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An Historical Archaeological Investigation of the Indianola Prisoner of War Camp in Southwestern Nebraska

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AN HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE INDIANOLA PRISONER OF WAR CAMP IN SOUTHWESTERN NEBRASKA

by

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Second World War military operations resulted in the capture of thousands of prisoners of war. This led to the creation of internment facilities by both the Axis and the Allies. Archaeologists have begun to examine these facilities. The United States government established a POW program with numerous camps all over the country. This study provides the results of historical archaeological research at the Indianola prisoner of war camp in southwestern Nebraska. A goal of this research is to determine if the archaeological record reflects adherence to the Geneva Convention of 1929. The investigation included archival research and archaeological fieldwork with metal detector survey and test excavation. Findings indicate that prisoner areas were strictly policed and that camps were salvaged and reused after the war. This study also discusses the effectiveness of various methodological approaches to the study of internment and proposes a new theoretical model based on the Geneva Convention.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Problem Statement

The Second World War was a transformative global conflict with lasting impacts for all nations involved. The military operations of the conflict resulted in the capture of thousands of prisoners of war (POWs) by both the Axis and the Allies. The taking of prisoners had major logistical implications for these modern militaries. The prisoners needed to be housed in a secure location for the duration of the conflict. The United States set up a specific wartime program for the development and management of prisoner of war camps around the country. Nations that were signatories to the Geneva Convention had a specific set of requirements that standardized the treatment of these prisoners. Scholars have employed different types of evidence to learn about these camps ranging from textual documents and oral histories to historic photographs, maps, and designs. In the past several decades, archaeologists have begun to examine the material remains of these camps. This thesis discusses the results of an archaeological investigation at the Indianola POW Camp in southwestern Nebraska.

The primary goal of this research is to determine the value of the contribution of archaeological evidence in understanding these sites. More specifically, can observance of the Geneva Convention be seen in the material record of the Indianola POW camp? What does a holistic historical archaeological approach reveal about the camp that cannot be learned through a strictly historical investigation? Four specific research questions are designed to assess the possible role of material culture in interpreting these sites. How is the camp facility organized? Is that organization reflected archaeologically? What can be learned about the lives of camp occupants, prisoners and guards, through an understanding of this

organization? How does the historical repurposing and eventual destruction of these sites affect the archeological interpretation? The remaining building foundations in conjunction with the distribution of artifacts around the camp location have the potential to inform a great deal about life in the camp during the Second World War and beyond. These questions aim to gain a deeper understanding of POW camp sites as complex archaeological resources.

Internment archaeology is an emergent subfield of historical archaeology. Historical archeologists are in the process of testing a variety of methodologies and theoretical frameworks to better standardize the investigation of these sites. One goal of this research is to make a contribution to growing field of internment archaeology. As the archaeological consideration of internment sites occurs around the world, it is important for scholars to engage one another's research so comparisons may be made about internment practices through time and space. In order for the research at Indianola to be placed in this much larger context, an assessment of the field of internment archaeology is necessary.

The State of Interment Archaeology (Review of Literature)

The archaeological investigation at Indianola reflects a growing research interest in internment sites around the world. The subfield of internment archaeology developed as an aspect of conflict archaeology, initially focusing on military prisoners of war, but later expanding to include civilian populations held during times of war. This review of literature provides an assessment of the state of the field of internment archaeology. The types of sites, research motivations, methodological approaches, and theoretical orientations of previous research are discussed in detail. This overview provides context to the origins of the research design that guided the archaeological work done at Indianola.

In order to understand these sites in an archaeological context, it is necessary to understand the human act of internment and how it has been defined throughout history. The definition of internment is diversely interpreted geographically and chronologically. The actual word "intern" was first used as verb in 1866 and meant "to confine or impound, especially during wartime". Despite the rather late development of the term, the practice can be dated to a much earlier time in human history. One of the earliest forms of internment was the capture and holding of prisoners of war. The treatment of captured individuals varied greatly depending on the culture of the victors. In ancient times, it frequently resulted in slaughter or enslavement. Roman gladiators are a frequently discussed example of prisoners of war. They were enslaved and forced to fight as a form of entertainment.

The housing and treatment of prisoners of war evolved as a part of the changing nature of large-scale military conflict between opposing governments. Military powers began holding troops over the course of the conflict to be exchanged or released as it concluded. Although the practice of interning prisoners is well established into early human history, Mytum (2013) argues that these populations are not "visible as distinctive groups in the historic or archaeological record until the eighteenth century" (2013:5). Despite increased visibility in this time period, POWs were not held in structures designed specifically for the task. Governing powers simply utilized pre-existing containment facilities. In the late eighteenth century, the scope and scale of global warfare had expanded to such a degree that the development of POW specific facilities was necessary. From this point on, prisoner specific holding facilities and camps become part of the archaeological record. In the 19th and 20th centuries, governments and militaries expanded the types of internment camps to include examples beyond prisoner of war sites.

Types of Camps

Archaeologists have examined a variety of different internment sites around the world. These include prisoner of war camps that date throughout history, civilian internment sites, labor camps, and death camps. This section provides a brief overview of archaeological research that has been conducted at these types of sites.

Investigations at several 18th century camps are some of the earliest dating POW camp sites. Mytum and Hall (2013) discuss the history and archaeology of Norman Cross, a prisoner of war camp established in the 1790's to house captured prisoners from the Napoleonic Wars and other British conflicts. Prior to the establishment of these camps, the British military housed prisoners in converted military structures. Norman Cross was one of the earliest prisoner of war camps designed on the values that have since become legally standardized around the world in the following two centuries of combat. Physical innovations like a secure perimeter and separate compounds set a standard for future treatment of prisoners. Lifestyle provisions like diet, exercise space, and reasonable prisoner self-governance were also critically important developments. The archaeological work, albeit preliminary, provides critical insight into the day to day lives of the prisoners.

In North America, Catts and Roberts (2000) performed a phase I investigation of a Revolutionary War POW camp in York County PA. The main goal of the research was to delineate the boundaries of the camp by focusing on surface deposits. The project was building on previous research conducted in 1979. The fieldwork resulted in multiple revolutionary war era artifacts. Archaeology is playing a critical role in a struggle to preserve the site.

Archaeological research at 19th century POW camps is a more common practice, especially for sites that date to the American Civil War. Andersonville is one of the most infamous sites of internment from this era. Archaeological investigations at Andersonville have greatly improved interpretation efforts at the site. Andersonville is a National Park Service site and has been archaeologically investigated since the 1970's. Archaeology at Andersonville has identified structural characteristics of the camp like the corners, gates, and stockade. They were even able to locate a backfilled prisoner escape tunnel (Prentice and Prentice 2000). Jameson (2013) discusses how archaeology was able to identify two distinct construction phases at the camp as well as identifying other architectural features and living areas. While the historical record provides some details about the lives of the prisoners, it lacked details about the physical structure of the camp.

Jameson (2013) goes on to discuss archaeological investigations at Fort Pulaski National Monument in Georgia. Archaeology was able to enrich the interpretation of the site by locating the 520 Confederate POW soldiers who died at the site. Thoms (2004) discusses the low degree of preservation at Camp Ford, located in east Texas. The main archaeological features found at this site are the surviving residues of clay lining that sealed residential floors. Prisoners constructed their own housing within the camp and tried to adapt to harsh seasonality with these projects (Thoms 2004). Extensive excavations of a guard camp site at the Florence Stockade in South Carolina revealed a great deal of data about POW activities in the camp (Avery and Garrow 2013). This is especially significant since the camp was occupied for less than a year. Archaeologists located structural features and numerous artifacts that illuminate the harsh and unsanitary living conditions in the camp. Work at these

three sites indicates that camps with poor preservation or transitory occupation can still yield significant archaeological deposits.

Research at Johnson's Island is shedding light on the lives of Confederate officers imprisoned during the war. Bush has conducted research at the site for a number of years. Examination of refuse in latrines sheds light on prisoner coping strategies. He found that prisoners who took an oath of loyalty were granted privileges like access to alcohol (Casella 2007). He also discussed how other prisoners exerted identity by using materials to subvert their captors' rules. They would construct furniture to make their living spaces more comfortable. One prisoner even set up a photography studio and material evidence of the chemical bottles he used has been found on the site (Bush 2009). Bush (2013) employs material culture analysis to demonstrate how the United States government's policies regarding the treatment of prisoners evolved over the course of the war.

In recent decades, more archaeologists have begun to consider sites associated with the First World War. Demuth (2009) discusses a World War I prisoner of war camp in central Germany. The excavation took place as a form of salvage archaeology during a highway construction project. The authors combine historical research with archaeological fieldwork to speak to an era of German history that had previously been overlooked. Mytum (2013) discusses investigations at Cunningham's Camp located at the Isle of Man. The camp housed prisoners of war as well as civilian internees. The focus of his research is the role of material culture in prisoner coping strategies. The archeology of POW camps associated with the Great War has immense potential.

During the Second World War, POW camps were interned around the world in the largest scale since the practice began. Doyle, Babits, and Pringle (2007) conducted an

archaeological investigation to locate an escape tunnel at Stalag Luft III, made famous in the film *The Great Escape*. Prisoners dug three tunnels as part of their escape plan. The tunnels "Tom" and "Harry" were located by the Germans during the war. The third tunnel, "Dick" was never found. The study describes the one week investigation in locating "Dick".

Jasinski (2013) discusses the experiences of German troops and foreign POWs in Norway during the Second World War. The development of defenses in the country, as part of the Atlantic Wall, demanded a large supply of human labor that was provided by prisoners of war. Jasinski (2013) focuses on the results of an archaeological survey on the Romsdal peninsula that contained Atlantic Wall fortifications and prisoner of war camps that supplied the manpower for construction. Seitsonen and Herva (2011) examine German-run prisoner of war camps that housed Russian prisoners in the Finnish Lapland. In the later phase of the Second World War, German soldiers were maintaining a front in Northern Finland. In this area, Germans developed approximately 100 prisoner of war and labor camps in the area. These camps housed approximately 30,000 Russians. Many of the camps were destroyed in the German retreat from Finland which occurred in 1945. Seisonen and Herva (2011) focus the discussion on the Peltojoki military base and prisoner of war camp. They identified and mapped 44 structures that date to the war era. They discuss the camp's spatial organization and built environment as indicative of the managing people's thought and behavior.

Early (2013) discusses research at a prisoner of war camp in Normandy, France, in a magazine article. La Glacerie, located near Cherbourg is the first prisoner of war camp to be excavated in France. Early compares the historical record with the results of archaeological fieldwork at the site. American authorities set up the camp to house German soldiers after the D-Day landings. The archaeological investigations helped identify the camp's function as a

labor camp for prisoners. Schneider (2013) examines POW camps in the Normandy region on a larger scale. She discusses how the majority of historical research focuses on the German defense and subsequent Allied invasion of the region. Historical research paired with archaeological survey and excavation reveals the critical role German POWs played in the reconstruction era. Schneider emphasizes that the complex nature of Normandy's collective memory. Historical archaeological research has the ability to parse out this complexity.

The archaeology of internment in North America is progressing through its early stages. The majority of work in North America has taken place in the context of cultural resource management, though several academic studies have been undertaken as well. This review of literature discusses representative sites. The research at Indianola can then be placed in the broader contexts of POW archaeology in North America and the worldwide practice of internment archaeology.

Several studies have been conducted at Fort Carson, which is located in El Paso County, Colorado. These studies are highly representative of how cultural resource managers approach internment sites. Jepson (1990) provided a study that synthesized historical and archaeological perspectives on the camp. His archaeological study of the camp essentially consists of an inventory of remaining physical features like sandstone steps and concrete foundations. In 1999, the Midwest Archeological Center expanded on Jepson's limited archaeological study with a more intensive archaeological testing. Connor, Field, and Roberts (1999) had two main objectives: to determine what remained of the camp, and to assess whether the physical remains provided information not in the historic record. The research at Camp Carson determined it was not eligible for the National Register of Historic places due to lack of prisoner specific artifacts (Connor et al. 1999).

Thomas (2007) investigated the material remains of Fort Hood POW camp in Coryell County, Texas. The facility was operational from May 1943 through May 1944. The site is referred to as the North Camp Hood Internment Camp (NCHIC). The overall goal of the project was to determine its eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places (Thomas 2011). Thomas found that the POW camp at Fort Hood was eligible for the National Register. She based this assessment on the fact that the camp has integrity and significance within the historic context of the Second World War.

Perhaps the most well-known archaeological study of a POW camp in North America occurred at Camp Hearne in Texas (Waters 2004). In *Lone Star Stalag*, Waters (2004) presents an in depth history of the camp and the results of several seasons of archaeological fieldwork. The fieldwork produced tens of thousands of artifacts, many directly associated with the German prisoners' time in the camp. The results of excavations at Camp Hearne demonstrate the absolute best case scenario in terms of the state of preservation of the archaeological record at a Second World War POW camp.

Research at the Whitewater POW camp in Manitoba, Canada presents a more theoretical approach to the archaeology of POW camps (Myers 2013). Myers is examining power relations within the 450 man branch work camp. The Whitewater camp did not have the guard towers that were standard in most American POW camps. Myers argues that this unique setting is the ideal location for examining how power struggle is reflected in material culture because of the absence of these typical institutional features.

The act of interning civilians during wartime grew out of the military practice of housing prisoners of war. During times of conflict, there were frequently civilian groups in the homeland who governing militaries deemed hostile or suspicious. The earliest internment

sites date to the late 19th century during the Spanish American war. The Spanish established "reconcentration camps" in 1896 to separate Cuban rebels from the civilian population. During the twentieth century, the practice expanded around the globe due mainly to the rapid process of globalization and the world wars. Two prime examples of this activity occurred during the Second World War. The United States government interned Japanese-American civilians. European governments also interned civilians with ties to enemy countries. Archaeological investigations at these sites have shed light on these controversial acts.

Burton (1996) conducted an historical archaeological overview and assessment at the Manzanar internment site for the National Park Service. The 550 acre park site was surveyed intensely to locate the presence of any historic or prehistoric remains. Burton and Farrell (2013) focus their research on the graffiti and inscriptions found around Manzanar. Types of inscriptions at the camp include poems, slogans, names, addresses, sayings, and even expressions of love. They discuss how graffiti can have a variety of roles in a strictly controlled setting like an internment camp. In a similar vein, Beckwith (2012) presents an analysis of Japanese ornamental gardens at Manzanar. He argues that the gardens provided internees with the opportunities to express cultural identity and promote community values within the camp. Their studies demonstrate the value of a comprehensive approach to understanding internment and how it affects populations.

Slaughter (2013) examines sake drinking practice at Camp Amache in southeastern Colorado. She combines data from ethnographic oral interviews with material culture found at the camp. The study demonstrates the value of a multi-disciplinary approach since the historical record dictates that alcohol was not allowed in the camps. Slaughter's work proves that this was not always the case and expands on the understanding of social dynamics in the

camp by clarifying the role of sake in a variety of interactions. Ogo Shew and Kamp-Whittaker (2013) employ archival documents, oral history, and archaeological material to understand how internment affects community and family structure. Regulations placed on the individuals in the camps greatly disrupted family dynamics. The authors argue that the internees were able mitigate these negative effects with a variety of strategies. The research at Amache highlights Japanese-American coping strategies at internment sites.

Mytum (2011) discusses British-run civilian internment camps on the Isle of Man. He compares and contrasts civilian internment on the island during the first and second world wars. Mytum states that the internment strategies varied by conflict. He discusses two examples from the First World War: a converted holiday camp and a camp built specifically for internment. During the Second World War, internees were housed in converted boarding houses at coastal resorts. These varying strategies resulted in vastly differing experiences for individuals during the different time periods.

Two studies discuss German-run civilian internment camps that housed British populations from the Channel Islands. Carr (2013) discusses civilian internment camps in Germany. Carr analyzes how prisoners used the recycled contents of packages from the Red Cross to negotiate space in internment camps on a variety of levels. These levels begin with the immediate space surrounding an individual's bed, their only personal space, to the much broader perception of what was visible beyond the barbed wire. The research highlights the difference between personal space and communal space in an internment setting. Rothenhausler and Adler (2013) compare and contrast the two camp sites of Biberach and Bad Wurzach. One camp site was in a region that heavily supported the Nazi party, whereas the other was found in a heavily Catholic region that prevented strong Nazi support in the

region. The authors found that the political views of the Germans in the region strongly influenced their attitudes towards the internees held in the camps. These attitudes in turn affect how the camps are memorialized and discussed in the years following the war.

Throughout the history of internment, there have been instances where sites of internment have taken on a more specific purpose. During the Second World War, the implementation of the German government's Final Solution changed the focus of internment camps to sites associated with mass murder and the Holocaust. In the instance of Holocaust concentration camps, internment archaeology is able to speak for the victims of wartime atrocities by documenting the physical evidence of their experiences and daily lives.

Theune (2010) provides a synthesis and overview of the types of archaeological research that has been conducted at Holocaust sites so far. At Belzec in Poland, core drilling was used to assess the state or preservation of sub-surface deposits. This strategy allowed for the remains of the mass grave to be located without extensive disturbance. At Mauthausen, archaeologists have utilized geophysical techniques to investigate the camp.

Myers (2008) broadly discusses the value of a historical archaeological approach to the study of concentration camp. He contrasts the archaeological approach with a strictly historical analysis. The work is based on the premise that the material nature of archaeological research allows for a broader perspective on the occupants of the camp and how they lived. Myers (2011) expands on this research in a detailed discussion on the material culture of Auschwitz. The research discusses the physical remains of Auschwitz as a case study for understanding the importance of the interaction between prisoners and physical objects at the camp. He examines the informal economy of the camp during wartime, and the importance of seemingly plain objects like a bowl and spoon.

The International Institute for Holocaust Research has sponsored archaeological research at the Sobibor extermination camp in Poland. This research was of particular value since the Nazis attempted to destroy any evidence of the camp in 1943 by razing the structures and planting many trees in the area. Archaeologists have uncovered building foundations as well as specifically locating the gas chamber. They have also excavated thousands of personal artifacts. Yoram Haimi, the chief archaeologist states, "During the excavation we found large numbers of keys to suitcases which Jews took to the gas chambers in the belief that they would need them after their 'shower'. We also found remnants of gas masks which the Nazis used to remove bodies from the gas chambers" (McDermott 2012). The work at Sobibor has not been formally published for a broad audience yet, but it provides a powerful example of the importance of archaeological investigations at internment sites.

Another instance where internment sites take on a specific purpose is seen when internees are used as a labor source. While working is often an option for individuals held at most internment camps, individuals held in labor camps are forced to work. It is also important to distinguish internment labor camps from other broader categories of work camps. Labor specific camps have been present throughout the history of internment.

Weiss (2011) discusses labor and concentration camps in late 19th century South Africa. Colonial powers in South Africa established different camps for the ethnic groups of Boers and Africans. She argues that the camps for Boers functioned as a concentration camp, while the camp for Africans were extremely similar to earlier labor camps found in the diamond mine industry. She emphasizes the brief time lapse between the closed compound labor camp design to the use of concentration camps during the Boer War. Detailed

examination of regional specific instances of internment is a valuable tool for broader comparisons through space and time.

Farrell and Burton (2011) present the findings of an investigation at the Catalina Prison Camp in the mountains of Arizona. The prison camp's primary function was a labor source for the construction of the Catalina highway. The site became associated with internment when political American citizens were interned for protesting the internment of Japanese-American civilians. The initial goal of this highway construction was to make the city of Tucson more accessible. The prison was operational from 1939 through the mid 1950's. In the 1980's, the Federal Highway Administration proposed using the camp site as a construction staging site for the widening of the highway. The findings of the compliance work for the site were of little significance historically or archaeologically and the site was deemed not eligible for the National Register. These findings were later overturned when a community outreach effort revealed that the camp had housed individuals who protested the internment of Japanese-American civilians. With these new findings, the camp was reevaluated archaeologically and has demonstrated the importance of a seemingly marginal site in the archaeology of internment.

Banks (2011) compares and contrasts a forestry labor camp and a prisoner of war camp in Scotland during the Second World War. He found that the camps were of similar design in regards to the logistical necessity of housing a large population of men, but differed greatly in other areas. The forestry camp housed men brought in from Newfoundland to fill a void left by British men serving in the military. The workers in this camp were free to interact with the surrounding community. In a sharp contrast, the lives of German prisoners in the camp were highly regulated. Banks argues that this harsher treatment was due in large

part to fear of the group by the British population. They saw the German prisoners as a potential land army that could be liberated during an invasion. For this reason, they were surrounded by more guards than other types of prisoners as well as other types of control mechanisms. Banks's (2011) discussion provides key insight into how the British government was housing alien populations during the Second World War.

The notion of labor camps is closely intertwined with the history of internment. The archaeology of these sites help scholars better understand the role of labor in the internment process.

Research Motivations and Theoretical Orientations

In order to properly assess the state of internment archaeology, it is important to understand what is motivating the archaeological study of these sites. Internment archaeology research falls into three main categories: cultural resources management, heritage preservation and memorialization, and purely academic research. This section discusses these three categories and how their overarching goals impact the direction of internment research.

Perhaps the largest motivation for internment sites archaeology, especially in North America, is cultural resource management. Many nations have laws in place to protect cultural resources from destruction. In the United States, Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act prevents any federally funded development project from going forward without an archaeological investigation (King 2008). This is relevant for prisoner of war camps since they are frequently associated with federal land. The primary goal of this type of investigation is to determine significance by several criteria like association with a historical event or person, characteristic features that should be preserved, or research potential.

The chronological cutoff for sites to be considered is anything that is at least 50 years of age (King 2008). This is especially significant for sites of internment since the 50th anniversary of the Second World War made many sites like POW camps eligible for investigation. The work of Catts and Roberts (2007), Connor et al. (1999) and Thomas (2011) are prime examples of this practice in the United States. Resource managers around the world are motivated to examine sites that are threatened by destruction. Demuth's (2009) work at a First World War POW camp was a form of salvage archaeology prior to road construction through the site. A great deal of resource management archaeology has taken place at these sites, but not all of the findings are available to the public.

Archaeology has also played a role in the memorialization of internment sites. Internment is often associated with major historical events like global wars. Internment can also be fairly controversial if the group being contained is an oppressed minority. These historical associations frequently result in stakeholders wishing to memorialize these sites. A prime example of this is the work done at Japanese internment sites. In the United States, the National Park Service has played a critical role in the preservation and interpretation of these sites. Both federal (Burton 1996) and academic archaeology (Beckwith 2013, Slaughter 2013) are encouraged through grant programs so that this episode in American history can be understood.

The National Park Service also plays a critical role in the memorialization of Civil War prisoner of war camps. Archaeology at sites like Andersonville (Prentice and Prentice 2000) and Fort Pulaski (Jameson 2013) added to the interpretation at these historic sites. The memorialization of an infamous site like Andersonville is a delicate matter. Archaeological

research is able to act as an impartial data source that can be compared and contrasted with the historical record

Internment archaeology is also a critical part of the memorialization process in Europe. Schneider (2013) discusses the role of archaeology in the memorial process by discussing Allied POW camps that housed German POWs after the D-Day invasion. She examines how the collective memory of French people in the region focused on Germans as occupiers and ignored the role of POWs in the reconstruction process. Archaeological survey and excavation of these sites highlights this forgotten role of German POWs in the region. Jasinski (2013) also discusses collective memory in the Romsdal Peninsula in Norway. The area was a key component of Germany's 'Atlantic Wall' defensive strategy. The German military used foreign POWs to construct many large components of this defensive system. Jasinski discusses how Norwegians wanted to return the landscape to the way it looked prior to the war. It was not necessarily possible to remove the larger fortifications, but the camps that housed the labor source were easily destroyed. Archaeological investigations of the Second World War in Norway have highlighted how POWs were responsible for the construction of a great deal of infrastructure that is still utilized. These investigations have broadened the collective memory of a nation to better understand that the period was more complex than traumatic German occupation.

Scholarly research is the third type of motivation for internment archaeology. Beyond site-specific histories, academic archaeologists bring forth a wide variety of research questions about internment sites and the people who occupied them. A major theme found throughout this research is the relationship between the powers who run the camps and the

prisoners themselves. They use elements of material culture like camp design features and artifact distribution to parse out these complex interactions.

Myers (2013) explores the complex power relations in 450 man branch camp in Canada. The Whitewater camp did not have the guard towers that were standard in most American POW camps. Myers argues that this unique setting is the ideal location for examining how power struggle is reflected in material culture because of the absence of these typical institutional features. Myers's analysis of material culture produces evidence for the following phenomena: the guards control over prisoners, the resistance and subversion of the POWs, evidence that guards and POWs lived in a world of mutual observance, and evidence that the guards and POWs were consistently triaging their trash (Myers 2013). The work suggests that the relationship between guards and prisoners was complex and dynamic, going well beyond simple dominance and submission.

Banks (2011) discusses how the British government exerted control over German prisoners in contrast to the freedom enjoyed by forestry workers in a labor camp. Bush (2013) discusses how the U.S. military altered its treatment of prisoners over the course of the Civil War. It encouraged harsher treatment and stricter regulations after the poor treatment of Union prisoners was discovered. This shift in the power relationship between prisoners and guards was documented through changes in the prison landscape and material culture.

Other scholars emphasize how internees or prisoners coped with their forced imprisonment. Bush (2009) discusses how imprisoned Confederate officers were able to maintain a sense of identity while also adapting to new surroundings. Examination of refuse in latrines has shed light on prisoner coping strategies. He found that prisoners who took an

oath of loyalty were granted privileges like access to alcohol (Casella 2007). He also discusses how other prisoners exerted identity by using materials to personalize their housing. They would construct furniture to make their living spaces more comfortable. Bush emphasizes how prisoners were able to maintain their Southern identity through craftwork. They would carve hard rubber and design jewelry that would be sent to their families and help maintain ties to their former communities (Bush 2009). Avery and Garrow (2013) examine the struggle for survival in the harsh conditions of the Florence stockade, a Civil War POW camp. Carr (2011) discusses how Channel Islanders interned in Germany utilized art as a means of coping with their circumstances. Carr (2013) expands on this research by discussing how interned individuals viewed space within the camp boundaries as well as through the fence. Seemingly insignificant areas like the space around an individual's bed became one of their only personal areas. Doyle et al. (2013) discuss the extreme prisoner coping mechanism of escape.

Ogo Shew and Kamp-Whittaker (2013) examine how interned Japanese-Americans were able to main traditional community and family dynamics despite imposed regulations. Slaughter (2013) and Beckwith (2013) describe how maintaining traditional Japanese customs like the consumption of sake and the maintaining of traditional gardens served as an effective coping mechanism. The role of material culture in coping mechanisms is a fascinating subset of internment archaeology.

Some scholars have taken a different direction by exploring the interaction between prisoners and the surrounding local communities. Mytum (2011) compares and contrasts how the British government interned civilians during the First World War and the Second World War. Within his study, he addresses how locals on the island were impacted by the practice.

During the First World War, internees were housed in a converted holiday camp. The interned civilians provided a critical labor source for local farms, as well as improving the island's infrastructure through construction projects. However, the government use of the island also had negative implications for the local economy. Tourism, the primary industry in the Isle of Mann, took a steep downturn. During the Second World War, internees were placed in converted hotels and boarding houses in much smaller numbers. This alleviated some of the economic problems from World War I, since the building owners were compensated for use of their property. This setup placed the interned civilians in much closer contact with the local population. Mytum's (2011) analysis highlights the role of internment in local wartime economies.

Rothenhausler and Adler (2013) discuss the different attitudes towards civilian internment in two different regions of Germany. British civilians from the Channel Islands were interned in these two camps. People from the island of Jersey were placed in a converted baroque castle near Bad Wurzach. People from Guernsey were in a typical barracks style camp near Biberach. The townspeople of Wurzach were able to interact with the internees a great deal more than in Biberach, where the camp was outside the town. In Wurzach, townspeople would trade with the internees for the contents of their Red Cross packages. The British civilians were also taken on guarded walks through the town. The contrast of these experiences resulted in strongly different relationships between the British and German communities following the war. People from Jersey maintained strong ties with the people of Bad Wurzach and there is a strong effort to commemorate the wartime experiences. The relationship between former-internees and the people of Biberach is much more strained, though commemoration efforts and discussion have been undertaken more

recently. The study's analysis of the role in relationships in the formation of collective memory is a fascinating approach to understanding the complex relationships that evolve out of internment.

The study of how local communities relate to and are impacted by internment camps is a fascinating direction for internment archaeologists. Academic archaeologists have undertaken a broad scope of complex research questions to better understand the internment experience from a variety of perspectives. They endeavor to understand the viewpoints of those running the camps, the interned populations, and even the surrounding local communities. One common thread to this research is the value of a multi-disciplinary holistic approach. The next session discusses the broad assortment of methodologies employed to extract both archaeological and historical data for the study of these sites.

Types of Data and Methodologies

In the archaeological study of internment, there is a diverse assortment of types of data to be considered. These types fall into two broad categories, historical and archaeological. Types of historical sources include documents like military records, personal writings, visual sources like photographs and maps, and oral histories collected after the event occurred. For historical sources, archival research and networking within local communities are the primary methods. Archaeological data consists of physical remains of a camp (building foundations, sidewalks, etc.), artifacts and their distribution across the site, and inscriptions and artwork. The authors discussed previously in this chapter used a broad assortment of these data types to answer their research questions. It is important to note that

due to the passage of time and levels of preservation, not all types of information are available for each site.

Internment archaeologists have employed a variety of field methodologies to collect data from these sites. These types include: mapping, pedestrian survey, metal detector survey, test excavation, block excavation, core samples, and geophysical prospection. A brief overview of how these methods are employed at sites of internment is relevant to an assessment of the field. The focus of this discussion will emphasize methodologies employed at North American World War II POW camps, since they are of most relevance to Indianola investigations.

The cultural resource management studies at Fort Carson (Jepson 1990) (Connor et al. 1999) and Fort Hood (Thomas 2011) employed methodologies designed to test for a level of significance that would determine the sites eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. Jepson's study emphasized the historic record. Jepson utilized military documents that were archived both at the camp itself and in the National Archives in Washington D.C. He also conducted several oral history interviews with men who served as guards at the camp. Jepson's archaeological investigation of the camp was much less detailed. He describes how construction activities at Camp Carson negatively impacted the integrity of the camp. His archaeological study of the camp essentially consists of an inventory of remaining physical features like sandstone steps and concrete foundations. No excavation or mapping of these features took place. Overall the historical research in Jepson's study is valuable resource, but there is much room to expand on the archaeological investigation.

Connor, Field, and Roberts (1999) had two main objectives: to determine what remained of the camp, and to assess whether the physical remains provided information not

in the historic record. The research design included metal detecting, a surface inventory, shovel tests, and four one-meter-square excavation units (Connor et al. 1999). The surface inventory efforts were guided by a map developed with GIS software. The metal detector proved to be a valuable tool for locating artifact concentrations and determining test units sterile of cultural deposits like artifacts. A majority of artifacts found at the site are associated with building debris. Examples include plate glass, nails, and tar paper. These artifacts reflect the temporary nature of military series 700 buildings that are found all over the country. Other types of artifacts include buttons and bottle glass. Due to the lack of WWII POW material, the authors found that the camp is "not an isolated, intact site", and thus not eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. Although the archeological findings at Camp Carson were not significant, the methods employed there are a useful tool for future research.

Thomas (2011) investigates the material remains of Fort Hood POW camp in Coryell County, Texas. The archival research provided in-depth information about the layout and use of the POW camp. Thomas utilized Red Cross evaluations of the camp as a type of primary documents. These documents proved especially valuable because they documented camp conditions and prisoner complains. The sources provide insight into the dynamics between the American camp commanders and German prisoners. The archaeological investigations at Camp Hood involved pedestrian survey, metal detector survey in a cleared area of the camp, and test excavation. The test excavations were concentrated in a small area of the 60 acre camp in Compound 2. Archeologists excavated around four main features, three structural features and one sunken ash pit. The investigations resulted in 2,822 artifacts. This artifact assemblage includes brick, ceramic, concrete, glass, and metal (Thomas 2007: 20). None of the artifacts are directly linked to the POW occupation of the camp. The pedestrian survey

covered a larger area and assessed the extant of architectural features (Thomas 2011). Overall, Thomas found that the POW camp at Fort Hood was eligible for the National Register. She based this assessment on the fact that the camp has integrity and significance within the historic context of the Second World War.

Academic archaeologists are able to direct more time and resources towards their investigations. In *Lone Star Stalag*, Waters (2004) presents an in depth history of Camp Hearne and the results of several seasons of archaeological fieldwork. The history is based on exhaustive archival research as well as a series of oral history interviews with former German POWs. The oral histories add a level of richness to the historical narrative and archaeological findings. The archaeological research at Camp Hearne consisted of several phases of fieldwork. In the summer of 1996, archaeologists conducted a preliminary survey and excavation of portions of compounds 2 and 3. Mowers were used to clear the grass, which revealed cement fountains and building foundations. A metal detector survey was then used to locate artifacts. The team also conducted test excavations around two of the barracks. Fieldwork in 1997 was much more extensive. The city of Hearne burned the vegetation from a large portion of the camp. Archaeologists surveyed all burned areas with metal detectors. All artifacts were excavated, mapped, and collected for further analysis. Waters states, "most artifacts were located in high traffic areas such as walkways and the entrances to barracks and other buildings. Many artifacts also were found behind the lavatories where clothes were washed" (Waters 2004: 157). He goes on to describe that the only exceptions to this rule were the deliberate dumps of field equipment and the intentional burial of items like canteens and mess kits around the camp.

The fieldwork resulted in over 1400 artifacts. The artifacts were made of a variety of materials like metal, glass, plastic, rubber, leather, paper, and cloth. Waters sorts the artifacts into seven main categories: German uniforms, American uniforms, insignia and identification tags, military equipment, POW-made items, and personal items, and construction materials. Each of these categories is described in detail. Photos and illustrations are also provided. For belts, bags, and webbing, and illustration of the complete equipment piece is provided and photos of individual artifact photos connect to the main illustration (Waters 2004: 174). The artifact assemblage from Camp Hearne is extensive and impressive. Prisoner made insignia and art can directly be attributed to their time at the camp.

Myers (2013) is examining power relations within the 450 man branch work camp in Canada. The POWs were logging for wood fuel. Fieldwork has consisted of pedestrian survey and test excavations. Excavations produced an assortment of artifacts that include ceramics, glass bottles, buttons, cans, tins, jars, and utensils. The Whitewater camp did not have the guard towers that were standard in most American P0W camps. Myers argues that this unique setting is the ideal location for examining how power struggle is reflected in material culture because of the absence of these typical institutional features. Excavation has been focused on four middens at the camp: the approved camp dump site, the camp incinerator, the guards' hidden trash dump located behind their barracks, and the POW's hidden trash dump located behind their barracks. The POWs secret dump contained contraband items like alcohol bottles.

Beyond North American World War II POW camps, archaeologists have employed other methodologies that could prove useful at all internment sites. Geophysical prospection and coring are two prime examples. Doyle et al. (2007) successfully employed geophysics to

locate a prisoner escape tunnel at Stalag Luft III. The geophysical techniques of magnetometry and ground-penetrating radar revealed the presence of anomalies near Hut 122. Closer examination of the sump in the washroom revealed how the prisoners accessed the tunnel and excavation confirmed the finds. Theune (2010) discusses the value of geophysical prospection and coring at concentration camps. At Belzec in Poland, core drilling was used to assess the state or preservation of sub-surface deposits. This strategy allowed for the remains of the mass grave to be located without extensive disturbance. At Mauthausen, archaeologists have utilized geophysical techniques to investigate the camp. Geophysical prospection locates the presence of tents. Drilling cores were employed at this site to assess the amount of cremated remains were located in a buried ash pile. The core samples were taken with a sampling strategy, documented, and immediately placed back in the ground. Geophysical investigations and drill core samples are minimally invasive methods that allow for the documentation of the material remains of concentration camps.

In order to access the broad assortment of data types available at internment sites, archaeologists have had to adapt a distinct set of methodologies for each particular site. The ability to compare and contrast the historical and archaeological record to varying degrees at these sites emphasizes the value of a multi-disciplinary approach. Careful review of previously utilized methods contributes a great deal to the research design for the site of Indianola.

The State of the Field of Internment Archaeology

The archaeology of internment sites is a rapidly developing subfield of historical archaeology. Internment of distinct populations is a fascinating human behavior that has

occurred around the world since the 18th century. Types of internment sites include prisoner of war camps, civilian internment sites, and the related sites of labor camps and death camps. Research at these sites is motivated by cultural resource management, the memorialization process, or scholarly research. Within scholarly research, the primary interests are prisoner/guard power-relations, prisoner coping strategies, and camp/surrounding community interactions. The main theoretical orientations emphasize a post-modern view of power structures or cultural notions of identity. Post-modern theory rejects the scientific method and emphasizes the subjectivity of academic researchers. Other internment archaeologists focus on the interned prisoners' agency in coping with their surroundings. Historical and archaeological methodologies employed at these sites consist of archival research, oral history interviews, mapping, pedestrian inventory, metal detector survey, test excavation, coring, and geophysical prospection.

There is no standardized formula for conducting research at these sites. A great deal of experimentation is necessary to perfect the method and theory to suit the research goals of the different sectors of internment archaeology. There are two clear voids that are forming as this field develops. Cultural resource managers and archaeologists for federal agencies need a standard fieldwork design that will allow them to efficiently test the sites for significance. In a broader context, there is a need for a theoretical framework that archaeologists can utilize to discuss the complex nature of these sites and relate the three distinct populations associated with these sites: the prisoners, the camp bureaucracy and guards, and the surrounding local community.

The research at Indianola is designed with considerations from this assessment of the field. The fieldwork for the project was conducted over a brief five day period. It was

designed with the intent of recording the site and testing the distribution of the material record. The strategies employed at Indianola have a great deal of potential for heritage managers in both the private and public sectors of archaeology. In the analysis chapter, this study proposes a theoretical model based on the Geneva Convention that allows archaeologists to interpret the material culture of these sites with a deeper understanding of the motivations of the captors and the prisoners. Four questions are put forward to aid in this analysis. How is the camp facility organized? Is that organization reflected archaeologically? What can be learned about the lives of camp occupants, prisoners and guards, through an understanding of this organization? How does the historical repurposing and eventual destruction of these sites affect the archeological interpretation? These primary research questions are designed to test if the material record of this site reflects strict observance of the Geneva Convention.

CHAPTER 2: BACKGROUND HISTORY

Prisoners of War in the United States

Following the attacks on Pearl Harbor in December of 1941, the United States underwent a series of transformations in order to function as a military power in a global conflict. A frequently overlooked consequence of the war was the capture and incarceration of hundreds of thousands of prisoners of war. Both the Axis and the Allies held prisoners of war over the course of the conflict. Frequently these prisoners were housed in internment camps (Gansberg 1977). The majority of nations involved in this conflict were signatories to the Geneva Convention of 1929 which stipulated how the prisoners should be housed and treated.

In the summer of 1942, the government of Great Britain appealed to the United States to begin housing prisoners of war. Great Britain had been involved in the war for much longer than the U.S. and was quickly approaching their holding capacity for prisoners of war (Krammer 1979). After some resistance, the need for a steady labor source on the home front motivated the U.S. to sign an agreement with Great Britain in August of 1942. The initial agreement was to accept 50,000 prisoners. Allied successes in North Africa greatly increased the Axis POW numbers. By July of 1943, 80,558 German soldiers had been taken prisoner. This number again doubled by September of 1943 (Korb 1996).

The United States government established a POW program that was eventually able to house approximately 425,000 Axis POWs over the course of the war (Gansberg 1977). POWs were transitioned from the battlefield to processing centers. At these processing centers, the captured soldiers were documented and registered with the U.S. military as well as the International Red Cross. From these centers, they were sent to ports of embarkation

where they sailed across the Atlantic. Once they arrived at a major port on the east coast, they boarded trains and were sent to their permanent camps. The prisoners were housed in roughly 700 camps in 46 states.

The majority of prisoners in these camps fought for the German or Italian militaries. Thompson (2010) emphasizes the diversity of German forces housed in these camps. A shortage of manpower forced the German military to utilize convicts, their own POWs, volunteers from neutral nations, and conscripts from occupied nations as well as the German population and ardent members of the Nazi party. (Thompson 2010). Thompson argues that this inherent diversity in the prisoner population resulted in the emergence of racial, social, religious, and ethnic tension. These problems were compounded by a lack in enough translators in the U.S. military's POW program.

The office of the Provost Marshall General took responsibility for setting up a POW system in the states and eventually created its own prisoner of war office (Krammer 1979). New camps were constructed and former Civilian Conservation Corps labor camps were converted into prisoner of war facilities (Gansberg 1977). Several key criteria existed for camp site selection. The Army Corps of Engineers designated that camps had to be at least five miles from rail roads and 500 feet from any significant community boundary. The camps also had to be at least 150 miles from the Mexico and Canadian borders, any shipyards, munitions plants, or any other vital industry (Krammer 1979).

The 1929 Geneva Convention served as the guiding system in the development of the prisoner of war program. This agreement dictated many features of camp design as well as how the prisoners would live within the camps. Living conditions were designed to the standards of equivalent U.S. Army personnel. The standard barracks was built upon a

20X100 foot concrete foundation. The walls were covered with tar paper and corrugated tin. The barracks mainly contained bunks, footlockers, and a stove. They received equal rations (Krammer 1979).

The Geneva Convention stipulates that prisoners retained their ranks upon being captured. Officers were not required to work. Enlisted prisoners were able to work for pay and earn up to 80 cents per day. They provided a critical source of labor on the home front. In terms of recreation, prisoners played sports, produced artwork, and organized musical concerts as well as theatrical productions. They were also able to participate in an educational system and take a variety of coursework. In some camps, the prisoners were able to produce a newspaper that discussed local events (Gansberg 1977). Luick-Thrams (2003) edited a translated collection of POW camp newspapers from Camp Algona in Iowa. The paper contained cartoons, announcements, editorials, and poetry. The document provides key insight into the prisoners' perspective on life in the camps.

Historians have produced a number of state level and camp-specific histories that examine the POW experiences by location. Cowley (2002) discusses the history of POW camps in Wisconsin. She began with a general overview and then presented chapter long histories for each specific camp. Lobdell (2000) presents the history of POWs in Minnesota. His work is organized by the different type work being done at the camps. Examples of this include agricultural work, logging, cannery labor, and camps established for multiple industries. Fiedler (2003) examines the history of POWs in Missouri. His work is also divided by specific camps. These state level histories present broad overviews of the role POW labor played in specific areas of the country. Oral histories collected from both prisoners and guards are invaluable resources. Geiger (1996) put forth a collection of oral

history interviews with 14 former POWs from Camp Cooke in California. These two sources highlight the value of primary sources in POW camp research.

Indianola Site History

In Nebraska, there were four main base camps and a fluctuating number of branch camps. The base camps were Atlanta, Fort Robinson, Scottsbluff, and Indianola. Many historians have published site-specific histories of individual camps. Buecker (2002) discussed the history of the POW camp at Fort Robinson in Nebraska in a chapter of a book that examined the fort in the 20th century. The chapter employed military documents and oral histories to examine the daily life of prisoners in the camp as well as the broader re-education goals of the camp administration later in the war. Thompson (1993) examines the history of the POW camp at Atlanta, near Holdrege, Nebraska. Thompson also presents limited information about the numerous branch camps that grew out of the main camp. These individual camp histories provide rich detail.

In the early 1940's, Local leaders Harry Strunk and Hugh Butler pushed for a camp to be placed near Indianola. They lobbied for flood control and reclamation programs to take place in the Republican River valley (Korb 1996). In September of 1943, the War Food Administration approved an irrigation and flood reclamation project in Cambriage, which was near Indianola. The camp was initially placed there to provide labor for the project (Korb 1996).

The War Department selected the site of Indianola for a 3000 man POW camp on May 3, 1943. A variety of factors are considered when a camp location was selected like proximity to major cities, access to railways, and the flatness of the landscape. The

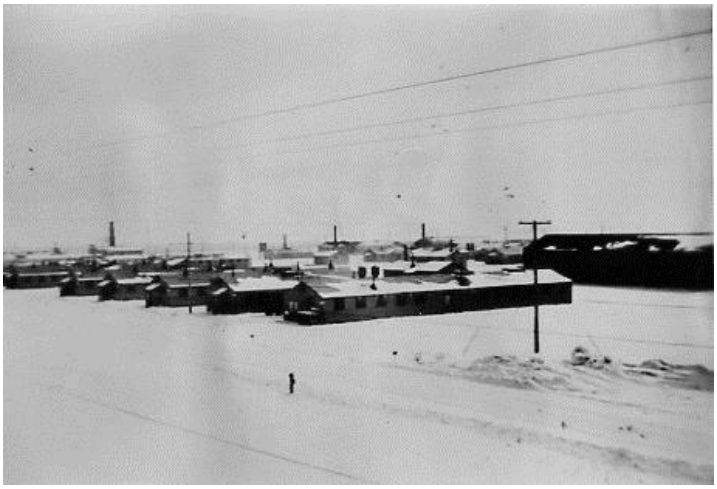
agricultural economy of the area was also a factor. The layout was established on June 8, 1943. A version of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers standardized plan was selected. The land for the site is located approximately one mile north of the town of Indianola. Construction of the camp took place throughout the summer and early fall of (Indianola PW Camp. " Construction." File 12W3 6/27/A. Box 2664. National Archives. College Park, Maryland.).

Prisoner of war camps and the surrounding landscape were carefully designed to assist in controlling the prisoners and preventing escape. The stockade was surrounded by two parallel wire fences that were ten feet high. The fences consisted of hog wire with a barbed wire overhang. Eight guard towers were placed at intervals around the stockade. The terrain of the camp is uniformly flat to allow for a clear line of site from all of the guard towers. Figure 2.1 shows some fences and a guard tower at Indianola.

Figure 2.1: Fences and Guard Tower at Indianola (Indianola Historical Society).

At Indianola, the camp commander ordered the terrain scarred in order to prevent dust blowing and erosion. This process stabilized the surface of the land. The stockade consisted of three compounds. The barracks were a theater of operation type construction. Buildings could be 30 yards from the fence at a minimum. In each compound there were 20 barracks that each measured 20X100 feet. Each barrack contained bunked beds and could hold up to 50 men. Figure 2.2 shows a row of barracks at Indianola. Also in each compound, there were four latrines that measured 20X64 feet, 4 mess halls that measured 20X146 feet, and one dispensary at 20X56 feet. There are also additional buildings such as a barber shop, canteen, rec halls, and orderly rooms. Barracks were heated with coal, but cooking was done with natural gas (Thompson 2010).

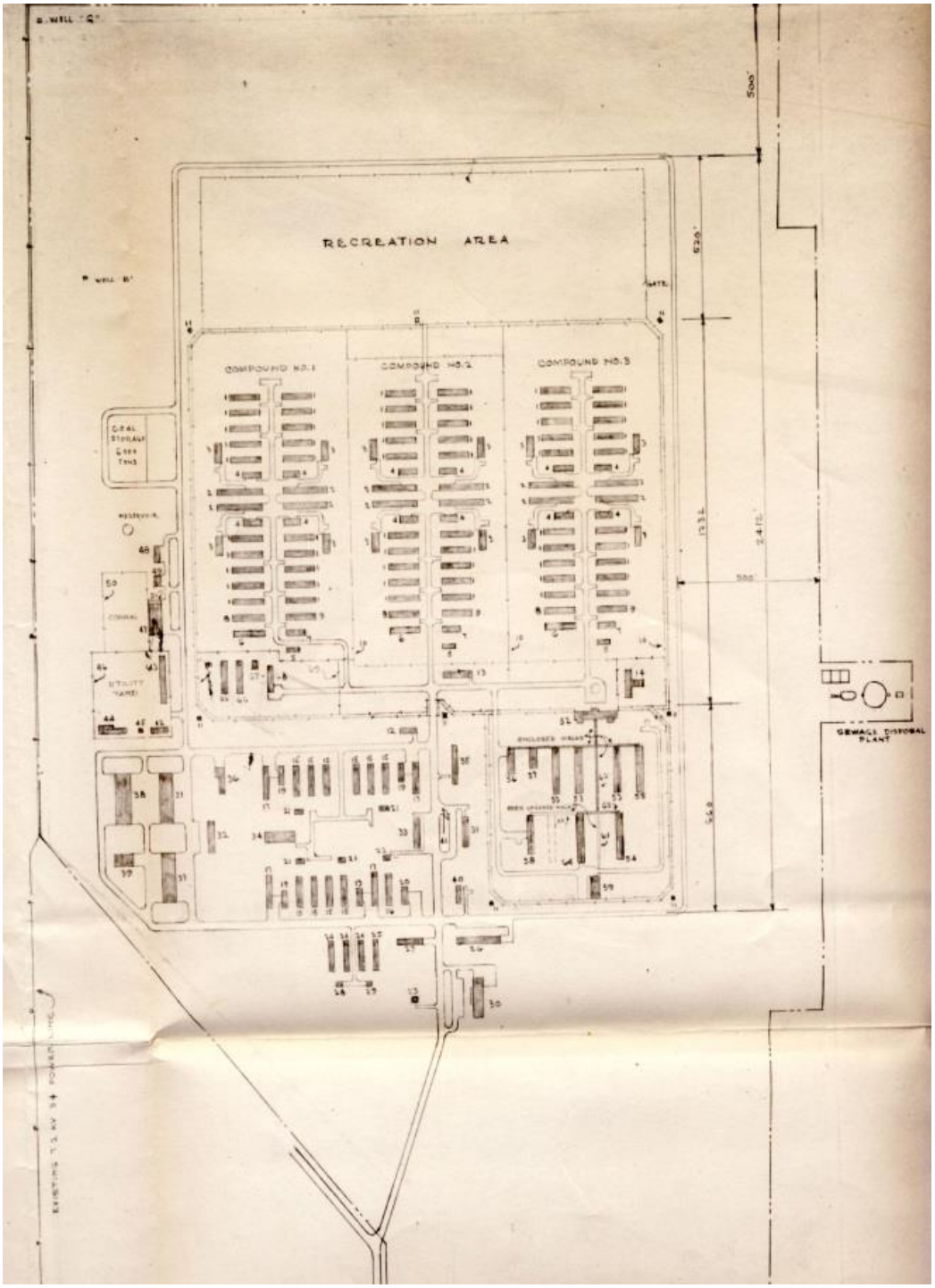
Figure 2.2: Barracks at Indianola (Indianola Historical Society).



The initial guard tower installations were unsatisfactory. The machine guns were not properly mounted in the window frames to grant a clear field of fire. Although the machine

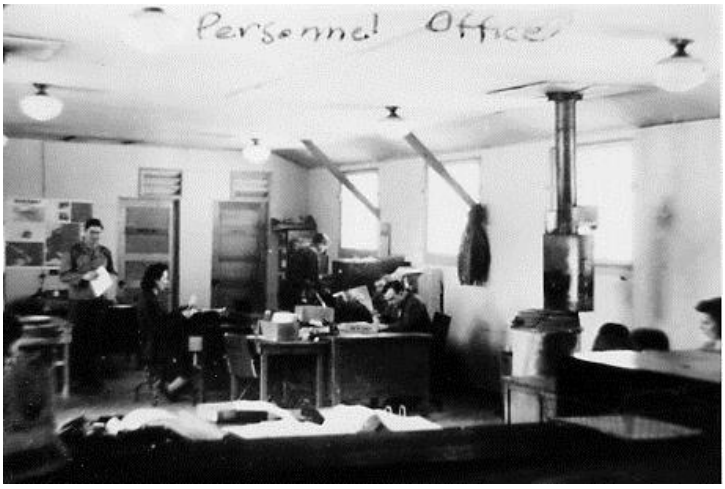
guns were only supposed to serve a psychological function, it was still necessary to correct these inadequacies (Indianola PW Camp. " Construction." File 12W3 6/27/A. Box 2664. National Archives. College Park, Maryland). Figure 2.3 shows a map of Camp Indianola.

Figure 2.3: Indianola Camp Map (Indianola Historical Society).



Staffing of the camp took place in September and October of 1943. Colonel Frederick Whitten was the camp's commanding officer. Approximately 600 military personnel were sent to the camp. The guards were organized through the U.S. Army military police, but there were many other jobs that needed to be filled. Many women in the surrounding area applied for office positions in the camp (Korb 1996). The Indianola POW camp was officially activated on October 15, 1943, but the first group of prisoners did not arrive until November 18.

Figure 2.4: Office Workers at Camp Indianola (Indianola Historical Society).



The citizens of the town were initially quite nervous prior to the arrival of the Germans. Many of the oral histories collected by Korb (1996) reflected the fear that the prisoners would be a threat to the community. The citizens lined the streets to watch the men march from the train station to the camp north of town. They were shocked to see that the prisoners who arrived were a group of exhausted young men from North Africa.

Figure 2.5: Prisoners entering the camp (Indianola Historical Society).

During the journey to the camp, the prisoners themselves were also fearful of the treatment they may have received at the camp awaiting them. However, many of their fears abated after their arrival at Indianola. Wolfgang Decker describes his first reflections of the camp in an oral history interview. He states, " I look around at the camp set-up. The barracks are wood and asphalt-board construction with concrete floors, lots of windows, and three coal burning stoves…We quickly fall into a daily routine—light work and high quality meals" (Sehnert, 2009).

Documents dating to the early operation of the camp demonstrate the evolving efforts to adhere to the Geneva Convention. There were 17 officers and 119 enlisted men stationed at the camp. They were familiarized with the statutes of the Geneva Convention and their standing orders and regulations were designed with the agreement in mind. Despite these efforts, mishaps did occur. One of the first groups of arriving prisoners had personal articles

confiscated from them. When it was learned that this was not proper procedure, the items were returned.

Red Cross inspections provide a critical look into how the camp functioned over the course of the war. The reports provide a gage for how the population of the camp rise and fell throughout the war. They also discuss details concerning the day to day activities of the prisoners, in particular their recreation habits. Prisoners at Indianola played sports, put on concerts, published a newspaper, and attended religious services (Indianola PW Camp. "Inspection Reports." File 12W3 8/14/F. Box 2664. National Archives. College Park Maryland). The prisoners at Indianola also produced original artwork. Some of the paintings and sketches they produced are on display at the McCook Museum of the High Plains. They also preserve some of the murals the prisoners painted at the camp. They were cut out of the sheet rock and donated to the museum. The murals depict life in Germany and German city crests.

They also worked in the surrounding area at one of three branch camps: Ogallala, Palisade, and Fishers Farm. These branch camps were in operation while there was a need for workers by the agricultural community (Indianola PW Camp. "Administrative." File 12W3 7/23/A. Box 2481. National Archives, College Park, Maryland). During these interactions, the prisoners interacted with members of the surrounding community. The families at the farms would often supplement their rations or even prepare them meals. Bessie Wilcox remembers having German soldiers work at her father's sugar beet farm. She states, "One of them was quite a pianist and we had a piano. We rolled it out on the front porch and this guy would play while the rest of them would sing" (Sugroe 2009, *Indianola Historical Review*). She goes on to describe playing a Victrola for the prisoners during their lunch hour as well as

offering them the chance to try watermelon for the first time. These cultural exchanges frequently developed into friendships between the farmers, their families, and the prisoners.

The camp transitioned from a base camp to a branch camp in May of 1944. Korb (1996) suggests this phasing may have occurred because the funding for the Republican River projects that had initially encouraged the camp site selection had fallen through. Indianola became a base camp again after a comprehensive directive on July 17, 1944. The directive stated that officers were to be separated from enlisted men. Furthermore it stated that pro-Nazis were to be separated from non-Nazis. Indianola became one of the few designated camps that would house pro-Nazi noncommissioned officers (Krammer 1996:180). The camp was fully operational as a base camp again in August, 1944.

This new prisoner population was a complex assortment of individuals of varying political beliefs. Although the U.S. military attempted to separate out the more intense followers of the Nazi political ideals, the plan was not flawlessly implemented. Members of the Gestapo exerted influence within POW camps across the nation. At Indianola, camp management attempted to further separate pro-Nazi prisoners from others by putting identified Nazis in compound two and other prisoners in compound three. There were a variety of non-German POWs who had been conscripted into the German military. Transfer request documents reveal that they felt threatened by Nazi prisoner groups Indianola POW Camp ("Administrative." File 12W3 7/23/A. Box 2481. National Archives, College Park, Maryland.). The United States government tried to develop an anti-Nazi program that attempted to reeducate the prisoners about the merits of democracy. Several guidance documents were sent out that trained camp leadership how to identify Nazis and taught ways

of promoting democratic reeducation (Indianola PW Camp. “Special Projects.” File 12W3 7/1. Box 1616. National Archives. College Park Maryland).

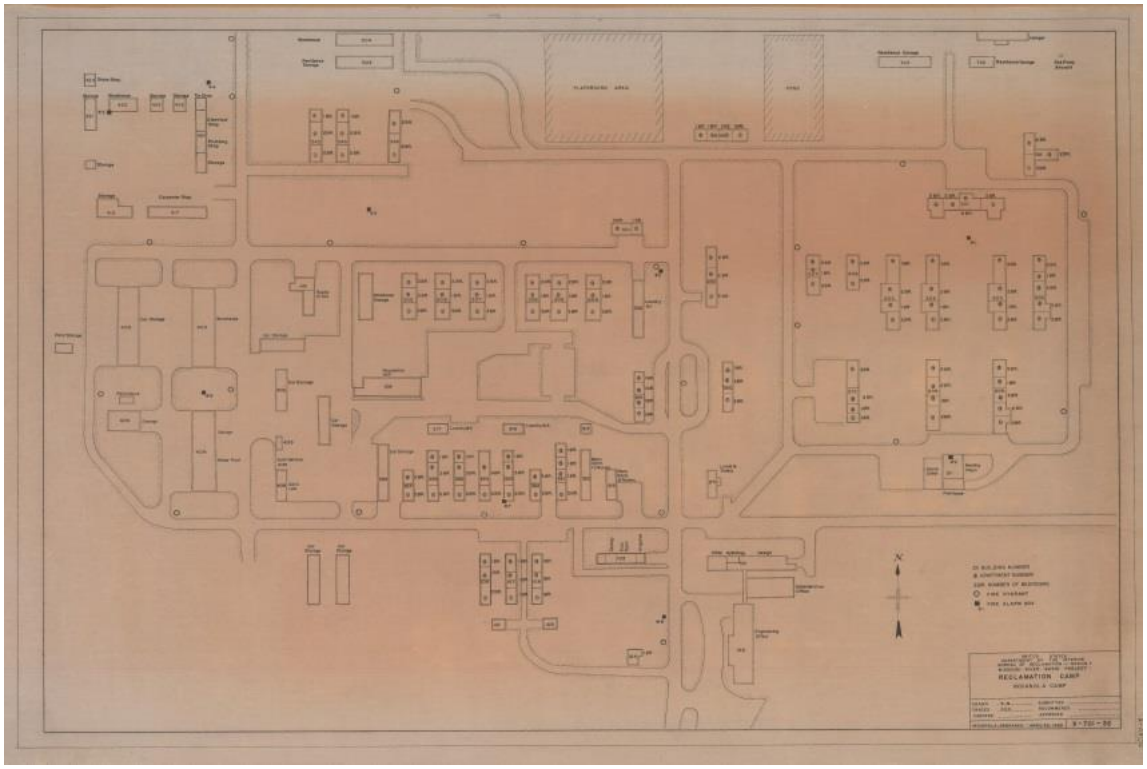
As a base camp, the camp population increased by a great deal. With this larger population it was a lot more difficult to keep everyone employed who wanted work. The camp management tried to ease the boredom of this situation with a variety of activities. Prisoners could take educational courses, participate in the arts through choir or band, or even play sports. The Indianola soccer team frequently scrimmaged the team at Camp Atlanta. The camp prisoners also developed their own newspaper and religious newsletter. The camp newspaper was called Der Lager Echo and it featured camp news and announcements as well as prisoner essays, short stories and poems (Korb 1996).

The camp shut down in December of 1945 and the prisoners were repatriated. The camp was utilized by the Bureau of Reclamation after the war to house employees and their families working for projects on the river in the surrounding area. The Bureau of Reclamation era resulted in the removal of many buildings in the prisoner compounds from their foundations. Figure 2.6 is an aerial image of the camp that shows the previous removal of the buildings in the prisoner compounds.

Figure 2.6: 1948 Aerial Image of the Camp (Indianola Historical Society).

The buildings in the garrison area were converted into offices for the Bureau of Reclamation. The hospital area was converted into apartments. These changes resulted in significant modifications to the standing camp buildings. Figure 2.7 shows a map of the Bureau of Reclamation modifications.

Figure 2.7: Map of Bureau Modifications (Indianola Historical Society).



Following the Bureau of Reclamation era, the buildings were removed and the camp land was sold to private citizens in the late 1950's. Portions have been farmed and ranched since that time. The northern half of the compound foundations were bulldozed towards the center of the camp. A portion of the building foundations near the camp entrance were also bulldozed towards the center of the camp. After the land was cleared, it has been farmed. The interior parcel of camp land has been ranched. The building foundations in this area remain intact. Several chimneys still stand. The water tower is the most noticeable feature. Figures 2.9-2.13 show some features on the site. Figure 2.8 shows aerial imagery of the camp today.

Figure 2.8: Aerial Imagery of the Indianola Camp (Google Earth).

Figure 2.9: Building foundation at the camp.

Figure 2.10: Standing chimney in the hospital area.

Figure 2.11: Camp Water tower.

Figure 2.12: Standing structure in garrison echelon.

Figure 2.13: Bakery Foundation

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

Site Selection and Visits

In the early stages of this research, site selection was a critical component of the process. In Nebraska, there were four main base camps to choose as possible research sites: Scottsbluff, Atlanta, Fort Robinson, and Indianola. The Scottsbluff camp was immediately eliminated as an option since it has been destroyed by the city's placement of a landfill. The author conducted visits to Fort Robinson, Camp Atlanta, and Indianola. The camp at Fort Robinson is in the highest state of preservation since the land it sits on has been converted to a state park. This status affords the site protection from destruction and allows for public interpretation. Initial consultation with representatives of the Nebraska State Historical Society showed that they did not wish to undertake an archaeological investigation of the site.

The land that held Camp Atlanta has been farmed continuously in the past several decades and has been severely compromised. It was determined that Indianola was at a higher level of preservation, but had also been partially destroyed. Camp Indianola offered several positive advantages to research. In addition to being in relative good archeological condition, the land owner was generously open to investigation. The Indianola community included individuals and organizations that were welcoming and seriously interested in the site and it history. The unique combination of camp remains and continued use provided a unique opportunity to test the impact of land use practices on the remains at the site.

Several reconnaissance visits took place prior to fieldwork to assess the site and obtain land owner permission. The local historical society and landowners were supportive of the project from the early stages, which further encouraged the selection of Indianola as a

research site. Early site visits determined that the three main sections of the camp still had representative portions preserved. The hospital, garrison, and parts of each of the three compounds are all visible in aerial imagery. These site visits were a great aid to the fieldwork planning.

Indianola Fieldwork

The fieldwork at Indianola took place from June 18-22, 2012, as a segment of the University of Nebraska-Lincoln field school. The crew consisted of two instructors, one graduate student, and thirteen students. The fieldwork was carefully planned to take maximum advantage of the limited time frame as well as gather the data to answer the aforementioned research questions.

There is not an established protocol for investigating these sites. There have been a limited number of World War II prisoner of war camp investigations in North America and other types of internment sites around the world. A review of the method and theory employed at these sites is discussed in the introductory chapter and provided the baseline knowledge for designing the fieldwork that took place at Indianola in 2012.

Fieldwork Goals:

1. Surface inventory of building foundations.
2. GPS mapping.
3. Location and test excavation of the dump with 2-3 1X1 meter units.
4. Test excavation in a limited portion of the camp.

5. Metal detector survey of the separate use areas of the camp including the barracks, garrison, hospital, and the camp boundary.

The metal detector survey has been proven effective at Camp Hearne and Fort Hood. At Indianola, this data collection method was intended to inform on the spatial distribution of artifacts across the camp. The value of excavating camp dumps has been demonstrated at Whitewater and multiple camps in Europe. Dump excavations can inform on the lives of prisoners in regards to their diet and hygiene practices.

The collection of artifacts on the metal detector survey was restricted to fifty percent of the total finds with an emphasis on field specimens that can be directly attributed to prisoner occupation of the camp. All artifacts from the dump excavations were collected. Lab work included the cleaning, analyzing and cataloging of artifacts. Arrangements have been made to donate the artifacts to the Indianola Historical Society at the completion of research.

Site Documentation

Internment sites are distinctive archaeological resources. They are constructed for a specific purpose for a single population. The sites are usually of an ephemeral nature since they only need to last for the duration of a specific conflict. Beyond its initial phase of use, the camps are frequently salvaged and repurposed by the surrounding community. This entire process greatly influences archaeological research at such sites. Preservation of the WWII camp was not a priority of the community immediately following the war. The Indianola POW camp site is a prime example of the complex use-history of these sites. The site today

is a palimpsest of the human use of the landscape ranging from the initial WWII occupation through the contemporary uses of the land for farming and grazing.

Documenting the site's current state of preservation is of critical importance. The Indianola site today is owned by two landowners. The majority of the physical remains of the camp such as building foundations are contained on a central piece of land. This land is used primarily for grazing of cattle. The surrounding land is used as farmland for row crops. The continued farming of portions of the camp land threatens the archaeological resources. The practice of ranching on the other portion of the camp land is a less threatening land use. However, should the land ownership change and the land be converted for farming, the best preserved portions of the camp would be severely threatened.

Examination of aerial imagery of the site reveals a great deal considering the current condition of the site. Through use of GIS software, it's possible to overlay historical maps of the POW camp and the GPS data collected in 2012 to gain a deeper understanding of the camp has been modified. This approach also efficiently produced a map of the site and the research area.

The analysis of these maps reveals that the majority of the prisoner compound foundations have been destroyed, while the bulk of the garrison echelon and hospital compound remain in place. As discussed in the historical background chapter, the Bureau of Reclamation converted the hospital and garrison areas into offices and housing for their employees in the years immediately following the war. These modifications and more recent occupation period must be taken into account when interpreting the material record at the site.

During 2012 fieldwork, the crew conducted a pedestrian examination of the remaining buildings. They also mapped the remaining building foundations and associated features with a Trimble XH GPS unit. Figure 3.1 shows a field crew member mapping a feature at the site. Associated features include the water tower, sewage treatment facility, and rubble piles. During the documentation of the process, it is important to delineate the boundaries of what is considered 'the site'. The primary interest of this research is the prisoner of war camp; therefore use of the overlaid historical camp map provides a useful guide to setting a site boundary. Although, it is important to note that the historical map does not include the location of some camp features like the dump. Archaeologists would find a feature like the dump to be of high interest. Camp dumps can inform about the diet and hygiene practices of the camp occupants.

Figure 3.1: Crew member maps a feature with the GPS unit.

Metal Detector Survey

The metal detector survey of distinct use areas of the camp was designed to answer several proposed research questions. One goal of the study was to test if the various sections of the camp or even individual buildings had a distinct archaeological signature. For instance, would it be possible to discern the differences between the prisoner and guard inhabitation areas? The metal detector survey was also designed to test a small fraction of the resource while preserving the majority of the archaeological record of the camp site for future research. Time limitations were a factor that prevented a complete metal detector survey of the entire camp.

Representative buildings were selected in each area of the camp for a perimeter survey. At the time fieldwork began, a map of the Indianola camp had not yet been discovered. Buildings were identified by comparing their remaining foundations' size and shape with the Army Corps of Engineers standard plan for POW camps. The author also consulted maps from other known camp sites in the state of Nebraska like Fort Robinson and Camp Atlanta. Within the prisoner compound, a barracks, latrine, mess hall, and storage area were all surveyed with metal detectors. Two buildings in the hospital area were surveyed with metal detectors. In the garrison echelon, a barracks and latrine were surveyed. Several other identifiable structures were also surveyed. These included the guard house, a bakery, as well as a portion of the fence line.

For each selected building, three students were set up at five meter intervals around the perimeter of the foundation. They then walked the boundary of the buildings. After testing a system that flagged both high and low conductivity metal detector hits, it was decided that the strategy needed to be adjusted. Due to the heavy presence of camp

destruction debris like nails, it was decided to employ the iron mask capabilities of the metal detectors available while surveying around the buildings. This adjustment to the plan was only possible because of the advanced discriminating abilities of the Whites and Minelab metal detectors being employed. While this did not completely remove the finding of building materials like nails, it did increase the flagging of more artifacts associated with the day to day lives of the camp occupants.

A separate student was paired with each metal detectorist to drop flags at each high conductivity reading. It is important to note that the main metal detectorists on this project were field school students who were learning the technology for the first time. It is possible that more skilled operators would have had more success locating and pinpointing high conductivity hits. Following each building perimeter survey, each flag was numbered. A random number generator application on the Ipad was used to select fifty percent of the flags to dig. A crew was then sent to pinpoint and excavate each of the randomly selected targets. They then recorded and collected the artifacts associated with each building. All the high conductivity hits as well as specific artifact locations were mapped with a Trimble 6000XH GPS unit.

Figure 3.2: Metal Detector Survey

Within prisoner Compound 3, a block of buildings was selected based on the location and intact nature of the foundations. The tested area is found on the northeast corner of the camp site. Figure 3.2 shows the metal detector survey in this area of the camp. The foundations in this area have not been bulldozed, as seen in other portions of the camp. This area also contains representative buildings found in each of the prisoner compounds: barracks, latrine, mess hall, and storage building. Lastly, the location of the buildings in the northern half of the site decreased the possibility that the area had been modified in the decades following the war. The selected area was well removed from the hospital and garrison echelon, which were both modified heavily by the Bureau of Reclamation to house offices and living quarters for employees in the years following the Second World War.

The metal detectors were also used to test if the camp had a specific boundary that was visible through material culture. It was hypothesized that the fence line would have a distinct archaeological signature. Metal detectorists were set up at five-meter intervals and

then walked across the possible fence line location at a perpendicular angle. The iron masks on the metal detectors were not employed in this survey since fence components could have been made of multiple types of metals.

Excavation

The field technique of excavation has been successfully utilized at multiple prisoner of war camps in North America. At Indianola, excavation units were placed within the prisoner compounds and in the dump to the northeast of the camp. Within the prisoner compounds, excavation units were placed in high traffic areas near the doorways of buildings. Two units were placed in the Compound 3 section that was also metal detected. This allows for a comparison between the data of the metal detector survey and the excavation. Two other units were placed in the central compound, Compound 2. Five 50X50cm test units were placed in the dump. The test units were placed in areas that contained surface concentrations and metal detector targets.

Camp Excavations

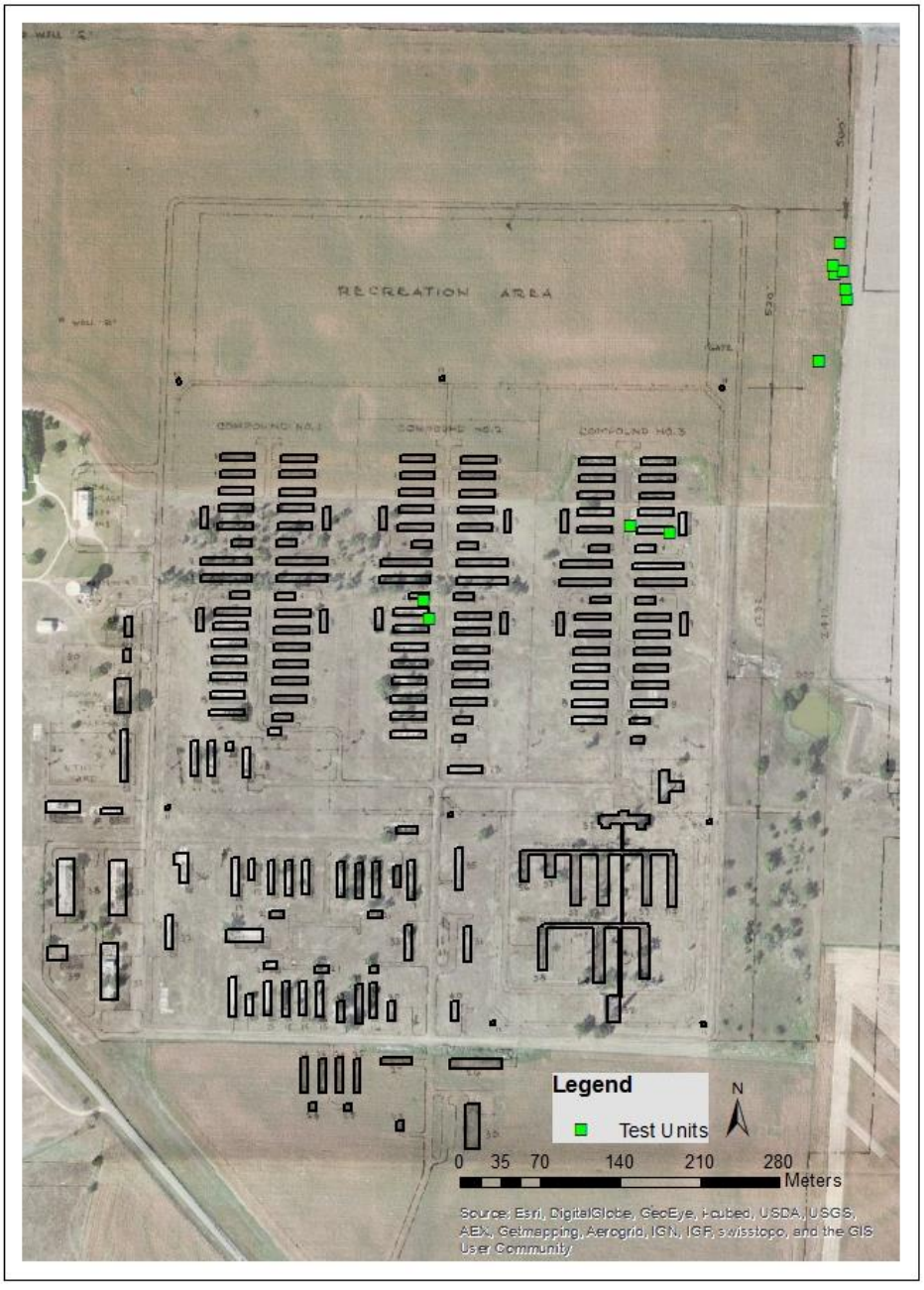
The excavations in the eastern Compound 3 were placed on opposite ends of a barracks structure. Each unit was next to the building entrance for that end of the barrack, one on the northwest corner, and one on the southeast corner. The units were excavated in arbitrary levels down to a sterile surface. Figure 3.3 shows an excavation unit in Compound 3. In Compound 2, one unit was place by a barracks entrance. A second unit was placed by the doorway to the latrine. It was of particular interest to test if there is a discernible

difference between the two compounds. As discussed in the history chapter, pro-Nazis were separated into a different compound from other prisoners.

Figure 3.3: Excavation in the camp.

Figure 3.4 shows the location of test unit placement in the camp and the dump. The historical camp map is transparent in the background. This overlay also shows how much of the camp has been destroyed through bulldozing.

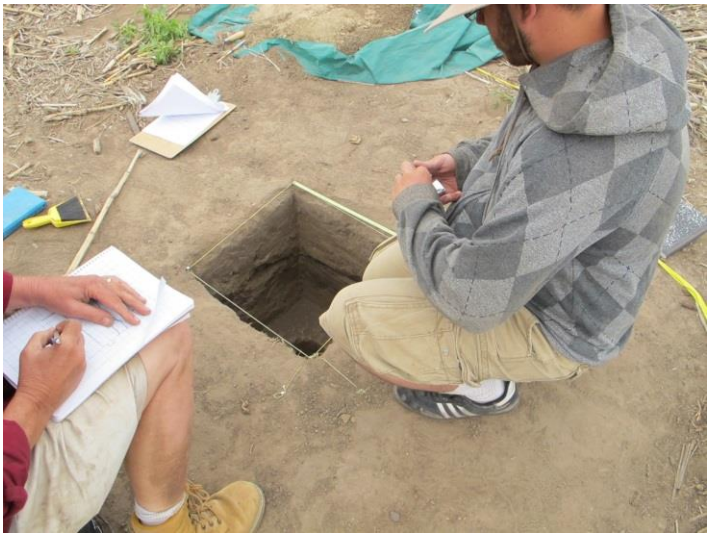
Figure 3.4: Map of Test Unit Placement at Indianola



Dump Location and Excavation

The land owner believed that the dump was located in what is currently a farm field to the northeast of the camp. In order to locate the dump, the crew conducted a metal detector survey at five meter intervals in the possible location. Six students operated metal detectors while several followed behind and dropped pin flags at each hit. The sheer number of flags in addition to materials visible on the surface confirmed the presence of camp materials in the location. The crew then placed 50X50cm test excavation unit in areas of dense flag concentrations in hopes of locating more significant deposits associated with the camp. Figure 3.5 shows an excavation unit in the dump. The results of these test units are discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

Figure 3.5: Excavation in the dump.



Conclusion

The 2012 fieldwork at Camp Indianola produced a diverse and complex archaeological assemblage. The fieldwork methodologies were based on successful techniques at similar internment sites in North America. The combination of site mapping, metal detector survey, and test excavation produced a representative sample of the material culture available at the site. Limitations in time and funding limited the scope and scale of the investigations. However, this proved to be an advantageous in encouraging preservation of the resource for future investigations. The data set produced from these investigations is discussed in the next chapter.

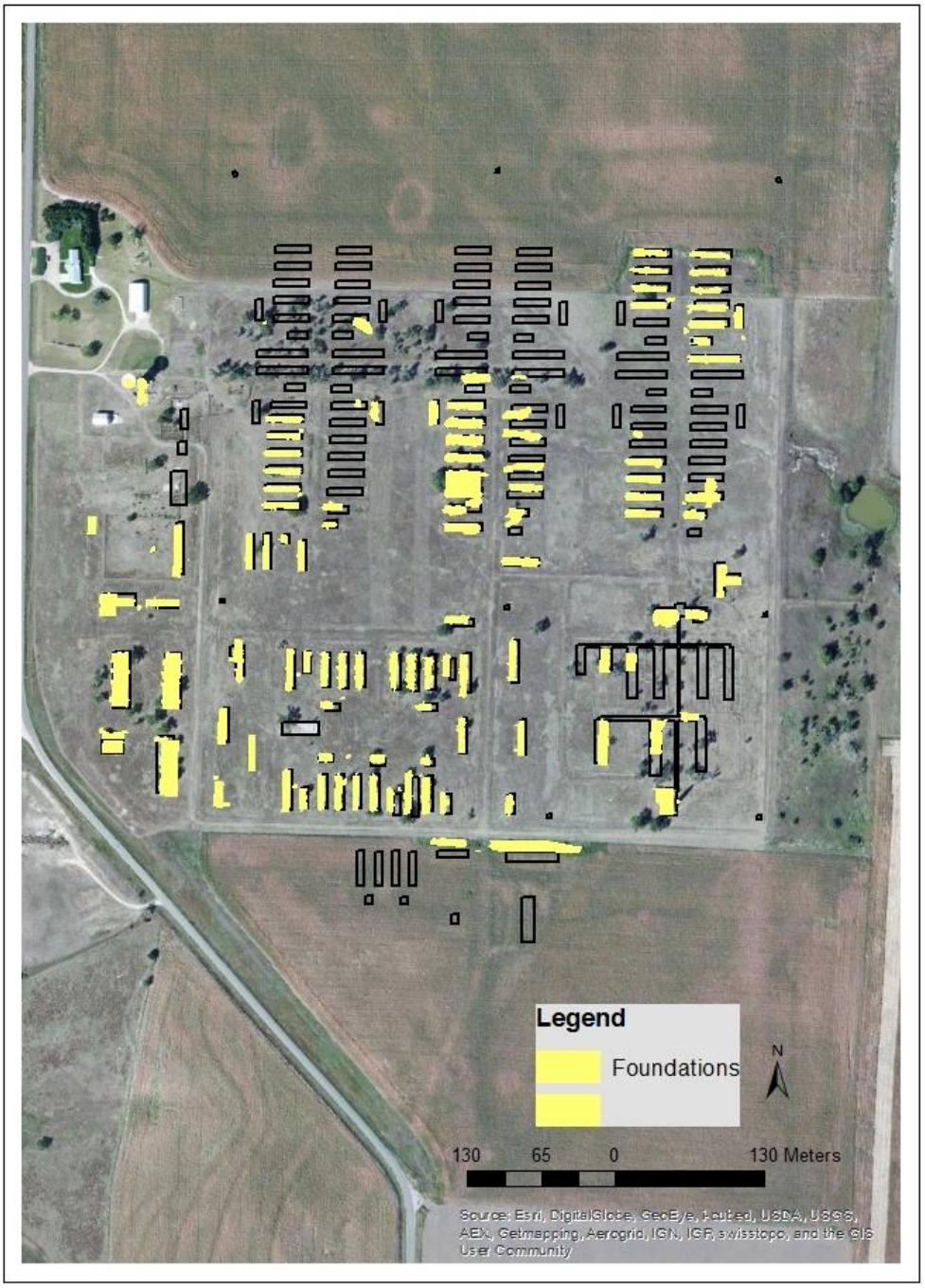
Chapter 4: RESULTS

The fieldwork at Indianola produced a complex archaeological data set that can be divided into three main categories: the mapping of site remains, the results of the metal detector survey, and the results of excavation. This section presents the results of these fieldwork techniques.

Site Documentation

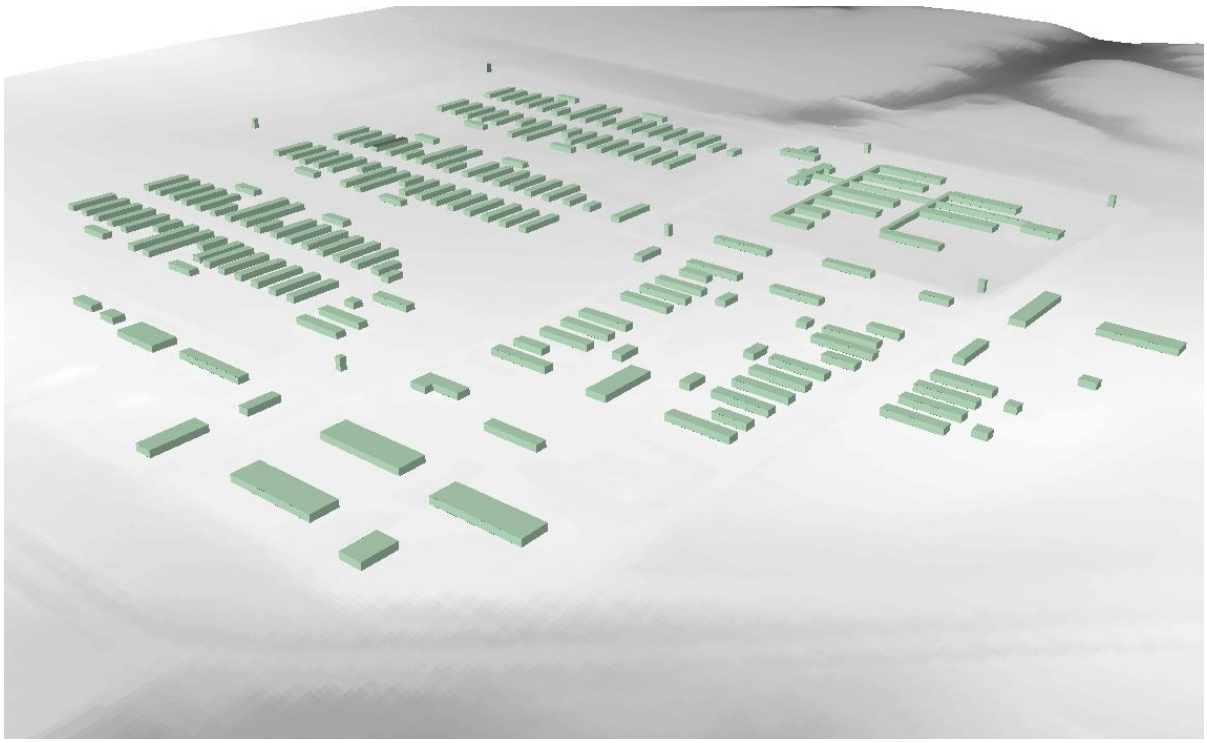
The site documentation efforts resulted in a map of all remaining structural features. This map demonstrates the level of preservation at the Indianola, especially when overlain on the available historical map for the camp. Figure 4.1 is a map of building foundations and camp features. The yellow shapes indicate concrete foundations. The map demonstrates the level of preservation at the site.

Figure 4.1: Map of Building Foundations



GIS analysis of the camp remains in conjunction with historical documents allows for a deeper understanding of the site. For instance, combining building dimensions with the historic map of the site produces a 3D model of the camp. Figure 4.2 shows a 3D model of the site of Indianola.

Figure 4.2: 3D Model of Indianola



Metal Detector Survey

Prisoner Compounds

The metal detector strategy was tested and adjusted on the north wall of one of the barracks structures. The practice of screening for high conductivity was developed in this area. The north wall survey resulted in 41 high conductivity metal detector hits. The digging of randomly selected targets produced 20 artifacts including 2 buttons, 3 shotgun shells, and fifteen nails of varying sizes. Table 4.1 presents the results of this survey. Once the metal detector strategy had been refined, it was possible to test the representative buildings of a prisoner compound.

Table 4.1: North Wall Survey Results

Artifact	Count	Weight
Buttons	2	2.56 g
Shotgun Shells	3	14.22 g
16d Nails	5	50.35 g
8d Nails	7	31.88 g
6d Nails	2	4.28 g
4d Nails	2	1.70 g

FIGURE 4.3: North Wall Artifacts

The prisoner compound survey focused on four main buildings that would have been frequented by the occupants of that section of the camp. The barracks investigation produced 33 high conductivity hits. The survey resulted in nails of various sizes, wire fragments, metal fragments, and shotgun shells. Survey around the latrine resulted in 38 high conductivity hits. Pinpointing the selected targets produced a shotgun shell, wire, a tin can, metal fragments, and nails of various sizes. Student detectorists located 35 high conductivity hits during the mess hall survey. Artifacts from this area include metal pipe fittings, metal fragments, a roasting pan handle, a large can, a screw, a fence staple, and nails of various sizes. Lastly, the storage house survey resulted in 28 high conductivity hits. Artifacts include a nail file, shotgun shell, copper wire, and nails of various sizes. The metal detector survey in this area produced artifacts related to the lives of camp occupants as well as the destruction of the camp. Tables 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, and 4.5 present the results of the prisoner compound metal detector survey. Figures 4.4-7 show the artifacts from these survey efforts. Figure 4.4 is a map of the metal detector survey results in the prisoner compound area.

Table 4.2: Barracks Survey Results

Artifact Name	Count	Weight
Wire	1	24.68 g
Metal Fragments	4	5.13 g
Perforated Metal Strips	3	17.25 g
16d Nails	13	110.77 g
8d Nails	11	44.62 g
6d Nails	14	34.87 g
4d Nails	8	10.68 g
Shotgun shells	2	10.71 g

Figure 4.4: Barracks Artifacts

Table 4.3: Latrine Survey Results

Artifact Name	Count	Weight
Shotgun Shell	1	4.18 g
Thick Wire	2	29.50 g
Thin Wire	6	1.19 g
Can	1	85.65 g
8d Nails	3	11.63 g
10d Nails	3	10.49 g
7d Nails	1	2.55 g
4d Nails	1	1.18 g
Metal Fragments	3	2.03 g

Figure 4.5: Latrine Artifacts

Table 4.4: Mess Hall Survey Results

Artifact Name	Count	Weight
Metal Fragments	50	233.24 g
Pipe Fittings	2	179.89 g
Metal Strip	1	6.65 g
Pan Handle	1	12.92 g
Can	1	215.5 g
16d Nails	2	17.69 g
8d Nails	6	24.31 g
6d Nails	4	9.55 g
4d Nails	2	2.72 g
Screw	1	1.37 g
Fence Staple	1	5.22 g

Figure 4.6: Mess Hall Artifacts

Table 4.5: Storage Unit Survey Results

Artifact Name	Count	Weight
Nail File	1	2.71 g
Shotgun Shell	1	5.11 g
Copper Wire	2	117.54 g
16d Nails	2	19.63 g
10d Nails	1	3.25 g
8d Nails	5	24.64 g
6d Nails	2	7.21 g
4d Nails	1	1.83 g
2d Nails	1	5.81 g

Figure 4.7: Storage Unit Artifacts

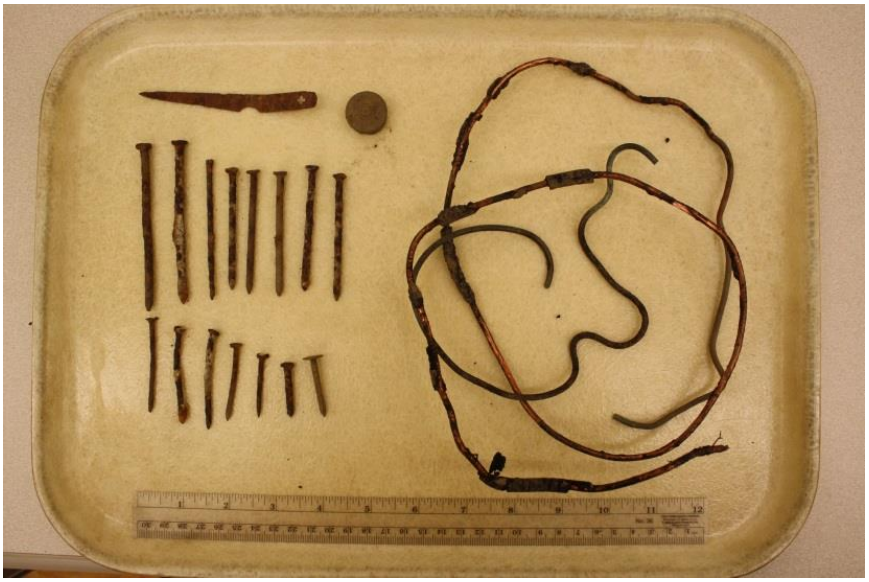
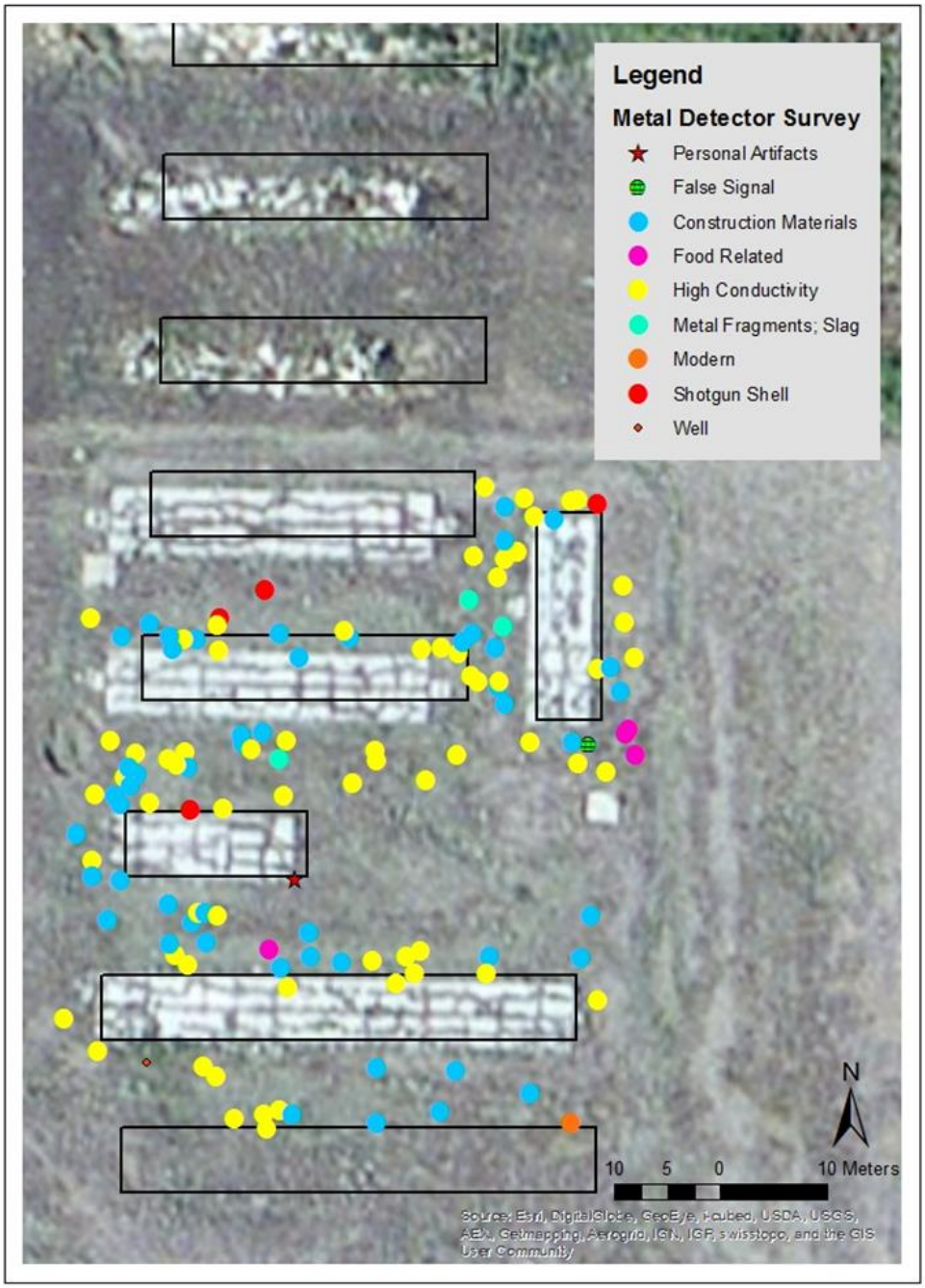


Figure 4.8: Map of Metal Detector Survey Results for Compound Area



Hospital Complex

During the war, the hospital complex was connected by a series of covered hallways resulting in one large connected structure. A central building that stood on pylons was selected for metal detector survey. Detectorists located 12 high conductivity targets. Pinpointing and excavation produced a broken saw blade, wire fragments, and an assortment of nails. The hospital area contained mostly debris associated with the destruction of the camp. Table 4.6 presents the results of the metal detector survey in the hospital. Figure 4.10 is a map of the metal detector results in the hospital area.

Table 4.6: Hospital Building Survey Results

Artifact Name	Count	Weight
Wire Fragment	1	5.85 g
Saw Blade	1	5.26 g
20d Nails	1	9.76 g
16d Nails	3	36.43 g
8d Nails	1	4.91 g

Figure 4.9: Hospital Artifacts

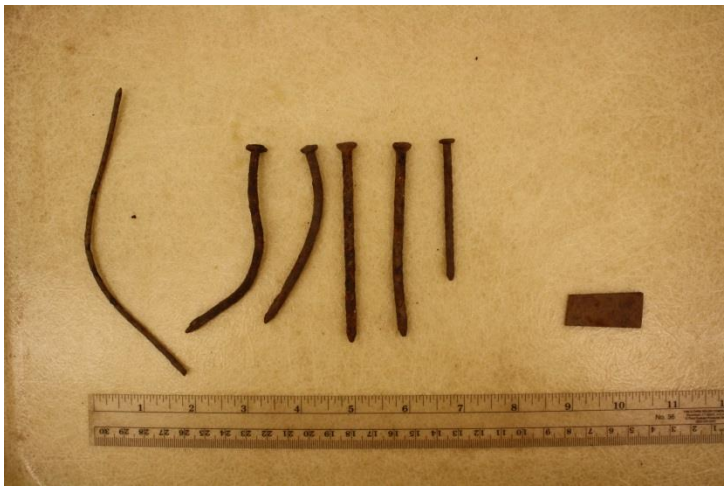
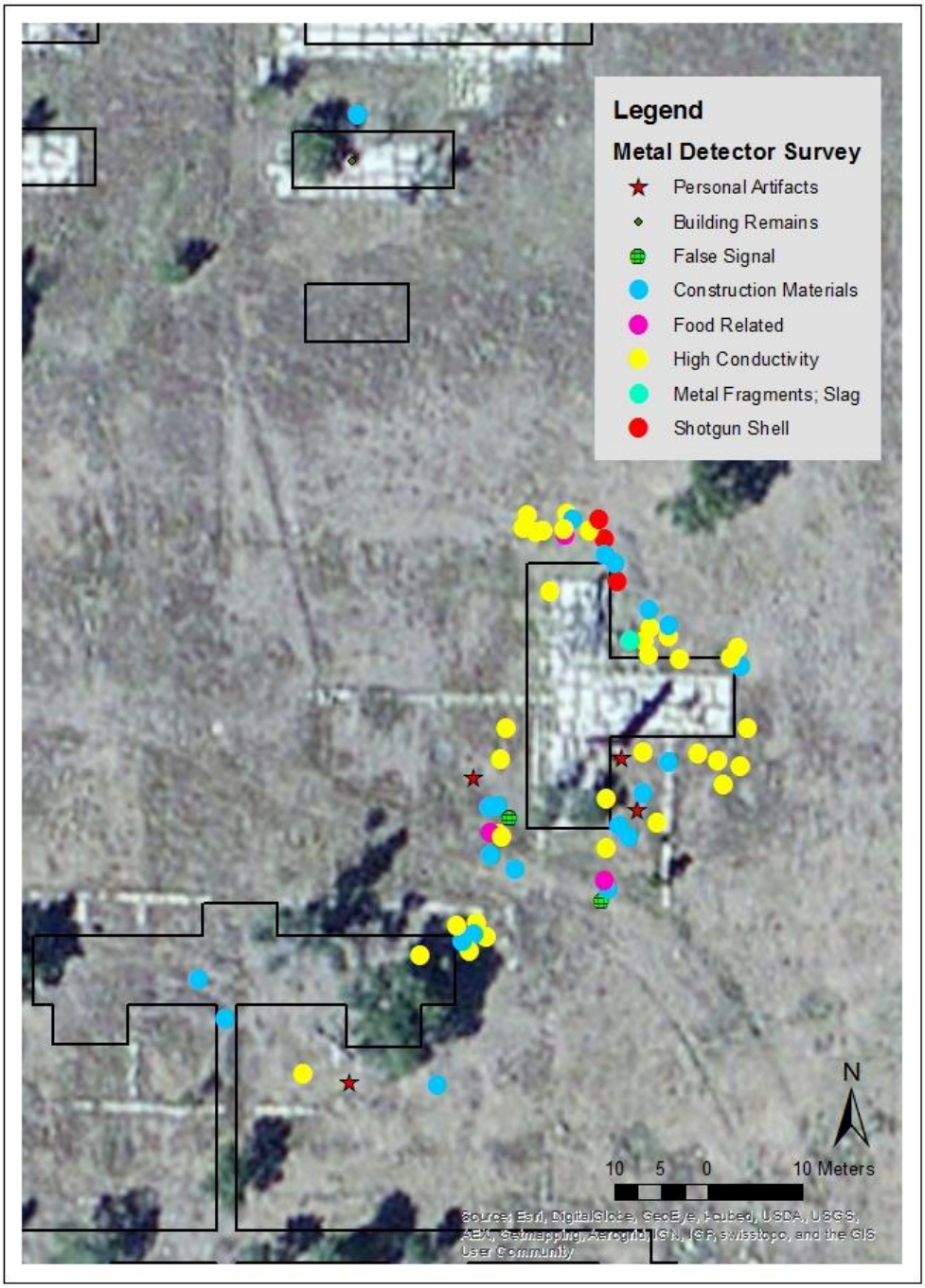


Figure 4.10: Map of Metal Detector Survey Finds for Hospital and Guard House



Garrison Echelon

In the garrison echelon, the crew surveyed a barrack foundation and a latrine foundation. The limited time allotted for fieldwork prevented the crew from investigating the garrison as intensely as the prisoner compound. The garrison barracks survey resulted in 46 high conductivity hits. Digging of these targets produced a tin can, metal fragments, wire fragments, a perforated metal disc from a drain, some foil wrappers, a barbed wire fragment, as well as construction materials like screws and nails. Digging some of the targets produced non-metal artifacts like flat glass, brown bottle glass, and some plastic fragments. The garrison latrine was smaller than those found in the prisoner compound and was probably reserved for officers. The latrine survey resulted in 27 high conductivity hits. The artifacts found surrounding this building include construction materials like wire, nails, a nut, pipe fragments, metal fragments, and tar paper pieces. Personal artifacts include a toy fragment, a spring, a tin can, and a metal hoop. Glass fragments and a piece of rubber were found in association with several of these metal targets. The garrison area was heavily compromised following the war. Tables 4.7 and 4.8 present the results of the garrison area metal detector survey. Figures 4.11 and 4.12 show some of the artifacts from these survey efforts. Figure 4.13 is a map of the metal detector survey results in the garrison area.

Table 4.7: Garrison Barracks Survey Results

Artifact Name	Count	Weight
Metal Tool Component	1	42.47 g
Tin Can	1	42.95 g
Can Lid	1	7.33 g
Perforated Drain disc	1	4.0 g
Barbed Wire Fragment	1	17.05 g
Bottle Cap	1	2.92 g
Metal Ring	1	6.13 g
Foil Fragments	2	1.35 g
Red Plastic Fragments	4	1.67 g
Brown Glass	1	.41 g
Flat Glass	13	16.3 g
Screw	1	1.93 g
16d Nails	2	19.08 g
8d Nails	2	8.26 g
6d Nails	9	24 g
3d Nails	3	4.31 g
Wire Fragment	1	1.28 g

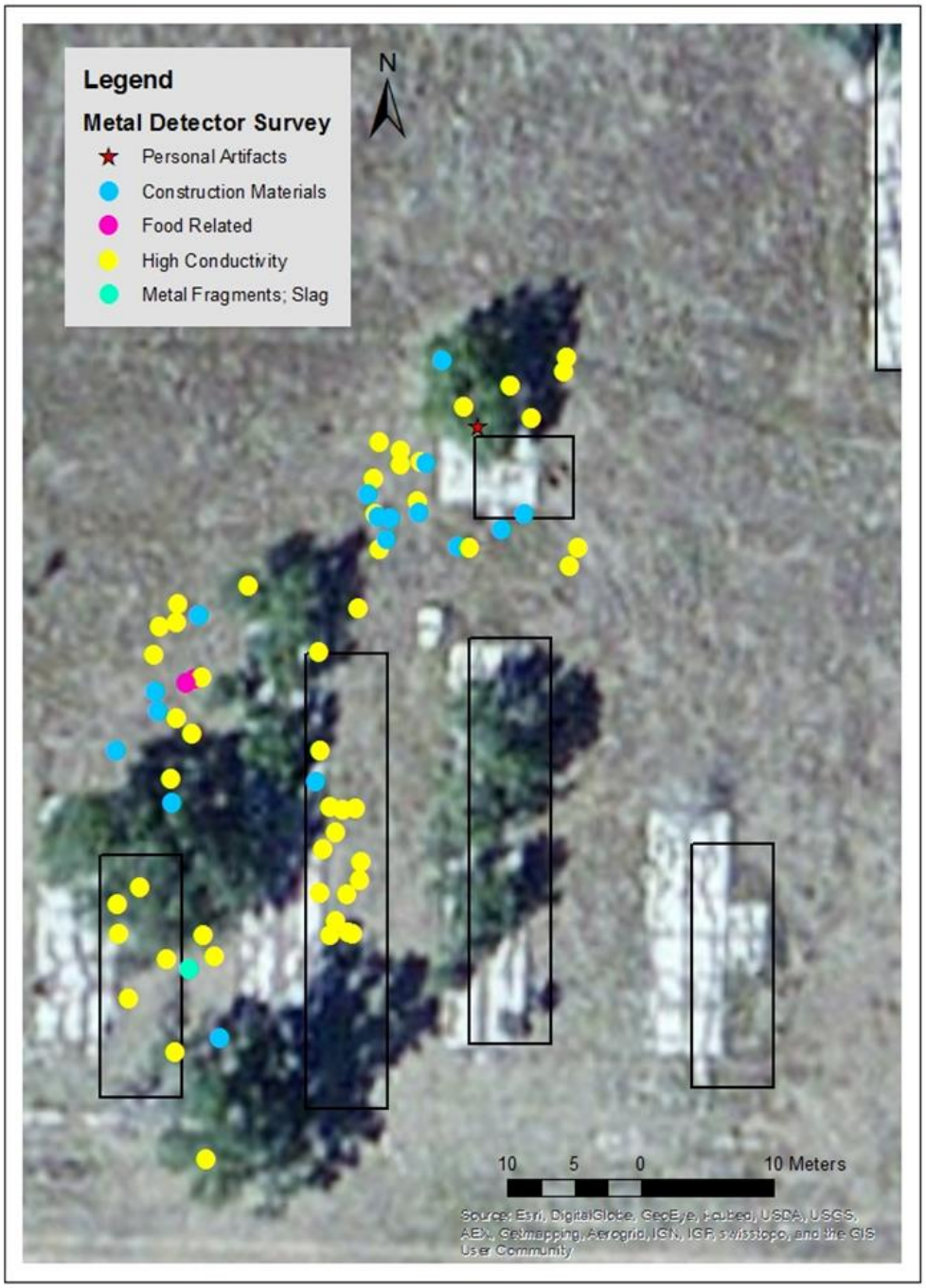
Figure 4.11: Garrison Barracks Artifacts

Table 4.8: Garrison Latrine Survey Results

Artifact Name	Count	Weight
Can	1	117.3 g
Glass Fragments	3	5.31 g
Wire Tangle	1	15.18 g
Wire Fragments	5	77.43 g
Tar Paper Pieces	5	13.79 g
Pipe Fragment	1	174.5 g
Piece of Barbed Wire	1	11.12 g
Possible Toy Fragment	1	2.73 g
Spring	1	1.11 g
Rubber Cap	1	0.15 g
Nut	1	3.34 g
Wiring Fragments	2	2.9 g
Metal Strip	1	9.67 g
Metal Hoop	1	2.52 g
10d Nails	1	5.18 g
8d Nails	1	3.5 g
7d Nails	1	3.08 g
3d Nails	1	0.82 g
2d Nails	1	0.95 g

Figure 4.12: Garrison Latrine Artifacts

Figure 4.13: Map of Metal Detector Finds for Garrison Area



Other Camp Buildings

It was also decided to test two buildings that had specific purposes, the guard house and the bakery. The guard house functioned as a detention facility within the camp. The bakery produced bread for the camp's population. One portion of the camp's fence line was also tested. The guard house survey produced 56 high conductivity hits. The pinpointing and digging crews located a variety of artifacts surrounding the guard house. Building and destruction materials include wire fragments, a hinge, a pipe fitting, flat glass, and nails. Artifacts related to camp occupants consist of a clipboard component, tin can fragments, a piercing style can opener, a toy knife, a button from female clothing, a pocket knife, plastic fragments, and shotgun shells. The presence of toys and buttons from women's clothing represent the occupation of the camp by Bureau of Reclamation families following the war. This distribution is discussed in more detail in the analysis chapter.

The survey of the bakery resulted in 66 metal detector hits. Digging of the randomly selected targets produced an assortment of artifacts. Construction and destruction materials include: tarpaper, nails, screws, bolts, wire fragments, and barbed wire pieces. Personal artifacts include: shotgun shells, washers, ceramic fragments, and glass fragments. The fence line survey resulted in 28 metal detector hits. The survey produced a large number of nails, particularly 16d nails. The crew also excavated metal fragments, barbed wire, and some green bottle glass. The glass was found in association with one of the metal targets. Tables 4.9, 4.10, and 4.11 present the metal detector survey results for these specific buildings. Figures 4.14, 4.15, and 4.17 show some of the artifacts from these surveys. Figures 4.16 and 4.18 are maps of the survey distribution.

Table 4.9: Guard House Survey Results

Artifact Name	Count	Weight
Clipboard Component	1	43.24 g
Can Rim Fragments	5	20.03 g
Metal Fragments	12	25.05 g
Wire Fragment	1	1.75 g
Pipe Fitting	1	180.05 g
Hinge	1	4.87 g
Can Key	1	3.11 g
Shotgun Shells	3	15.89 g
Toy Knife	1	2.57 g
Female Button	1	2.33 g
Apex Can	1	47.60 g
Plastic	3	3.84 g
Flat Glass	1	.91 g
16d Nails	1	16.91 g
10d Nails	1	5.19 g
8d Nails	2	7.68 g
6d Nails	2	3.18 g
4d Nails	3	3.29 g
3d Nails	2	2.14 g

Figure 4.14: Guard House Artifacts

Table 4.10: Bakery Survey Results

Artifact Name	Count	Weight
Barbed Wire Fragments	2	36.80 g
Shotgun Shells	1	4.48 g
Wire Fragments	12	14.04 g
Washers	3	52.81 g
Screw	1	7.42 g
Bolts	2	54.72 g
Tarpaper Fragments	4	5.58 g
Ceramic Fragments	1	24.07 g
Glass Fragments	4	34.95 g
20d Nails	1	9.28 g
16d Nails	4	23.16 g
8d Nails	7	21.96 g
6d Nails	3	6.31 g
3d Nails	5	10.02 g
2d Nails	4	6.071 g

Figure 4.15: Bakery Artifacts

Figure 4.16: Map of Bakery Metal Detector Survey Results

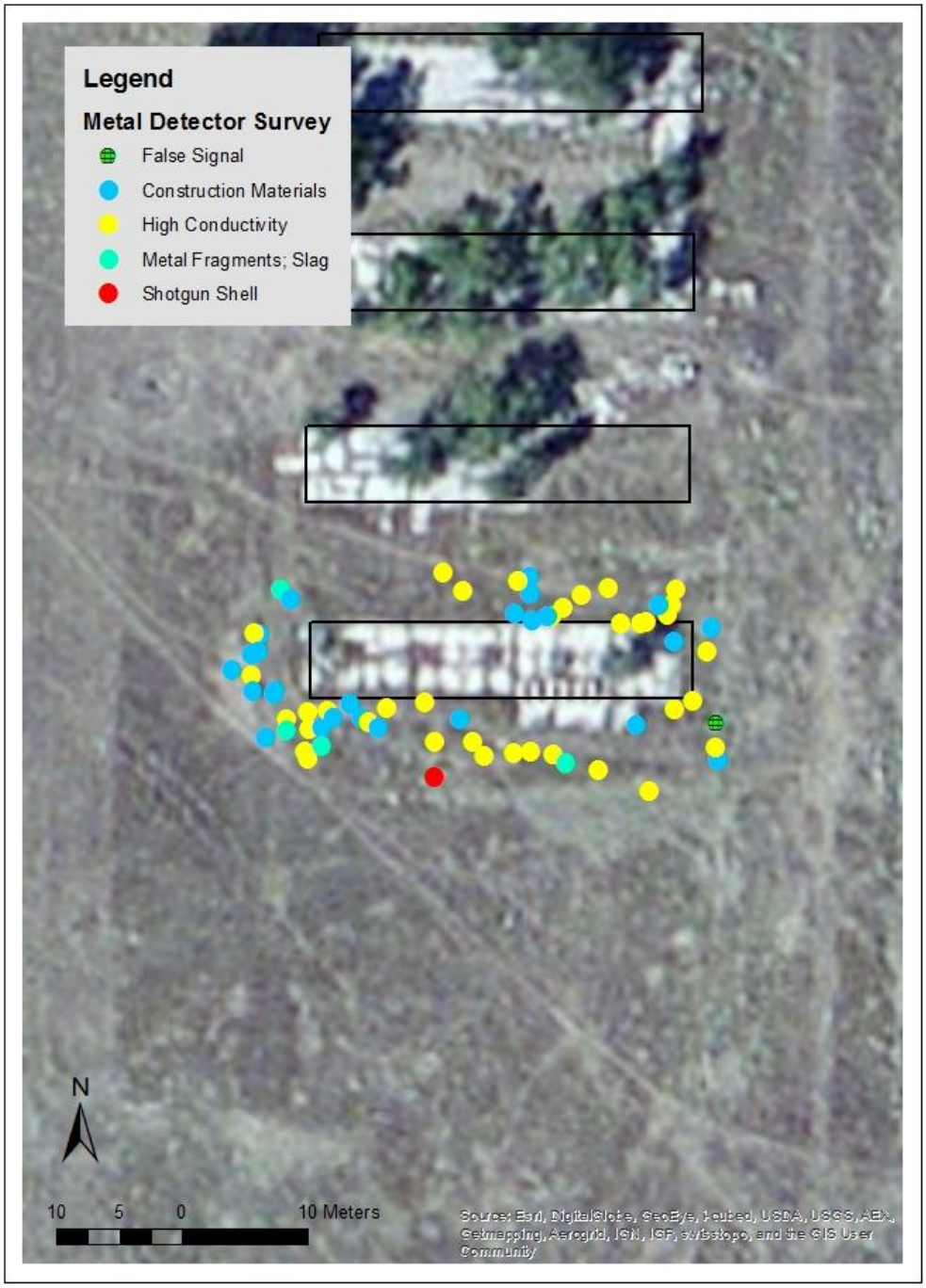
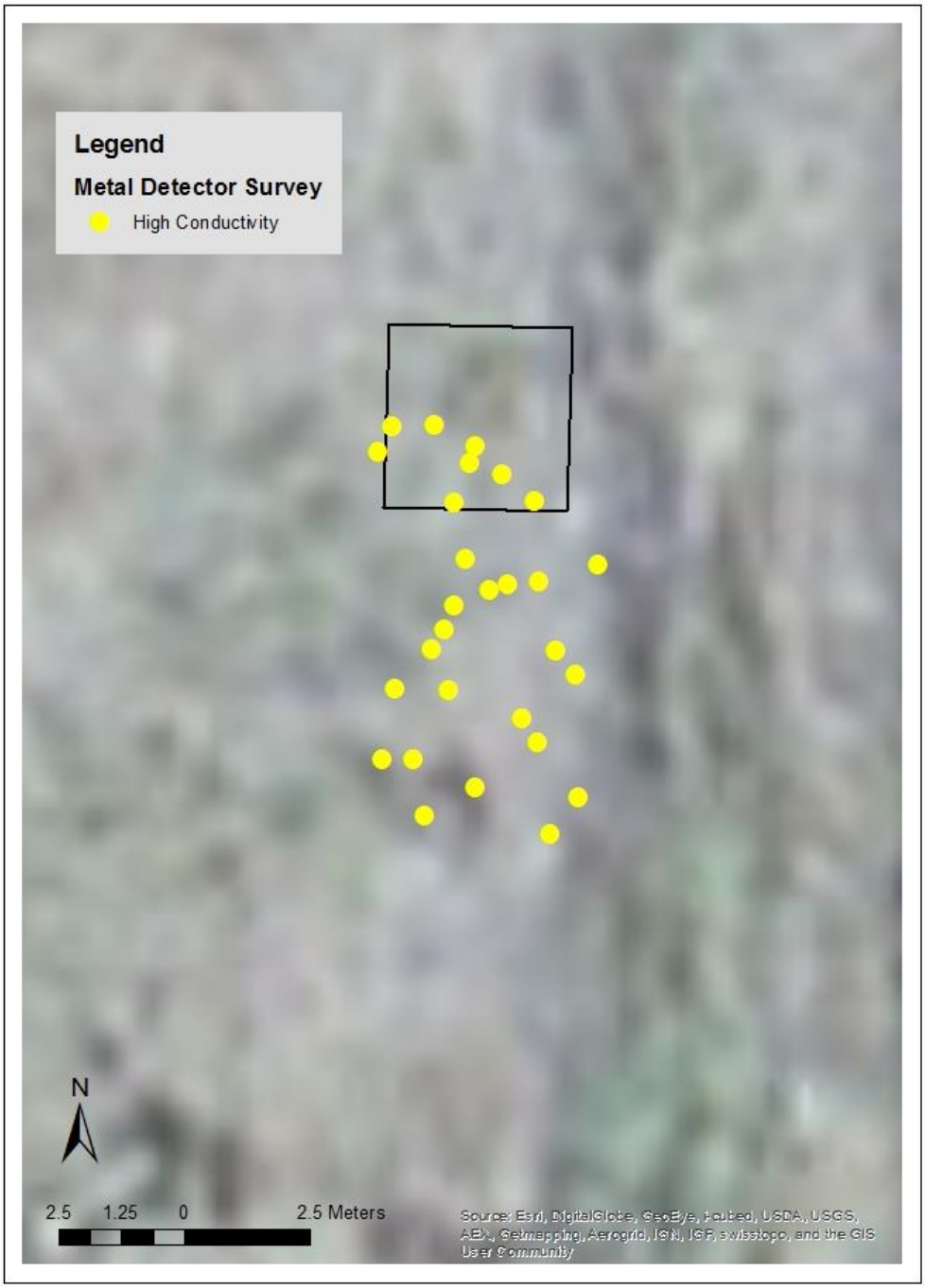


Table 4.11: Fence Line Survey Results

Artifact Name	Count	Weight
16D Nails	8	73.98
10D Nails	1	2.9
8d Nails	2	8.09
3d Nails	1	0.99
Metal Fragments	1	0.8
Barb Wire Fragments	1	13.14
Glass Fragments	3	17.03

Figure 4.17: Fence Line Artifacts

Figure 4.18: Map of Fence Line/Guard Tower Metal Detector Survey Results



The metal detector survey of the different camp areas resulted in a variety of artifacts related to several phases of the camp. Some artifacts can be attributed to the original purpose of the camp, housing prisoners of war. Other items seem to date to the Bureau of Reclamation era of the camp immediately after the war. The majority of items are associated with the destruction of the camp. Some artifacts like shotgun shells date to a more modern use of the camp lands. A more in-depth analysis of this complex assemblage is discussed in the next chapter.

Camp Excavation

Compound 3

In compound 3, excavation units were placed near building entrances. The northwest unit was excavated to a depth of 40cm. Artifacts from the upper levels include: concrete fragments, cinder, tar paper, flat glass, and nails. The excavation adjoined the wall of the barrack, so one was able to see the foundation depth of the structure. The foundation was visible to the bottom of the unit, but the excavators did not reach the base. Examination of portions of the foundation reveals how the buildings were initially constructed. Examination of the other sidewall profiles suggests that the occupation layer of the camp was roughly five to ten centimeters below the contemporary surface of the ground and was relatively clear of camp related artifacts. Excavation continued below the occupation layer to test for building materials. The southeast unit of the barracks in the eastern compound had a very similar soil profile to the previously discussed unit. Artifacts include concrete, nails, washers, flat glass, tar paper, and cinder. Glass fragments from a broken jar were found about 10 centimeters

down from the surface. This was the only artifact that was not some form of construction or destruction debris. Tables 4.12 and 4.13 present the results of these excavation units.

Table 4.12: Northwest Corner Excavation Unit Results

Artifact Name	Count	Weight
Flat Glass	4	2.50 g
Screw	1	2.55 g
16d Nails	3	27.63 g
10d Nails	1	3.72 g
8d Nails	6	24.95 g
6d Nails	6	23.13 g
4d Nails	4	6.09 g
3d Nails	4	4.27 g

Table 4.13: Southeast Corner Excavation Unit Results

Artifact Name	Count	Weight
Glass Fragments	7	68.04 g
Flat Glass	14	15.5 g
Washers	2	5.52 g
Screws	2	14.13 g
16d Nails	1	6.45 g
8d Nails	11	46.72 g
6d Nails	28	55.31 g
4d Nails	5	7.72 g
3d Nails	8	8.37 g
Nail Fragments	4	8.52 g

Compound 2

In the central compound, one unit was place by a barracks entrance. A second unit was placed by the doorway to the latrine. The barracks placed unit produced a button, some plastic fragments, some glass fragments, cinder, a bolt, concrete fragments, and nails. The

unit was adjacent to the barracks so that the building foundation could be observed as they excavated down. This allowed for comparison in construction techniques between the two compounds. The occupation layer was found at a similar depth of 5-15cmbs. The unit reached sterile soil at approximately 40cmbs. Excavation continued beneath the occupation layer to test for building materials below the wartime occupation. The latrine test unit reached sterile soil at 20cmbs. Artifacts from this unit include a metal spring, a metal cylinder, wire fragments, nails, cinder, and flat glass. Both units had similar soil profiles of two distinct layers.

Overall, the excavation units placed in the prisoner compounds produced a significant amount of destruction debris and relatively few artifacts related to the prisoner occupants. The occupation layer of the camp was observed consistently in all four test units at a standard depth of approximately 5-10cmbs. The lack of material debris suggests that this surface was kept relatively clean and routinely policed. Placing the excavation units adjacent to the structures provides useful insight into the design and construction of the building foundations.

Table 4.14: Barracks Excavation Results

Artifact Name	Count	Weight
Plastic Fragments	11	1.11 g
Glass Fragments	5	2.06 g
Button	1	.29 g
16d Nails	1	7.93 g
8d Nails	3	11.97 g
6d Nails	24	59.79 g
3d Nails	4	4.27 g
Spike	1	181.90 g

Table 4.15: Latrine Excavation Results

Artifact Name	Count	Weight
Flat Glass	3	1.41 g
Metal Cylinder	1	99.08 g
Metal Spring	1	8.01 g
Wire Fragment	1	3.30 g
16d Nails	2	13.77 g
8d Nails	2	8.75 g
6d Nails	34	95.26 g
3d Nails	2	2.94 g
Nail Fragments	3	6.74 g

Figure 4.19: Latrine Artifacts

Dump Excavation

During the metal detector survey to located the dump, three field specimens were located on the surface. The finds consist of two buttons and one ceramic fragment. One button is a German military button. One button is a U.S. Army button. The ceramic fragment is from a set of army issue hospital ceramics.

Figure 4.20: Surface Finds in Dump

Units 1 and 2 were both excavated down to 40cmbs and then augured to 70cmbs. The student crews defined two surface layers beyond the hardened farming surface: a silty loam and a silty clay. Artifacts from unit 1 include cinder, bone, nails, metal fragments, and glass fragments, while unit 2 only contained metal fragments and cinder. In unit 3, excavators reached sterile soil at 30cm. It was then augured to a depth of 53cm. No soil changes were observed in this unit's profile. The only artifacts from this unit were cinder and metal fragments.

Table 4.16: Unit 1 Excavation Results

Artifact Name	Count	Weight
Bone	3	.72 g
Clear Glass	4	3.01 g
Brown Glass	1	.38 g
Metal Fragments	4	2.84 g
2d Nails	3	5.56 g

Figure 4.21: Unit 1 Artifacts

Table 4.17: Unit 2 Excavation Results

Artifact Name	Count	Weight
Metal Fragments	2	2.73 g

Table 4.18: Unit 3 Excavation Results

Artifact Name	Count	Weight
Metal Fragments	11	6.40 g

Unit 4 was by far the most productive test unit in the dump. The crew encountered compacted soil with an assortment of artifacts at a depth of 43cmbs. Continued excavation

resulted in a large deposit of artifacts at a depth range of 60-80cmbs. The soil was much coarser in this level. The crew reached sterile soil and stopped excavation at a depth of 90cmbs. This unit produced a diverse assortment of artifacts. Glass artifacts were found in multiple colors (clear, green, blue, and brown) and the types include rim, body, and base fragments, as well as several complete specimens of jars and bottles. Flat glass is also included in the assemblage. The assemblage also includes metal in the form of can fragments, bottle caps, a broken fork, squeeze tubes, wire, and nails. Several chicken bones were also found in the assemblage. Two unique artifacts include a rubber boot heel with a wooden sole and a plastic cap with a microscope logo embossed on the surface. It is possible that the plastic cap served as an adjustment knob on a microscope that was used in the camp hospital. The excavation also produced a patch of cloth and some leather fragments.

Table 4.19: Unit 4 Excavation results

Artifact Name	Count	Weight
Glass Base Fragments	22	454.66 g
Glass Rim Fragments	43	286.92 g
Clear Glass Fragments	662	1385.49 g
Brown Glass Fragments	7	23.26 g
Milk Glass Fragments	12	40.27 g
Blue Glass Fragments	2	44.01 g
Green Glass Fragments	2	36.52 g
Painted Glass Fragments	7	55.92 g
Jergens Lotion Bottles	3	231.34 g
Glass Bottles	3	427.77 g
Glass Jars	3	273.89 g
Brown Glass Jar	1	151.89 g
Glass Tube	1	2.32 g
Glass Droplets	3	1.61 g
Metal Lids	2	107.75 g

Can Rim Fragments	36	111.72 g
Can Lid Fragments	2	41.75 g
Metal Fragments	Unstable	284.21 g
Foil Fragments	3	.06 g
Bottle Caps	19	45.72 g
Copper Button	1	3.41 g
Wire Fragments	12	22.71 g
Buttons	3	1.73 g
Squeeze Tubes	3	81.56 g
Fork	2	28.15 g
Ceramic	1	16.81 g
Bone	5	9.83 g
Rubber Stopper	1	.28 g
Plastic Knob	1	3.70 g
Plastic Cap w/ Metal fragment	1	3.80 g
Boot Heel Components	6	64.5 g
Cork Fragments	2	.67 g
Leather	6	9.87 g
Cloth	2	21.26 g
Flat Glass	60	212.34 g
Sheet Rock	21	424.99 g
Melted Glass	28	345.47 g
30d Nails	1	15.87 g
16d Nails	6	38.98 g
10d Nails	1	4.31 g
8d Nails	7	24.86 g
6d Nails	3	19.79 g
4d Nails	1	1.35 g
3d Nails	1	1.27 g
2d Nails	1	1.64 g
Nail Fragments	37	64.05 g

Figure 4.22: Unit 4 Artifacts

Figure 4.23: Unit 4 Artifacts

Figure 4.24: Unit 4 Artifacts

Figure 4.25: Unit 4 Artifacts

The fifth test unit in the dump area was excavated to a depth of 56cmbs and then augured to a depth of 105cmbs. The soil profile of this unit was similar to the first three test units in the dump. Artifacts from this unit include a variety of glass fragments, metal fragments, tin can rims, and nails. Types of glass include clear jar and bottle fragments, brown glass, and clear flat glass. The artifacts came out of the hand-excavated upper layers. The auger did not encounter any material culture at the lower levels.

Table 4.20: Unit 5 Excavation Results

Artifact Name	Count	Weight
Porcelain	7	13.69 g
Clear Glass Fragments	16	24.21 g
Brown Glass Fragments	3	9.99 g
Can Rim Fragments	11	109.75 g
Metal Fragments	Unstable	155.96 g
Flat Glass	4	2.74 g
Wire Fragments	4	16.36 g
Sheet Rock	5	8.30 g
16d Nails	4	26.56 g
8d Nails	6	24.69 g
6d Nails	13	29.91 g
4d Nails	2	3.17 g
3d Nails	2	2.02 g
Nail Fragments	8	9.84 g
Melted Glass	1	33.15 g

Figure 4.26: Unit 5 Artifacts

Unit 6 (unit 20 in field notes) was a 1X1 meter test unit placed to the west of unit 4. The project leader was attempting to discern if the large deep artifact deposit from unit 4 extended further in any directions. The unit was excavated to 60cmbs and then augured to a depth of 162cmbs. The unit produced cinder, glass fragments, metal fragments, nails, and a piece of rubber. The artifacts came from both the excavation layers of roughly 40-60cmbs as well as an auger depth of 100-120, though not in a significant deposit like unit 4. Unit 7 was 1X1M unit (unit 21 in field notes) that was excavated to a depth of 60cmbs and then augured to a depth of 108cmbs. The artifacts came from the lower levels of the hand excavation. Auguring did not produce any artifacts. Artifacts from this unit include cut bone, glass, metal fragments, wire and nails.

Table 4.21: Unit 6 Excavation Results

Artifact Name	Count	Weight
White Glass	1	4.46 g
Clear Glass	6	17.32 g
Rubber Fragment	1	1.53 g
Cloth	1	1.05 g
Metal Fragments	1	1.08 g
Metal Wire	1	15.94 g
8d Nails	2	10.05 g
2d Nails	1	1.89 g

Figure 4.27: Unit 6 Artifacts

Table 4.22: Unit 7 Excavation Results

Artifact Name	Count	Weight
Glass Fragments	2	9.29 g
Bone Fragments	2	21.92 g
Metal Fragment	1	.29 g
Wire	1	1.42 g
Tile Fragments	2	4.73 g
16d Nails	1	10.90 g

Figure 4.28: Unit 7 Artifacts

The test excavations in the dump reveal that the consistent plowing of the land had disturbed the upper stratigraphic layers of the Indianola camp dump. Intact deposits can be found at lower levels, as seen in unit 4, but locating these specific deposits is challenging. The use of an auger to test below sterile hand excavation levels proved to be a useful tool in determining that more of these types of deeper deposits were not being missed. A geophysical investigation of the dump field could prove to be a valuable method in locating more artifact deposits.

Conclusion

The 2012 fieldwork at Camp Indianola produced a diverse and complex archaeological assemblage. The fieldwork methodologies were based on successful techniques at similar internment sites in North America. The combination of site mapping, metal detector survey, and test excavation produced a representative sample of the material

culture available at the site. Limitations in time and funding limited the scope and scale of the investigations. However, this proved to be an advantageous in encouraging preservation of the resource for future investigations. A more in-depth analysis of these results is presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

Introduction

The primary goal of this research is to determine the value of the contribution of archaeological evidence in understanding these sites. More specifically, can observance of the Geneva Convention be seen in the material record of the Indianola POW camp? The research at Indianola produced a complex archeological data set as well as valuable historical information. Four specific research questions assess the possible role of material culture in interpreting the site and aid in understanding how the Geneva Convention influenced life at the camp. How is the camp facility organized? Is that organization reflected archaeologically? What can be learned about the lives of camp occupants, prisoners and guards, through an understanding of this organization? How does the historical repurposing and eventual destruction of these sites affect the archeological interpretation?

In order to answer the complex research questions, a scaled analytical approach is necessary. First, key individual artifacts are discussed to gain a better understanding of the camp assemblage. These artifacts are personal objects that relate to how the people in the camp lived. Many of these items come from test units in the dump, though several were also located in the metal detector survey. Second, a discussion of the distribution of artifacts from the metal detector survey and camp excavation examines the organization of the camp as well as how post-war events affected the material record of the site. Lastly, an analytical model is presented to broadly assess if the observance of the Geneva Convention is reflected through an archaeological investigation of the camp.

Artifact Analysis

Personal artifacts have the potential to shed light on the day to day lives of the camp's occupants. The majority of personal artifacts at Indianola came from excavations in the camp dump. Excavations in the dump revealed that the trash from the camp was burned and then buried fairly deeply. Unit 4 was the most productive excavation unit. It was an initial concern that the deposit may have dated to the Bureau of Reclamation occupation of the camp, rather than World War II. However, careful analysis of several of the artifacts provides evidence that the materials are associated with the Armed Forces. One such artifact was a boot heel with a wooden interior in the sole. During the Second World War, the United States Armed Forces started using wood in boot heel interiors due to material shortages (Stanton 1994). A second artifact is a metal tube with some readable type that has the text "Special Service Package. For Armed Forces Use Only." The presence of these two artifacts dates the deposit to the prisoner of war era of the camp. Figures 5.1 and 5.2 show these two items. It is not possible to source the deposit as specifically prisoner trash or guard trash.

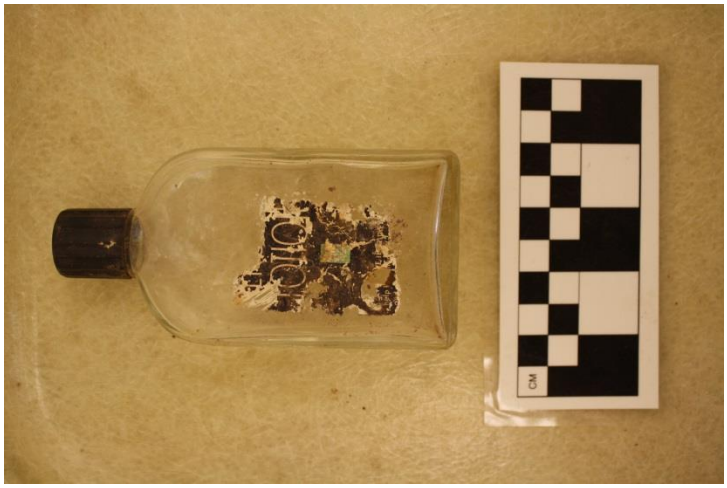
Figure 5.1: Boot Heel

Figure 5.2: Metal Tube

Other artifacts from the dump provide information concerning the camp occupants hygiene practices and diets. Small medicinal bottles, lotion bottles, and shaving cream tubes demonstrate that camp occupants had access to personal items that would have increased their comfort level. Both prisoners and guards would have had the opportunity to purchase

items like this from canteens located around the camp. Figure 5.3 is an intact Jergens lotion bottle that was excavated from Unit 4.

Figure 5.3: Jergens Lotion Bottle



The dump excavations also revealed a great deal about food preparation and consumption within the camp. Numerous tin can fragments, glass jars, glass bottles, bottle caps, and butchered animal bones suggest the diet practices of people at Indianola. While tin cans of varying sizes suggest standard military rations, the cut bones suggest food sources coming into the camp from the surrounding community. One of the glass fragments is imprinted with the text “McCook, NE” further supports the notion that local products made their way into the camp. Figure 5.4 is a piece of cut bone from a large mammal.

Figure 5.4: Cut Bone

Distribution Analysis

The metal detector survey and camp excavations were designed with the intent of understanding if the camp organization was reflected through material culture. A main finding of the metal detector surveys in the camp revealed that debris of destruction like nails is a highly visible component of the material record. Debris generated during the destruction of the camp made up the majority of metal detector survey findings. Screening finds for higher levels of conductivity aids in filtering out some, but not all, of these artifacts. Despite the large amount of building materials present, one can still see preliminary patterns in the various areas of the camp.

The metal detector surveys in the distinct use areas of the camp did reflect different archaeological signatures in the prisoner compound. For instance, the survey of the mess hall produced artifacts associated with food preparation like cans and roasting pan handles. The survey around the barracks revealed several buttons. One button contains the text “U.S.

ARMY" which dates the item to the prisoner of war era of the camp. The other button contains the backmark "KENWORTHYS B'HAM LTD". This backmark is associated with the British military. The button most likely came off a pair of pants issued to a German prisoner once he had surrendered to the British military. The practice of captors issuing clothing to prisoners upon capture was fairly standard. Many prisoners kept these items throughout their stay in POW camps. Figure 5.5 shows a German soldier from the camp at Fort Robinson, Nebraska wearing a pair of British military pants.

Figure 5.5: German Soldier in British Pants (Courtesy of Tom Buecker).

The German military button with a pebble finish, found in the dump, suggests that they were able to keep portions of their original uniform as well. The button has an F&B backmark that is associated with the German military.

The guard house, bakery, hospital, and garrison buildings have less distinct archaeological signatures. The investigation of the guard house, which acted as a detention facility for the camp, revealed a clip board component as well as a pocket knife. These items could have been utilized by the guards in the day to day operation of the camp, but could have also dated to the later occupation of the camp. These areas of the camp were also tested less rigorously than the prisoner area. Perhaps more in-depth metal detecting would produce stronger signatures.

Archaeological testing of the camp fence line revealed that the fence line had a strong archaeological signature. A metal detector survey at a five meter interval revealed a linear concentration flags along an area that was proposed to house one of the barbed wire fences that surrounded the camp. The pinpointing of a random sample of these targets revealed artifacts like barbed wire fragments and nails. There is potential for application of this style of metal detector survey at internment sites around the word. It could be particularly effective in locating the outer boundaries of sites that have been destroyed.

The metal detector survey also demonstrated the presence of multiple occupations of the camp in the material record. The survey of buildings in the hospital area revealed the presence of a female's button and a child's toy. The presence of artifacts related to women and children would typically seem out of place in an all-male prisoner of war camp. As discussed in the history chapter, Bureau of Reclamation employees and their families inhabited the camp after the war. Historical research produced a map of the Bureau

modifications to the camp. The hospital area was converted to apartments for the families of Bureau workers while much of the garrison echelon was transformed into an office area. This period of camp history explains the presence of artifacts related to women and children in this area of the camp. The majority of the prisoner barracks were left unmodified. With this information in mind, the artifacts associated with women and children provide insight to a more recent occupation of the camp. The reuse and salvage of internment sites following military conflict is a fascinating aspect of internment archaeology. In some ways this reuse is seen in the significant presence of destruction materials, which were deposited when the camp buildings were removed from their foundations. Some repurposed camp buildings are still being used in the town of Indianola today.

Figure 5.6: Women's Clothing Button

Figure 5.7: Child's Toy Knife

Despite the presence of these informative artifacts in the prisoner compounds, overall it seemed that the prisoner and guard areas of the camp were policed fairly regularly in terms of litter and other trash deposits. This is not highly surprising since the camp was part of a larger military operation and the prisoners themselves were soldiers. This finding does not appear to be universal considering the types of artifacts and deposits discovered at Camp Hearne in Texas via a similar method of metal detector survey. As more of these sites are assessed, it will be possible to gain a better understanding of policing practices within the camps.

Test excavations near the prisoner barracks produced mainly construction materials like nails, concrete fragments from the building foundation, flat glass, and tar paper. The occupation surface was relatively clean in each of the four units. These findings support the behavioral conclusion of military discipline keeping prisoner areas clean and free of litter. It seems the prisoners maintained high standards of cleanliness in their living areas.

New Model for POW Camps

As discussed in the assessment of the field, many archaeologists who study internment sites utilize postmodern theoretical models for behavior specific research questions. In contrast, cultural resource managers are employing research designs that are largely theory implicit. There is a need for a unifying model that provides an alternative to postmodern perspectives. Recently, conflict archaeologists have begun to develop theoretical models with terms and concepts from the field of military science. Military theoreticians have developed numerous concepts and terms to understand how to successfully conduct war. An example of one of these concepts is the levels of war. Bleed and Scott (2011) have employed this concept to analyze Indian Wars conflict sites in Nebraska. A major strength of these models is that they allow for a deeper understanding of the motivations of individuals on both sides of the conflict.

One can argue that a similar model could be developed for POW camp sites based on the Geneva Convention of 1929. The United States military claimed to have a policy of strictly adhering to the Geneva Convention of 1929. This document was an overarching influence in how the camps were established and subsequently run. The statutes of the Geneva Convention dictated almost every aspect of how prisoners of war should be treated, ranging from housing and food to their rights to work and recreation while living in the camp (Krammer 1997).

A key principal of the Geneva Convention operated on the fact that prisoners of war should be treated equally to the quality of life in the captor's own military. These requirements serve as a form of predictive modeling for what one could expect to find when excavating these sites. This framework works well with a holistic historical archaeological

approach. The historical documents like Red Cross inspection reports provide an excellent point of comparison with the material record of the camp.

Several specific articles of the document are especially relevant to the material record at a POW camp. Article 6 states that prisoners may keep their personal effects except for arms, horses, and other military equipment. Article 10 states that prisoner lodging must be equal in standards to that of the captor's military. Article 11 states that prisoners must have the same rations as the capturing power's troops. Article 12 states that the governing power must provide clothing and footwear for the prisoners. It also says that camp canteens must have locally priced food and hygiene items. Article 13 sets sanitation standards for the camp. This allows prisoners to have regular access to shower facilities. Article 14 states that each camp must have an infirmary available to treat prisoners (Geneva Convention 1929). These are the articles of the agreement most relevant to the interpretation of POW camp archaeological sites.

The investigation at Indianola revealed both historical and archaeological data. The Geneva Convention analytical model has the potential to bring together the diverse Indianola data set to draw conclusions about both the intentions of the U.S. military and the prisoners in the camp. One can test adherence to the Geneva Convention by reviewing the relevant articles in association with the historical and archaeological evidence at a particular site. It is important to note that the size of the Indianola assemblage can test the potential of this model, but cannot confirm or deny adherence to the Geneva Convention conclusively. Five days of fieldwork was not enough time to generate a large enough sample to draw conclusions of its effectiveness.

The clothing and personal effects of prisoners are visible in the material record of Indianola. Adherence to Article 6 is seen through the presence of the German Afrika Korps button and the British military button. This suggests that prisoners were able to keep clothes from the time of capture through arrival at their final destination. Adherence to Article 12 is seen in the U.S. military button as well as other buttons found in the prisoner compound. This suggests the prisoners were being issued clothing that was climate appropriate.

The conditions in which prisoners lived were supposed to be equal to that of the captor's military. Adherence to Article 10 and Article 13 can be seen through the foundations found at the camp. The portions of the prisoner compound that still remained contained barracks, latrine, and mess hall foundations that were designed to the standards of the U.S. military. Historical documents like the camp map and photos of the barracks further support this conclusion. Evidence of adherence to Article 14 is also seen through the physical remains of the hospital complex. Despite being converted to apartments following the war, elements of the original hospital design like walkways between buildings are still visible on the ground.

Article 11 and 12 discuss the availability of food in the camp through both military rations and a canteen. The excavations in the camp dump provide evidence of access to both sources of food as well as a wealth of hygiene products. Food preparation materials like complete cans and roasting pan handles were also found near the mess hall through metal detector survey. This evidence suggests that prisoners had a great deal of agency in regards to the preparation of their food as well as supplementing their diet with items from the canteen. Red Cross inspection reports verify this interpretation of the artifacts.

These findings support a more widespread application of this model at Indianola and other sites elsewhere. More extensive testing at the site would be necessary to draw a conclusion beyond its potential. The Geneva Convention of 1929 was a powerful document that internationally standardized the treatment of prisoners of war during global conflict. The United States embraced the document as the guiding principal in the development and operation of their POW program. Select articles from the document are highly relevant to the formation of the material record at POW camps. This is especially the case in regards to camp design, prisoner possessions, and diet and hygiene standards. Many nations involved in the Second World War were signatories to the document. This model has the potential to be utilized at World War II POW camps around the world.

Conclusion

Internment archaeology is a rapidly emerging subfield of historical archaeology. The research at the Indianola prisoner of war camp aims to make a small contribution to this growing field. The camp facility at Indianola was divided into three main sections: the prisoner compound, the hospital complex, and the garrison echelon. This camp organization is reflected archaeologically through the physical remains of the camp structures as well as subsurface deposits. In conjunction with detailed historical research, a combination of mapping, metal detector survey, and test excavation produced a complex archaeological assemblage. These artifacts were able to speak to the smaller day to day details of what life was like in the camp. The absence of large trash deposits in the camp itself suggests that the prisoner areas were policed fairly regularly in regards to cleanliness and order.

The data is also able to address issues concerning the destruction and repurposing of the camp site. Following the war, the Bureau of Reclamation used the camp facility in the garrison and hospital area as an office and employee housing. This development added another layer of occupation to the site. After the Bureau camp closed, the buildings were removed from the foundations. The removal of these structures greatly impacted the archaeology at the site. The debris of destruction is the most visible aspect of the material record at the camp site.

In an assessment of the state of the field, two voids were identified in the field of internment archaeology: a standardized set of field methodologies and an encompassing theoretical model that could incorporate different types of data and answer a variety of research questions. The research at Indianola employed a set of methodologies that was able to document the resource and efficiently sample different portions of the camp. This combination of mapping, metal detector survey, and test excavation should prove useful to heritage resource managers who will undoubtedly encounter these sites.

The data acquired through this research was used to test a model based on the articles of the Geneva Convention. The document dictated many aspects concerning how the camps were designed and run. The model has the potential to address the intentions and goals of the captors as how the prisoners coped with their captivity. The Indianola data demonstrates the potential of the model, but further testing is necessary to definitively demonstrate its effectiveness. There is immense potential for more future research at the site of Indianola. Two key priorities would be a more extensive metal detector survey within the camp boundaries and a geophysical survey of the dump. Geophysics could identify more dump deposits and guide excavation. Examination of the other prisoner of war camp sites in

Nebraska like Fort Robinson, Camp Atlanta, or some of the other branch camps would also prove valuable.

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