmer, a Ukrainian, has lived there for 45 years. He was surprised to see us, and very soon invited us in and conversed with us. He has a buzz saw. From him we got information about the surrounding country. (Schwartz 1944)

Like this particular farmer, many of the inhabitants of the area around the park were Ukrainian Canadians, many of whom had only arrived in Canada relatively recently (c. 1890s–1940s). My informant Heinrich Winter, unprompted, specifically mentioned the many Ukrainians living around the park (Winter 2011).

Scholars suggest that Ukrainians both in Europe and elsewhere were largely supportive of the Nazis during their rise to power—which might partly explain the PoWs' warm reception in Canada. The Ukraine had suffered greatly under the recent Soviet occupation (1939–1941), and Ukrainians supported the German cause believing things could only get better with a German "liberation" of the Ukraine (Krawchenko 1986; Subtelny 1986). Betcherman's (1975: 62–63) research further supports this theory, and he goes as far as to state that Ukrainian Canadians were "ready recruits" for fascist movements in Canada. But a less extreme explanation is also possible: along with Ukrainians, many Germans had settled the Canadian prairies in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and these European immigrants were—if not Germans themselves—accustomed to Germans in general.

7.7 Fraternizations inside the Camp

Fraternization between prisoners and civilians occurred inside the camp too. Most accounts seem to agree that the Canadian soldiers in the camp, the Veterans Guard, did not fraternize with the PoWs and only spoke to them when necessary. One former

military guard stated, “We didn’t get too friendly with them at all” (Mann 1979). And even if familiarity did develop between military guards and PoWs, it would have been quickly curtailed by the policy of rotating out the guard companies every two months.

Conversely, many accounts seem to agree that it was the Canadian civilians in the camp—the camp staff and the civilian guard—who fraternized with the PoWs. This would make sense, since the camp staff and civilian guards were drawn from those very same communities around the park that the PoWs visited on their escapes. And the opportunity for fraternization was certainly there, especially during the daytime logging work out in the woods, when the PoWs were accompanied by civilian guards but not by Veterans Guards. After an inspection visit to Riding Mountain camp, one administrator wrote in his report, “I am informed, from what I consider to be reliable authority, that these civilian guards are fraternizing with the prisoners” (Tunstell 1944).

More surprising than the high levels of fraternization with camp staff, which under the circumstances might almost be expected, are reports that tourists came to the camp and were actually allowed to enter. While every related official document clearly states that no outsiders, and certainly no tourists, were to be allowed into or anywhere near the camp, testimony from the former camp guard contradicts this completely:

> Well, civilians would come in and look at the camp and go through the buildings, the prisoners buildings and all that. They’d get some souvenirs from the prisoners and that and give them cigarettes on weekends. Sundays usually, quite a few visitors would come in and that, ya from Lake Audy, you know and they’d have things there that they’d get and then they give me the money to buy them cigarettes for them, take their name and give ‘em souvenirs. There were no restrictions on that. (Mann 1979)

These interactions with Canadians were a likely source for much of the contraband in the camp. Mann’s recollections serve as further evidence of how official institutional rules are rarely followed as envisioned.

7.8 Conclusion

While Riding Mountain was conceived by its Canadian planners as an ideal isolated area into which to bring internees, it was, in fact, an environment of ongoing human activity. The camp's establishment was preceded by the forced removal of First Nations from the national park in the 1930s—an episode of both injustice and irony, considering that just a few years later German PoWs would be forcibly brought there. While enforced isolation is a powerful tactic of control from the perspective of the institution, since institutions are rarely completely sealed from the outside world illicit interactions inevitably occur. These illicit interactions lead to illicit trade, and the introduction of contraband into the camp. Although these interactions are sometimes tolerated, they are nevertheless an affront to the power of the institution and markers of the agency of the institutionalized.

When I asked one of my informants about whether he ever thought of escaping Riding Mountain Camp, he responded strongly in the negative: "I can't imagine why anyone would want to flee such a nice camp!" (Bausdorf 2012). The urge to truly escape the camp, to try to make it back to Germany or elsewhere, was likely not a common one. The sole PoW who did in earnest try to escape only did so in the hopes of settling with his relatives in the United States. Most others in the camp were apparently content to be removed from the immediate dangers of battle and housed in a comfortable place with protection from the elements. Although work in the woods was arduous, and the institution worked to control the PoWs through surveillance by guards and enforcement of time discipline, the PoWs' nevertheless took a relaxed attitude toward their tasks. In the absence of severe punishments for infractions, there was little incentive for the PoWs to follow instructions they were not happy with.

But while true escape was far from their minds, temporary escapes were another matter. It seems that outings into the woods and past the boundaries of the camp into the farmlands and towns beyond were a common occurrence. And the carving of canoes, sometimes used for these temporary escapes, is a dramatic example of personalization of material culture toward this end. Once out of the park, the PoWs fraternized with eastern European immigrants, and particularly with the many Ukrainian Canadians in the area.

These fraternizations were officially outlawed, and the Veterans Guard and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police did what they could to apprehend the wandering PoWs.

But clearly, at times at least, the Canadians did not possess the will or the power to stop the temporary escapes, or even to punish the PoWs when they were found. As Lieutenant Mann recounted, in one instance he found a PoW holed up at a farmhouse but, incredibly, did not have the power to get him back to the camp; his authority was usurped. It got to the point that the camp guards did not even report PoWs missing unless they did not return to camp by the following day. At work too, the PoWs had high levels of agency; Recall the administrator's complaint that camp labor was run based on "consultation and bargaining" with the PoWs. The very common temporary escapes from the camp show that the PoWs rejected total institutional control over their lives—at times, they took total control, and did entirely as they pleased.

The extensive fraternization between German PoWs and Canadian civilians, whether inside the camp, out in the woods, or at farmhouses or towns outside of the national park, created social connections between the PoWs and Canadians. These interactions served as a key conduit for bringing contraband goods into the camp (Chapter 9). And even though the Canadian military and police officially forbade these fraternizations, in an intriguing reversal those very same fraternizations likely contributed to the PoWs' familiarization with Canadian culture—the very familiarization the Canadian captors were working for in their ideological reeducation efforts (Chapter 10). Ultimately, the Canadians' ineffective policing of the PoWs' might very well have actually helped advance their own cause of ideological reeducation.

Figure 7.1: Winter logging in the park using sleighs to transport logs. (Courtesy of Parks Canada)

Figure 7.2: Winter logging in the park using sleighs to transport logs. (Courtesy of Parks Canada)

Figure 7.3: Max Neugebauer's funeral in Dauphin. Note Nazi flag over coffin. (Courtesy of Ed Stozek)

i

Figure 7.4: Max Neugebauer's funeral in Dauphin. PoWs were allowed to attend. (Courtesy of Ed Stozek)

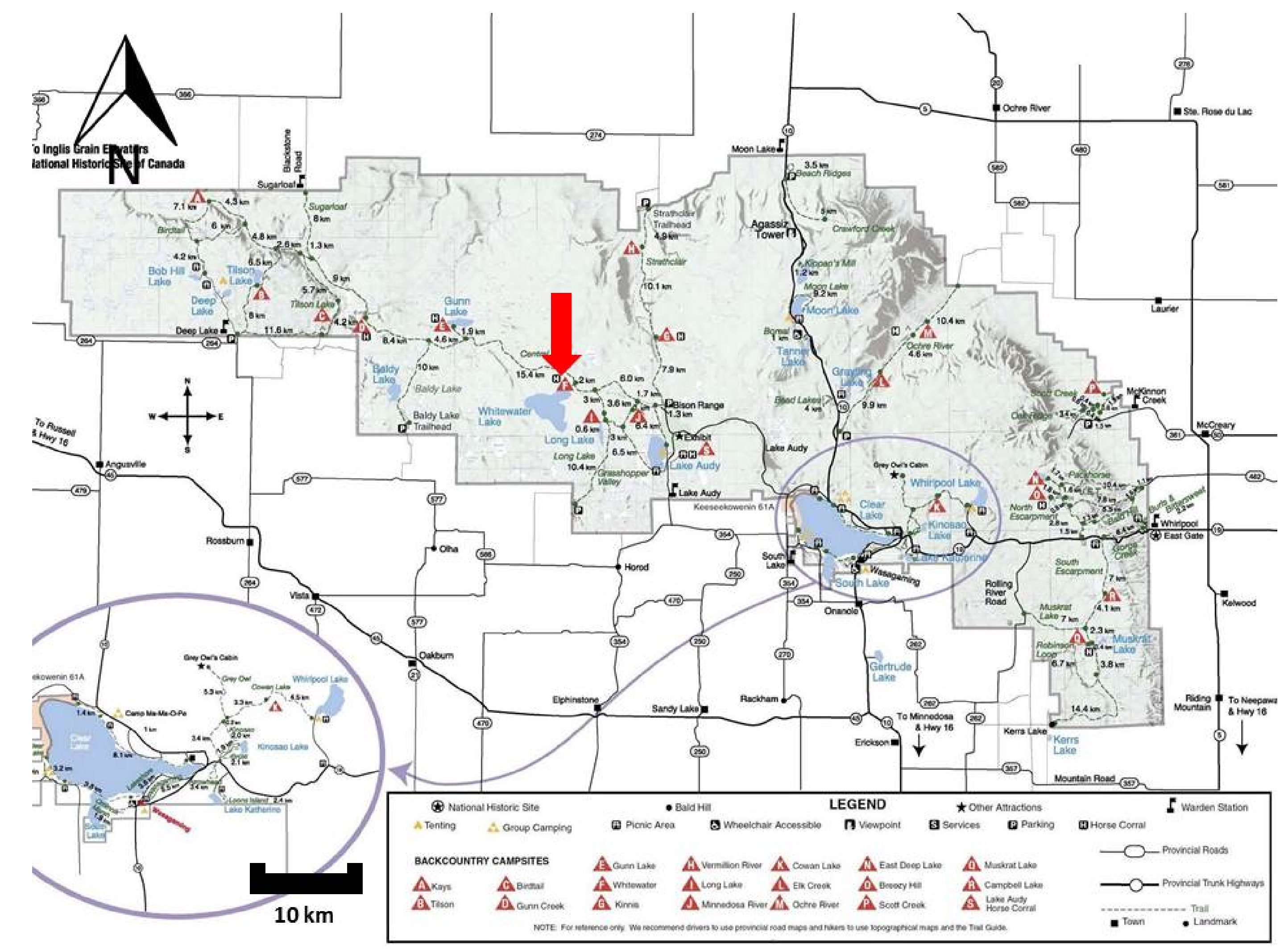

Figure 7.5: Riding Mountain National Park map showing roads, trails, lakes and waterways, and neighboring towns. The location of the camp is marked by the red arrow. The PoWs visited the towns along the southern border of the park. (Courtesy of Parks Canada)

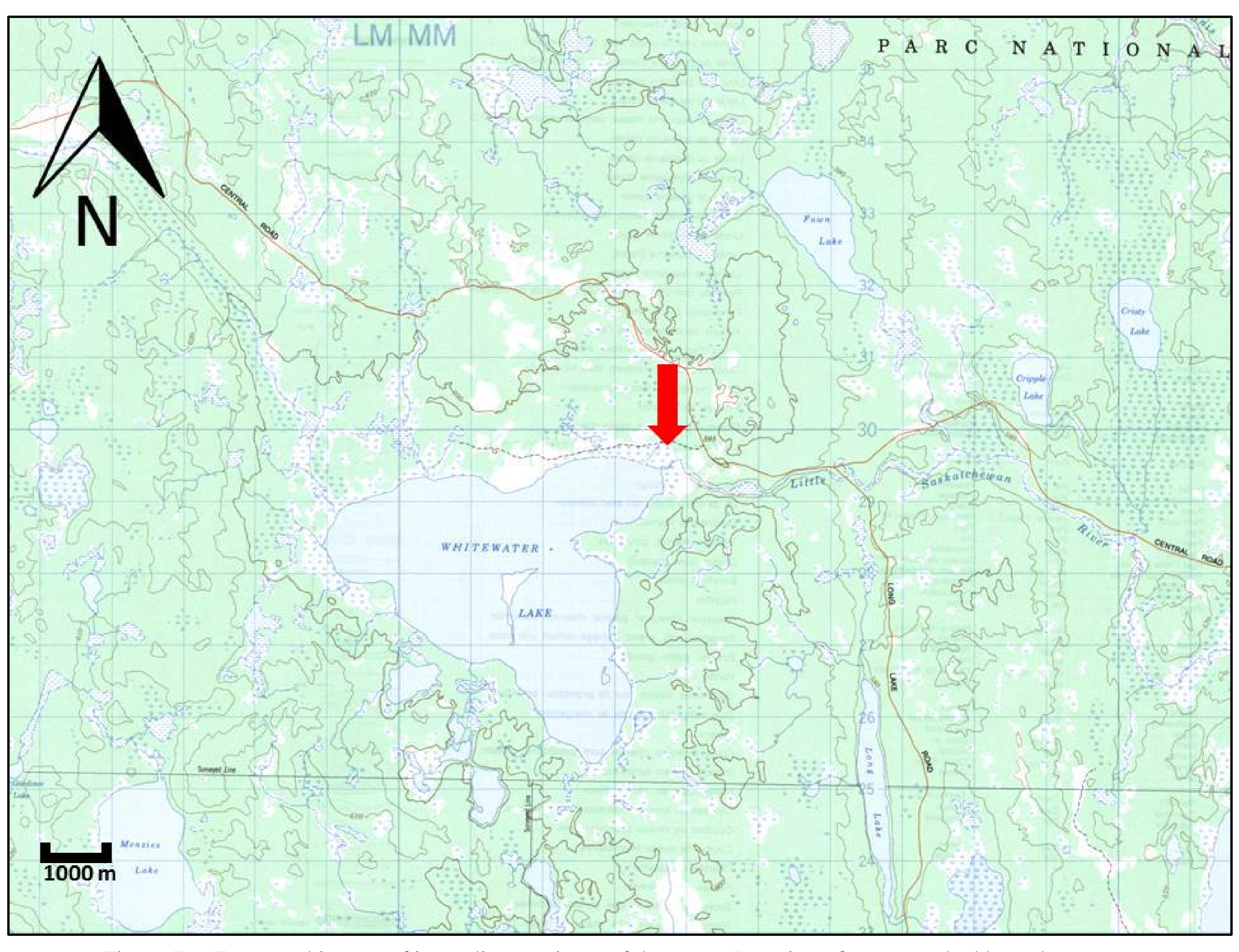

Figure 7.6: Topographic map of immediate environs of the camp. Location of camp marked by red arrow.
(Courtesy of Government of Canada)

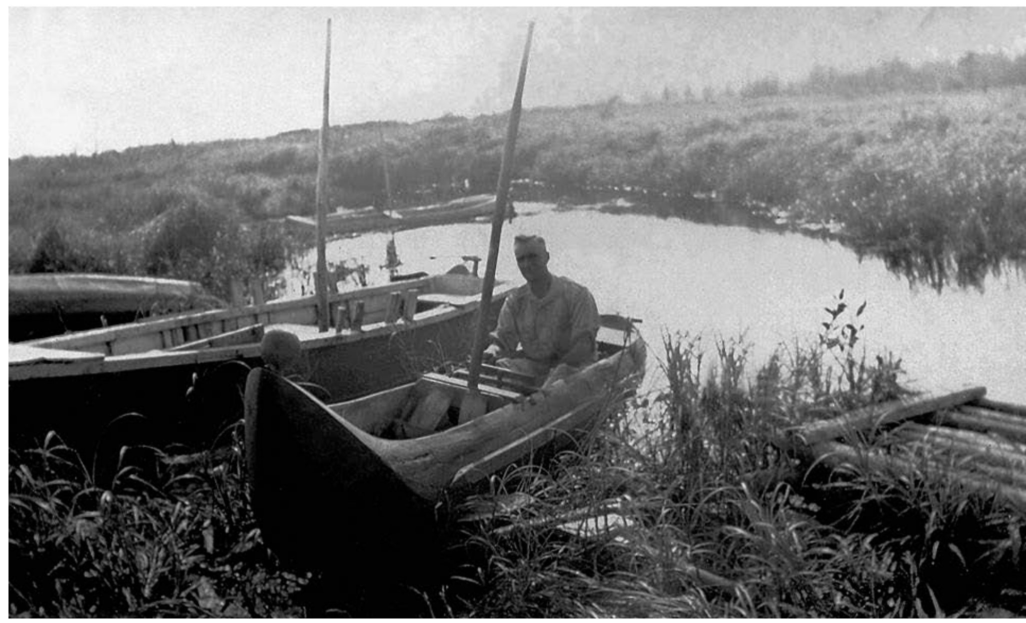
Figure 7.7: Unknown PoW in his canoe at Riding Mountain. (Courtesy of Parks Canada)

7.8: Remains of canoe extant site at Riding Mountain Camp.

Figure 7.9: PoW drawing of canoeing in Canada. (Courtesy of Robert Henderson)

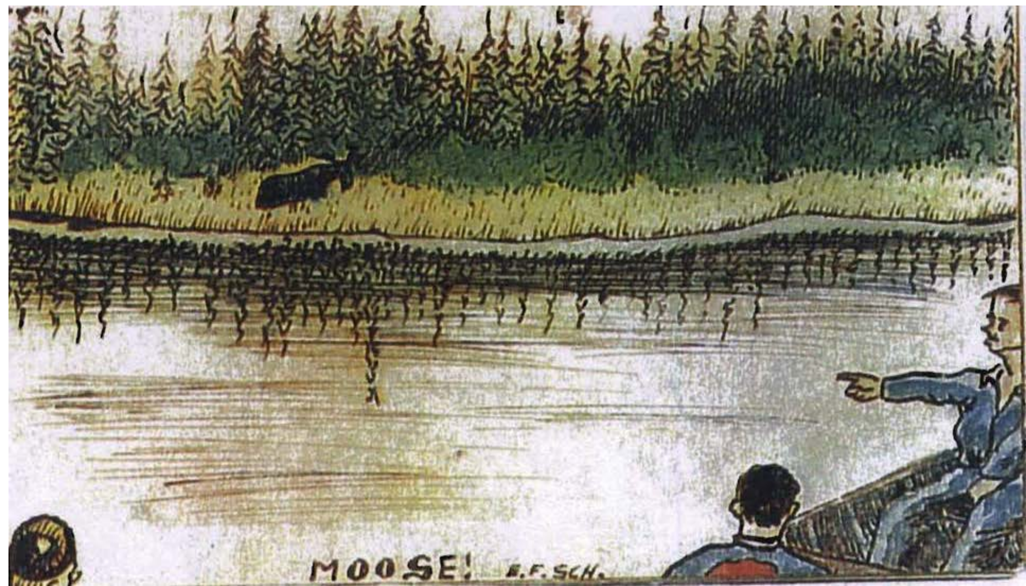

Figure 7.10: PoW drawing of canoeing in Canada. (Courtesy of Robert Henderson)

ALL CORRESPONDENCE TO BE ADDRESSED—
THE COMMISSIONER,
R. C. M. POLICE,
OTTAWA

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE
HEADQUARTERS

Prisoners of War
JAN 4 1945
No.........
CANADA.

IN REPLY PLEASE QUOTE
FILE NO. 44D 269-1F 31

OTTAWA,
CANADA.

7236-34-3-9

January 3, 1945.

Please refer to previous correspondence concerning Mary (Mrs. William) NOWOSAD, who was reported to have fraternized with prisoners of war in the Riding Mountain National Park, Manitoba.

2. This will advise you that Mrs. NOWOSAD was convicted at Shoal Lake, Manitoba, on December 20th for transmitting a letter to a prisoner of war camp and fined $25.00 and costs.

(J. Leopold), Inspector,
Assistant Intelligence Officer.

The Director, Prisoners of War,
Dept. of National Defence (Army),
OTTAWA, Ontario.

H. N. STRONG
COLONEL
D./P.O.W.

JAN 4 1945

Figure 7.11: RCMP letter stating that Mary Nowosad was convicted and fined $25 for fraternizing with a Riding Mountain Camp PoW. (Courtesy of Library and Archives Canada)

CHAPTER 8. THE SPACE OF THE CAMP

> But there were no barbed wire or anything, no barbed wire. They were free and open and they were easy to go away if they wanted to, you see.
>
> Lieutenant Mann, former Riding Mountain guard (Mann 1979)

8.1 Introduction

Envisioned as a remote outpost, Riding Mountain Camp shares with the Siberian Gulags, and prison camps around the world and through time, a common principle of removal and isolation of laboring prisoners; but in practice it was much less an isolated outpost than a node of interaction in a busy, lived-in landscape. The camp was concurrently a space and place of its own, with myriad and ongoing internal interactions and events. Although these interactions and events did not take place in total isolation from the surrounding landscape, it is reasonable to consider what went on inside the camp, within the defined boundaries that separated the camp from the forest beyond, as a distinct theme for study. After all, the partition between the camp and the outside world, though porous, was still very present.

Through description and analysis of the space and architecture of Riding Mountain Camp, it is clear that it was an exceptionally well-outfitted wilderness camp. It was sturdily constructed, and the amenities provided for the PoWs were generous. In addition to the comfort of their material surroundings, the PoWs were also lucky to be living in a camp that had no fences or guard towers surrounding it. While a minimum standard for conditions for all PoWs was mandated by the 1929 Geneva Convention, I posit that another motivation for the generous provisioning of the PoWs was the Canadians' reforming goals. In their continuing efforts to lure these PoWs away from Nazism, the Canadians were eager to show the superiority of their country and culture. This argument for superiority was partly made through showing off abundant modern consumer goods, and their ability to provide good conditions for their prisoners.

Drawing inspiration on the spatial aspects of institutional control from theorist Foucault, sociologist Goffman, and archaeologist Epperson, this chapter provides a detailed

description of building construction and layout in the camp and shows how this planned space and architecture contributed to attempted institutional control over the PoWs. Camp construction and operation were informed by the military-institutional logic of repetition, standardization, and interchangeability—forces that pressure humans to conform, and strong signs of the influence of the institution. While generous material conditions were used as part of a project to turn the PoWs away from fascism, at the same time, the institutional nature of the spaces worked toward conformity among the PoWs.

The PoWs, however, were not always perfectly conforming or easily managed men. Despite the institutional forces at play in the camp, relaxed regulations at Riding Mountain Camp and easy access to material goods combined to provide them with many opportunities to express their group and individual identities. Clear signs of this expression are evidenced, for example, by the temporary escapes described in Chapter 7, and by the many nonstandard, non-institutional additions and alterations made to the camp by the PoWs such as handrails, benches, garden walls, decorations, and extensive gardening described in this chapter. Challenging the institutional nature of the built environment, the PoWs were personalizing a space that was not intended to be personalized or possessed.

This chapter also analyzes some aspects of surveillance and viewing as they relate to the building layout and spatial arrangement of the camp. The analysis reveals that at Riding Mountain Camp the guards and the PoWs were likely surveilling each other. Through a discussion of forms of prison layout and surveillance that draws on Foucault and related research on prisons, this chapter shows that the layout at Riding Mountain Camp did not facilitate total visibility of the PoWs by the guards—rather, surveillance was at least partly mutual. These findings further support an argument for heterarchical rather than hierarchical power relations at Riding Mountain Camp.

8.2 An Exceptionally Outfitted Wilderness Camp

Built in the fall of 1943 at a cost of about $450,000—a huge sum at the time for a camp that would only hold about 450 prisoners—Riding Mountain Camp was the picture of

modernity and efficiency in martial construction (Figure 8.1). On 26 October 1943, an official recorded that “camp construction is completed with the exception of minor details that can be carried out as they go along” (Heaslip 1943). While the sticker price is partly a function of the distance of the site from any major urban center, and of the absence of preexisting amenities and utilities, the central reason for the high cost is that the camp buildings were built solid and with care and were generously outfitted. These were not the highly transitory shelters of tents and flimsy structures that are standard in many internment camp situations (Myers and Moshenska 2011: 3). These were intended to be at least semi-permanent structures. The permanence and comfort of the buildings, and their outfitting with electricity, running hot and cold water, showers, toilets, and wash basins, was inconsistent even by Canadian bush internment camp standards.

The most important factor influencing how these PoWs were housed was the 1929 Geneva Convention, which stipulates that captured enemy soldiers assigned PoW status must be housed in facilities approximately equal to the facilities holding that country’s own garrison soldiers (Chapter 4). As a signatory to the agreements, Canada was legally bound to follow these conventions. All signs suggest that this occurred at Riding Mountain Camp and that the PoWs there were housed in barracks and supplied with amenities of about equal quality and comfort as those provided for Canadian soldiers. This fact even created some controversy at the time, and a few angry Manitobans wrote irate letters to their local newspapers complaining that enemy soldiers were being treated too well.

Every administrator and inspector who visited the camp for which we have records agreed that it was superbly outfitted and out of the ordinary in its conveniences. Mr. Maag, the Red Cross representative, wrote at length about the more than adequate housing for the PoWs (Maag 1944). Mr. Davidson, a visiting administrator, stated that the camp had “very fine building facilities and comforts, very uncommon in a lumber camp” (Davidson 1945: 3). The administrator continued:

> They have all facilities for comfortable living, and it is hard to imagine that there is another lumber camp in the country which could offer them the same comforts.

> Such comforts include running water, water closet, showers, recreation hall, well stocked canteen and shows twice a week.
>
> Sanitary arrangements are excellent … and generally speaking, living accommodation is very much better than that supplied by the Department of Mines and Resources for their own employees.

While Davidson seemed pleased with the conditions in camp, another administrator on an earlier visit seemed slightly annoyed at the generous outfitting of the camp:

> I might say that I was quite astounded when I saw the type of camps being put up to handle these prisoners-of-war on the cordwood operation and the heavy cost that was entailed. I had visualized that the authorities would be putting up only very temporary buildings, perhaps a little better than would be built when a civilian crew was to be employed. (Anonymous 1944)

While the amenities available at Riding Mountain Camp were standard in the large internment camps such as Lethbridge and Medicine Hat in Alberta, which held many thousands of men each, the small Canadian bush camps almost exclusively had premodern, log cabin–style buildings with no guarantee of running water and electricity.

If Riding Mountain Camp had not been dismantled but had been kept in use, it likely would still be standing today. The lone building that is known to have been removed whole is still standing in the nearby farming community of Strathclair on property owned by Mr. Howard Bull (Figures 8.2, 8.18, and 8.26). Mr. Bull's father purchased the building in 1946 when the PoW camp was being decommissioned, and Mr. Bull remembers well the day (he was twelve years old at the time) when he helped his father cut the building in half and take it out in two trips on a truck (Bull 2010). As further evidence of their solidity, military buildings from the same era and based on similar architectural plans stand today elsewhere in Manitoba (Figures 8.3 and 8.4).

8.3 The Layout of the Camp

As previously mentioned, perhaps the single most significant aspect of this PoW camp are what's absent: fences and guard towers. This was certainly uncommon for a PoW camp, as can be surmised from the Red Cross representative's report, which states that

“the camp stands out above all by the lack of any enclosing fence” (Maag 1944). A Canadian administrator who visited the camp in 1945 similarly highlighted the fact that there was no fence:

> There is no enclosure around the camp and anyone who wished to attempt to escape can do so. There are 10 V.C. of C. and one officer who perform their duties in respect to security. These duties are confined to counts, mail, guard, detention cell, driving and escorts. Since there is obviously little chance to prevent a P/W from attempting to escape, great care ought to be exercised in the type of men sent to such work projects. (Davidson 1945: 6)

Although there were no fences at Riding Mountain Camp, there were features that delineated the boundaries of the camp that the PoWs were aware of and were supposed to respect. At the main entrance to the camp stood a small building that served as an entrance checkpoint, where one or more guards stood watch and controlled the movement of people, horses, trucks, and cars in and out of the camp. In Lieutenant Mann’s words, “They just had the guard at the gate to let them in and if somebody wanted to get out. There was a guard there 24 hours a day, at the gate” (Mann 1979).

But on the perimeter of the camp, in lieu of the usual fence, the Canadians marked a row of trees with red blazes to signify a line that was not to be crossed by the PoWs (Waiser 1995b). With the likely exception of the inside of the guard barracks and administration buildings, it appears as though the PoWs were free to roam anywhere they pleased within this exterior camp boundary. As discussed in Chapter 7, the archival record is not consistent on this question, however, as Mr. Maag’s report suggests that the PoWs in fact had free rein within a four- to five-mile radius of the camp (Maag 1944).

Architectural drawings for generic Canadian military building types have been found, there is no known camp-level layout plan for Riding Mountain Camp. Surely there would have been one on hand during construction of the camp, since the buildings are arranged in a logical and rectilinear fashion; but, since that map was not found, locating the former buildings and mapping their location were key components of the on-site field work (Chapter 5). Our total station mapping methodology, which produced a 3D surface model

of the site, revealed building footprints that marked the exact location and orientation of nearly every original camp building (Figures 5.3 and 8.5). These "footprints" are, more precisely, slightly raised areas in rectangular shapes that show the perimeters of the now nonexistent original buildings.

Most of the raised areas are slight berms that were likely built up around the foundations of the buildings, but others are concrete foundation pads (e.g., Figure 8.26) or rock walls. While in some cases these raised areas can be seen with the naked eye, in others the elevation difference (between grade and the top of the berm) is too insignificant to be apparent through the thick wild grasses. The benefit of our mapping method is that it was able to record these slight elevation changes to sub-centimeter accuracy. With subsequent manipulation of the digital model (centrally through exaggeration of the Z-value [elevation]), small height differences were revealed (Figure 5.3). In addition to the mapping data we collected, knowledge of the site layout was obtained by time spent at the site itself, and from historical photographs, oral history, informants' maps drawn from memory, and a set of two paintings done by a PoW during his internment (Figures 8.6 and 8.7). These intriguing paintings were somehow acquired from a PoW by one of the Canadian camp commandants, whose grandson now owns them, and are clear evidence of some kind of exchange or gifting between PoWs and Canadian camp staff (Chapter 9).

The description of the built environment at Riding Mountain Camp also benefited from a richly illustrative collection of black-and-white photographs of the camp (for a selection, see Figures 8.14 to 8.24). Photography was strictly controlled at PoW camps in Canada, and cameras were forbidden for both PoWs and guards. Knowledge of these regulations, combined with analysis of the photographs and the associated archival record, makes it clear that nearly all extant photos of the camp were taken by an official Canadian military photographer. This is an important point that helps us more accurately read these photographs. When looking through camp photos we must assume that every photo was not only carefully chosen at the time it was taken, but likely also later sorted and selected for inclusion in the permanent record of the camp. In short, we are only seeing what the Canadian officials—photographers, censors, propagandists, and other bureaucrats—

wanted us to see. Photography in and of the camp will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 10, but for the moment it is important to note that the photos of the buildings of the camp on which the interpretations in the chapter are partially based come from the official bureaucratic record of the camp.

Riding Mountain Camp was made up of about fifteen buildings: three large PoW barracks, one guard barrack, one civilian staff barrack, one or two administration buildings, a combined kitchen and mess hall building, a hospital, a PoW recreation hall, a garage-style structure housing the diesel-powered electrical generator, a combined auto garage and machine shop, a barn, and stables. According to the Red Cross representative's inspection in April 1944, the hospital building contained eight sick beds, the dentist's room, a dispensary, a waiting room, and bedrooms for the doctor and his assistants who lived in the building (Maag 1944). The recreation hall included a stage, table games, and the PoW canteen. As with many other camp settings during the Second World War, the entire camp was built following cardinal directions (in this case following 1943 magnetic north).

The west side of the camp is dominated by PoW-occupied buildings (the three large barracks and the recreation hall), and the east side of the camp is dominated by Canadian staff and guard-occupied buildings (the guard barracks and the administration buildings). The two sides are separated only by the open space of the parade ground, meaning that the two sets of buildings (one "German," the other "Canadian") are roughly squared off and face each other (Figure 8.5). If a PoW stood at the front door of his barrack looking straight out (due east), he would be facing the long side of the Canadian buildings; and, if a guard stood next to his own barrack or looked out the window due west, he would have a broad view of the front doors, windows, and garden areas of all the PoW barracks. In addition to these two spaces based on an east-west division, the north and south ends of the camp appear to have been common areas where Germans and Canadians would have been mingling (Figure 8.5).

8.4 Repetition, Standardization, and Interchangeability

Although I have not located unique architectural plans for the buildings at Riding Mountain Camp, a generic set of Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) architectural plans, with drawings titled "standard camp building," for example, was found in the archives at an air force base in Brandon, Manitoba, near Riding Mountain Camp (Figures 8.8 to 8.13). Through comparison with historical photographs of Riding Mountain Camp, measurements of the remaining foundations, and other observations at the archaeological site, it was surmised that these building plans match up closely with what was once standing at Riding Mountain Camp. It seems likely that either these plans found in Brandon or a similar version of them was used to guide the construction of Riding Mountain Camp.

One possible explanation for the buildings being constructed with more than usual permanence is that someone had the notion that the camp might continue to be used for other purposes after the war. The camp was, after all, in one of the Canadian national parks—places where both paid and forced labor gangs, grouped into various imposed racial and economic categories, had often worked (Waiser 1994; Waiser 1995b). It was perhaps a reasonable assumption then that the PoWs would be just the first workmen to use the camp and other groups would come later. This was not to be, however. The camp was dismantled and removed in October 1945, immediately after the PoWs were removed and just two years after its construction.

Use of these military-designed architectural plans over any other possible design is not just an economic decision on the part of the planners. The architecture of standardized military construction is, of course, imbued with social and psychological importance. The built environment at Riding Mountain Camp was only one manifestation of the consistent forces of repetition, standardization, and interchangeability that characterize nearly all modern military settings. The use of matching buildings placed in a logical, rectilinear arrangement serves to reinforce the conforming forces of the supplied institutional material culture, such as the matching plain hotel ware ceramics and, of course, uniforms. This is an iterative process that contributes to the regulation of movement and behavior of

individuals. The symmetrical nature of military camps, what Epperson (1990: 34) in the context of plantations calls “the formal disciplinary grid,” thus suggests and enforces order and conformity.

Repetition in military settings is further motivated by the goal of interchangeability. In an interchangeable setting, people and things are both replaceable and easily transplanted. Personnel can arrive in a new location and quickly orient themselves and be effective at whatever tasks have been assigned to them because the environment is familiar. Due in part to this interchangeability, for both the PoWs and the guards there would have been no shocking or abrupt transition to the regularized nature of Riding Mountain Camp. The German and Canadian militaries did not follow the exact same specifications for their buildings and goods, but both the Canadian and German soldiers would have been well accustomed to military settings in general. Whether those settings were in Canada, Germany, North Africa, or elsewhere, all would have been informed by a modern military logic of standardization.

While the camp was built to set military specifications, it was not actually erected by the military or by military men. The Carter-Halls-Aldinger company, a private contractor based out of Winnipeg, tendered and won a bid to construct the camp. Hiring out contractors to fulfill orders with rigid specifications is common in industry and the military, and further supports standardization and interchangeability. The practice allows for flexibility, since the end product will conform to the same specifications no matter who actually filled the order; but, also, contractors can be hired as needed. In the case of Riding Mountain Camp, we can again point to that parallel between the built environment and small material culture: Our excavations at the site produced a set of five forks that are identical in all respects—clearly manufactured following the same plans—except for the maker’s marks, which are all different. This suggests that the forks were ordered by the Canadian military but manufactured and shipped by different suppliers (Chapter 9). This trend of nearly identical items manufactured by different suppliers is repeated in both Canadian and German military accoutrements excavated at Riding Mountain Camp.

8.5 Institutional Barrack Construction

Commenting on his living quarters at Riding Mountain Camp, one of my PoW informants stated that “the accommodations were pretty comfortable. Pleasantly cool in the summer, warm in the winter” (Bausdorf 2012). The buildings were solid and well-sealed and heated—particularly important features for the cold winter months. The buildings in the camp were set on foundations of wood posts on 15 x 15 inch concrete footings, which is known as a “post and pier” style foundation (Figure 8.12). Some of the buildings appear to have had earthen berms pushed up against or under their perimeter walls, but these were probably not load bearing. According to the architectural plans, no perimeter berms are required to support the buildings, which suggests that perhaps the berms were added to close the “crawl space” gap between grade (ground surface) and the floor of a building. This likely would have contributed significantly to keeping out cold air. While in most cases the building floors were elevated off the ground, in certain areas the earth under the building was built up so as to be able to poor a concrete floor in place of wood board flooring. Remnants of these concrete pads are at the site today, and they appear to correspond with kitchen and bathroom areas.

All buildings were wood framed and had numerous windows. The exterior walls and roofs were sheathed with plywood, and both walls and roof were covered with red and green tar paper roofing material. The tar paper covering on the exterior walls would not have been the most aesthetically pleasing option, but it was likely considered the most economical way to protect the building against the bitter cold and blowing snow of the winter months. Possibly with exception of the barn and some outbuildings, all the buildings appear to have been outfitted with full plumbing (hot and cold running water and flush toilets), electricity, and woodstoves for heat (see Figures 8.14 to 8.17 for construction photos).

The PoWs were housed in three identical, large two-winged “H-hut” barracks, a standardized design of the Canadian military. These were the largest buildings in the camp. The footprint of the buildings is H shaped: the two vertical lengths of the H are the wings containing the living and sleeping quarters, and the horizontal bar connecting the

vertical lengths is a common area shared by both wings containing the bathrooms and showers. Each wing measured approximately 120 feet by 24 feet, the middle common area measured 61 feet by 24 feet, and the entire H-hut had about 7,050 square feet of floor space (Figure 8.8).

The architectural plans state that the H-hut is intended as “quarters for 136 men” (RCAF 1940), but since we know that Riding Mountain Camp had up to about 450 PoWs living there at one time, it is possible that each H-hut at this camp housed up to 150 men (75 per wing). With about fifty windows on the perimeter walls, the building interiors appear to have been well lit with natural light. Each wing had four doorways, one on each wall: three to the exterior of the building and one leading to the shared central area. The two wings of one H-hut were accessible to each other without having to go outside, but only by walking through the bathroom area. Each of the six building exits is a double-door system: If exiting the building, one would have to open a door and step into a vestibule, then open a second door to actually be outside of the building. This feature was surely present to help keep out the cold.

The bathroom area was located within the horizontal bar joining the two vertical lengths of the H. While the PoWs were provided with comfortable amenities, and of the same quality as Canadian soldiers had in their camps, a closer look at the amenities in the bathrooms reveals some of the less pleasant aspects of communal camp life. Each H-hut had twenty-four wash basins, six shower stalls, seven toilet stalls and one urinal trough (Figure 8.13). With at least 136 men sharing that bathroom space, one can imagine quite a scramble for the facilities in the morning before the men left for work and in the evening after they returned. The most trying line-up would almost certainly have been for the showers. After a long day in the bush, if every man wanted a shower, the line-up would have been about twenty-three men deep for each—although we have no way of knowing if the hot water tanks could have even handled such a draw on resources. Perhaps showers were limited to every second, third, or fourth day. While showers might not have been daily occurrences, it is likely that every man would want to use a wash

basin in the morning and when returning from work, which means that there would have been a line-up about five men deep for each basin.

8.6 Alterations and Improvements

Although military discipline guides life in PoW camps, some of the strictures that are usually in place in standard military encampments are removed in the PoW camp setting. It seems as though there is tacit acknowledgment that guarding prisoners far from the battlefield is not quite as pressing a matter as the battlefield itself. One example of this in the context of PoW and internment camps is the practice of adding to or altering the built environment and outside landscape, often through gardening (Clark 2011; Clark et al. 2012; Mytum 2011; Purbrick 2011)—something that would not usually happen at a regular military encampment. Following Epperson, I would suggest that, because the forms of control in place at Riding Mountain Camp were less overt than physical punishment, the forms of resistance they elicited were also relatively subtle (Epperson 1990). In one expression of this resistance, the PoWs there extensively altered the space in and around their barracks.

The strongest evidence for alteration of buildings comes from the photographs we have of the camp. The evidence for gardening and landscape alterations comes from both the photographs and the archaeological survey conducted at the site. The RCAF architectural plans for a "standard camp building" show the intended form, or we might even say the institutional vision, of an efficient military structure. The historical photographs and the archaeology, in turn, show us the personal touches and the "PoWs' perspective" on their space of internment. Historical photographs of the exteriors of camp buildings reveal these PoW improvements, including garden fences, patio railings, sitting benches, antlers adorning the peaks of barrack wings, and even a cage for a captured pet bear (Figures 8.18 to 8.24). The architectural additions were made from small logs and branches collected in the surrounding woods, and their imperfections stand out from the straight-edged modern barracks. The presence of constructed items of both milled lumber and rough-hewn forest logs is an apt picture of the contrasting institutional and personal pressures in the camp.

Gardening by the PoWs at Riding Mountain Camp was extensive. In the photographs, most buildings appear to have garden beds built along their exterior perimeters (e.g., Figure 8.19). There are also garden beds separate from buildings. Archaeological evidence for the gardens is abundant. Many of the garden rock walls are extant today and, aside from some overgrown grasses, appear nearly the same as they did seventy years ago (Figure 8.27). Evidence for the gardens is also present in living botanicals: some of the flowers growing on the site today are not native to Riding Mountain National Park, are perennials, and are even growing inside the historic garden beds, suggesting that they are descendants from those planted by the PoWs. These include irises, lady's slippers, peonies, and baby's breath (Cody 1988; Johnson et al. 1995).

8.7 Mutual Surveillance and the Space of the Camp

Modern PoW camps draw on the traditions of both the military and prisons. In the case of Riding Mountain Camp the site layout and overall design is much more closely aligned with the military than with the carceral. A close examination of the built environment there, focused on placement of buildings and construction methods, shows that this is the design of an army camp rather than a prison. While the structures were built for efficiency of use, and for social control and even reformation of their inhabitants, they were patently not designed with the intention of more extreme measures of control or surveillance.

Whereas a central element of modern prisons is the ability of the jailer to view the prisoners at all times (or, more precisely, at any time he so chooses), the layout of Riding Mountain Camp does not facilitate total visibility of the PoWs by the guards. Incarcerating institutions with the power to view their captives at all times are usually built using a radial pattern and with strict perimetrical control. A radial pattern is when a compound of buildings or wings are arranged on the arc of a circle with the guards stationed in the center of the circle facing outward toward the cells. The infamous panopticon is one variant of the radial design (Bentham 1791; Casella 2007: 26; Foucault 1977; Johnston 2000). Perimetrical control means that the perimeter of the compound is

lined with a fence, and guards stand watch on perimeter towers facing inward toward the compound.

That the layout of a camp is rectilinear (with no radial elements) alone does not preclude tight surveillance, since tight perimetrical control can also be effective at stemming escape, and many strictly controlling institutions employ straight-lined layouts with no radial elements. The difference is this: if a strong ability to surveil is desired but circular design is not employed, then a combination of linear layout and strict perimetrical control is required. In non-radially designed compounds, high priority would be placed on both tight control over the perimeter and the use of guard towers placed so as to be able to view along the long, straight stretches between buildings. For a high level of surveillance to have been maintained at Riding Mountain Camp, it could have either been designed following a more circular pattern, or it could have been designed along straight lines, providing linear lines of sight, and with perimetrical controls such as fences and towers.

At Riding Mountain Camp neither outward-facing radial control nor inward-facing perimetrical and linear control was planned or maintained through the built environment (Figure 8.5). The non-radial design meant that there was no one central location from which all of the camp could be viewed, and the lack of perimetrical control meant that there was no simple method for surveilling the entirety of the exterior perimeter and, in particular, the back sides and back doors of many buildings. These were likely key places for illicit activities.

Although Riding Mountain Camp was clearly not designed with total surveillance in mind, control and surveillance of the PoWs were, of course, still the reasons the Veterans Guard were posted to the camp. Watching the PoWs in the camp was their sole job. But unlike in most carceral settings, the built environment at Riding Mountain Camp did not give the guards an overwhelming advantage over the prisoners. Instead of being able to sit back in a tower and view most of the camp at once, the guards accomplished surveillance of the PoWs chiefly through walking patrols in and around the camp and twice-daily roll calls. The archival document “Night Watchman’s Circuit” shows what

steps and checks were taken on those walking patrols (Figure 8.25). The patrols seem to have not included the back sides of the buildings, where I suggest secret rule breaking took place.

Unlike in traditional prison settings, in which the power of surveillance resides only with the guards, at Riding Mountain Camp the built environment appears to have left both PoWs and guards with the ability to watch each other. The division of the camp into an eastern side of Canadian-occupied buildings and a western side with German-occupied buildings meant that, at least when men were congregated around the exterior of their own barracks, each group would have had a clear view of the other's movements and activities (Figure 8.5). A guard crossing the parade ground from the Canadian side to the German side certainly would have been plainly seen by any PoW who was paying attention. Similarly, a PoW standing in front of his barrack would have been in plain sight for a guard standing next to his own barrack or looking out his window.

As they were immediately facing the guard barracks, the fronts of the PoW barracks were in plain view for the guards; but, importantly, the back sides of the PoW barracks were totally out of view (Figure 8.5). The backsides of the PoW barracks were west facing, and the back doors on those back sides opened out onto a lightly treed area, just a short walk to the edge of Whitewater Lake (Figures 8.7 and 8.19). The only way a guard might monitor this area would be if he specifically walked around the barrack to its back side to peer around the corner. And though surely this occurred at times, or perhaps even on a regular basis, it is easy to imagine how a rudimentary lookout system devised by the PoWs could ensure that no one was caught unprepared for a snooping guard. This back garden was an "invisible place" concealed from the guards' gaze (Epperson 1990).

The suggestion that the exterior perimeter of the camp was not dutifully monitored by the guards is supported by the presence of the illicit trash middens in these areas. In fact, each of the three illicit middens found and subsequently excavated at the site are located on this outside edge (Chapter 5 and 6) (Figure 8.5). Since we know that the camp had a large official midden serviced by trucks and workers located about 500 meters away from

the camp, the existence of opportunistic trash piles immediately behind the back doors of camp buildings shows that camp inhabitants were dumping their trash in those locations against camp rules. In this modern military environment—one preoccupied with at least an appearance of cleanliness—trash would simply not have been allowed to be dumped just anywhere, and certainly not in such close proximity to buildings. Recall how our excavations into the “front stage” areas of the camp produced almost no artifacts (Chapter 5). The stark contrast between trash accumulation in the front stage (very little) and the back stage (abundant) is strong evidence that both PoWs and guards presented themselves strategically depending on the situation (Goffman 1959).

8.8 Conclusion

The PoWs at Riding Mountain Camp were housed in warm and comfortable conditions in sturdy barracks—all evidence suggests that both the Canadian guards and the German PoWs were comfortable and satisfied with the living conditions. The provision of these good conditions is related both to the Canadians’ commitment to following the 1929 Geneva Convention, but also, in a much less overt way, to the Canadians’ broader goals of showing off to their German charges the benefits of democratic society. Along with the relaxed approach to security and fraternization described in Chapter 7, the comfortable conditions of the camp influenced the PoWs and led them to be more amenable to Canadian society.

The PoWs did, nevertheless, live in a highly regulated institutional setting. The buildings were models of economical, institutional construction, designed to facilitate standardization in human movement and behavior. Camp construction and operation were informed by the military-institutional logic of repetition, standardization, and interchangeability, and these conforming forces were always present. The standardization of architecture was expeditious and pragmatic for the Canadians—it saved time and money, it responded to the 1929 Geneva Convention stipulation that German PoWs be housed in the same conditions as Canadian soldiers, and it created an efficient built environment that facilitated the goals of a reforming institution.

The PoWs, however, sometimes responded to these institutional and conforming influences by going their own way, by doing things that did not fit with any of the pressures from the institution. Clear signs of this group and individual expression come through the many non-institutional additions and alterations made to the camp by the PoWs. Following Epperson, we might say then that the camp contained both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic spaces and structures, with the alterations and additions falling into the latter category. These many improvements are signs of resisting the imposed aesthetic of the institution (Epperson 1990).

From the perspective of the guards, Riding Mountain Camp was not a place that was easy to monitor. This stemmed from the overall layout of the camp, which, unlike its buildings, did not match with the usual design elements of a prison or prison camp setting. Although the front sides and common areas of the camp were in plain view, there were simply too many out-of-view locations. The lack of a perimeter fence and guard towers meant that most surveillance was done by walking patrols; and the placement of the buildings created many concealed areas where PoWs might have carried on without interference from the guards. With a little forethought on the part of the PoWs, it would have been nearly impossible for the guards to monitor illicit activities occurring in the west-facing spaces behind the PoWs' H-hut barracks—the precise location where we located a large illicit trash midden.

Prisoners' Camp Built in Manitoba

Some 15 buildings, to house prisoners of war who will cut cordwood in Riding Mountain national park, are being constructed by Carter-Halls-Aldinger company, of Winnipeg, it was learned, Friday.

Cost of the buildings, which are well under way, will be approximately $200,000. They are of wood construction.

Sub-contracts have been awarded as follows: Plumbing and heating, Cotter Brothers, Winnipeg; electrical, Schumacher MacKenzie, Winnipeg; millwork, Acme Sash and Door company, St. Boniface; sheet metal, Western Steel Products company, St. Boniface; painting, Brothan Painting and Decorating company, Winnipeg.

Figure 8.1: Winnipeg Free Press (3 August 1943).
The actual cost of construction was closer to $450,000.

Figure 8.2: The generator building from Riding Mountain Camp, standing today in Strathclair, Manitoba. Note that the building has been expanded. The original structure is outlined with an added thin red line. This building's original foundation is shown in Figure 8.28.

Figure 8.3: H-hut standing today in Brandon, Manitoba. End elevation. Likely built based on similar architectural plans to those used for the PoW barracks at Riding Mountain Camp.

Figure 8.4: H-hut standing today in Brandon, Manitoba. Side elevation.

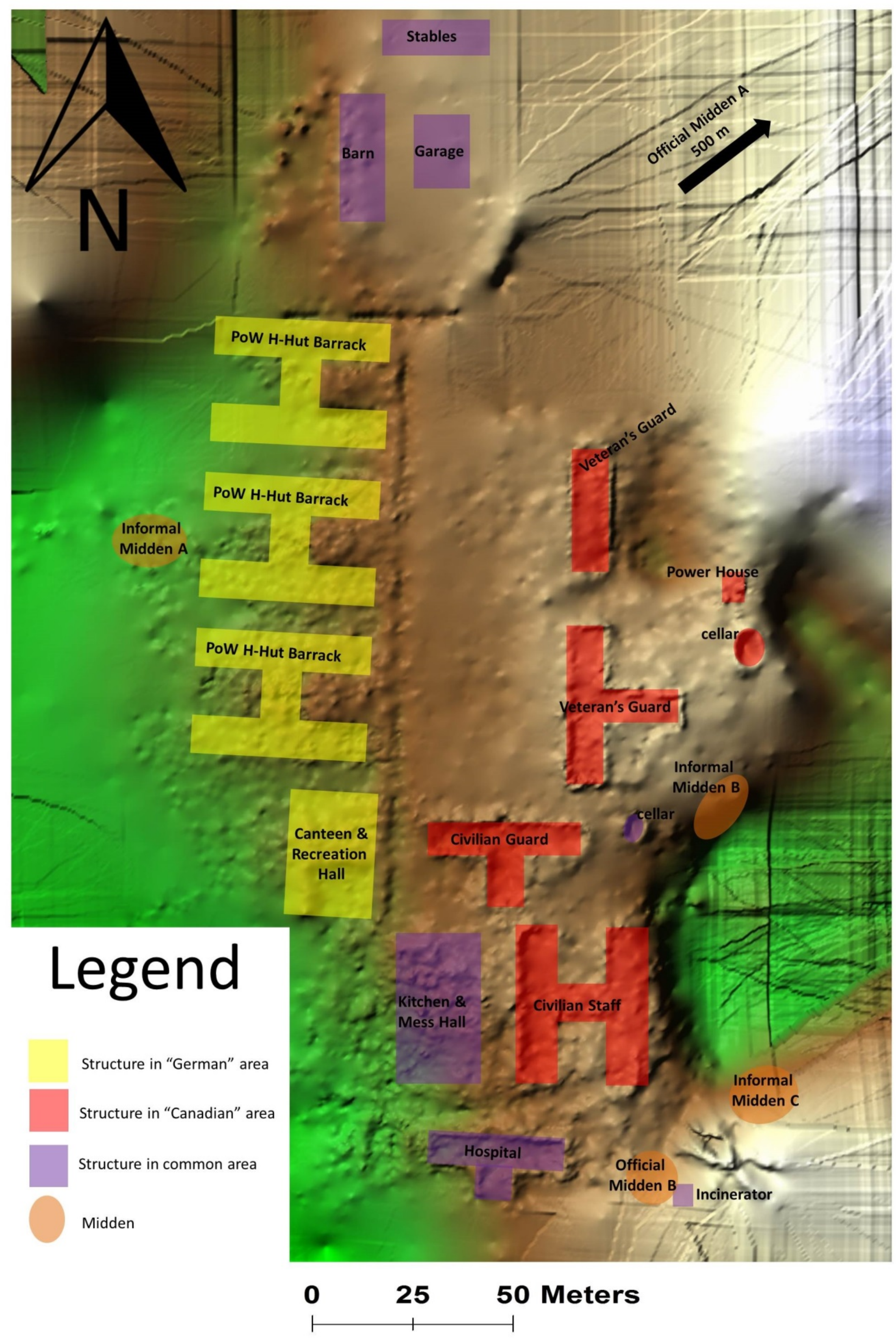

Figure 8.5: Plan view of structures and middens at Riding Mountain Camp.

Figure 8.6: PoW Painting of Riding Mountain Camp acquired and saved by Canadian camp commandant. PoW barracks at center, garage on right. (Courtesy of Peter Broughton)

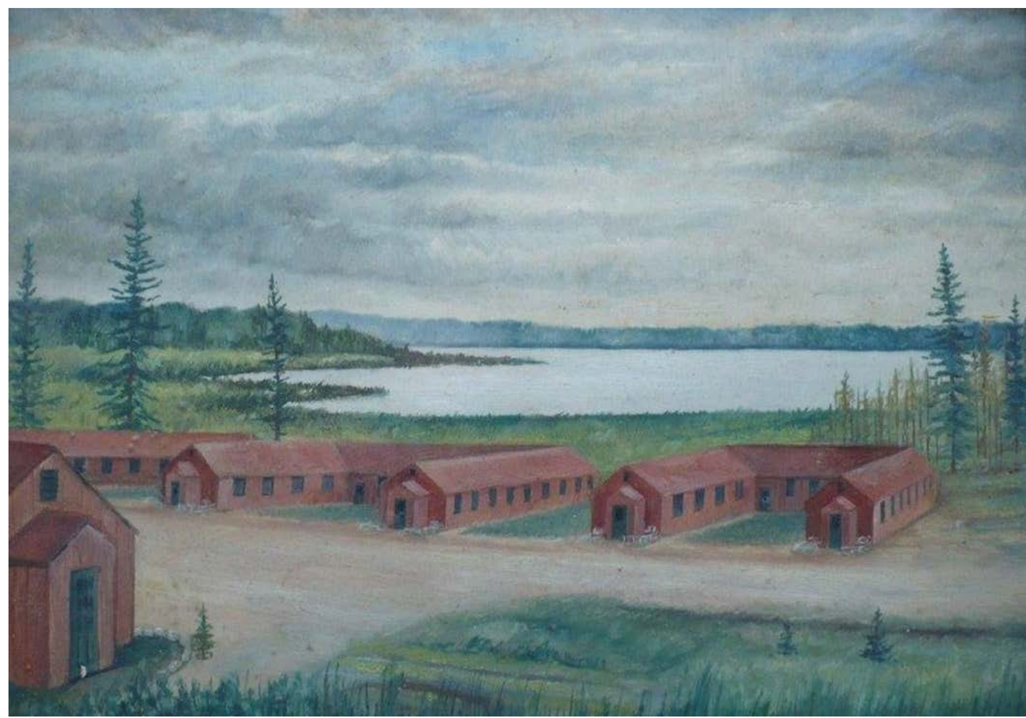

Figure 8.7: PoW Painting of Riding Mountain Camp acquired and saved by Canadian camp commandant. Guard barrack entrance at left, PoW barracks at center. (Courtesy of Peter Broughton)

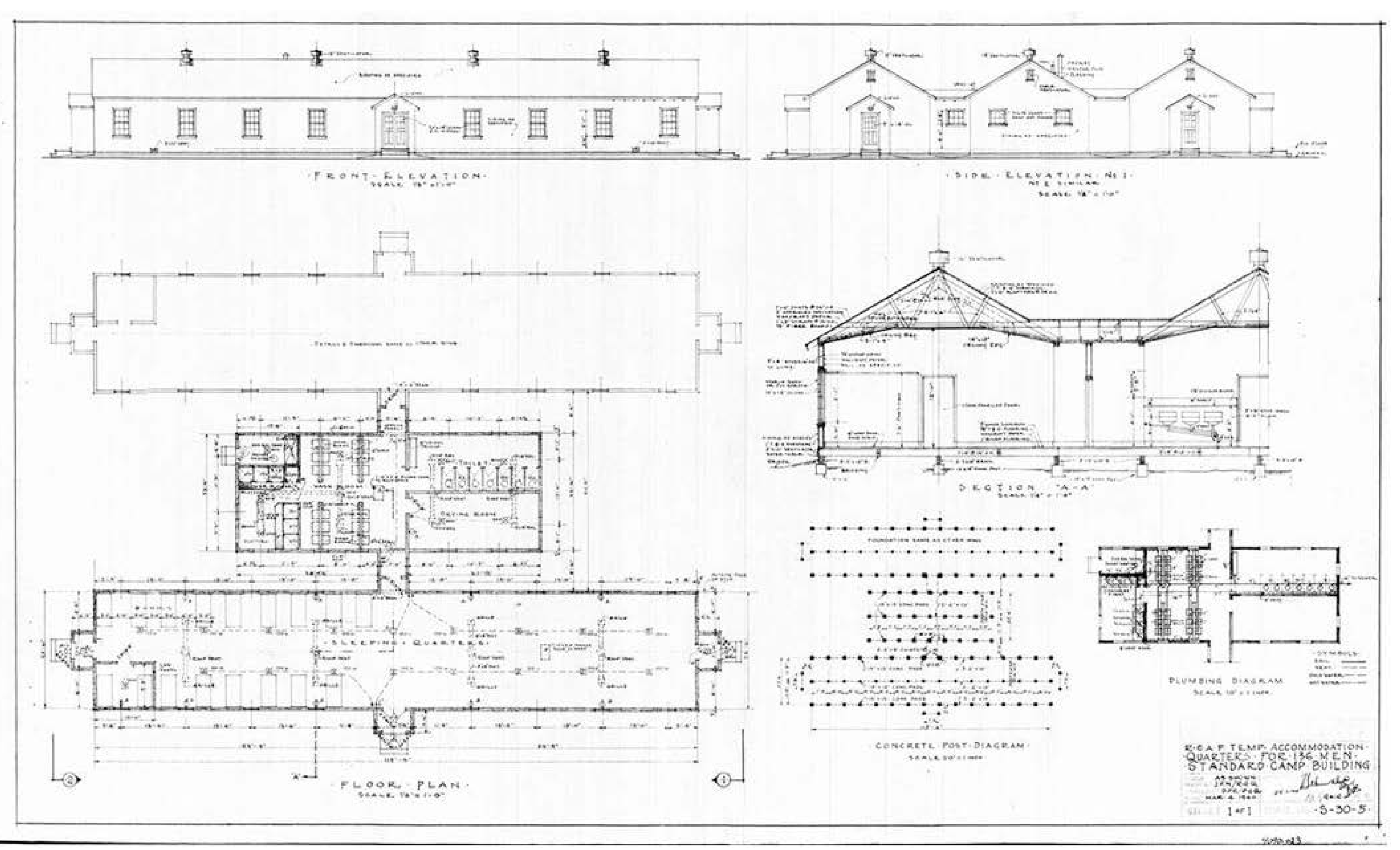

Figure 8.8: RCAF generic architectural plan for “H-hut” barracks. Three of these structure were built at Riding Mountain Camp to house the PoWs, and variants on this form were used for the other buildings. (Courtesy of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan Museum)

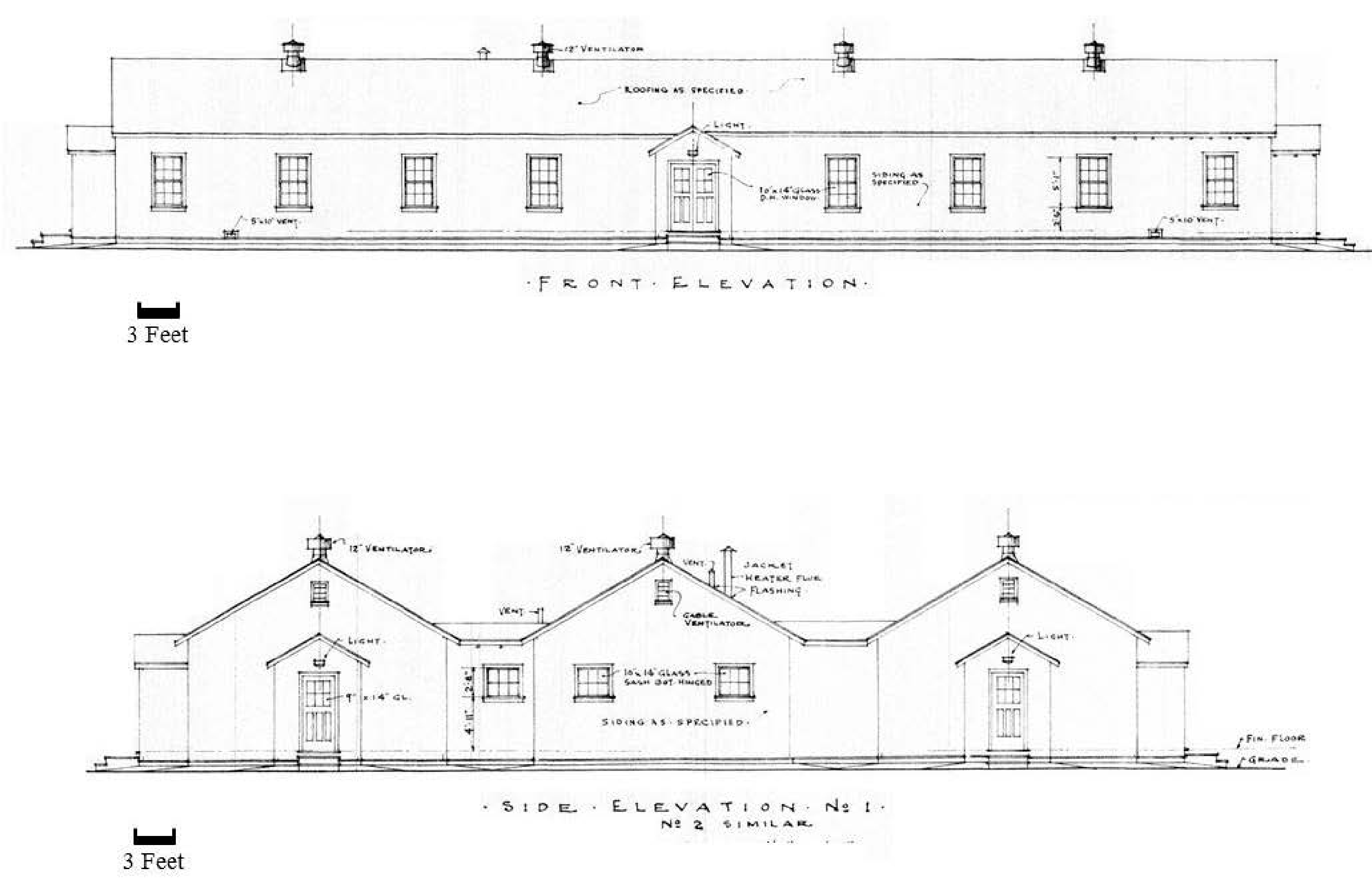

Figure 8.9: RCAF generic architectural plan, front and side elevation details. (Courtesy of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan Museum)

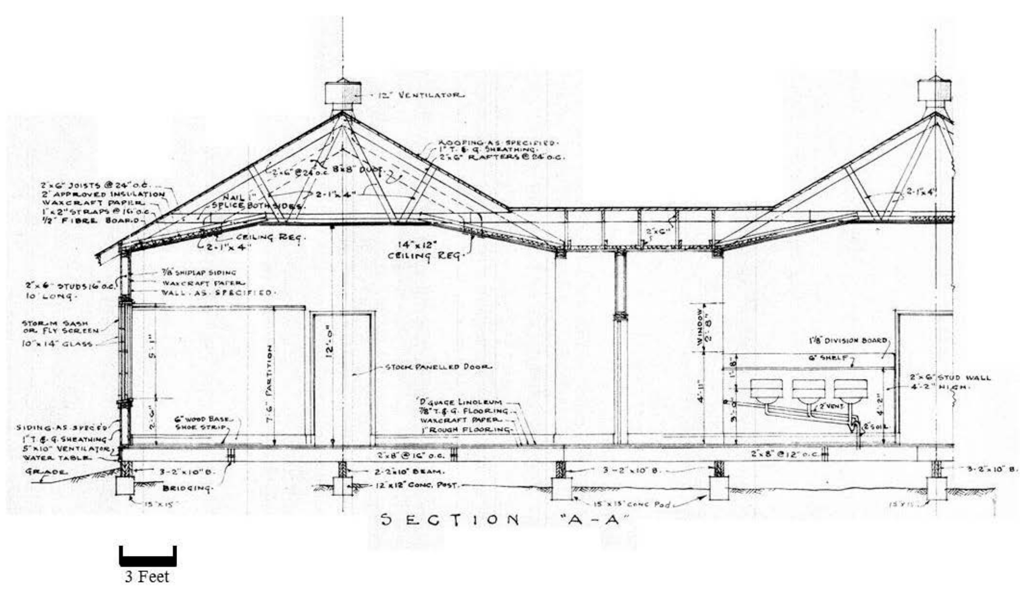

Figure 8.10: RCAF generic architectural plan, section detail.
(Courtesy of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan Museum)

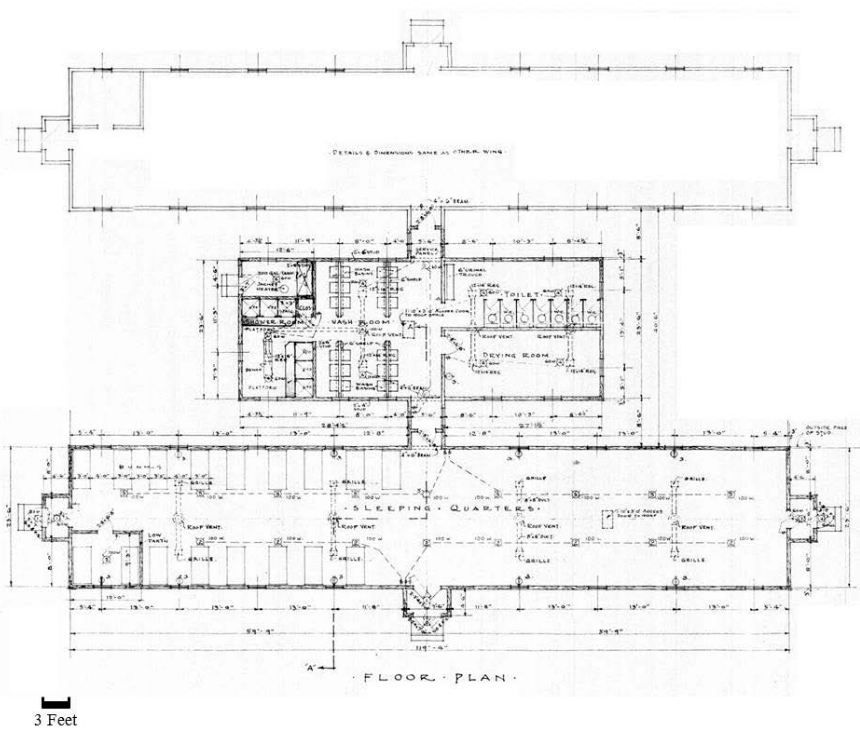

Figure 8.11: RCAF generic architectural plan, floor plan detail. Note how the two wings are connected through the shared bathroom area. (Courtesy of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan Museum)

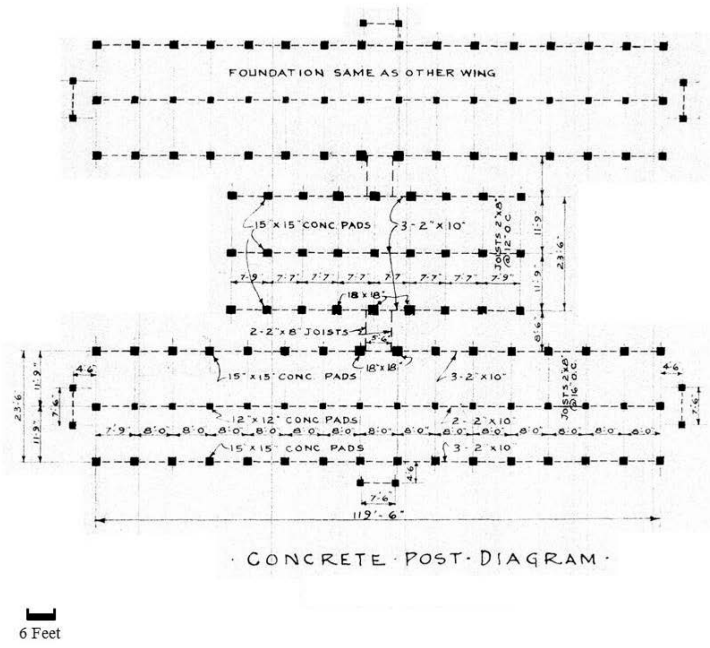

Figure 8.12: RCAF generic architectural plan, foundation detail. Note the post and pier style foundation pads. (Courtesy of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan Museum)

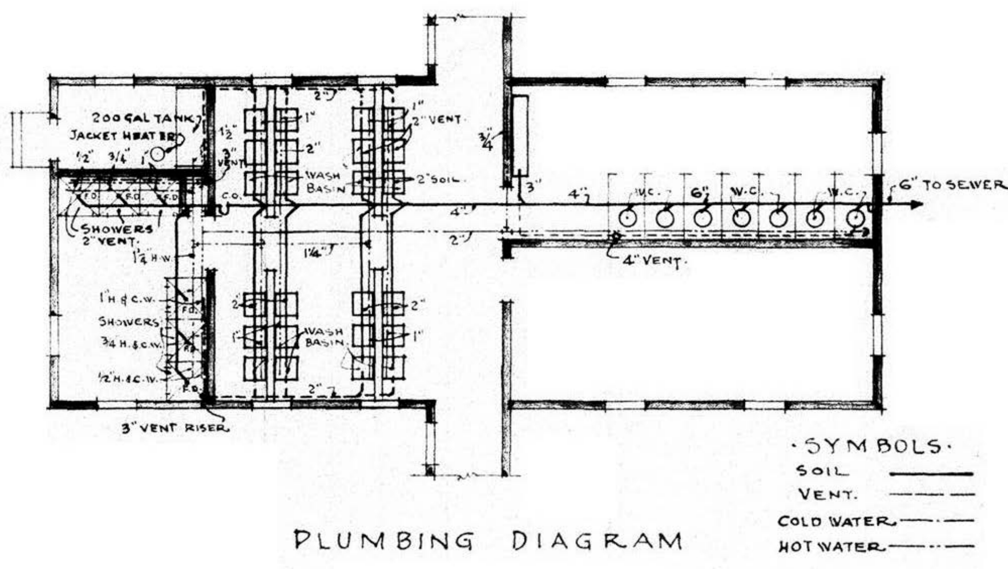

Figure 8.13: RCAF generic architectural plan, bathroom and plumbing detail. Note the six shower stalls and twenty-four wash basins. (Courtesy of the Commonwealth Air Training Plan Museum)

Figure 8.14: Riding Mountain Camp guard barrack structure under construction in October 1943. (Courtesy of Pinewood Museum)

Figure 8.15: Riding Mountain Camp under construction in October 1943. Unknown men standing in front of what was likely a temporary shed used during construction. Note construction worker tents in background. (Courtesy of Pinewood Museum)

Figure 8.16: Riding Mountain Camp under construction in October 1943. Unknown men with bulldozer used for clearing and leveling ground surface. (Courtesy of Pinewood Museum)

Figure 8.17: Riding Mountain Camp under construction in October 1943. Unknown man with metal bunk bed components prior to assembly. (Courtesy of Pinewood Museum)

Figure 8.18: Official Canadian Military Photo of Riding Mountain Camp. Southwest facing. The PoW vegetable garden center left. Building on far left is the generator building which stands today in a nearby town. (Courtesy of Parks Canada)

Figure 8.19: Official Canadian Military Photo of Riding Mountain Camp. Southwest facing. Note PoW additions such as flower gardens, rock walls, and fences and low benches in front of barracks. Note also prominent Union Jack flag at center of parade ground. Whitewater Lake in background. (Courtesy of Parks Canada)

Figure 8.20: Official Canadian Military Photo of Riding Mountain Camp. Northwest facing. Buildings from left to right: barn, garage and workshop, stables. (Courtesy of Parks Canada)

Figure 8.21: Official Canadian Military Photo of Riding Mountain Camp. South facing. Garage and workshop on right. (Courtesy of Parks Canada)

Figure 8.22: Official Canadian Military Photo of Riding Mountain Camp, showing unknown PoW with dog and bear. Note the PoW-built cage for the pet bear attached to the front garden area of the center of the three PoW barracks. The cage can also be seen in Figure 8.19. (Courtesy of Parks Canada)

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Figure 8.23: Official Canadian Military Photo of Riding Mountain Camp. South facing. Note open parade ground in front of PoW barracks, and PoW walking out front door of barrack on right. (Courtesy of Parks Canada)

Figure 8.24: 28 April 1944 Red Cross inspection photo showing camp spokesman and assistants, and visiting Swiss Consul (wearing suit). Note the handrail made from gathered branches. (Courtesy of Library and Archives Canada)

NIGHT WATCHMAN'S CIRCUIT

WARTIME HOUSING LIMITED
RIDING MOUNTAIN, DAUPHIN P.O., MAN.

There are twelve Watchman's Stations numbered consecutively from one to twelve. A complete tour of all twelve stations will be made each hour during the night, commencing on the hour at Station No. 1.

No. 1 Office
Station is located at rear of South wing.
Enter by main door - examine all stoves and stove pipes - pass through corridor, and punch clock. Go out by main door.

No. 2 Camp Stores
Station is located outside the Counter.
From there contact operator at Power House where there is no station.

No. 3 Big Garage
Station on post near stove.

No. 4 Enter by Blacksmith Shop door, for which key will be carried. Pass through Tool Shop into Garage - punch clock and return by Blacksmith Shop, looking door on going out.

No. 5 Enter Stable by South door.
Pass through passage to Station at North end.
Return by south door. See that all doors and windows are properly closed without obstruction by snow or ice.

No. 6 Pass to the rear of P.O.W. HUT South Wing No. 2 (Building No. 10).
Station in vestibule.

No. 7 Skip Building No. 9 and continue to North Wing No. 5 (Building No. 8)
Station in Vestibule.

No. 8 Enter vestibule of Recreation Building by main door.
Punch clock. Look through windows at stoves.
In case fire hazard is observed, notify Camp Leader's orderly at once. HUT 5 South entrance

No. 9 Proceed to Hospital by main entrance.
Enter corridor - punch clock - examine stoves.
Notify Doctor's orderly in case of irregularity or danger.

No. 10 Enter Cooks' Sleeping Quarters by main door. Examine all stoves on both sides. Pass through to rear of building. Return by same route.

No. 11 Proceed to Staff Sleeping Quarters.
Make complete tour of all corridors. Examine all stoves and pipes. In case of need, notify Head Janitor (E. B. Galbraith) Room #337.

No. 12 Enter Dining Room by Staff Door.
Carry key, pass through Kitchen into Civilian Dining Room. Through Kitchen again into P.O.W. Dining Room. Punch Clock. Examine stoves and pipes - doors and windows. Returning leave building by door of entry, locking door.
In case of need, notify Catering Manager, Room No. 204 Office Building.

Figure 8.25: "Night Watchman's Circuit" document showing the route taken though the camp during guard walking patrols. (Courtesy of Library and Archives Canada)

Figure 8.26: Example of an extant foundation pad at Riding Mountain site. This is what is left of the generator building shown in Figure 8.2.

Figure 8.27: Extant garden rock wall highlighted with orange pin flags at Riding Mountain site (2011)

CHAPTER 9. THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE INSTITUTION

9.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the relationships and tensions between individuals and the institution, and how those interactions are mediated by material culture. While the institution has significant power over the material culture in a PoW camp, and that power is used as part of an agenda of reform, despite the strong institutional pressure to conform there are still moments and ways for the institutionalized to take control over material things and express their individuality. At Riding Mountain Camp the PoWs did this through certain material practices that were significantly out of the control of the institution, such as trading illicit goods and producing handicrafts.

My discussion of how institutions use material culture as part of their programs to enforce conformity among the institutionalized centers on the concept of restrictions and impositions introduced in Chapter 3. As noted in that chapter, restrictions are the rules in institutions that forbid certain types of material culture from inmates, and impositions are the directives that force other kinds of material culture onto them. This discussion leads into an explanation of the two main categories of material culture in the camp, what I call "imposed and institutional" (anything chosen and provided by the institution) and "acquired and personal" (chosen, acquired, or made by the inmates). Categorizations are of course never as clear in the lived world as on paper, however, and there are always overlaps and grey zones between these categories.

The hotel ware ceramics excavated at Riding Mountain Camp are profiled as a key example of imposed (or institutional) material culture, and they are shown to operate in both the practical and ideological realms. On the practical level, they provided a cheap and efficient way to serve food to the camp inhabitants. From the ideological perspective, the repetitive and standardized nature of the ceramics, and the particular way they were used in the camp, helped to enforce conformity among the PoWs and to teach them Canadian values even. The presence and meaning of Coca-Cola as a central example of acquired (or personal) material culture at the camp is also explored. A complex and

multifaceted personal artifact that was enjoyed by both the PoWs and the Canadians in the camp, and with multiple possible meanings, Coca-Cola is nonetheless a thoroughly American cultural symbol that was made available to the PoWs as one part of the democratization efforts of the reformers. In the final analytical section of this chapter, I discuss the extensive trade and exchange that occurred between PoWs and staff at Riding Mountain Camp, and the craft productions of the PoWs that were key elements in this underground economy.

9.2 Material Culture and Control in Institutions

In every situation of institutionalization those in charge aim to control what things residents (or inmates) can possess. They achieve this through detailed regulations that ban certain items completely, limit the number and properties of others, and dictate when and under what circumstances prisoners can acquire new things. These restrictions, which govern the acquisition, possession, and use of material culture in the institution, are seen as practical by the institution because they support institutional goals such as limiting escape or increasing safety. But restrictions also have intangible implications, such as demonstrating dominance over inmates, since the enforcement of arbitrary or pedantic regulations is one way to show power. A page taken from Alcatraz Federal Penitentiary's 1956 rule book, with its precise accounting and exacting instructions for the arrangement of allowed items, illustrates this point well (Figure 9.1).

This strict control over material culture, a hallmark of prisons and prison camps, has the rationale of controlling prisoners and the damage they might inflict. A ban on weapons is seen to reduce the chances of attacks or prisoner uprisings. A ban on ropes or belts might limit suicide attempts. A ban on radios or newspapers limits exposure to information on world events, which could incite undesirable behaviors in prisoners. Limiting the amount of food allowed in a prison cell lessens the chance of successful escape and can "break" a prisoner; it will sap his strength and eliminate his will to fight. Similar control of material things exists in all modern institutions: In public schools, weapons are banned for the same reason they are in prisons; and things that are perceived as offensive (such as a T-shirt with an expletive printed on it) or that might disrupt orderly behavior (such as

alcohol and drugs) are usually banned as well. Hospitals too are, of course, brimming with rules about material things: No outside food. No street clothes. No mobile phones.

These examples describe the practical, or quotidian, reasons that institutions have rules about material culture. But regulations about material culture also serve the more shadowy purpose of changing the behaviors and habits of the institutionalized over the long term. For example, the petty and seemingly arbitrary rules in institutions might serve to instill subservience in the institutionalized and indoctrinate them over time. This is the nexus where material culture meets the reforming goals of the institution, and this use of material culture for reform of individuals relates closely to impositions—the institution's power to choose what material culture is provided to inmates. Selecting what an inmate wears, what toiletry items are available, and what food he eats, is one more demonstration of power over the inmate, since the provision of material culture from the institution to the inmate reinforces the inmate's dependence on the institution. Furthermore, imposed goods are usually mass-produced, regularized items—the types of things that reinforce conformity among the inmates and suppress the individuality of institutionalized people.

The regularized nature of imposed material culture—that is, that it is repetitive, standardized, and interchangeable—is a central element of both the everyday and long-term reforming goals of institutions. These trends are patent in both portable material culture (for example, identical ceramic dishes for all prisoners) and in architecture (for example, row upon row of matching barracks). On the practical front, standardization of material culture is economical and efficient. But this repetition of small materials also contributes to the institutional goals of surveillance, bodily training and discipline, and enforcement of conformity.

Standardization of material goods aids surveillance because contraband stands out more clearly when all other material culture conforms to known specifications. Standardization in architecture facilitates surveillance by maintaining linear lines of sight, and by eliminating interior variability, which could be used to deceive the captors. Furthermore,

repetition in material culture leads to repetition in human movements, which demonstrates how control over material culture leads to control over the human body (Foucault 1977; Shackel 1992; Shackel 1993). Restrictions and impositions of material culture are seen by the institution, in the short term, to limit potentially undesirable behavior and events, and in the long term, to contribute to the broader psychological work of the reforming institution. Because the power of the institution is thoroughly intertwined with small material things, much effort and thought are put into their implementation.

9.3 Imposed and Institutional Versus Acquired and Personal

The material things inside Riding Mountain Camp can be usefully divided into two broad categories: the things chosen for the camp by the administrators of the camp, and the things selected, created, or altered by the PoWs. From the perspective of the PoW we might say that the former are the imposed institutional things, and the latter are the acquired personal things. Some examples of imposed institutional items are the plain ceramic tableware used in the mess hall, the tools supplied for work, and the very buildings housing the prisoners. Some examples of acquired personal things are the toiletries and writing supplies from the camp canteen, items purchased by the PoWs from the mail order catalog (Figure 9.2), and the paintings and carvings made by the PoWs. Categorizations are not set in stone, and there can be grey zones between these categories. For example, sometimes things are used by the institution as behavioral incentives—as open or veiled mechanisms of control—to promote certain types of behaviors or subjectivities. The PoWs' easy access to consumer goods in the camp canteen might be seen as part of such a program of incentives.

9.3.1 Imposed Institutional Material Culture

Institutional items are utilitarian in nature and appearance. They are usually plain in decoration, composed of robust materials, and mass produced. They are functional items in both an aesthetic and ideological sense and, like the barracks used to house the PoWs discussed in Chapter 8, their design and implementation is guided by a logic of economy, efficiency, and reliability. There are no one-off institutional items. Once design and

delivery of an institutional item is perfected, it is produced in countless multiples and used in as many settings as possible. The institutional category includes bulk food containers such as tin cans and glass jars, the food itself, plain steel cutlery, and drinking vessels. These types of institutional materials have been excavated at countless twentieth-century sites, including at a Native American reform school (Lindauer 1997), a Japanese American relocation camp (Skiles and Clark 2010), and a Depression-era work camp in a Canadian national park (St. Denis 2002) (Figures 9.3 and 9.4).

While all institutions employ these types of standardized material things, militaries in particular have perfected systems for their design, creation, distribution, and use. Militaries combine institutional ideology with an insatiable appetite for new material things: since military supplies are constantly being lost, abandoned, and destroyed in battle and training, militaries are endlessly creating and purchasing new things. Military strategists know that war is as much about maintaining lines of supplies to front line troops as it is about any other aspect of preparedness, and the archaeology of twentieth-century war is largely the archaeology of these things after they have been destroyed or abandoned (Schofield et al. 2002). At Riding Mountain Camp then, though there was no raging battle or significant destruction of supplies, the material things in the camp reflected this style of mass produced military supply.

Modern militaries increase efficiency and reliability by having multiple manufacturers available to make the same item. This trend is repeatedly evidenced in the artifacts excavated at Riding Mountain Camp. For example, our excavations produced a set of five forks that are identical in all respects and clearly manufactured following the exact same instructions, except for the maker's marks, which are all different. This shows that the forks were likely ordered by the Canadian military but manufactured and shipped by different suppliers. We see this trend repeated in both Canadian and German military accoutrements. Other examples from the Riding Mountain Camp artifacts include Canadian and German military tunic buttons and German Wehrmacht water canteens. Having multiple manufacturers available to make the same item reduced the vulnerability of militaries, whether Canadian or German, to any one particular supplier.

The Riding Mountain Camp materials also highlight other ways that militaries work for efficiency in their supply chains. One way they do this is by using the same material item in as many contexts as possible. A surprising example of this was revealed through our excavations. A small and simple buckle excavated at Riding Mountain Camp originated from a German Wehrmacht issue pants, but I discovered that the exact same buckle was used on concentration camp inmates' uniforms in Europe, and in the Spanish Civil War as well (Figure 9.5). From the perspective of the Nazi bureaucracy, organizing soldiers and prisoners—the elite of the state and the enemy of the state, respectively—posed similar problems. Each group was composed of many millions, and each needed to be clothed, fed, and managed. The most efficient way to do this, in this small example, was to provide elite soldiers with the same buckles as prisoners.

9.3.2 Acquired Personal Material Culture

Although the power of the institution over material culture is formidable, it is never monolithic. Countering forces are always at work, and even in the most extreme situations material culture is used in ways that challenge the institutional ideal. At Riding Mountain Camp, as at all institutions, material culture was put to use by the PoWs as well as by the institution. The PoWs, whom we might call the underdogs in this setting, used material culture for their own purposes: to express resistance to the power of the institution, to cooperate with the institution or its representatives, or to simply do their own thing—to express their individuality. Since inmates of an institution live in a world of enforced conformity, with their food, clothing, and possessions provided by the institution, some measure of individuality might be achieved through creating things, damaging or altering institutionally provided items, or purchasing items at a canteen or on the black market. We might pithily describe the personal material culture category as encompassing all of the material things in the camp not attributed completely to the planning or direction of the institution itself. These are the material things that were selected, created, or altered by the PoWs, and anything that might have been considered contraband or against institutional regulations.

Some of the main categories are items related to personal adornment and presentation such as nonuniform clothing, jewelry, watches, and lighters; grooming products such as creams, oils, and perfumes; alcohol- and tobacco-related items; and noninstitutional food and beverage items such as snacks or Coca-Cola purchased in the PoW canteen. As was discussed in Chapter 6, analysis of the distribution of artifacts recovered from the five middens reveals that these types of personal artifacts were overwhelmingly discarded in the informal middens. This spatial analysis also clearly shows that both the PoWs and the Canadians purchased, used, and discarded such personal items. Both the PoWs and the guards were buying things at the camp canteen and through the mail order catalog: while Informal Midden A (the PoWs' midden) had the highest frequency of personal items at 40%, Informal Midden B (the guards' midden) did have the second highest, at 25% (Figure 6.8). Informal Midden A, created by the PoWs, revealed unique items such as a harmonica and a folding pocket knife (See Figures 9.6 to 9.8 for a selection of these personal artifacts.)

There is often a grey area between institutional and personal items, and what we choose to categorize as personal items might still have been influenced by the power of the institution. For example, while the PoWs were able to choose what to purchase from the camp canteen, the selection of items available to choose from in the first place would have been overseen by the institution. So, even where personal choice exists, the institution's control can extend to govern the range of possible choices. One example of a grey area artifact is the iconic toothbrush (Figure 9.6). While a toothbrush is clearly an intimate and personal object—at Riding Mountain Camp the PoWs were allowed to choose theirs out of a mail order catalog—it is also an item historically used in the training of children, immigrants, inmates, and the colonized. The toothbrush has rightfully received much scrutiny as both metaphor and material of discipline (e.g. Ammann 2005; Lindauer 1997: 29; Shackel 1993:42).

The camp canteen was organized by the PoWs, but its inventory was supplied by Industrial Food Services, a cafeteria planning and management contractor. Everything that was available in the canteen was approved by the Canadians, showing how the range

of choices available to the PoWs was controlled by the institution. When the camp closed down in the fall of 1945 an inventory was taken of what remained in the camp canteen and it shows an revealing snapshot of the canteen on that particular day (Table 9.1). The canteen's inventory included food and drinks, grooming products, and smoking and clothing accessories. The Eaton's mail order catalog available to the PoWs contained a nearly endless array of items, and many of the personal artifacts excavated at Riding Mountain Camp can be traced back to that catalog. My PoW informants told me that there were few restrictions on what they could order from the mail order catalog, which suggests that the PoWs at Riding Mountain Camp were full participants in the Canadian culture of mass consumption. Ultimately, the institution's control over the canteen might be seen as connected to its interest in using material goods as incentives for the PoWs to work, to conform, and to align themselves with Canadian democratic capitalism.

Table 9.1: Inventory of the PoW Canteen on 8 October 1945

Commodity	Quantity	Unit Price	Value
Empty Coca-Cola cases	76	0.8000	60.80
Empty Coca-Cola bottles	56	0.0300	1.68
Skeeter Skater	42	0.2250	9.45
Apple juice	3	0.5830	1.75
Ivory soap flakes	38	0.0430	1.63
Lux soap flakes	24	0.2220	5.30
Silent matches	117	0.0842	9.85
Cigarette tobacco	10	0.1660	1.66
Cigarette tobacco	15	0.1510	2.26
Pipe tobacco	11	0.1660	1.82
Cigarettes	4	0.2830	1.13
Cigarette papers	9	0.1060	0.95
Earmuffs	3	0.5400	1.62
Pond's Cream	3	0.2750	0.82
Gillette shaving cream	6	0.2330	1.40
Gillette razor blades	31	0.2250	6.97
Shoelaces	51	0.0450	2.29
Thread	10	0.0790	0.79
Waterman ink	2	0.0900	0.18
Prepared mustard	3	0.7660	2.30
Tomato juice	10	0.0950	0.95
Cash on hand			86.47
TOTAL		$	200.00

9.4 Artifact Case Studies

9.4.1 Case Study: The Medalta Hotel Ware Ceramics

Hotel ware is a durable, low-cost white improved earthenware ceramic. It is sometimes simply called china or hotel ware china, and these words commonly show up on base marks. We have all handled hotel ware, as it is still in widespread use today. The plain white coffee cups ubiquitous at diners are hotel wares. These relatively cheap, utilitarian wares were used extensively through the twentieth century in institutional settings such as schools, summer camps, work camps, and prison camps, as well as in hotels, restaurants, and homes. Following related research in historical archaeology that finds that ceramics were a key component of training and time discipline in settings as diverse as Colonial America and the late Industrial Revolution (Leone 1999; Shackel 1992; Shackel 1993), in this section I will show how Medalta hotel wares were used by the institution as a key component of the disciplining and training of the PoWs.

At Riding Mountain Camp, hotel ware was by far the most abundant ceramic recovered, representing over 99 % of all ceramics. And nearly all—over 99 % again—of the fragments recovered are from a single manufacturer, Medalta Potteries in Medicine Hat, Alberta. Though Medalta hotel ware ceramics were certainly the dominant wares off of which the PoWs ate, excavations also revealed a small number of tin-enameled wares (4 bowls and 3 mugs, see Figure 9.3). Since tin-enameled wares are very light and durable—they are often used for camping, for example—I theorize that these wares may have been used those times that lunch was eaten at the work site in the bush (Chapter 7). Though they served a different function than the Medalta ceramic wares, the presence of these tin-enameled wares does remind us that Medalta ceramics were not a totalizing material presence at Riding Mountain Camp.

The Medalta ceramics recovered at Riding Mountain Camp were likely not ordered from Medalta by the camp itself. The supplies needed to outfit this specific small camp would have been manufactured as part of a much larger order by the Canadian government, who then distributed the materials to many different contexts under its direction. As an example of the size of orders handled by Medalta, in February 1941, they fulfilled an

order for 12,000 saucers, 3,900 soup bowls and 14,700 cups for Canada's Department of Munitions and Supplies (Medalta Potteries Limited 1941). Medalta Potteries was one of the companies that hired German PoW laborers on loan from the Canadian government during the war, meaning that, ironically, German PoWs might have had a hand in producing the very dishes supplied to the Riding Mountain Camp PoWs.

The Medalta hotel ware used at Riding Mountain Camp is quintessentially institutional, having all the hallmarks: plain, cheap, durable, functional and utilitarian, manufactured and supplied in huge quantities, and endlessly reproducible. Medalta Potteries had a vast offering of wares of many shapes and colors (over 1,000 items are listed in a 1947 catalog); but, predictably, the 1941 government order stuck to three simple forms, and the Riding Mountain Camp excavations revealed just seven forms. Using Medalta's terminology, these are: large coffee mug (8 oz.), 9-inch plate, 7-inch plate, 6-inch plate, large soup bowl, fruit saucer, and oval platter (Figures 9.9 to 9.13). From the already standardized offerings presented by Medalta Potteries, the government selected seven plain items to be mass manufactured and distributed to Riding Mountain Camp and likely many other institutional settings under its control. This is the apex of standardization and repetition in institutional material culture, and helps show how similar principles are at work in both the built environment and small portable things in these military and institutional settings.

Every recovered Medalta item is stamped with the same circular, green-colored "Medalta Hotel China" base mark, which dates the production of these items to between 1942 and 1948 (Getty and Klaiman 1981; Medalta Potteries Limited 1947; Symonds and Symonds 1974) (Figure 9.9). Since we know that Riding Mountain Camp closed in 1945, we can further narrow down the production dates of these ceramics to a window of between 1942 and 1945. We might be even more precise, in fact, since it is very likely they were produced in 1942 or 1943, just prior to the camp being outfitted in the fall of 1943. The dating process for these ceramics is a good example of how twentieth-century material culture can often be dated with astounding precision. With the advent of patent and date stamping, in addition to base marks, production dates of excavated artifacts can

sometimes be narrowed to single years, and in some cases even months or days (Myers 2011a).

Seven simple forms, while few compared the offerings in the Medalta catalog, could in fact be seen as a relatively high number of forms for an internment camp setting. In the European concentration camps, for example, one was lucky to have a bowl and spoon (Myers 2007). But remember that the Canadians' overall approach to managing PoWs was in line with the 1929 Geneva Convention, meaning that PoWs were provided with the same supplies as Canadian garrison soldiers (Chapter 4). For the Canadians the question was not whether or not to provide the prisoners with tableware to eat off of, but how to provide the PoWs with a standard of living equal to the standard of living of Canadian soldiers in the most efficient and economical way possible.

At Riding Mountain Camp, the PoWs ate off of three sizes of dinner plates (6-inch, 7-inch, and 9-inch), and two types of bowls (soup bowl and fruit saucer). This relatively wide selection of wares in the context of a PoW camp suggests several things. First, it reinforces the previously evidenced argument that the PoWs at Riding Mountain Camp were well fed. Second, and more importantly, it evidences a particular type of meal and dining presentation, service, and experience: the PoWs were sitting down to carefully prepared and carefully served multi-course meals. The 6-inch or 7-inch plate was for a salad or starter, the bowl might have been for a soup or stew, the 9-inch plate was for the main course, and the fruit saucer was for a desert. The presence of ceramic oval serving platters suggests that the PoWs were either served, or were serving themselves, at their tables—as opposed to lining up for their food cafeteria style. This particular sequence and ritual was likely seen as a "proper" dinner service, and perhaps contributed to the Canadians' goal of showing off Canadian abundance and a Canadian lifestyle to the PoWs. The dinner service, though surely enjoyed by grateful PoWs, was nevertheless still part of the institution's disciplining process since it was teaching Canadian expectations for appropriate meal service and bodily mannerisms.

The distribution of the recovered Medalta ceramics reveals one overwhelming trend: that broken ceramics were discarded through the official disposal channels, and they overwhelmingly ended up in Official Midden A (Table 9.2). This result reinforces the Medalta ceramics' status as a truly institutional item: there is nothing secret or contraband about it, and there is no reason to hide it. When items broke they were simply tossed in the garbage cans, for all to see. While 69.5% of the Medalta ceramics ended up in Official Midden A, in a distant second and third place we see that 11.5% ended up at Informal Midden C, and 9.2% ended up and Informal Midden B. These two middens are both relatively close to the kitchen and mess hall, which could explain the ceramics in them. Informal Midden A, the PoWs' midden, contained just 5.1% of the Medalta ceramics. This overall discard pattern points to the ceramics being used in the mess hall almost exclusively.

Table 9.2: Distribution of Medalta Hotel Ware Ceramic Fragments

Midden	Large Coffee Mug (g)	9" Plate (g)	6" Plate (g)	Soup Bowl (g)	7" Plate (g)	Fruit Saucer (g)	Not Identified (g)	Oval Platter(g)	Total	Percent of Total Fragments (%)
Official Midden A	2424	3348	1616	1831	250	505	255	144	10372	69.5
Official Midden B	701	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	707	4.7
Informal Midden A	429	0	36	0	301	0	2	0	767	5.1
Informal Midden B	730	0	140	0	315	184	0	0	1370	9.2
Informal Midden C	1171	182	307	9	0	24	21	0	1714	11.5
Total	5456	3530	2099	1840	866	713	283	144	14930	100.0

*Images of ceramics reproduced from Medalta 1947.

The most common discarded ceramic item site-wide, calculated both by weight and by MNI, is the Large Coffee Mug (Tables 9.2 and 9.3, Figure 9.13). This highest rate of deposition could mean that mugs were the most frequently used item in general, or it could mean that mugs were the most prone to being broken (due to how they were used, or due their inherent properties). The answer is most likely a combination of these factors: not only are mugs used the most often (at every meal as well as in between meals), they can also be used both while sitting and walking, and they are probably the most easily broken due the weak point of the handles.

Table 9.3: MNI by Weight of Medalta Hotel Ware Ceramics

	Large Coffee Mug	9" Plate	6" Plate	Soup Bowl	7" Plate	Fruit Saucer	Not Identified	Oval Platter	Total
Fragments recovered site wide (g)	5456	3530	2099	1840	866	713	283	144	14931
Percent of total fragments, by weight	36.5	23.6	14.1	12.3	5.8	4.8	1.9	2.0	100
Weight of one complete original item	454	544	181	499	363	181	NA	NA	NA
MNI, site wide, by weight	12	7	12	4	2	4	1	1	42
Percent of complete items, by weight	28.6	15.4	27.5	8.8	5.7	9.2	2.4	2.4	100

All of the Medalta ceramics recovered are in pieces, other than a few of the mugs that are simply cracked and not completed shattered. This suggests that ceramics were thrown out when they were broken, of course, but possibly also thrown out when a crack appeared—even if the item was still usable. This trend might point to an institutional focus on health and perceived health threats. Medalta proudly produced "sanitary" ceramics: the 1947 Medalta product catalog devotes a page to an elaboration on their "Sanitas coffee mug," made through a patented method to eliminate the usual crack or seam where the body of the vessel meets the handle (Medalta Potteries Limited 1947:2) (Figure 9.14). The seam, which apparently appeared on their competitor's mugs, is described as highly unhygienic, a crevice where moisture festers and disease foments. Since bodily cleanliness and control of diseases are key components in military and institutional settings, and the work of modern reform in general, we can see how this marketing approach might be an effective sales pitch, and how it might have carried over to the practice of discarding any mug that developed a crack.

As with all institutional material culture, hotel ware ceramics work in both the practical and ideological realms. On the practical front, hotel wares provide an efficient means to serve food to prisoners and workers. Overall, the MNI counts for each ware type are quite low (the equivalent of about 42 complete vessels), and lead one to wonder why so few items were discarded (Table 9.3). The answer, I would suggest, connects back to this goal of economic efficiency: these Medalta ceramics were purchased partly for their durability, and they did their economic "work" as intended—they did not often break. At

the end of the war the remaining stock of wares was likely boxed up and auctioned off along with the rest of the contents of the camp.

On the ideological front, hotel ware ceramics contribute to the institution's overall approach of using standardization and repetition of material forms and bodily movements toward the control, training, and eventual reform of the prisoners. Not only are the hotel ware ceramics regularized material forms at Riding Mountain Camp, but the PoWs who used them encountered them on a regularized schedule as well (Table 7.1). At these set meal times, the PoWs were served multiple courses (using up to three different plate sizes) in a proper Canadian setting—an eating ritual that reinforced Canadian values and Canadian understandings of behaviors around meal times. As evidenced by the distribution of the recovered ceramic fragments, these items were most often used in the specific context of official meal times at the mess hall. No evidence was found of Medalta items being purposely broken, or of modifications, markings, or secondary uses, which further reinforces the argument that the institutional ceramics at Riding Mountain Camp were centrally or exclusively used for their intended institutional purposes.

9.4.2 Case Study: Coca-Cola at Riding Mountain Camp

According to one historian, "Coca-Cola" is the second most recognized word on earth, after "OK" (Pendergrast 2000: 8). The classic hobble-skirt Coca-Cola glass bottle (also known as the contour bottle and the "Mae West") is similarly one of the most recognized commercial forms globally (Gilborn 1999: 190; Lockhart and Porter 2010: 46). It is no exaggeration to state that the hobble-skirt bottle, first used around 1915, is a cultural icon of the twentieth century. Gilborn (1968) argues that, due to its form, durability, sculptural and optical aesthetic, ubiquity, and associated folk traditions, the Coca-Cola bottle has even achieved classic status. As one marker of the importance of the Coca-Cola bottle to historical archaeologists specifically, Ascher (1974) includes it in his list of American "superartifacts."

While Coca-Cola steadily gained market share from its beginnings in the late nineteenth century, due to innovative and aggressive marketing strategies, it was in fact the Second

World War "that launched the American soft drink as an unprecedented global phenomenon" (Schutts 2003: 122). The soft drink was clearly the bottled drink of choice at Riding Mountain Camp for both the PoWs and the Canadians in the camp. And for the PoWs, it seems to even have had a certain cachet attached to it. Coca-Cola is an interesting example of personal material culture at Riding Mountain Camp. It is categorized as a "personal" artifact because it had to be purchased at the camp canteen—it was not provided to the PoWs—they had to make that conscious choice to spend 5 cents on the product. It is still important, however, to note that like almost every item in the camp—even many items categorized as personal—the availability of Coca-Cola is not divorced from the control of the institution, since it would have been the Canadians that approved Coca-Cola as an item to be sold in the canteen in the first place.

In one sense Coca-Cola is actually an odd choice for this artifact case study since, in fact, extremely few Coca-Cola bottles (or fragments) were recovered in our excavations. What was found, however, were thousands of rusty metal crown bottle caps. The simple reason for this disconnect is that Coca-Cola bottles had a deposit value of 3 cents, and they were clearly consistently returned for that deposit. This negative data (i.e., few Coca-Cola bottles) points to a definite depositional bias, with clear relevance to all twentieth-century historic sites. The combination of the presence of soft drink crown bottle caps and the lack of soft drink bottles in any context strongly suggests that the bottles were being returned to the bottler. For those drinking Coca-Cola at Riding Mountain Camp, where one Coca-Cola cost 5 cents and the bottle deposit was an additional 3 cents, the 3 cents was seemingly a strong incentive to not throw the bottle away. This issue of bottle deposits also serves as a reminder that in any midden context there will be a strong bias against the deposition of anything with monetary or personal value.

Research on the reuse and recycling of glass bottles shows that, though bottlers have always attempted to get their empty bottles back from consumers, it was only with the introduction of deposit values in the 1920s and 1930s that consumers actually did bother to return them. The advantage of bottle deposits (for both the bottler and the consumer) is the elimination of the cost of the bottle from the transaction, and it was a sensible practice

in that era for inexpensive products such as drinks. It was not worth the trouble, however, for more expensive products such as patent medicines, since the cost of the bottle was minor relative to the cost of the product (Busch 1987: 70). With Coca-Cola in the 1940s, clearly a very high value was placed on the bottle itself (3 cents compared to 5 cents, or 60 % of the value of the liquid inside). An American study conducted in 1947 showed that, with the deposit system instituted, 96 to 97 % of all bottles were being returned for the refund (Busch 1987: 76).

The rates of return found in that 1947 study match up with both the archival and material evidence from Riding Mountain Camp. A 1945 receipt issued from a local supplier to the Riding Mountain Camp canteen shows the return of an astounding number of empties. The receipt records a transfer of 76 cases (each containing 24 bottles) and 48 loose bottles, for a total of 1,872 (Figure 9.15). With deposit amounts set at 3 cents per empty bottle and 8 cents per wooden case, the deposit value was a total of $62.24 for that transaction. The excavation results equally show that the vast majority of bottles were likely returned for the deposit. While excavations at the middens revealed 10,663 grams (or 10.6 kg) of crown bottle caps, representing about 3,500 whole bottle caps and thus 3,500 original Coca-Cola bottles (Table 9.4), just 2,901 grams of the distinctive Coca-Cola bottle glass fragments were recovered, representing only an estimated 8 bottles (Table 9.5, Figure 9.17).

The spatial distribution of these Coca-Cola related artifacts is also telling. Excavation results reveal that the material evidence of Coca-Cola consumption was overwhelmingly deposited in the informal middens (Tables 9.4 and 9.5). This stands in stark contrast to the Medalta ceramics, which were almost entirely deposited into Official Midden A. The other apparent trend in these deposits is that Coca-Cola was clearly a shared commodity between both the PoWs and the guards—many hundreds of bottle caps were recovered at each of the three informal middens. Informal Midden C, which was shown in Chapter 6 to have been used by both the PoWs and the guards, produced the highest number of bottle caps and Coca-Cola bottle glass.

Table 9.4: Crown Bottle Caps and Fragments Found in the Middens

Midden	Weight (g)	MNI, by weight
Official Midden A	261	87
Official Midden B	1,557	519
Informal Midden A	1,626	542
Informal Midden B	2,471	824
Informal Midden C	4,712	1571
Total	10,627	3542

*MNI by weight is calculated by dividing the total weight of crown bottle caps and fragments recovered by the weight of one complete crown bottle cap (3 g).

Table 9.5: Coca-Cola Bottle Glass Found in the Middens

Midden	Weight (g)	MNI, by weight
Official Midden A	0	0
Official Midden B	0	0
Informal Midden A	1,441	4
Informal Midden B	0	0
Informal Midden C	1,460	4
Total	2,901	8

*MNI by weight is calculated by dividing the total weight of Coca-Cola bottles and fragments recovered by the weight of one complete Coca-Cola bottle (403 g).

With archival evidence showing over 1,800 empties being returned to the bottler in one shipment in 1945, and the archaeological evidence of over 3,500 crown bottle caps excavated mostly from the informal middens, clearly both the PoWs and the guards at Riding Mountain Camp were drinking Coca-Cola, and lots of it.

The Canadians were surely well familiar with Coca-Cola prior to their arrival at Riding Mountain Camp. But how did a group of German PoWs come to be so enamored with this soft drink? An initial, and straightforward, consideration is that Coca-Cola was a relatively cheap pleasure—it could be had for just 5 cents out of the 50 cents the PoWs made every single work day. Since the PoWs had no fixed expenses, they hypothetically could have easily afforded a Coca-Cola each, or more, every day. Another consideration is that even in the camp, the PoWs likely would have seen advertising for Coca-Cola. They had access to magazines, and those magazines would have had ads for Coca-Cola (Figure 9.16). Coca-Cola is also, importantly, a highly stimulant drink containing much

caffeine and sugar (Cohen 2006; Grinspoon and Bakalar 1981). It is perhaps significant that this stimulant was made so easily available in this work camp setting—it might have been seen as a way to enhance the productivity of the PoWs, and alertness for the guards.

Certainly, Coca-Cola is a quintessentially American item. In the years leading up to the Second World War, however, the company became very international. Coca-Cola was highly effective at utilizing the war to greatly expand its international presence. They even received exemptions from sugar rationing, and subsidies to build plants around the world, ostensibly to supply Coca-Cola (seen as a "taste of home") to American troops abroad (Richard Pollay personal communication 2012). To Americans stationed abroad, and perhaps to others too, Coca-Cola was seen as symbol of democracy, freedom, and American values.

Despite its strong place in American culture for Americans, to the PoWs Coca-Cola might very well have had very different connotations: Coca-Cola had, in fact, been available in Germany as early as 1929 and was aggressively marketed there throughout the 1930s and 1940s (Baranowski 2004: 14; Schutts 2007a: 127). The availability of Coca-Cola in Germany was part of a wider promotion of American-style consumerism promoted by the Nazis, and according to one historian, Coca-Cola was "omnipresent" in Nazi Germany (Wiesen 2011: 8). There seems to have been some confusion about the background of the product, as some Germans knew it was American and associated it with America, and others thought of it as German (Schutts 2007b: 156). One anecdote even tells of a group of German PoWs arriving in the United States being surprised to see that Coca-Cola was available outside of Germany (Wharton 1947). This story correlates with Miller's (1998) ethnographic study that found that Trinidadians conceive of Coca-Cola as a "black sweet drink from Trinidad."

In the context of a camp holding German PoWs, Coca-Cola is a fascinating and complex artifact. The product originated in America but was perceived by some to be German. In the context of the Second World War specifically, "while the soft drink came to symbolize American freedom—all the good things back home the GI was fighting for—

the same Coca-Cola logo rested comfortably next to the swastika" (Pendergrast 2000: 213). But despite these sometimes German connotations, Coca-Cola was a modern American consumer item and, from the perspective of the German PoWs, would still have been so "if not in perceived origin, then as an icon of the consumerist lifestyle identified with the US and promised by the Nazis" (Jeff Schutts personal communication 2012).

In his archaeological study of the Phoenix Indian School, Lindauer sees the availability of Coca-Cola as a "sweet taste of civilization," an integral part of the civilizing and Americanizing processes forced on the young Native American students (Lindauer 1996: 98; Lindauer 1997: 33). School officials in Arizona used Coca-Cola and other goods to teach all-American values such as consumerism and individualism to the students. A similar process may have been at work at Riding Mountain Camp. The provision of ample supplies of Coca-Cola for purchase in the camp canteen and the generous salary of 50 cents per day (enough for ten Coca-Colas, for example) to each PoW may very well have been a part of the Canadians' efforts at democratization and reeducation. And that the Canadians in the camp were drinking Coca-Cola too, likely played into this attempted rapprochement between the German PoWs and Canadian way of life.

9.5 Making and Trading in the Camp

The case study on hotel ware ceramics demonstrates the institution's total control over certain classes of material culture, and the example of Coca-Cola shows the institution's partial control even over seemingly personal items. But certain classes of artifacts nevertheless remain significantly outside of the control of the institution: the original artistic and practical creations of the PoWs, and the things that are smuggled into the camp and surreptitiously traded on the black market.

In every case of confinement, smuggling and trading of both allowable and forbidden goods takes place. This remains true even in situations of extreme material deprivation such as at the death camps of the Holocaust. Secret trading was in fact an integral component of the mass executions at Auschwitz II-Birkenau, where food and valuables

found on the bodies of the deceased by the *Sonderkommando* forced laborers were redirected to sustain those not yet sentenced to the gas chamber (Myers 2007). Surprisingly, smuggling often goes both ways. Goods and services pass both from outside the camp or prison to the inside, and from the inside to the outside. This might happen when a prisoner has access to goods not available to neighboring civilian communities, such as in the case of Allied PoWs in Europe who received Red Cross care packages filled with items long unavailable under Nazi wartime rationing.

In many cases smuggling and trading have been used to supplement inadequate caloric intake, such as in the Nazi death camps in Europe and the Japanese camps holding Allied PoWs in Asia during the Second World War; but they serve other purposes as well, such as protecting the body against the natural elements, preparing for an escape attempt, or simply ameliorating one's comfort. Astute black marketing by the confined can even lead to the accumulation of wealth and power (Sofsky 1993), a most colorful example of which is described in James Clavell's 1963 masterpiece historical novel *King Rat*.

In some cases, complex prison economies develop that include phenomena such as base currencies (for example, cigarettes or prisoner-developed paper currencies), offering of services by entrepreneurs (such as laundering, cooking, and prostitution), notice boards with classified advertisements, monopolies, price fixing and price gouging, price falls and price rallies, inflation and deflation, and even stock exchange–style traders and speculators working on futures markets (Radford 1945; Sofsky 1993). In many situations of confinement, the cigarette becomes the base unit of currency. From the PoW camps of the Second World War to present-day penitentiaries in the Unites States, the relative values of all other goods and services have most often been measured in the cigarette unit (Falkin et al. 1998; Lankenau 2001; Radford 1945; Reed 2007).

Trading and smuggling might be seen as forms of resistance, since these actions are forbidden by institutional regulations. Illicit trading or smuggling results in the inmates possessing banned items such as alcohol, weapons, or radios—clear affronts to the institution's power. But trading is also often a form of cooperation or collaboration, since

trade networks incorporate guards, staff, and civilians. In addition to simply being a form of resistance, trade and smuggling in the institution is one way that alternative hierarchies of power—and alternative alliances—are formed. Through black marketing, prisoner and guard can become mutually obligated and mutually tied to secrecy. Thus the prison black market is an example of a social aspect of confinement that challenges the duality of the domination-and-resistance paradigm by showing how guards and prisoners sometimes work together for mutual benefit (Chapter 3). At Riding Mountain Camp, the pattern of trade appears to be more indicative of collaboration rather than plain resistance, since the central trade network relationship seems to have been between the PoWs and the Canadians.

There is abundant archival, oral, and material evidence that trade between PoWs and Canadians was continuous and extensive. One reason this network thrived is because the PoWs and the Canadians had different levels of access to certain categories of things. For example, the Canadians could easily obtain alcohol (they could simply walk into any store and purchase it), while the PoWs had available certain scarce goods such as chocolate that they received in Red Cross packages. The PoWs also had free time for production of crafts, trinkets, and display items. Conversely, the PoWs had no easy way to get alcohol, and the Canadians had no easy way to access some of the rationed items found in Red Cross packages; and, they may have had less time for, or perhaps less interest in, undertaking art or craft work.

At Riding Mountain Camp, black marketing was intimately connected to making things. Wellmann (2011), for example, clearly remembers carving ships, boxes, and makeup cases and trading them with the Canadian guards; and I heard similar stories told by several different informants. One Canadian informant, a child during the war, remembered "Hans," a PoW who visited his family on a temporary escape and asked if the family could provide oil painting supplies. In exchange, the PoW provided a painting and other treasures. "Hans was very grateful and brought chocolate bars, from German rations, for us kids…. he also gave me a mouth organ and a fancy Nazi uniform patch" (Antonation 2012).

Recycling and creating things is common in PoW camp and military settings in general, and the practice of creating this "trench art" has been widely studied by archaeologists and material culture historians (e.g. Carr and Mytum 2012; Saunders 2003). At Riding Mountain Camp, PoWs made all manner of things, some practical, others more artistic. The diary of Riding Mountain Camp PoW Konstantin Schwartz includes an account of these small craft activities. Schwartz (1944) wrote:

> We build boats, doll houses, and many other things. Varnish, paints and tools are plentiful. We sell these articles mostly for dollars. For our first boat I received $15.00 and 25$ for the second. I specialize now in sailing boats, Groch-Foch model. I was photographed with the boat.

The mention of a "Groch-Foch" sailing ship is likely a reference to the Gorch Fock, a German *Reichsmarine* three-mast training barque launched in 1933 (Showell 1979: 125 and 137)—a naval PoW might have been familiar with this particular ship. Riding Mountain Camp had a modest library for the PoWs to use, and it is tempting to suppose that one of the books had a picture of this ship in it. According to Schwartz and other sources, these small craft projects were sold or traded to civilians and guards, or given as tokens of appreciation for good treatment or friendship. In one instance a ship was traded for a train ticket as part of an escape attempt, and in another for an illicit radio (Reid 1944; Weis 1944). Another model ship from Riding Mountain Camp, this one with a swastika flag on the mast, today sits in a community museum in the nearby town of Wasagaming.

Even the camp's military commander did not separate himself from trade with PoWs. The grandson of this soldier inherited, and has kept to this day, two oil paintings and an impressive ship made by a PoW (Figures 8.7, 8.8, and 9.18). An intriguing trend in the oral history surrounding this traded material culture is that the items are often remembered as gifts rather than as items that were sold or traded. While surely some of the items were freely given as tokens of friendship, it seems more likely that the majority of exchanges were based on some sort of trade for money or goods. The taboo on black

marketing during the war years has likely left this legacy attached to the stories that were passed down.

The excavations at Riding Mountain Camp revealed abundant evidence of these craft projects, including cut pieces of bone and antlers, and cut pieces of metal (Figure 9.19). That antlers were used for craft projects is reinforced by the Red Cross representative's report, which makes reference to the PoWs requesting "materials for their workshop, such as burins, that they will use to make keepsakes out of the antlers they find in the forest" (Maag 1944). This need for chisels and tools, as mentioned by Maag, is further supported by the discovery in our excavations of a stainless steel dinner knife that was retouched to create a homemade carving chisel (Figure 9.20). The butt end of the retouched knife mushrooms out from having been struck repeatedly with a hammer. This unique artifact was recovered from Informal Midden B, the guard's midden, which might represent its confiscation from a PoW. Destroying that table knife—institutional property—would very likely have elicited confiscation of the item and further punishment.

Alcohol is a key item that was acquired by the PoWs through collaboration in trade with the Canadians. Excavations at Riding Mountain Camp revealed beer, wine and hard liquor bottles, a single formaldehyde bottle that may have been used for moonshining, as well as a single "Haar Oil" (hair oil) bottle, which, according to one Canadian official, was the deceitful label put on bottles of Schnapps sent in care packages from Germany (Kilford 2004). We also found many Listerine bottles, which may have been purchased by the PoWs at the canteen for their high alcohol content. As was shown in Chapter 6, Informal Midden A (the PoW's midden) contained the highest frequency of alcohol related artifacts out of all the middens, at 11.7% of items recovered (Figure 6.10). The only way PoWs could have acquired the properly labeled beer, wine, and hard liquor bottles found at the camp would have been with help from Canadians. Other types of alcohol might have been made by the PoWs (evidenced by the formaldehyde bottle), smuggled from Germany (evidenced by the Haar Oil bottle), or improvised (evidenced by the Listerine bottles).

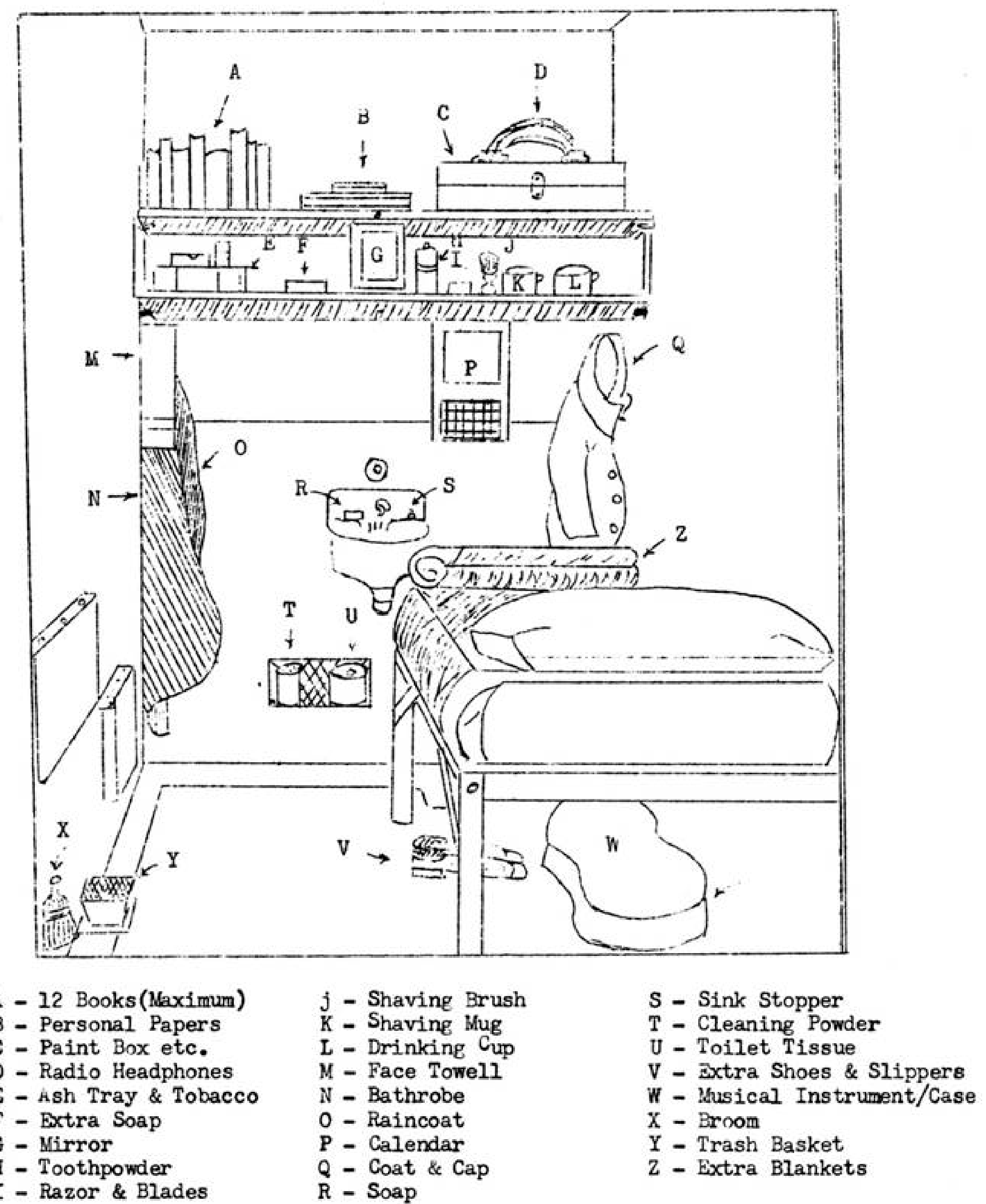
Antonation's mention above of chocolate from "German rations" is surely a reference to the Red Cross packages received by the PoWs at Riding Mountain Camp, and this informant's memory evidences the well-known occurrence of trade networks that centered around Red Cross parcels during the Second World War. This was a worldwide phenomenon. In her research on British Channel Island deportees held in camps in Germany and Austria, Carr (2011) noted that the "chocolate, soap and cigarettes" were "particularly valuable" trade articles to come out of the Red Cross packages the internees received. In Canada, the German chocolate would have been an exciting item to Canadians. Excavations at Riding Mountain Camp revealed 12 of these chocolate tins adorned with the words "*Deutsches Roten Kreuz*" (German Red Cross) and the German eagle and swastika logos (Figures 1.6 and 10.1). Every single one of these chocolate tins was recovered from Informal Midden B, the guard's midden. That the majority of the evidence of alcohol was found in the PoW midden, and that all of the evidence for the Nazi supplied chocolate was found in the guard's midden is very strong evidence of trade between the two groups.

9.6 Conclusion

Riding Mountain PoW Camp was a reforming institution, with clear goals of changing the very nature of the residents of the camp. Like all institutions, it had a relatively straightforward interest in promoting conformity among its charges. This is the most efficient and economical way to manage large groups of people, and it was partly achieved through restrictions and impositions of material culture. But the goal of changing the inmates at Riding Mountain Camp went further than striving for simple outward conformity. The bureaucrats running this camp aimed to change the PoWs' very lifestyles, habits, and ideological alignments. One of the ways the Canadians worked to achieve this was by imposing regularized hotel ware ceramics and associated dining rituals on the PoWs, and another was by introducing them to abundant and cheap North American consumer goods available from the camp canteen and the mail order catalog. Coca-Cola, an iconic and classic American product, enjoyed by both the PoWs and the guards, was one key part of this wider material-ideological practice.

Small things can have a large influence in institutional settings, and the results presented here serve as a partial corrective to our disciplinary and theoretical emphasis on the importance of the architecture of institutions. But while material culture is employed by the institution as part of programs of conformity and reform, material culture is equally harnessed by the institutionalized for their own purposes. At Riding Mountain Camp, the PoWs accessed contraband goods like alcohol in defiance of institutional power and created new, noninstitutional things out of found and recycled materials. Unlike institutionally provided things, every PoW creation was totally unique. But these PoW activities did not stand in isolation from the Canadians and the guards, as these creations were linked to networks of illicit trade and mutual obligations. While the PoWs had access to things they created and to special items from their Red Cross packages, the Canadians in turn, had access to alcohol—and it was this differential access to goods that set the stage for extensive exchange between the two groups.

REGULATIONS FOR INMATES
U.S.P., ALCATRAZ
PAGE 8



A - 12 Books(Maximum)
B - Personal Papers
C - Paint Box etc.
D - Radio Headphones
E - Ash Tray & Tobacco
F - Extra Soap
G - Mirror
H - Toothpowder
I - Razor & Blades
j - Shaving Brush
K - Shaving Mug
L - Drinking Cup
M - Face Towell
N - Bathrobe
O - Raincoat
P - Calendar
Q - Coat & Cap
R - Soap
S - Sink Stopper
T - Cleaning Powder
U - Toilet Tissue
V - Extra Shoes & Slippers
W - Musical Instrument/Case
X - Broom
Y - Trash Basket
Z - Extra Blankets

Figure 9.1: A page from Alcatraz Federal Penitentiary's rule book. Note the precise listing of what items are allowed in a cell and the details on how they should be arranged. (Reproduced from Madigan 1956)

Figure 9.2: Cover of Spring 1943 Eaton's mail order catalog, the same catalog PoWs and guards would have used in the camp. (Reproduced from Eaton's 1943)

Figure 9.3: Institutional material culture: One of the three tin-enamel cups excavated at Riding Mountain Camp. Two were found at Informal Midden B, and one at Informal Midden C. Too few tin-enamel items were recovered to draw conclusions from their spatial distribution.

Figure 9.4: Institutional material culture: Bulk-size “Rogers” maple syrup can excavated at Riding Mountain Camp. Recovered from Informal Midden C, which was the nearest midden to the camp kitchen and mess hall, and which contained much evidence of the kitchens.

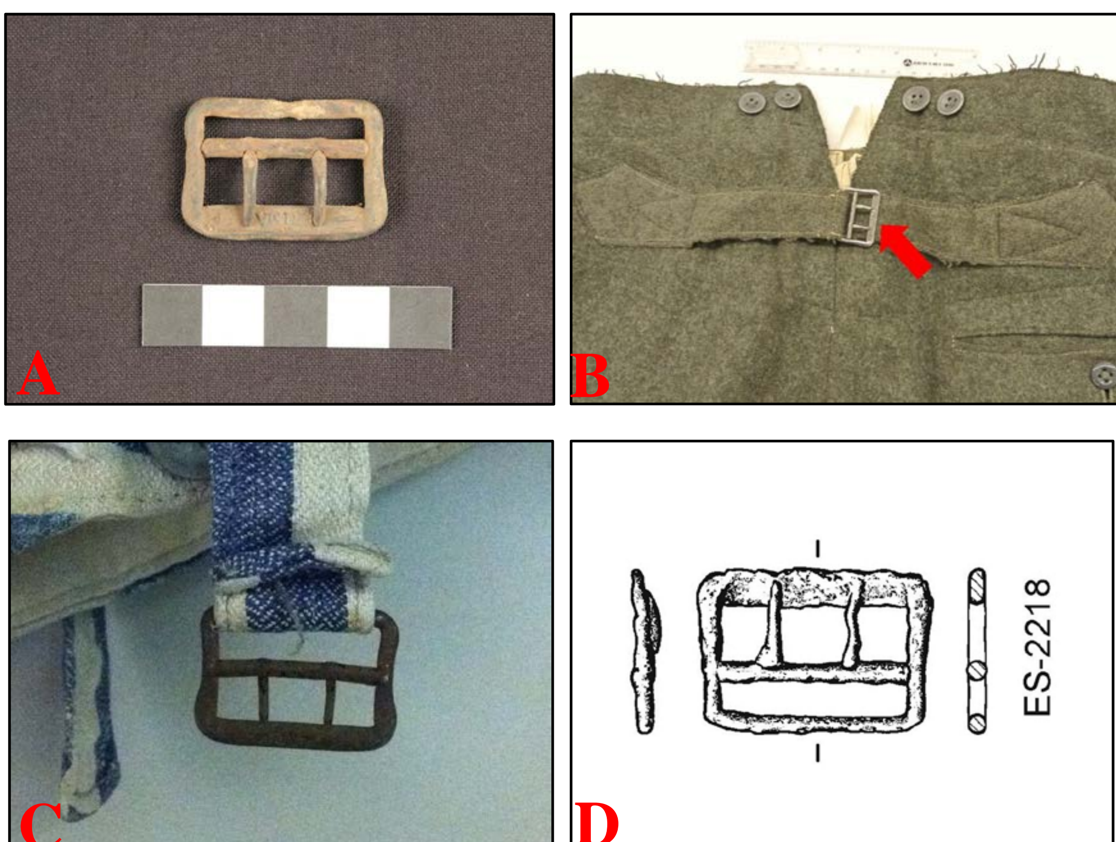


Figure 9.5: Identical German buckles recovered from four different global contexts. A) Buckle from Wehrmacht pants excavated at Riding Mountain Camp. German buckles and clothing items were found at all five middens, but the highest concentrations were at Official Midden B, where clothes were burnt in the incinerator (Chapter 6). B) Buckle on Wehrmacht pants in a museum collection. (Photo by author, courtesy of Canadian War Museum collection). C) Buckle attached to Bergen-Belsen concentration camp inmate's uniform (Photo by author, courtesy of Bergen-Belsen Memorial). D) Buckle excavated at Spanish Civil War site in Spain (Reproduced from González-Ruibal 2012).

Figure 9.6: Personal material culture: A selection of the toothbrushes excavated at Riding Mountain Camp. Nine toothbrushes were recovered from Informal Midden A, four from Informal Midden B, and one from Informal Midden C. None were recovered from Official Midden A or B.

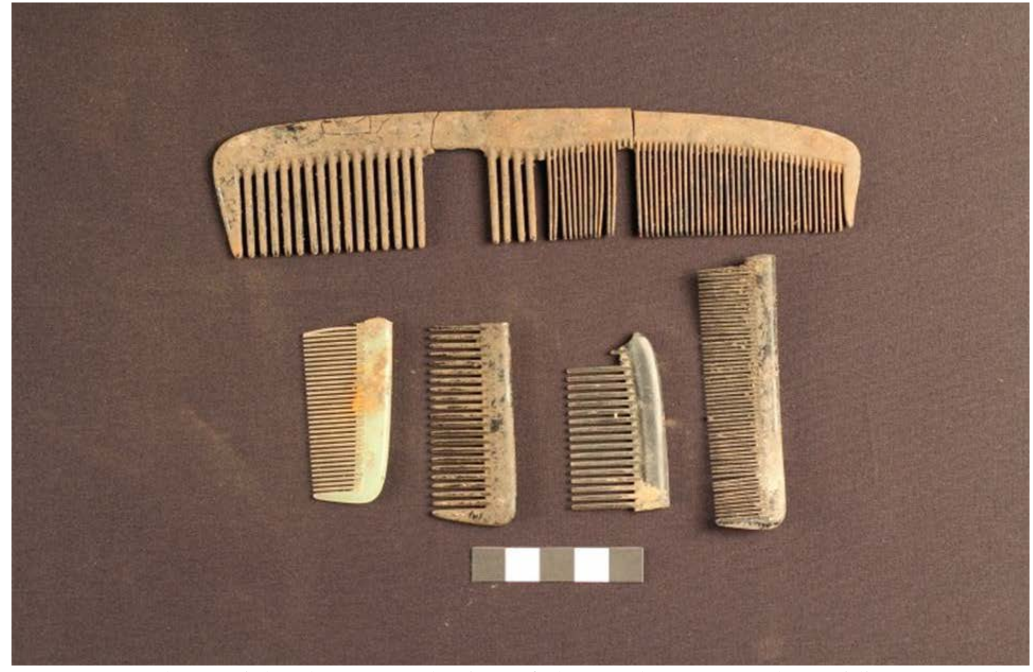


Figure 9.7: Personal material culture: A selection of the combs excavated at Riding Mountain Camp. Twenty-Five combs and comb fragments were recovered from Informal Midden A, and six from Informal Midden B. None were recovered from any other middens.

Figure 9.8: Personal material culture: A selection of the lighters excavated at Riding Mountain Camp. Three lighters were recovered from Informal Midden A, two from Informal Midden B, and one from Informal Midden C. None were recovered from Official Midden A or B.

Figure 9.9: Institutional ceramics: Medalta Potteries coffee mug showing 1942–1948 base mark, excavated from Official Midden A at Riding Mountain Camp. Top left inset: Close-up of base mark.

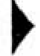
Figure 9.10: Institutional ceramics: Medalta “Fruit Saucer” excavated from Official Midden A at Riding Mountain Camp.

Figure 9.11: Institutional ceramics: Medalta “Soup Bowl” excavated from Official Midden A at Riding Mountain Camp.

Figure 9.12: Institutional ceramics: Medalta “6” Plate” excavated from Official Midden A at Riding Mountain Camp.

Figure 9.13: Institutional ceramics: Selection of Medalta “Large Coffee Mugs” excavated from Official Midden A at Riding Mountain Camp.

THE CUP THAT CHEERS AND WEARS

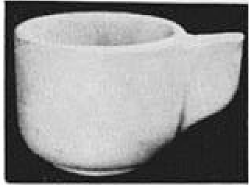


No more handles separating from Cups and no more crevices around handles.

A TRULY SANITAS HANDLED CUP AT NO EXTRA COST

Dominion, Saxon, Ovide, Worcester and Pacific Cups and Coffee Mugs are now being made by Medalta with a truly Sanitas handle. This method of manufacture is being done by a Medalta patented process, as illustrated below.

The handle is an integral part of the Cup and eliminates the possibility of handles breaking from Cups, and what is more important there are no crevices on top and sides of handle to collect bacteria.



Medalta cups as they leave the forming molds — one piece of clay

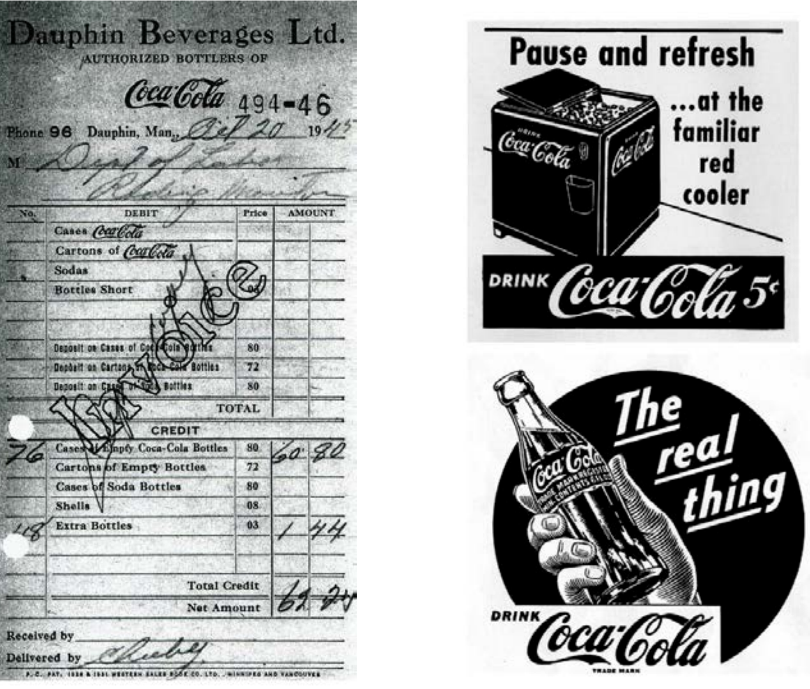
(Dominion Shape illustrated)

Partly dried cup in "Green Clay"
Patented Medalta-designed machine shapes handles

Illustration shows partly formed handle

Finished Medalta Cup. One piece handle. A truly Sanitas handle — strong — neat — smooth — sanitary. No crevices on top or sides.

Figure 9.14: Advertisement for Medalta's patented "Sanitas" sanitary mug.
(Reproduced from Medalta Potteries Limited 1947)



Dauphin Beverages Ltd.
AUTHORIZED BOTTLERS OF
Coca-Cola 494-46
Phone 96 Dauphin, Man., Oct 20 1945

No.	DEBIT	Price	AMOUNT
	Cases Coca-Cola		
	Cartons of Coca-Cola		
	Sodas		
	Bottles Short		
	Deposit on Cases of Coca-Cola Bottles	80	
	Deposit on Cartons of Coca-Cola Bottles	72	
	Deposit on Cases of Soda Bottles	80	
	TOTAL		
	CREDIT		
76	Cases of Empty Coca-Cola Bottles	80	60 80
	Cartons of Empty Bottles	72	
	Cases of Soda Bottles	80	
	Shells	08	
48	Extra Bottles	03	1 44
	Total Credit		
	Net Amount		62 24

Received by
Delivered by

Figure 9.15 (left): Receipt from Riding Mountain Camp canteen records for returned Coca-Cola bottles and cases. 1872 empty bottles are shown to have been returned in this 20 October 1945 transaction. (Courtesy of Library and Archives Canada)

Figure 9.16 (right): Coca-Cola advertising appeared in wartime magazines in Manitoba and in the national park. One bottle was 5 cents plus 3 cents deposit. (Reproduced from Airman's Post 1941: 22; Airman's Post 1942: 18)

Figure 9.17: Selection of Coca-Cola bottles recovered from Riding Mountain Camp middens. Coca-Cola was a shared pleasure for both PoWs and the Canadian guards and staff. Coca-Cola bottles and fragments were recovered exclusively from the informal middens.

Figure 9.18: Elaborate model ship made by a PoW at Riding Mountain Camp and acquired by Canadian camp commander through gifting or exchange, and passed down to his grandson. (Courtesy of Peter Broughton)

Figure 9.19: Cut scrap metal. Possibly a blank from making hinges or other hardware or decoration for a PoW creation. Cut scrap metal as well as completed hinges and other creations were found in the informal middens at Riding Mountain Camp.

Figure 9.20: Retouched stainless steel dinner knife turned into a chisel. The butt end (left side in picture) mushrooms out from having been struck repeatedly with a hammer. Recovered from Informal Midden B, the guard's midden, which might represent its confiscation from a PoW.

CHAPTER 10. EDUCATION, REEDUCATION, AND MATERIAL CULTURE

10.1 Introduction

An institutional setting that combined aspects of military, prison, and work camps, Riding Mountain Camp clearly falls under Goffman's (1962) definition of a "total institution." For the PoWs, this was familiar territory: after months or years under the strict control of the German military, living in army camps, and sleeping in barracks, they would have already been accustomed to life in total institutions. These newcomer PoWs would have already experienced what Goffman (1962) calls "mortification"—the shock adjustment to institutional life—upon their initiation into the Wehrmacht. In fact, according to Robin (1995:30), after months on the battlefield, the emotional stress of capture and transport across the Atlantic, arrival at PoW camps "signaled a return to a familiar routine" even. "Familiar frames of reference resurfaced," and the rules and regulations of the camps "encouraged this reincarnation of the PoWs' previous sense of belonging."

Despite the PoWs' high tolerance for the particular demands of military-institutional settings, there was nevertheless a deep-rooted tension between the forces of the institution and the individuality of people in the camp, and, as discussed in Chapter 9, this tension played out in daily behavior and interactions. At Riding Mountain Camp as at all institutional settings there exists a consistent, fundamental tension between the individual and the institution. Complicating this picture of a single bureaucratic force in competition with a single group of inmates, however, is the reality that at Riding Mountain Camp there was not one but two bureaucracies involved, and that the PoWs were not a uniform group.

The PoWs came to play a role in a back-and-forth struggle between the competing ideologies of their home nation and captor nation. German soldiers were trained and socialized in very particular ways, but once they were interned in Canada, their original Nazi training and German traditions were challenged by the Canadian reeducation programs. The Nazi bureaucracy in Europe responded with their own interventions to

keep the PoWs from changing their ideological allegiance. The lowly PoWs were caught between two very different, very idealistic worlds, with the Canadians pulling them one way and their German leaders pulling them another.

As part of a multipronged program of reeducation that included coursework and guest lectures from university professors, the Canadians used material culture to their advantage by introducing the PoWs to a capitalistic way of life and familiarizing them with Canadian consumer goods. At the same time, however, the Nazi bureaucracy in Germany was desperately fighting to keep the German PoWs under their influence. In direct opposition to the reeducation efforts of the Canadians, they too used material culture in innovative ways to attempt to keep the PoWs from turning to the other side.

10.2 The Socialization of the Wehrmacht Soldier

The young German men shipped to Canada, and eventually to Riding Mountain Camp, had been highly indoctrinated and carefully socialized under Nazism. All Wehrmacht soldiers, regardless of their personal convictions, were recruited, trained, disciplined, and subject to the scrutiny of the powerful ideology of the Nazi state. The perspectives impressed on these young men as they grew up was the philosophy of Nazi Germany, a system of beliefs fundamentally underpinned by notions of racial, sexual, and social purity (Burleigh and Wippermann 1991). Intellectual support for this racialized view of the world was provided by philosophy, psychology, medicine, and other academic and pseudo-academic disciplines (e.g. Proctor 1988). But the Nazis, of course, did not just formulate benign social ideals about race and sexuality. They actively persecuted people who did not fit these ideals—mainly Jews, but also Romani, homosexuals, the disabled, petty criminals, and many others. Jews were considered nonhuman, and they and all others were placed into categories on a hierarchical scale of worthiness.

This was a political climate in which racial, sexual, and ideological nonconformity were swiftly crushed. Homosexuality and other socially “deviant” behavior, for example, was punished by castration, sterilization, banishment to concentration camps, or death (Giles 1992; Haeberle 1981; Jensen 2002; Oosterhuis 1997). Nazi Germany was also a highly

sexist, masculinist, and militarized society, where appropriate roles for men and women were outlined and regulated by the state (Bock 1983; Lovin 1967; Rupp 1977; Stephenson 1982; Timm 2002). Nazi ideals of racial and sexual purity began as rhetoric but developed into violent physical action. The Holocaust is the most infamous outcome of the Nazi policies, but the brutal war on the eastern front—in which some of the PoWs in Canada participated—is another example.

Nazi Wehrmacht soldiers such as those who would come to be interned at Riding Mountain Camp were formed through, and disciplined under, an enforced social, political, ideological, and martial education program that involved a strict regimen of physical training of the body and an equally strict regimen of indoctrination in sexist and racist ideology (Hirsch 1988). Nazi philosophies on the body emphasized an idealized "classical" (i.e., Roman and Greek) masculinity, and this was pursued through rigorous sporting activities, gymnastics, and military training. The possibility of achieving this masculinity was, of course, racially and sexually exclusive, however. Physical health was also linked to personal care of one's body, and the Nazis promoted major campaigns against tobacco and alcohol and in support of healthful living generally (Bachinger et al. 2008; Proctor 1996; Proctor 1999; Smith et al. 1994).

The usual course for German boys was graduating from youth organizations such as the *Deutsches Jungvolk* (German Youth), the *Hitler-Jugend* (Hitler Youth), and the *Reichsarbeitsdienst* (Reich Labour Service) into one of the three branches of the military, the Wehrmacht, Luftwaffe, or Kriegsmarine. The former PoWs I interviewed for this research all had been members of one or more of those military youth organizations prior to conscription into the Wehrmacht. Nazi discipline of the soldier was, in Ettelson's (2002: 2-3) words, directed at "honing their bodies, coordinating their actions, primping their uniforms, [and] ensuring their obedience." This unrelenting, long-term process of socialization contributed to the fact that not just hard-core Nazis (such as members of Hitler's SS) committed horrible acts in war. Browning (1998) has shown how the common soldier eagerly participated in massacres of soldiers and civilians. This process

of indoctrination, followed by brutal conditions in battle, led to what Bartov (1986; 1991a; 1991b) calls the "barbarization" of the Wehrmacht soldier.

By the start of the war in 1939, or at whatever point after that they were called up for battle, these young men had already lived under Nazism for six to ten years and had been subjected to years of propaganda, bodily training, and martial discipline. Although personal experiences and convictions varied, of course, it is safe to state that, in general, given the experience of their formative years, most of these soldiers would have been thoroughly indoctrinated into Nazism.

10.3 The Reeducation of German PoWs

The relationship between the German PoWs and the Canadian institution was not straightforward, and simultaneous and competing forces were at play. The PoWs at Riding Mountain Camp were, in a sense, under a double pressure: the generalized pressure to conform that exists in all institutions (Chapter 9), and the pressure of reeducation—the Canadian attempt to denazify and instill democracy in them that was specific to Second World War PoW camps. According to Kelly (1978:286), the motivation for Canada's PoW reeducation program was to enlighten the PoWs to "open their minds to ideas more in harmony with those of the democracies, and thus make those returning soldiers potential supporters of political and social reform in postwar Germany." Toward this end, the Canadians undertook three main tasks that worked in concert with one another: classification, segregation, and education (Brown 1944; Clow 2006; Kilford 2004; Page 1981).

For the purposes of classification, Canadian intelligence officers attempted to individually interview every PoW with the primary aim of assessing their level of adherence to Nazism. They created a system called "PHERUDA," an acronym that stood for "Political, Hitler, Education, Religion, Usefulness, Dependability, Attitude to" (Table 10.1). In each of these categories PoWs were questioned and scored using a convoluted marking system, the goal of which was to assign each PoW one of three classifications: white, black, or grey. "Whites" were considered pro-democracy, "blacks" unchangeably

devoted to Nazism, and "greys" in between. The PHERUDA program began too late, however—at the end of the war, 9,000 PoWs had been classified, and 25,000 had not yet been interviewed (Kelly 1978).

Table 10.1: The PHERUDA PoW Classification System

P	H	E	R	U	D	A
Political	**Hitler**	**Education**	**Religion**	**Usefulness**	**Dependability**	**Attitude To…**
Democrat	Anti-Hitler	University	Devout Roman Catholic	Willing skilled	Known dependable	Pro-Allies
Anti-Nazi	Hitler is a necessary evil	*Abitur*	Devout Protestant	Willing unskilled	Probably dependable	Pro-British
Communist	Pro-Hitler with reservations	*Einjaehrig*	Roman Catholic	Use uncertain	Uncertain	Pro-USA
Passive Anti-Nazi	Pro-Hitler	*Volkschule*	Protestant	Useless	Probably undependable	Pro-USSR
Nonpolitical	Fanatical	Minimum	Religiously indifferent	Refuses to work	Undependable	Indifferent
Nazi			Anticlerical			Anti-USSR
Super-Nazi			Neo-pagan			Anti-USA
						Anti-British
						Anti-Allies

The segregation element of reeducation was one of the ways that the Canadians attempted to achieve their psychological warfare goals without running afoul of the 1929 Geneva Convention. As a general principle they tried to separate devout Nazis from the others so as to limit their influence; so they were always on the lookout for members of the Gestapo or the SS, who were assumed to be incorrigible Nazis. Members of the SS were given away by the customary *Blutgruppentätowierung* (blood group tattoos) under

their left arms. Once the PHERUDA classification interviews were under way, the Canadians deliberately separated those classified as blacks into their own camps. Former PoW Klaus Meyer (2011) remembers one such instance:

> We had a comrade by name of Hetler, Albrecht Hetler. And we greeted him, "Heil, Hetler!" But other prisoners heard us saying, "Heil, Hitler!" so the officers were all taken out of that camp and put into their own.

The so-called whites and greys were allowed to mingle in the same camps so that the former would positively sway the latter. Both of these groups would also be subjected to further reeducation efforts, while little effort was put into changing those labeled as blacks.

Education and reeducation efforts in the Canadian camps followed the American and British models of being generally noncoercive (Chapter 4). In fact, for the most part it was the PoWs themselves who were requesting more educational opportunities. A March 1944 internal report on the "Educational Work" in PoW camps suggests as much:

> One of the more interesting developments of the work among prisoners-of-war in Canada has been the growing desire on the part of the prisoners to invite professors from Canadian Universities to lecture to them on various subjects. (Brown 1944)

Education in Canadian camps centered on these lectures provided by guest professors, but also on correspondence courses and provision of books and libraries. Collaboration developed between the YMCA War Prisoners Aid and Canadian universities, who partnered to provide educational opportunities in the camps (Phillips 1989). Courses and books were provided on all kinds of topics and in many fields, including languages, economics, and the trades (Davis 1942).

The organizers were clearly always looking for opportunities to promote interest in the fields of history and political science—topics that could contribute to political reeducation. The Canadians looked for any opportunity to inculcate democratic principles. This was often achieved in an indirect manner, by teaching the PoWs about

British, Canadian, and American history. The author of that same March 1944 report is clearly pleased to be able to report that:

> …of more importance than the number of books sent in is the type most frequently requested by the prisoners. Language and technical books are still in greatest demand, but increasingly the lists are filled with standard historical works such as the *Cambridge Historical Series*, Trevelyan's *Shortened History of England*, Morrison and Commager's *The Social and Political Growth of the United States*, etc. (Brown 1944)

The Canadian Psychological Warfare Committee even proposed that education on these themes should "gradually pass from non-controversial material, such as lectures on the institutions and economics of Canada, to more controversial subjects on the differences between political systems" (Kilford 2004: 148).

While the PoWs at camps in Canada were seemingly not forced to participate in educational activities, many of them did. But Page (1981) reminds us that it is hard to say whether this was due to intense intellectual interest, passing interest, or something else entirely. Surely many of them thought that they might as well acquire some useful skills—in languages or trades, for example—rather than waste away in captivity. The Canadians were all too happy to do what they could to provide these learning opportunities: at the very least, it would contribute to creating a functioning postwar Europe; at best, it might turn the PoWs' political outlook away from fascism and toward democracy.

No evidence has been found that educational courses or lectures took place at Riding Mountain Camp specifically. If this is in fact the case, the reason for it is probably because it was simply too small and too remote to warrant dedicated visiting lecturers. With just 500 men, compared to over 10,000 in the largest camps, and accessed by dirt road in the middle of a vast forest, the effort was likely seen as too great for too little impact on too few men. This does not mean, however, that the PoWs at Riding Mountain Camp were not exposed to reeducation efforts like all other PoWs. Every PoW at Riding Mountain Camp had been transferred there from another camp, so they had spent time in other camps too.

The PoWs at Riding Mountain Camp may have already undergone the classification process, since only “white” Nazis were supposed to be transferred to the woodcutting operation. And if they had not previously been classified, they might have been so in early 1945, when a Canadian officer visited Riding Mountain Camp to conduct interviews with PoWs toward ascertaining their ideological convictions and gleaning information useful to the war effort (Davidson 1945). The segregation process was also active at the camp, as we have records showing that on several occasions, PoWs that were deemed “too Nazi” were removed.

In addition to the actual courses and books provided to the PoWs, the Canadians—like the Americans and the British—also exposed the PoWs to the Canadian democratic, capitalistic way of life. For example, they provided them with Canadian periodicals and movies and allowed them to peruse and purchase from mail order catalogs. Consumerism was part of this program of democratization, too. The Canadians made sure the German PoWs were able to purchase and experience North American goods.

As described in Chapter 9, the PoWs had very easy access to consumer goods through the Eaton’s mail order catalog. This was the exact same catalog that hundreds of thousands of Canadians used, especially across the rural expanses of the prairies. Former PoW Ewald Wellman recalled how “we flipped through the Winnipeg Eaton’s catalog” and “we could buy anything we wanted—except for guns, of course.” He even saved up and bought a pair of leather shoes that he has kept to this very day (Wellman and Ruban 2012). The 50 cents per day paid to the PoWs was a significant amount, and allowed the PoWs to make these forays into Canadian consumerism. As my informant Karl Landman (2012) recalled:

> We were rich with our $3 per week; it was a lot of money! At the camp canteen we could buy, every day, cigarettes, chocolate, fruit from British Columbia, Coca-Cola, and mineral water. Me, I bought myself mostly cigarettes. I remember Players cost 28 cents per pack.

Excavations at Riding Mountain Camp revealed countless artifacts that evidence this PoW consumerism (Chapters 5 and 6).

As we know from Chapter 7, at Riding Mountain security was fairly lenient, and the PoWs fraternized with Canadian guards and staff and even left camp to meet up with Canadian farmers and townspeople. Relaxed security, comfortable conditions, and a hearty diet are from the outset conducive to a type of psychological influence. Add to that easy access to an abundance of modern North American consumer goods, and the Canadians set the stage for a group of well-treated PoWs who might be more amenable to aligning themselves to a democratic lifestyle.

10.4 Countering Pressure from the Nazis

While the Canadians worked to convert the German PoWs to democracy, a countering force was coming from the Nazi bureaucracy in Europe, which worked to maintain the PoWs' allegiance. This effort was centered on two related approaches. First, the Nazi bureaucracy did what they could from a distance by shipping care packages to the PoWs and, second, hard-core Nazi PoWs (operatives connected to Nazi leaders) in the Canadian camps worked to pressure on a more personal level. Of course, the work of the Nazi bureaucracy began years before the PoWs' internment, since their intense education described above was an integral attempt to ensure long-term loyalty. German soldiers also received special instructions on how to act in case of capture (US Military Intelligence Service 1942; War Office 1946).

The reach of the Nazi bureaucracy was long, and their influence is seen even inside the small and remote Riding Mountain Camp. This influence, like that of the Canadians, was partly mediated through material culture. One of the ways that the Nazis had cemented public support for their cause before and during the war was through widespread access to quality consumer goods (Baranowski 2004; Wiesen 2011), and they were acutely aware of the lure of modern consumerism.

Much of what the Nazis achieved inside Canadian PoW camps was through the German Red Cross. The Red Cross was supposed to be neutral, but the German Red Cross was successfully nazified by Hitler, meaning that throughout the war the organization worked for the Nazis while presenting itself as neutral (Durand 1984). This was a great advantage to the Nazis, since the Red Cross was afforded specific jobs and unique access in relation to PoWs. One of these was in mail and package handling for the PoWs. The Red Cross encouraged connections with Germany by delivering letters from home and by sending care packages to the PoWs. Those care packages were packed with German goods and adorned with Nazi imagery.

The tins of German chocolate that were included in those shipments, for example, were decorated with a colorful Nazi eagle and swastika (Figure 10.1). As discussed in Chapter 9, a dozen of these tins were excavated at Informal Midden B, the guard's midden, which suggests trading between the PoWs and the guards. In another material intervention into the PoWs' lives in Canada, in December 1941, Herman Goering and other Nazi leaders sent Christmas cards and care packages to every PoW in Canada (Figures 10.2 and 10.3). These moves by the Nazi bureaucracy, grounded in material things, reveal the Nazis' goal of maintaining the PoWs as supporters.

Another element to this Nazi pull were the Nazi operatives working in the Canadian camps, who worked to maintain Nazi supremacy and to counter democratizing forces in the camps. In one notable incident at Riding Mountain Camp, a pair of PoWs—former French Legionnaires seen as traitors to the Nazi cause—sought protective custody from the Veterans Guard after their lives were threatened by other PoWs in the camp (Waiser 1995b). For one period there was even an entrenched camp Gestapo that secretly received and transmitted orders for the running of the camp. As part of the segregation aspect of their reeducation efforts, the Canadians always worked to remove staunch Nazis from the general population of PoWs. One notably zealous Nazi PoW, Walter Wolf, was removed from Riding Mountain Camp only to later be accused of killing a fellow prisoner in a different camp. He would come to be tried and found guilty by a civilian court, and executed for the crime (Duda 1995; Western Weekly Reports 1945). This type of activity

was not limited to Riding Mountain Camp, or to Canadian camps—Waters' archaeological study of Camp Hearne in Texas, also found much evidence of inter-PoW conflict and even Gestapo murders (Waters 2004).

10.5 Presentation of Self in the Camp

Another area in which these conflicts played out was clothing. Upon their capture in North Africa, the Wehrmacht soldiers would have been wearing their field uniforms, and by this point these clothes, like the soldiers themselves, would have been battle weary. Members of the Afrika Korps were dressed in special tropical-issue uniforms and outfitted with equipment specially designed for hot weather and dusty conditions (Figures 10.4 to 10.6). They were loaded down with standardized gear too, though many components might have been lost in battle or left behind at some point before capture. In the early stages of capture, Allied soldiers were known to take prized items such as weapons or insignia for themselves as war booty.

It appears as though in most cases the PoWs were stuck in their battle-worn uniforms for some time after capture, including even the weeks or months it took to arrive in Canada. My PoW informant Klaus Meyer (2011) remembered arriving in Canada in a snowstorm while wearing nothing but his light, tropical-issue shirt and shorts (Figure 10.4). But soon after arrival they were outfitted with new clothes. Informant Josef Gabski (1991) remembered that immediately upon arrival they were given brand-new Wehrmacht uniforms, and informant Ewald Wellman (2011) recalled specifically that it was the German Red Cross that had provided them. The provision of crisp new uniforms by the German Red Cross might be seen as one more way the Nazis attempted to keep the PoWs in the fold.

Evidence compiled from multiple sources suggests that the PoWs in Canadian camps wore either their Nazi-issued Wehrmacht uniforms (both dress and field versions), or Canadian issued PoW outfits. A set of comical postcards drawn by a PoW in Canada shows PoWs mingling wearing both these types of uniforms (Figure 10.7). My Informant Ewald Wellman (2011) recalled that the Canadian-issued PoW "work uniform" was

made up of blue denim pants with a red stripe down the side, a denim jacket with a red circle, or "Japanese moon," on the back, and a denim cap. Wellman also recalled that the PoWs never wore civilian clothes, as they were forbidden—it had to be one of the two types of uniforms. This statement is supported by the material evidence from the excavations at Riding Mountain Camp: the vast majority of clothing-related items such as buttons, buckles, and other fasteners were either Canadian or German military issue (e.g., Figure 10.8).

At Riding Mountain Camp specifically, my informants told me that the usual practice was to wear the work clothes Monday to Saturday (work days) and the Wehrmacht dress uniforms on Sunday. According to Heinrich Winter (2011), he would wear his Wehrmacht uniform on Sunday and then wash it in time for the following Sunday. According to Ewald Wellman (2011), many PoWs adorned their Sunday uniforms with their service medals, and those that did not have their original medals made new ones out of toothpaste tube metal. Excavations at Riding Mountain Camp did not reveal any material signs of this particular craft work, but the practice must have been widespread since Waters' excavations at Camp Hearne in Texas did reveal a wide assortment of PoW-made Nazi medals, insignia, and badges (Waters 2004:192-194). According to Gabski (1991) the doctor and camp leader at Riding Mountain Camp was always in his pristine white uniform (Figure 10.13).

While the PoWs had limited control over what clothing to wear and when, they did have control over their own grooming, and they seem to have taken to this realm with extra effort and attention. At the midden associated with the PoW barrack (Informal Midden A), excavations revealed an incredible quantity and variety of personal grooming implements such as razors, combs, and toothbrushes, and products such as toothpaste tubes, tooth powder tins, hair pomades, mouthwashes, face creams, aftershaves, baby powder, and even cologne (Figure 10.9). This abundance of excavated personal grooming–related items, combined with photos of the camp showing well-dressed and carefully groomed PoWs (Figures 10.10 to 10.13), suggests that personal presentation

was important to the prisoners. This is surprising, considering the deep wilderness setting of this particular camp.

10.6 Representations of the Prisoners of War

The back-and-forth competition between the Canadian and Nazi bureaucracies extended to include the appropriation of the very image of the PoWs in captivity. This was a specifically Canadian endeavor, and it centered on photographing the PoWs in a deliberate way and then using these photographs as part of a propaganda campaign. While the PoWs had at least a measure of control over how they dressed and groomed in the camp, since cameras were forbidden to the PoWs themselves, how they ended up being represented in photographs would have been almost completely out of their control. The Canadians had a vision for the image the PoWs should present to the outside world, and they utilized photographs of the PoWs as a way to control that image.

The photographs that survive of Riding Mountain Camp were almost exclusively taken by an official Canadian Army photographer. The backs of the original hard copy photos bear a stamp that states “Canadian Army Photo” and “Public Relations Office” (Figures 10.10 to 10.13). The photos that survive from Riding Mountain Camp are staged in the sense that the PoWs were asked to put on their uniforms and carefully assume the poses we see in the photographs in very specific places in and around the camp. Photo after photo shows well dressed, pleased, yet somewhat stiff-looking PoWs staring straight at the camera. Many of the photos emphasize the wilderness setting and show that the camp is near a lake and not surrounded by barbed wire or towers. Clearly, there were no candid or action photographs taken for this series.

These carefully constructed photos of the PoWs in the camp and the landscape were to be used as propaganda by the Canadians to show to the Germans that their PoWs were happy and well treated. The Riding Mountain Camp PoWs were integral to this propaganda plan in more ways than simply standing for the photographs; they were to be the distributors of the photos. And this fact explains why the PoWs participated in the photo shoot in the first place. The photos taken by the official photographer at Riding

Mountain, like at other camps, were developed and published as postcards that were then sold to the PoWs, who were expected to mail them back home to their families in Germany. The goal of this propaganda approach was to lower the morale of German civilians, and to encourage surrender among soldiers. For German civilians, seeing their relatives well treated in Canada might lead them to doubt the nasty things their leaders had said about the Allies; and for soldiers, seeing that they would be well treated if captured by the Allies might lessen the chance that they fight to the death rather than face capture.

And indeed, the PoWs were glad to have the postcards, and they did mail them back to Germany en masse. Hundreds and possibly even thousands of these postcards were mailed from Riding Mountain Camp alone; tens or hundreds of thousands would have been sent from Canada as a whole.

10.7 Conclusion

In an ongoing competition between ideologies and worldviews, the Canadians and Nazis each vied for the hearts and minds of the PoWs in Canada. At Riding Mountain Camp this competition was partly mediated through material culture. The Canadians used the introduction to the PoWs of North American–style consumerism to their advantage as part of a wider program of reeducation. The Nazi bureaucracy in Europe used items of material culture such as care packages, Christmas cards, uniforms, and chocolates to keep the PoWs thinking of home and to attempt to keep them from turning to the other side. The Canadians and the Nazis battled over the PoWs' allegiance, and the pressure to conform, either to the Canadian or the Nazi ideal, was ever present in the camp.

There was no single way that the PoWs responded to this dual assault, this push and pull of two idealistic ideologies. Most of the PoWs do seem to have eagerly participated in the readily offered Canadian consumerism: they were paid generously for their woodcutting, enough to easily buy small items at the camp canteen and out of the Eaton's catalog. With a little careful saving, more expensive items like shoes and watches were obtained

too. But PoWs also accepted the gifts from the Nazi bureaucracy—they kept for themselves or traded away the chocolates and other goods they received in care packages.

Some PoWs went their own way, aiming not for political alignment but for simple individualism. In camp, the PoWs wore both Canadian-provided work clothes and their carefully tended Nazi uniforms; but, since they had relatively little control over what clothing they could wear, many PoWs instead focused on grooming. In an environment where clothing was largely controlled by the institution, altering other aspects of personal presentation such as the appearance or smell of the skin, hair, and teeth, was one way to regain a measure of control over one's body, to express individuality and separateness from these two competing ideologies.

But the PoWs were not a uniform group, and they did not act or react to these ideological pressures in a uniform way. We know that there was at times inter-PoW conflict at Riding Mountain Camp—hard core Nazis and members of the Gestapo threatened others—proof enough that loyalties were divided and that not all PoWs were like-minded. The PoWs at Riding Mountain Camp, like other institutionalized peoples, acted, reacted, resisted, collaborated, and innovated in any number of ways. Some PoWs were opportunistic, others were conflicted and confused, others were quietly loyal to one cause or the other. This difficult institutional position—between German loyalty and Canadian reeducation—was surely producing many conflicted experiences and subjectivities. And indeed, the archaeological record of Riding Mountain Camp itself, with its informal middens and evidence of contraband, was in fact produced through these small and varied ways that individual PoWs navigated the ideological tension in their daily, institutionalized, lives.

Figure 10.1: German Red Cross chocolate tins excavated at Riding Mountain Camp. Tins read "*Deutschen Rotes Kreuz / Schokolade / Hildebrand Berlin*" ("German Red Cross / Chocolate / Hildebrand Berlin"). Twelve of these were recovered from Informal Midden B, the guard's midden.

Figure 10.2 (left): Christmas card sent from Nazi leaders to PoWs in Canada. "*With best Christmas wishes from the Fuhrer and Supreme Commander of the Wehrmacht.*" (Courtesy of Library and Archives Canada)

Figure 10.3 (right): Christmas card sent from Hermann Göring to PoWs in Canada. "*With best Christmas wishes from Reichsmarschall Göring*." (Courtesy of Library and Archives Canada)

Figure 10.4: *Wehrmacht Afrika Korps* soldiers. Note tropical-issue field uniforms, including shorts. (Reproduced from Bender 1973)

Figure 10.5: Tropical-issue tunic and pith helmet. (Reproduced from Bender 1973)

Figure 10.6: Tropical-issue tunic. (Reproduced from Bender 1973)

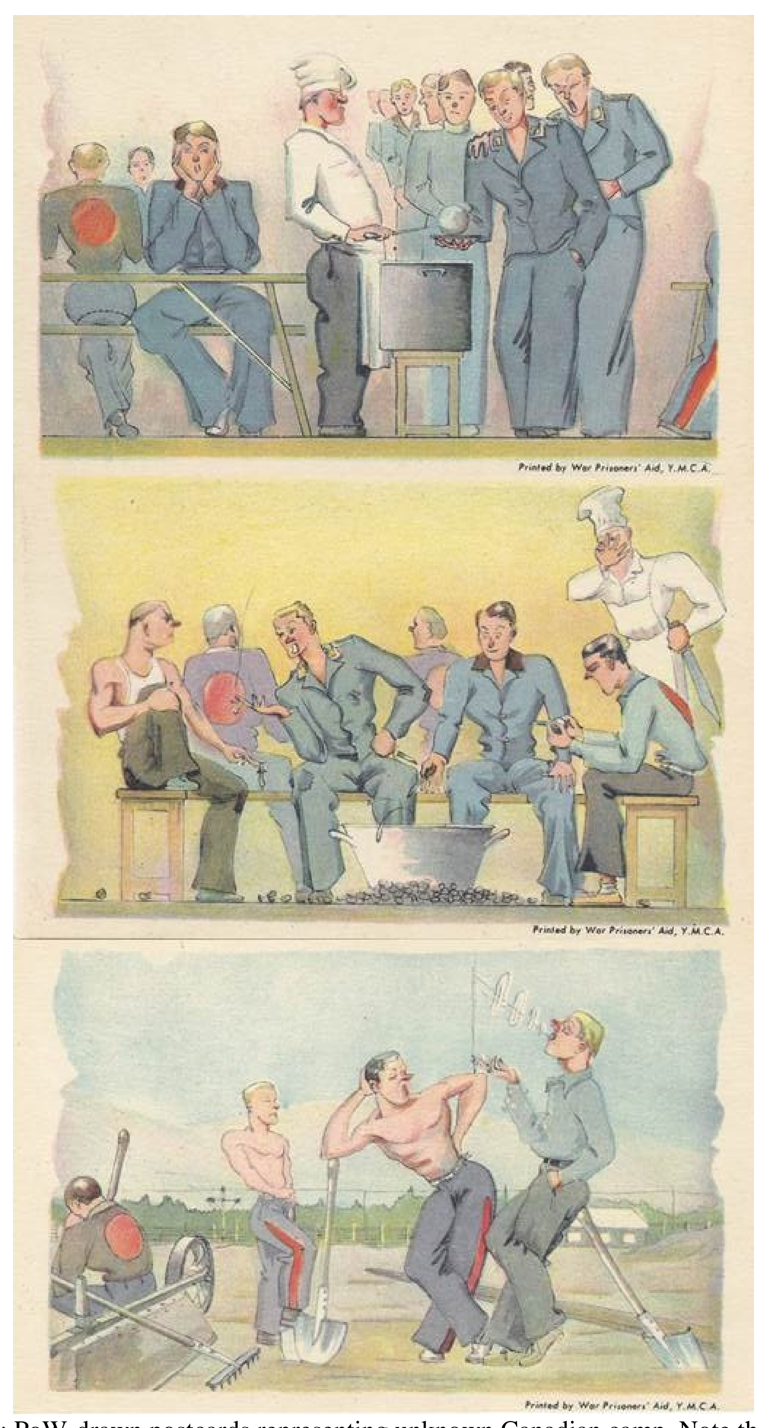


Figure 10.7: PoW-drawn postcards representing unknown Canadian camp. Note the mixture of Nazi military uniforms and Canadian-issue PoW work clothes, which include red circles on backs of jackets and red stripes down the legs. (Courtesy of Michael O'Hagan)

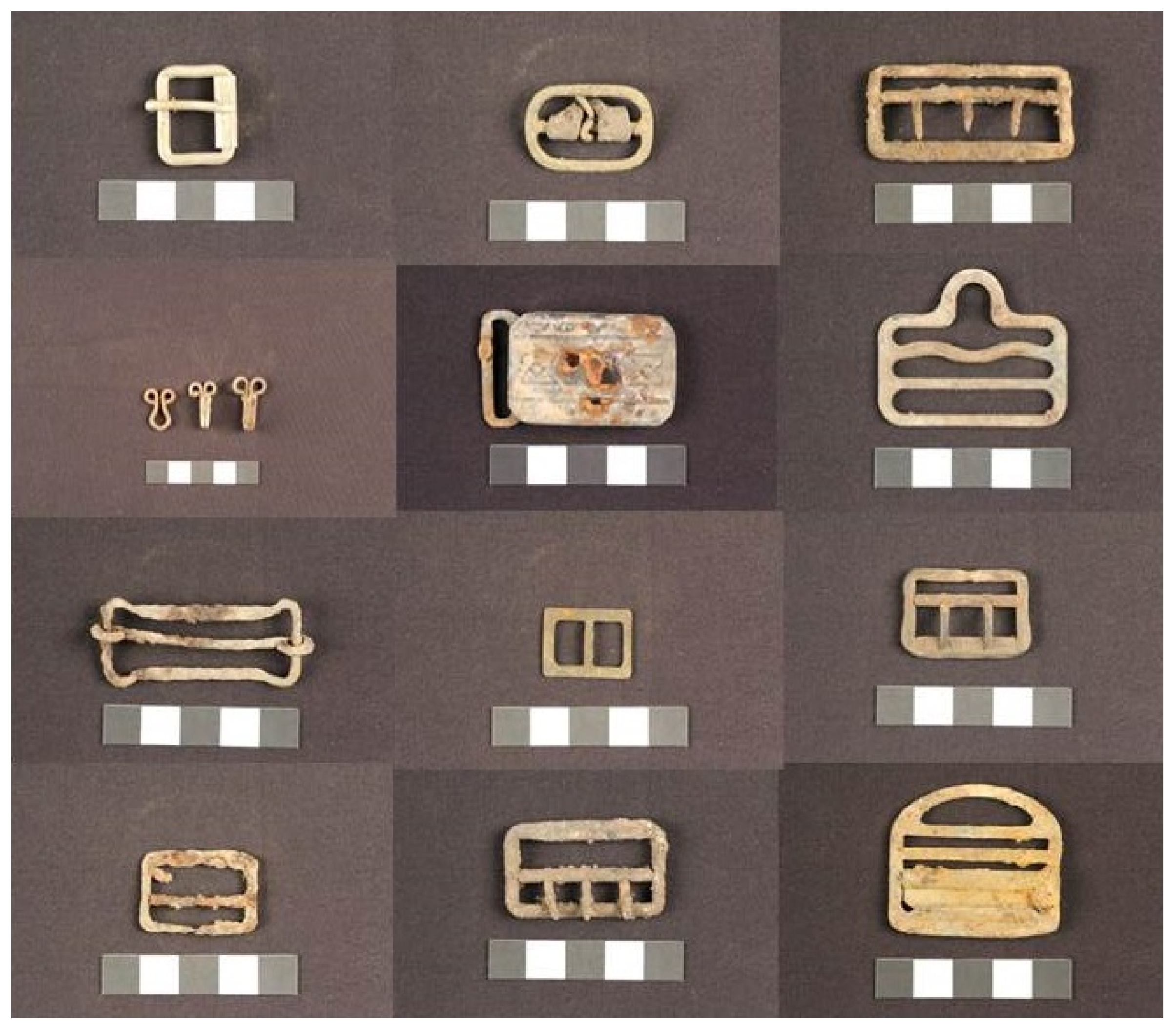


Figure 10.8: Assortment of buckles and clothing fasteners excavated at Riding Mountain Camp. The majority of clothing related items are either German or Canadian military issue originating from various types of uniforms, and they were recovered overwhelmingly from the Informal Middens, and from Official Midden B, at the incinerator.

Figure 10.9: Assortment of personal grooming products and accessories excavated at Riding Mountain Camp. Personal grooming items were almost exclusively recovered from the informal middens.

Figure 10.10: Staged photograph of Riding Mountain Camp PoWs. Project informant Josef Gabski is on the front row far left. (Courtesy of Parks Canada)

Figure 10.11: Staged photograph of Riding Mountain Camp PoWs. Note wilderness setting. (Courtesy of Parks Canada)

10.12: Staged photograph of Riding Mountain Camp PoW band. This and other photos were turned into postcards that the PoWs sent to Germany. (Courtesy of Parks Canada)

Figure 10.13: Staged photograph of Riding Mountain Camp PoWs. Doctor with distinctive white tunic is third from right. (Courtesy of Parks Canada)

CHAPTER 11. CONCLUSION

> I think of Riding Mountain often. It was a very nice time.
> Former PoW Gunter Bausdorf (Bausdorf 2012)

11.1 The Varied Experiences of Internment

In May 1985 a community history society conducted an unauthorized “guerrilla excavation” on torture cells beneath the ruins of the former Gestapo headquarters in Berlin. The excavation was not scientific but symbolic. The aim was to focus attention, through an occupation and excavation of the site, on a perceived failure to adequately memorialize the victims of the Gestapo. The group included former prisoners held at the site during the war and relatives of others who had died there (Baker 1987; Baker 1990). Through their protest, the diggers sent a message that archaeology can be used to study the relatively recent Nazi past. The site has since been professionally excavated, and is now open to the public as a striking outdoor museum (Hesse et al. 1989).

Today it is more common for archaeologists to be invited to work with their colleagues in history and other disciplines, applying their skill set toward elucidating the history and meaning of the Nazi era. And it is ironic that the failed project of Nazism, obsessed both with the discipline of archaeology and the notion of lasting a thousand years, is itself now being studied by archaeologists just seventy years after its complete demise. It is certainly important to study the victims of the Nazis; but, if we are interested in understanding the wider phenomena of internment in the modern world, then we must also consider other episodes of internment, and we must be open to situations that might not have been characterized by extremes of violence and deprivation. Life at Riding Mountain Camp, in a remote forest in Manitoba, during the Second World War was one of these “other” experiences of internment.

The discovery that there is immense variability in how prisoners are treated—that not all imprisonments are brutal, and that not all memories of internments are negative—was one of the key early results of this dissertation research. At Riding Mountain Camp, there was no imposed material scarcity and no limiting of food or recreation. And this

particular camp was flooded with legitimate material goods. The camp administration ordered food and other supplies in bulk, and individual PoWs used a mail order catalog to procure all manner of supplies and trinkets for themselves. The barracks were comfortable and well built, and nutritious food, warm clothes, and rest and recreation were available in plenty. This realization that prisoners held in a prison camp were treated well and surrounded by abundant material culture was unexpected, but it turned out to be only the first in a series of surprises and reversals uncovered through this research.

11.2 The Internment Camp as Reforming Institution

While German PoWs were well treated in Canada, they were at the same time subjected to a reeducation campaign. While the stated intention of the Canadian captors was in accordance with the 1929 Geneva Convention criteria that PoWs be held for the duration of hostilities and not subjected to ideological manipulation, in reality, the PoW camps were not merely warehouses for the PoWs but rather classic reforming institutions in the Victorian tradition. The aim was to realign the PoWs from their fascist upbringing to democratic ideals—to reform them from their loyalty to Nazism. Inside the camps in Canada the imprisoned Wehrmacht soldiers, previously subjected to intense training and indoctrination under Nazism, were subjected to carefully designed political reeducation programs. And this experience as PoWs in Canada only really makes sense in relation to their prior experience as Nazi conscripts.

Working in concert with the American and British reeducation projects, the Canadian approach to "democratizing" the PoWs was noncoercive and focused on introducing the men to Canadian culture and a democratic way of life. This reeducation project was grounded in a three-pronged method comprising classification, segregation, and education. Classification assigned every PoW into one of three categories—white, grey, or black—ostensibly corresponding with their level of adherence to Nazism. Segregation separated the blacks from the whites and greys. Education provided coursework, books, and visiting professors in the hope of teaching the PoWs about British, American, and

Canadian history and political thinking. That a twentieth-century internment camp might be seen as a reforming institution in the classic sense is a key implication of this research.

The Canadian reeducation program also had unwritten aspects, and these centered around—in a very general sense—*treating the PoWs well*. At Riding Mountain Camp, the German PoWs were full participants in Canadian consumer culture. This easy access to modern consumer goods was a Canadian tactic to show the PoWs what a democratic, capitalist way of life could be like. Similarly, the relaxed security and regulations at Riding Mountain Camp are what allowed the PoWs to temporarily escape and fraternize with Canadian civilians, and these many excursions and interactions created lasting social connections between the PoWs and Canadians and further familiarized the PoWs with Canadian culture.

That the PoWs were both well provided for and being reeducated is in fact not incompatible. The comfortable conditions, the relative freedom, and perhaps especially the tacit toleration of fraternization with Canadians and the abundance of modern consumer goods, were all part of this reeducation process. It could be said that the Canadians were seducing the German PoWs even, impressing them with the material wealth and living conditions available under democratic capitalism. And for the PoWs, Canadian plenty and Canadian self-determination were indeed impressive.

11.3 Material Culture as Ideological Mediator

Although life at Riding Mountain Camp was not characterized by extreme conditions or guided by extreme regulation of material culture, this does not mean that material things were not important to the institution. Riding Mountain Camp, like all institutions, actively used material culture in its broader approach to managing and indoctrinating its charges. The negotiation of power between the institution and the institutionalized, and the push and pull between competing Canadian and Nazi bureaucracies, was in fact largely mediated through small material culture. Paradoxically, material culture was employed by the institution at Riding Mountain Camp both to enforce conformity and to show off the great abundance and variety available in a democratic capitalist society.

Riding Mountain Camp was tasked with the complexities of managing many men. Individuality is the enemy of such a task; thus, this camp, like all institutions before it, worked for control over and conformity among its charges. The institution harnessed the power in material culture to this end through what I have described as restrictions and impositions. To briefly reiterate, restrictions are the rules about material culture in institutions—the banning and limiting of some things, and the delimiting of the properties of others. Impositions relate to the institution's power to choose what material culture is provided to inmates such as selecting what an inmate wears and what food he eats. These imposed goods are always mass-produced, regularized items, the kinds of things that emphasize conformity and suppress individuality in institutionalized people.

German soldiers were trained and socialized in particular ways, but once they were interned in Canada, their original Nazi inculcation was challenged by the Canadian reeducation programs. The Nazi bureaucracy in Europe then responded with their own interventions to attempt to keep the PoWs from changing their ideological allegiance. The lowly PoWs were caught between two idealistic worldviews—with the Canadians captors pulling them one way and their German leaders pulling them another. This competition between worldviews was partly mediated through material culture: the Canadians used material things, specifically the introduction to the PoWs of North American–style consumerism, to their advantage as part of their comprehensive program of reeducation. The Nazi bureaucracy in Europe used small items of material culture such as Red Cross care packages and chocolates, often adorned with patriotic Nazi imagery, to keep them thinking of home.

These results have important implications for the study of historic institutions and internments. The research reveals that despite the lasting stereotype, which has influenced everything from research designs to published results, prisons and internment camps are not always stark, barren places devoid of material culture. On the contrary, often they are overflowing with material things. Along with the built environment, small material culture is a key player in both enforcing and resisting institutional discipline, and

is a key mediator in the back-and-forth struggle between competing ideologies in institutions.

11.4 The Individual in the Institution

While material culture plays an essential role in the institution's programs of conformity and reform, the institution never has absolute power over material things. Inmates may be at a disadvantage in the institutional setting, but they are nonetheless not always perfectly compliant. They find ways to use material culture to their own ends: to express resistance to the power of the institution, to cooperate with the institution or its representatives, or simply to experience some sense of autonomy. And despite the strong institutional forces at play at Riding Mountain Camp, the PoWs found many opportunities to express their group and individual identities. For a PoW this might be achieved through creating new noninstitutional things out of found and recycled material, by damaging or altering institutionally provided items, by purchasing things at a canteen or on the black market, or even simply by changing one's appearance through personal grooming practices. All of these took place at Riding Mountain Camp, and through these activities the PoWs challenged the institutional nature of their environment and personalized space that was not intended to be personalized. Small material culture is thus demonstrated to be a principal mediator between the pressure of the institution to conform and the deep human need for individuality.

Although affected by their time as soldiers and perhaps certain aspects of their imprisonments, the surviving German veterans interviewed for this project have overwhelmingly good memories of their time as PoWs in Canada. Decades later, the former PoWs with whom I spoke remember their time in Canadian PoW camps fondly. The hot food, warm clothes, and comfortable barracks of Riding Mountain Camp were mentioned by every single PoW informant interviewed for this project. The PoWs were, in the end, happy to have been captured, to have been removed from the battlefield, and to wait out the war in this bush camp, far from danger. One of my informants even stated that "the time in the camp was really more of a vacation with work. It was wonderful" (Bausdorf 2012). Though it is important to again mention the selection bias inherent in

my sample of oral history informants, since they were willing to speak with me in the first place, and since during the war they were likely categorized as low security risk PoWs. Ultimately, many in this group of young men—though forcibly relocated to a distant country—ended up not only enjoying their travels and internment but even forging cultural linkages with local people they encountered. Their positive experience as prisoners and the friends they made among the farmers led some of them to immigrate to North America after the war and others to speak well of Canada for the rest of their lives.

11.5 The Archaeology of Camps in Comparative Perspective

The data and results presented in this conclusion and throughout this dissertation are almost entirely site specific: they are precisely drawn from, and related to, Riding Mountain Camp—a particular type of internment camp, in a particular setting, and from a particular era. But could we learn additional things from considering the archaeology of internment camps in a broader, more comparative fashion? If we looked at internment camp archaeological deposits in this comparative perspective, we might come up with commonalities between this project and other projects. And by determining how this project fits into the wider body of work conducted in this interest area, we might come up with a set of trends or themes relevant for future projects. Ideally, this comparative project would be able to take a set of historical sites with roughly similar conditions (for example, Second World War PoW camps), and then from that group, select a subset of archaeological projects that included roughly similar field methods and sampling strategies (for example, archaeological projects on Second World War PoW camps that excavated at trash middens).

Unfortunately, creating such a specific subset is impossible, since the use of archaeology to research the phenomenon of PoWs in the historical period is only a nascent endeavor. A very small number of projects have thus far occurred. However if we expand our purview slightly to include the interment of other categories of people—soldiers, civilians, and various political or cultural groups, for example—the number of relevant archaeological projects increases significantly. Similarly, the research at Riding Mountain Camp is the only known archeological project to specifically target internment

camp middens for excavation. Thus comparison between middens at different types of internment sites is also a difficult or impossible endeavor. However if we again widen our purview—to include not just middens, but all subsurface deposits, for example—we end up with a larger pool of sites and projects that might be compared.

The smallest scale that we can use for effective comparison then, seems to be that set of archaeological projects that has studied historical internment camp settings through excavations of subsurface deposits (reviewed in Chapter 2). And indeed, after looking closely at this set of archaeological projects and comparing their data and results to the research presented in this dissertation on Riding Mountain Camp, important common themes emerge. What I found through this comparison is that there appear to be certain themes that field archaeology—and specifically the excavation of subsurface deposits—is particularly adept at uncovering data and information on. These five themes are: conditions of internment, prisoner diet, personal things, culture contact, and escape.

Archaeological excavations and the uncovering of lost material culture appear to be particularly helpful at revealing the conditions of the internment of prisoners in camps. As we have seen from the results presented in this dissertation, at Riding Mountain Camp the PoWs were treated generously, and this good treatment was fully evidenced by the excavated material culture. Material culture that represented extensive leisure activities, personal grooming, and alcohol consumption, for example, shows that the PoWs' basic needs we taken care of as a baseline. On the opposite spectrum, we might compare the work at Riding Mountain to Jameson's (2013) excavations at Andersonville, the American Civil War PoW camp in Georgia. Excavations at Andersonville evidenced the brutal conditions of internment at that prison: for example, there were no buildings to excavate there, since the PoWs lived in squalid tents. Excavations focused instead on uncovering the stockade wall, one of the key spatial elements of the oppression of the Union PoWs held there.

Internment camp prisoner diet—what they ate, and how much of it they had—is another key theme that is often accessible through excavations, even when there is no written

record. Internment camps almost always have specific buildings designated for cooking and eating (i.e., the camp canteen), and also often have set dumping locations for the byproduct of that cooking and eating. In many cases, if the location of the canteen can be identified, the archaeologist has a strong chance of being able to access abundant evidence of diet in camp. At Riding Mountain Camp, the central evidence of diet was the large collection of faunal bones, which had in this case been deposited at the camp's central Official Midden. At the Quedlingburg camp, the First World War PoW camp studied by Demuth (2009), abundant evidence of diet was found by excavating right at the camp canteen building. Demuth was able to determine that the PoWs there were eating soups and stews and dried fish, and had surprising access to bottled drinks such as beer.

Anyone living in a camp has likely been forcibly separated from his family, friends, home, and usual cultural context. Additionally, interned people are often forcibly deprived of personal things, and the items they are allowed to possess are strictly controlled. In such severely controlled settings the few small personal things that prisoners do possess, gain special significance. The excavation, recovery, and analysis of small personal items, I thus suggest, is another key theme and key area of study for the archaeology of internment camps. The results from Riding Mountain certainly support this, as do the results from many other sites, including—perhaps surprisingly—all of the excavations that have occurred at Holocaust related sites (e.g. Gilead et al. 2009; Hirte and Gedenkstätte 1999; Theune 2010).

The coming together of disparate groups of people from different regions of the world—what we might call culture contact—is another theme that emerges from many archaeological studies of internment camps. And this contact is often evidenced by the excavated material culture. At Riding Mountain Camp, the clash between competing culturally specific ideologies was patent in the material record. Consumer goods adorned with Nazi symbolism, found in this Canadian forest, are perhaps the most obvious example. At Johnson's Island Prison, reported on by Bush (2000; 2009), the clash was due to the prisoners and guards being from different cultures ("North" and "South"), but

also due to their different economic classes. At the German-run Quedlingburg camp, Demuth (2009) excavated evidence of the very French cultural tradition of opening alcohol bottles with a saber cut.

The theme of escape seems to appear in nearly every instance of internment, and amazingly, the physical evidence of escape seems to often survive to be later uncovered by archeology. At Riding Mountain Camp, carved dugout canoes—used in temporary escapes to nearby towns—survive both in situ on the ground surface, and as underwater features. At the Civil War camps mentioned above, escape tunnels were revealed through excavations at the camp privies, at buildings, and under the stockades. Excavations at Stalag Luft III in Poland, the most famous of all PoW camps, uncovered one of the three tunnels immortalized in the film *The Great Escape*, as well as a briefcase escape kit, complete with document forgery tools (Doyle et al. 2001; Pringle et al. 2007).

This set of five themes, or commonalities, run through many of the archaeological projects that have used excavation to interpret internment camps. And each of the items in this set of themes was central both to the research at Riding Mountain Camp and to many or even most of the other projects. As such, they emerge as common trends in the archaeology of internment camps that might inform the planning and execution of future projects in this interest area. These key archaeological themes might turn out to be particularly relevant for the study of archaeological contexts for which little or no written record exists.

11.6 The Ephemerality of Internment

The experience of internment links Winston Churchill, Kurt Vonnegut, and Pope Benedict XVI. Internment has inspired classic works of literature such as Solzhenitsyn's *The Gulag Archipelago* and Levi's *If This is a Man,* as well as popular films like *The Bridge on the River Kwai* and *The Great Escape*. While interned, a group of rabbis in Auschwitz put God on trial, mathematician Jakow Trachtenberg invented a renowned system of mental arithmetic, and archaeologist Gerhard Bersu conducted pioneering excavations on the Isle of Man. Untold millions of men, women, and children have been

held in various types of internment camps in the twentieth century. The experience of internment emerges as a key theme of that recently ended century.

Today, the sites of some of the most infamous internment camps of the twentieth century are forest. Within a single lifetime—the blink of an eye in archaeological terms—vast settlements holding thousands of people have been almost wholly reabsorbed by their natural environment. In many cases, natural processes of abandonment and decay were assisted by purposeful destruction—attempts to hide evidence of crimes committed. In my extensive research on internment I have found that, even in cases where no clear crimes have taken place, internment camps are very often dismantled at the earliest opportunity (Myers 2010a; Myers 2011b). The very term “camp” implies a temporary residence. Riding Mountain Camp, for example, a comparably small and inconsequential camp on the scale of national internment operations, was immediately dismantled once the final PoWs had been transferred, and the remaining contents, fixtures, and buildings were swiftly liquidated at auction.

At Riding Mountain Camp today, variations in the ground surface representative of former buildings are apparent to the trained eyes of archaeologist but usually remain unseen by site visitors. What are the implications of being able to walk over the site of Riding Mountain Camp, or of *Stalag Luft III*, or of Treblinka—the latter two formerly home to tens of thousands of prisoners—without even realizing it? One of the most important, and perhaps troubling, characteristics of sites of internment is this physical ephemerality, something that has been continually exploited by the perpetrators of internment, from Hitler’s Germany to Pinochet’s Chile, to attempt to erase the traces of camps from the earth and thereby from history. Combined with the absence or destruction of documentary evidence and the silencing of witnesses, it is feasible that episodes of internment can be erased and therefore denied.

Against this backdrop of physical and historical ephemerality the responsibility of the archaeologist grows—to diligently collect what traces remain, to piece together the institutional and human stories, and to report and archive their findings. The term

“forensic archaeology” is usually used in reference to the close study of human remains. Its literal meaning is archaeology carried out as part of the judicial process. In many cases, it is in this sense of the term that archaeologists might want to approach sites of internment: as crime scenes where the gathering and interpretation of evidence is carefully conducted and the results archived for future reference. Archaeologists are uniquely skilled to collect and store these fragile forms of data.

Certain internment sites are well recorded and well preserved and will survive as heritage sites or sites of memory for the foreseeable future. Some sites of internment are perhaps not patently scenes of crimes, and do not hold secret histories needing exposure for reasons of ethics or justice. Yet to these places as much as to those hiding histories of murder and repression archaeologists have a duty of stewardship. And archaeologists are heeding this call. It is heartening that countering this powerful tide of ephemerality and erasure at sites of twentieth-century internment is the increasing attention of archaeologists to this subject matter. As our distance from the most devastating events of the twentieth century, including the First and Second World Wars, continues to grow, archaeological attention to the material remains of their associated places of conflict and internment will continue to develop and expand. With these projects—along with the continued work of our colleagues in history and other disciplines—the pressing stories of conflict and internment will continue to be revealed, recorded, and archived, and will continue to contribute to both our understanding of the past and the creation of the future.

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