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Death March: A Critical Edition of the War Diaries of Peter Tattersall

by
Clare Tattersall

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
through the Department of English Literature
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Arts at the
University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

2001

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Abstract:

My analysis and treatment of this text is divided into a foreword, three chapters and, of course, the edited diary. Chapter One engages in a literary theoretical discussion of the significance and validity of such a scholarly project within a literary tradition. I examine the role of both editor and reader, emphasize the importance of a flexible and fluid approach to editing, and take into account interaction among text, context, and editor. I argue, that through a close reading of the text, understanding of its context, and knowledge of its writer, and the conditions under which it was produced, it is possible to extract from the fragmented diaries, a comprehensive and relatively complete narrative.

From there I move to a less theoretical and more factual chapter. In Chapter Two I provide the reader with historical background and context. Drawing on numerous sources, this chapter illustrates what daily life was like on the 'death marches' at the end of the Second World War. It discusses sleeping conditions, food, illness, politics, and use of power. Although not analytical, this chapter is essential for a complete and informed reading of the diary.

Chapter Three lays out my methodological approach to editing the diary, and provides the reader with the necessary information for deciphering and understanding the text and its annotations. It is important that this chapter directly precede the diary, so that the reader has fresh in his/her mind the editorial techniques being used. Explanatory footnotes and appendices to the diary help create a readable and complete narrative.

In an effort to produce a complete and intellectually stimulating text, I have combined and balanced discussions of theoretical methodologies and editorial techniques. Each chapter plays a significant role in encouraging the reader to engage intellectually and emotionally with the text. This thesis is not only an exploration of the diary of Peter Tattersall, but also a test of the value and applicability of literary theory to untraditional, non-canonical texts. It illustrates that the literary profession incorporates editing which is an essential and valuable part of a literary tradition.

In memory of my grandfather and the other POWs who sacrificed so much.

Acknowledgements:

Although it is my name that appears on the front of this thesis, I feel as though it belongs to many people, for without their support and assistance this project would never have been completed. I would like to sincerely thank Arthur Weston, Keith Kilby, and Colin Baylis for sharing with me their memories. To Anna and the rest of the staff and researchers at the Museum at Lambinowice and the Imperial War Museum, thank you for preserving the past and my grandfather's memory. To my family, in particular my mom, dad, brother, and sister, without you nothing would ever be possible. Your love and unfaltering belief in my abilities has made everything within my grasp. For Dr. Tom and the rest of my thesis committee, Dr. Matheson, Dr. Owens, Dr. Howsam, and Dr. Quinsey, your investment in my intellectual growth, your flexibility, and your patience made the process tolerable and often enjoyable and rewarding. Last, but not least, to my wonderful friends, Ben, Christina, and David, your daily support and encouragement gave me the energy and the heart to persevere.

To all of you I dedicate my work and hope that through knowledge, understanding, and peace we will never again have to experience the pains and horrors of war.

Table of Contents:

Abstract	iii
Dedication	v
Acknowledgements	vi
Introduction	viii
Foreword	xii
Chapter One: The Evolution of Evaluation: Textual Interaction and Literature.	1
Chapter Two: Life as a POW	18
Chapter Three: Textual Scholarship and Flexible Editorial Methodology: a look at the editing technique applied to the diary of Peter Tattersall.	33
Original Introduction by Dr. Patterson	41
Diary of Peter Tattersall	44
Appendix One: Diary of Captain Wesley Clare	93
Appendix Two: German/Polish Place Names	101
Appendix Three: Contents of Red Cross Parcels	102
Appendix Four: Map of the Route of the March	104
Appendix Five: Map of the camp at Lamsdorf	105
Appendix Six: Photographs of Peter Tattersall	106
Bibliography of References	108
Vita Auctoris	113

Chapter One:

The Evolution of Evaluation: Textual Interaction and Literature

"Some texts are born literary, some achieve literariness, and some have literariness thrust upon them"(Eagleton 8)

In editing these war diaries, I have encountered some skepticism as to whether my project is significantly 'literary' rather than historical. I will not attempt to prove that the diaries themselves are literature, because they are not, but instead, I will illustrate how the editing of the diaries is, in itself, a literary pursuit. There are numerous elements to consider when evaluating the literary potential of such an editing project; the diaries, of course, are important, their content, style, and tone, but of equal importance is their relationship to their historical and literary context. Another consideration when evaluating the literary potential of the diaries is to look at how they are read, to ask whether there is any room for intellectual and imaginative engagement with the text. Such an approach is markedly anti-formalist. Formalists, such as Viktor Shklovsky, Roman Jakobson, and Osip Brik, "far from seeing form as the expression of content, [would stand] the relationship on its head: content was merely the 'motivation' of form, an occasion or convenience for a particular kind of formal exercise."(Eagleton 3) If we were to look exclusively at the basic textuality of these diaries, we would be left with a fragmented and unfulfilling text. It is essential that we allow for a more flexible and fluid approach to regarding, and therefore to, editing the diaries, encouraging interaction among text, context, and reader, to create a more comprehensive and intellectually stimulating, larger than merely formalist final product.

Whether and how an edited text is provocative and fully developed depends partly upon the application of an editorial methodology. The process of editing the diaries requires a clearly defined theoretical approach, incorporating a consideration of audience, as well as authorial and editorial intent. What makes this project a literary pursuit is not the text itself but the response that the text generates from the editor and the reader. The literary status of an editorial task cannot be assigned merely according to content or style of edited text for, while that text may exist passively, not until it becomes animate through the engagement of an audience, be that an editor or a reader, does it fully achieve its status, which may be in some degree literary. The way in which the diaries are received and edited is literary and, therefore, establishes their relationship to a tradition of literary activity and production. Debate about the fluidity of text is not applicable in this instance because what is being discussed is not whether, under the large and flexible definition of text, we can allocate literary merit to the diaries. Rather, through a process involving reader and editor, the editing, and to some extent therefore, the edited diaries, become literary.

Of particular importance to appreciating the literary merit of this project is an understanding of the act of editing. When beginning such a project, an editor makes some basic assumptions. Initially, an editor decides that a text deserves editorial treatment and consideration and should be made accessible to a larger audience. Furthermore, an editor presumes that, through the process of editing, he/she will be able to create a more complete and comprehensive text by taking into consideration its context and bridging historical distance and sociological

differences. The editor is a "preserver, purveyor" and an "active repairer of the damages wrought by time"(*Selected Studies in Bibliography*, Tanselle 16), but also, and most importantly, an interpreter. As Terry Eagleton asserts in his book, *Literary Theory*,

> Occasional slips of the pen and typographical errors will be recognized by some people, who will demonstrate through their perception, that the act of deciphering documents (whether printed or handwritten, whether books or single sheets) is a creative act. (41)

It is the creative nature of editing that makes it both an artistic and literary pursuit. The editor is a reader who actively engages with a text and through intellectual and interpretative involvement transforms it into a literary work. The editor does not simply transcribe a text, but evaluates and elaborates on it producing an accessible and comprehensive final product.

Initially my project does appear to be strictly an examination of a factual document. It is a diary of a Royal Army Medical Corps officer from England, who has factually recorded his experiences while on a death march at the end of the Second World War. There was never any authorial intention that the document be published. It is, in effect, merely the bare essentials of a narrative that provide a reader with an accurate record of distances walked, food eaten, illnesses suffered, and geographical locations visited. From this perspective, the diaries have minimal literary significance. In their original state they may possess no literary value. Yet, through our engagement with the diaries and contemplation of their meaning and significance in a much larger narrative, the factual account is

transformed from factual record, to a much more complex and engaging, edited text.

The diaries exist within a historical context that informs us as readers, adding to our understanding and response to the text. A more complete and engaging narrative emerges through the combination of various materials: the events recorded in three different versions of Peter Tattersall's diary; the memories of numerous POWs who have been interviewed; the novels, pictures, maps, official documents relating to the "death march;" and my own experiences revisiting Lamsdorf, and following the route of the march. The diaries are a carefully censored, yet factual account of one man's experience, their relationship with a much larger historical context provides a potential for considerable intellectual engagement: because of the historical significance of what they record, they have informative value.

The diaries were not written by a literary author, they were not intended for publication, and they were not produced with the intent of creating for the reader a vivid impression of the experience. Nevertheless, the edited diaries have literary value. No text can have perceivable intellectual significance without a reader. The reader gives the text value by processing what has been written, allocating meaning to the words, sentences, and paragraphs, and then evaluating and engaging intellectually with that meaning, turning the sign into the signified. Regardless of the nature of the text to be edited, the process of editing is literary. The inanimate objects, the diaries, are animated through the imagination and knowledge of the reader and the editor.

In addition to interaction with a text, other aspects of what denotes a text's literary value are the thoughts and works that result from it. In *The Claim of Reason*, Stanley Cavell asserts "A measure of the quality of a new text is the quality of the texts it arouses"(111). Indirectly, then, this thesis attests to the value of the original diary; if you view my treatment of the text, my thoughts, and theories about its value and the process of editing such a document as valuable, and if you allow that the process is itself literary, then, you are, Cavell would argue, also attributing a literary value to the diaries. The diaries do not need to have independent literary value, but, because they have prompted intellectual literary discussion, they have acquired it.

In his poem "Ode on a Grecian Urn," Keats reads the urn as a text, and through his reading, response, and interpretation, produces an evocative and beautiful literary work. Keats is self-consciously creating art in response to art, thus, from an aesthetic perspective, the final product is distinctly different from the one that is created by editing Peter Tattersall's war diary. Nevertheless, Keats is behaving as an editor. He is responding to the urn, reading, interpreting, and elaborating on it and therefore in regards to process rather than product the interaction between text and editor are similar.

Through its interaction with the reader, the urn, a historical artifact, produces an intellectual and emotional response.

Thou still unravished bride of quietness,

Thou foster-child of silence and slow time,

Sylvan historian, who canst thus express

A flowery tale more sweetly than our rhyme: (Norton 561)

The urn is silent until seen and read by the speaker. Attempting to make sense out of the seemingly eclectic selection of images, the speaker asks a series of questions, "What men or gods are these? What maidens loth? / What mad pursuit? What struggle to escape?" A closer reading of the urn, slowly reveals the story. Keats takes the urn, contextualizes it, and acts as an editor, revealing to his audience its content, significance, and beauty. The urn was not a work of literature, but through intellectual and emotional engagement, Keats metamorphosizes it into a poem. It is this sort of interaction by an editor or a reader, which transforms, and transfers a document from the past into the present, giving additional value and meaning even though not comparable to those achieved by Keats.

The diaries are simultaneously a piece of the past, remnants of thoughts once thought, and words once written. They are also communicative tools, but what they communicate is not an innate part of their existence. Instead, meaning and significance is largely dependent on what readers bring to them. Readers will find written there aspects of themselves, because they see and read through their own eyes, and what they read and interpret is constantly filtered through their experiences and intellectual background. As far as human cognition is concerned, this dependence on the reader means that the diary can never be entirely historical. The original historical context and the present sociological context are intimately connected to a text's reception and meaning. Nevertheless, we cannot allow the fluidity of editorial interaction with a text to

determine that any edited texts be considered a part of a literary practice. It is necessary to address the question of how we evaluate and distinguish between different texts and kinds of editing.

What distinguishes a literary work from a historical or a scientific work are philosophical considerations. The categorization of the diary as literary or historical may be regarded as unimportant and perhaps suspect. As J. Thomas Tanselle asserts, in *A Rationale of Textual Criticism*, "the corporeal reality of literary works has been, and remains, a matter of dispute"(13). Numerous theorists have devoted vast intellectual energy to defining what constitutes literature and literary studies. Although the pre-edited diaries are clearly not literature, the assertion that they are not presumes a clear distinction between literature and not-literature, which must be questioned. In his book *Literary Theory*, Terry Eagleton addresses this issue:

> One answer of how I know that this is literary is that it comes from Knut Hamsun's novel *Hunger*. It is part of a text which I read as 'fictional', which announces itself as a 'novel', which may be put on university syllabuses and so on. The context tells me that it is literary; but the language itself has no inherent properties or qualities which might distinguish it from other kinds of discourse. (6)

According to Eagleton, what makes a work literary is the way it is treated by both editor and reader, its context rather than its content. Therefore, to assert that a text is innately literary or historical is a far too simplistic approach to textual criticism and evaluation.

Theorists such as Derrida have deconstructed these binary and dominant modes of classification and reasoning and recognize that "a criticism concerned only with content" and "a purely formalist criticism which would be interested only in the code, the pure play of signifiers, the technical manipulation of a text-object" are equally unsatisfactory. It is not only the method of evaluation used that is being debated, but how we classify what is being evaluated. "Text" and "textuality" have become hotly debated and theoretically weighted terms. According to many theorists, the text is never singular, but an interactive, constantly evolving concept. Barthes asserts that "the work is a fragment of substance, occupying a part of the space of books (in a library for example), the Text is a methodological field."(14) The methodological field that is the editing of the diaries is beyond strict generic classification and, so, may be considered literary as well as historical. It is a practice immune to classification.

The diary alone is not the complete text; it is one pivotal part of a much more complex mechanism. Barthes states in his book *Image, Music, Text,* that

> The text is that which goes to the limit of the rules of enunciation (rationality, readability, etc.) . . . Taking the word literally, it may be said that the Text is always paradoxical (Image 157-58).

If the text is paradoxical, as Barthes suggests, then it is never solely one thing at any given moment. By declaring a text indefinable, the constraints of classification are lifted and the text is left in a state of constant evolution. This forces us to recognize that "there is a complex relationship between texts and contexts, genres, and domains, because texts can originate in one domain and

then pass into others." (Hodge, 23). Therefore, the editor is responsible for stabilizing the text for a distinct audience in a specific sociological setting and providing them with a version of the original that communicates as clearly as possible its intellectual, emotional, historical, sociological, and aesthetic significance.

An aspect of this type of textual theorizing emphasizes the value of the interaction of a reader with a 'text'. Barthes, in *The Pleasure of the Text*, remarks

> Text means Tissue; but whereas hitherto we have always taken this tissue as a product, a ready-made veil, behind which lies, more or less hidden, meaning (truth), we are now emphasizing, in the tissue, the generative idea that the text is made, is worked out in perpetual interweaving;"(64)

While reinforcing the essential malleability of a text, Barthes is here also asserting that it is through interaction, "perpetual interweaving", that a text takes shape. There is an element of this ontological perspective that recognizes the importance of textual function and interaction.

Although, in principle, this open, metaphorical and philosophical approach is interesting, in practice it leaves us, as readers and editors, with almost no theoretical or practical structure. An approach such as that of Terry Eagleton, is contrastingly reductive, yet offers a clearer and more practical method of evaluation and criticism. He claims "What matters may not be where you come from but how people treat you. If they decide that you are literature then it seems that you are, irrespective of what you thought you were."(9)

Ideally, we need a more eclectic, flexible, but not illusive, approach to evaluating and editing texts within the tradition of literary-editorial practice, one that includes content, context, and technical method. Since texts are malleable and changeable, a flexible methodological approach would allow for tailored treatment of each text. Tanselle asserts,

> Any work – whether tangible, like a painting, or intangible, like a poem – will produce somewhat different responses whenever we encounter it, for in each interval between encounters the unruly forces of time will have altered the work (or its physical embodiment). (A Rationale of Textual Criticism 25)

It is the job of the editor to stabilize a text, to incorporate into the edited work enough contextual and historical information as well as an explanation of any textual abnormalities so that the target audience can engage with the text and evaluate it within a modern literary context. Just as the text to be edited is subject to change over time and in different contexts, so is the apparently stabilized product. These elusive qualities, rather than weakening, strengthen the significance of editorial practice within a literary tradition because it emphasizes the importance of constant evaluate and interpretation of texts, taking into consideration present and past sociological and methodological influences.

Furthermore, a flexible editorial approach would not simply reject classification and categorization but would be able to see the malleability of such distinctions and accord them the theoretical and intellectual significance,

however minimal, that they deserve. Rather than being seen as tools for the literary theorist, literary categories should be viewed and used as a basic and subordinate mode of literary critique. As Roland Barthes asserts, "the Text does not stop at (good) literature; it cannot be contained in a hierarchy, even in a simple division of genres."(*From Word to Text* 902). A text's literary status is significant but does not alone determine whether a text has literary value.

Although the trend in literary criticism has been toward a fluid and philosophical approach to textual evaluation, this style of all encompassing metaphysical, metaphoric, literary theory is so open and unstructured that almost nothing can be confirmed or denied. I am arguing that literature and literary studies have a functional as well as an ontological aspect. That the diaries of Peter Tattersall appear to be strictly historical artifacts does not eliminate them from being treated as a potential subject for literary examination, editing, and theorizing. A functional approach to textual evaluation allows for a text to move between genres and disciplines. The ability of different academic professions to share and interact is a privilege and also an imperative in the intellectual progress and evolution of academics. Classifying and defining is less important, within a literary field, than encouraging readers to think critically about the works they read, and not passively to accept received opinion. The act of reading and evaluating a text should require both academic knowledge and a conscious awareness of influences, perspectives, and cultural context, as well as those of the writer. As Barthes remarks: "On the stage of the text, no footlights: there is not, behind the text, someone active (the writer) and out front someone passive

(the reader); there is not subject and [an]? object. (16)" The interaction of the reader and the text is crucial to its value to a particular individual's interpretation of it. Therefore, the methods of evaluating a text need not only be as diverse as texts themselves, but, also, as numerous as the readers of the text. It is important that, not the definition of text, but, instead, our response to reading and editing a text be flexible and fluid. By emphasizing and examining a text's function, treatment, and value within a particular field of study, we are acknowledging the impact that context has on its reception and interpretation.

By looking at the content, and context of Peter Tattersall's diary, we can begin to understand how a reader's response to a text can influence the way in which that text is classified and evaluated. This kind of reader response is literary in a specifically modern way. Although the diaries may be minimalist and incomplete because they do not paint a clear and comprehensive picture of what Peter Tattersall's experience was like, their fragmented thoughts and images force the reader to engage intensely with the text in an attempt to extract its meaning. The approach to reading the diary has an affinity with the way that we read modernist poetry. As T.S. Eliot asserts in his introduction to his translation of *Anabasis*,

> Any obscurity of the poem, on first readings, is due to the suppression of 'links in the chain', of explanatory and connecting matter, and not to incoherence, or to the love of cryptogram. The justification of such abbreviations of method is that the sequence of images coincides and concentrates into one intense impression of barbaric civilization.(8)

This apparent incoherence calls the reader to action. Rather than a passive acceptance of the progression of the poem from one incident or image to the next, there needs to be interpretation and intellectual and emotional engagement. Literature that initially appears chaotic becomes evocative and informative through careful examination and thought.

Similarly, the diary of Peter Tattersall requires its readers to enter more intimately into a discourse with the text and allow their knowledge and understanding of the context in which the diary was written and is now being read to inform and influence their interpretation and evaluation of the text. Response to such a text is literary by analogy to response to modernist poetry and through the intellectual and interpretive demands that it places on its readers.

Moreover, the diary is, albeit minimally, literary. Part of what makes a text valuable as literature is its ability to bring enjoyment to its readers or at least to stimulate their minds, to entertain, to inform, to distract. Regardless of the diary being a fragmented narrative of one man's experiences of the Second World War, it has the ability to capture its audience, to project, however coolly, an image of what the "death march" was like. That the information is restricted and the words are mostly non-descriptive and unemotional actually adds to their literary, as well as historical, value. It brings to life the reality of writing under such conditions. It was not possible, never mind desirable, to elaborate on the horrors and incomprehensible cruelties of the daily events on the march. As in the writing of Hemingway, what was left unsaid, then, becomes as telling as the

words written; the gaps, the silence, the repressed emotions, are just as much a part of the text.

Barthes remarks that

> narrativity is dismantled yet the story is still readable: never have the two edges of the seam been clearer and more tenuous, never has pleasure been better offered to the reader – if at least he appreciates controlled discontinuities, faked conformities, and indirect destructions(9).

Although the diaries are not a narrative in the same vein as the ones that Barthes is probably referring to in this quote, his words still remain valid in relation to the diaries. He later asks

> Is not the most erotic portion of a body where the garment gapes? In perversion (which is the realm of textual pleasure) there are no "erogenous zones" (a foolish expression besides); it is intermittence, as psychoanalysis has so rightly stated, which is erotic. (10)

It is precisely the lack of detail that is so seductive in this diary. It is my responsibility as editor, and yours as reader, to fill in the gaps, allowing our minds to be stimulated by possibility, constantly striving to establish coherence and feeling an immense fulfillment when things begin to coalesce. If everything is revealed from the start we are left without intrigue.

Part of filling in these gaps, of experiencing intellectual arousal, is in allowing our minds to be open to the possibilities of the text, its relation to context, and the resulting interaction between reader and work. We are, in fact, a part of what we are reading, intimately connected to the words, their meanings,

and, particularly, their significance. When piecing together and evaluate a text, I try to not only to take into consideration the effect of the words I am reading and my response to those words, but also to consider the effect that the writer/author had on the production of the text. His/her life, experiences, and personal history become a part of the complete text.

The identity of the writer plays a significant role in affecting the way in which the text is interpreted and evaluated. Peter Tattersall is a writer, rather than, in this sense an author, yet he takes on a similar role. Foucault asserts:

> The author provides the basis for explaining not only the presence of certain events in a work, but also their transformations, distortions, and diverse modifications (through his biography, the determination of his individual perspective, the analysis of his social position, and the revelation of his basic design).

By looking at the social position of Peter Tattersall, a Royal Army Medical Corps officer, we can more clearly understand why he focuses on the medical conditions of those he is marching with and why he receives preferred treatment from the German officers. In fact, the more we learn about the biography and perspective of Peter Tattersall, the clearer and more meaningful the text becomes. What is important is how his life, his gender, status, race, religious background, native language, and level of education affected the production of this text and how they still continue to affect the way in which the text is received and interpreted.

An editor makes strategic decisions about what supplementary information to include in a work. By incorporating informative annotations and appendices, an editor brings together and creates a complete work; he/she can bridge sociological and historical distances and promote a reading of a text that incorporates both past and present contexts. Regardless of whether the narrative is dismantled or fragmented, a reader can then actively engage with the work and piece together the information. The editor supplies the reader with the necessary information for an active, stimulating, and evocative reading of a text.

Editing involves, then, not merely transcribing or preserving, but interpreting and controlling meaning. A work's reception is dependent on the editor's evaluation and treatment of it. The editor is at once critic, reader, and interpreter, performing three fundamental functions of literary scholarship.

The words that Peter Tattersall wrote on the pages of the two little notebooks are here the subjects of a literary editing project. The diaries, their fragmented sentences, abbreviations, dates, places, names, factual accounts of illness, and suffering, and in particular their gaps, what is not said, are all parts of a narrative that, when studied closely and properly footnoted and introduced, recounts very clearly a young British medical officer's experiences while on a "death march" in 1945, at the end of the Second World War. The interaction between reader, editor and text makes this project "literary." Through a close reading of the text, understanding of its context, and knowledge of its writer and the conditions within which it was produced, it is possible to extract from the fragmented diaries, a comprehensive and comparatively complete narrative. By

emphasizing the functional rather than the ontological purpose of such a work, we can attribute to it literary value. This value is measurable through the work's ability to stimulate, intrigue, challenge and inform both its readers and its editor.

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[i] The separation of editor and reader in no way implies that the editor is not also a reader but, in this instance, the reader refers to the intended audience.

Chapter Two:

Life as a POW

Capt. Peter Tattersall was a Prisoner of war at Lamsdorf for close to four years, between 1940 and 1945. The POW camp was situated in what was then Silesia, which had been, for years, greatly contested territory. In 1862, Prussian authorities decided to build an artillery range near the village of Lambinowice/Lamsdorf, and by 1864 they established near it a military camp. During the French-Prussian war, the military camp was turned into a prisoner of war camp, within which 53 French soldiers died. Beginning to arm itself between 1885 and1887, Imperial Germany extended the camp by six hundred hectares. Once again, during the First World War, the camp was turned into a POW camp, where approximately ninety thousand Russian, Romanian, French, Serbian, Polish, English, and Italian prisoners were held captive. Of those prisoners, six-thousand and sixty-nine died and were buried at the site. After the defeat of Germany in 1918, the camps were used to house German fugitives from Poland, who formed fighting squads and raided the neighboring Polish villages. In 1933 the camp became a Nazi SA firing range. In 1937 the camp was extended by 1250 hectares. On August 26 1939 it became for the third time a prisoner of war camp, and by September 5 1939, the first Polish prisoners were brought to the camp.

Lamsdorf, *Stalag* VIIIB,[1] received its first transport of 2,726 British POWs in June of 1940. From that day until the end of the war, the number of POWs arriving at Lamsdorf grew dramatically, until the autumn of 1943 when it became

the largest P.O.W. camp within the greater Reich (Prisoners of the Reich, 37). Once they had been driven down the oak-lined lane leading into the camp, many prisoners did not see the outside walls again for years. Luckily, for my grandfather, he was an officer in the Royal Army Medical Corp, and was consequently stationed almost immediately at the reserve *lazaret* in the town of Cosel, where he worked in the Hospital for four years.

Although all still considered POW's at Lamsdorf, the majority of men were sent out on working parties, called by the Germans *Arbeitskommando.* The number of men actually stationed within the walls of the prison camp at Lamsdorf was a small portion of the total. There were dozens of prison camps situated in this part of Poland, so that the Germans could use the prisoners as slave labourers. (See map #...) Silesia was one of the mining centers of the Reich, and the majority of working parties were sent down into the mines. But, regardless of where they were stationed or what their occupation, the life of a prisoner of war was full of hunger, depression, exhaustion and uncertainty.

Of utmost importance to any POW was food. German rations were miniscule, and account after account asserts that thousands would have starved were it not for the Red Cross parcels. The reality of this was seen in the Russian section of Lamsdorf, where, not protected by the Geneva Convention, the Russians were left to suffer and slowly weaken with hunger and illness. Over forty thousand Russian POW's died at Lamsdorf. There were numerous reports

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[1] A Stalag was a camp for privates and non-commissioned officers.

of Russians resorting to cannibalism in a desperate attempt to save their own lives.[2]

Fortunately for the allied British, Canadian, and American POW's, the reality, although bleak, was mild in comparison to that of the Russians. Despite difficulties in the organization and delivery of Red Cross packages at the beginning and end of the war, the POW's who were protected by the rules of the Geneva Convention received one Red Cross parcel approximately every two weeks. Keith Kilby, a former British POW at Lamsdorf, states in notes written upon his return,

> nothing could submerge the all-important subject of food. Parcels were running out . . . the bombing and the general war situation and demand for all forms of transport had brought chaos in Germany and not surprisingly food parcels had not got through. Only a Prisoner of War can realize how the importance of food looms greater and greater. (Diary, pg. 14).

In his book, *Despite Captivity*, John Borrie recalls a conversation he had with a British POW on his arrival at Lamsdorf, in October of 1941:

> 'There's an issue of mint leaf tea each morning, and soup and spuds at noon; at night we get bread, marg, sugar and sausage.'
>
> 'Doesn't sound like much.'
>
> 'No, on its own not even 1200 calories a day! We know that, because from June last till this March that's all we lived on. No joke, I can tell you. Many developed famine oedema and TB frankly, if we didn't get

[2] Arthur Weston, former POW at Lamsdorf, interviewed by author, August 20th 2000.

> British Red-Cross parcels we'd all be like those ruddy Russians down in Lamsdorf village – dying like flies -- skin and bone from deliberate neglect.'(68)

Food was, however, not the only concern of a POW. There were also numerous sanitation problems, the worst probably being lice. Lice, dirt and stench were a part of life in the camp. Overcrowding led to a rapid spread of all sorts of infestations and diseases. The toilets were in large elongated buildings, and were appropriately referred to as the forty holer, because that is exactly what they were. There was no such thing as privacy within the camp. This trough system with no seat covers and 'only wooden slats over cess-pits' (Borrie, 93) promoted the breading of flies, the spread of dysentery, and was the source of a repugnant stench.

In barracks and on the grounds, too, there was a lack of space and privacy, which was one of many factors leading to emotional breakdown, depression, and, in the most serious cases, suicide. As David Rolf, in his book, *Prisoners of the Reich*, asserts,

> Private Dobbins recalled: 'some of the lads committed suicide, others seemed to will themselves to death. Others suffered acute depression – going mad.' There were many forms ranging from a mild pre-occupation with their bleak surroundings – 'barbed wire fever' as POWs called it and which was a common complaint – to full-scale breakdown. (61)

Depression was probably one of the most common mental illnesses experienced by POW's. The main reason for depression, besides the horrendous living conditions and the loneliness of being separated from friends and family, was uncertainty. For those who were imprisoned during the first three years of the war there was a sense of their horrific existence never ending. It appeared as though Hitler might win the war, and the consequences of that for all of those in captivity were unimaginable. POW's rarely knew exactly what was happening in the war. They were constantly bombarded with Nazi propaganda leading them to believe that the allied forces were being obliterated and that Germany was winning. The search for news from outside of Germany, consequently, became essential for the morale and mental stability of the prisoners. Secret radios and coded letters helped to bring news from the England into the camps. When the news was positive, the spirit of the prisoners was heightened and their sense of hopelessness diminished.

The Nazi propaganda affected not only the prisoners perception of the war but also the response of those at home to the prisoners. Numerous photographs were taken of the POW's looking clean, healthy and happy. They were issued clean pressed uniforms that were immediately taken away after the photographs were taken. [insert photograph] Furthermore, they usually had to pose in groups in front of the German administrative buildings, rather than the run-down shacks that they actually lived in.

The Germans, as well as constructing and influencing the visual representation of camp life, censored letters to ensure that the news being sent

home told of the good treatment and the ease of life as a POW. Furthermore, in May 1942, a newsletter called *the Prisoner of War News* was produced and sent free by the Red Cross to all who were registered as next of kin. Although this publication was not officially a part of German propaganda, the articles written for it needed German approval, and thus, like the letters, were censored. The POW News gave reports of different camps, their activities, and the every day life of a POW.

Such newsletters made the camps out to be more like retreats, where the prisoners engaged regularly in cultural and sporting events, were well fed, had jobs, and were, overall, quite content. Although the intent may have been to keep those at home content in the belief that their loved ones were being cared for and were not suffering, this perception of prison life also helped to perpetuate the idea that those who allowed themselves to be captured were weak, dishonourable, and unwilling to die for their country and for humanity. For many, this was a contributing factor in the breakdown of marriages and relationships.(*Prisoners of the Reich*) Under the pressures of separation, and influenced by the belief that POWs were weak and dishonourable soldiers, many women had affairs, or simply decided to end relationships and filed for and received divorces while their husbands were still prisoners.

Whenever a POW received a letter from his wife or girlfriend that started with 'Dear' instead of 'My Darling' he knew that something was wrong. During the war all such letters to POWs became know as 'Dear John' letters. Some classic examples of the effect of the stereotyping of POW's as feeble and

unmanly, are illustrated in these 'Dear John' letters that were posted on notice-boards at a camp and recorded by Flying Officer Price.

> "Our engagement has ended, as I would rather marry a '44 hero than a '43 coward."
>
> "A POW thanked a woman in England for a sweater received via the Red Cross; he received this reply: 'I am sorry to hear that you got my sweater as I knitted it for a fighting man'."(*Prisoners of the Reich*, ...)

In addition to the mental anguish and severe depression that many of the POWs suffered, there were also numerous diseases, illnesses, and injuries. In November 1941, typhus fever hit Lamsdorf. It started in the delouser where British medical orderlies were handling Russian lice-ridden clothing. "These parasites, that live in underclothing and feed on the hair of armpits and crotch, become infected with the virus Rickettsia Prowazeki which is transmitted from their excreta and scratched –not bitten—into the human host."(Borrie, 77). Typhus was one of the most feared of all of the infectious diseases because it produced high fevers, general body pain, skin rashes, and often death resulting from coma, pneumonia, or heart failure. Other common ailments in the camps were famine, oedema, dysentery, jaundice, and tuberculosis. In addition to the constant circulation of infestation and disease, numerous POWs were already suffering from battle injuries and sometimes gangrene, which in many cases resulted in the amputation of limbs. In order to help deal with the many amputations, a workshop was set up at Lamsdorf specifically for the production of prosthetic limbs. Most of the time, doctors and orderlies were battling just to

keep things under control, desperately trying to treat the thousands of sick and wounded with minimal facilities. Each morning there were 'sick parades' where all of the ill from the camp would march before the doctors and be assessed as to whether they were sick enough to require treatment or whether they would have to do their best to cope with their ailments. The daily sick rate, according to the Germans, needed to be kept at ten percent of all prisoners. There was a constant battle between the allied medical officers and the Germans over the number of prisoners that needed treatment. The harsh conditions of the working parties were more than many could handle, and the only way to be excused from the slave labour was to be deemed un-fit to work. Therefore, the more men the medical officers were allowed to keep in the hospital, the fewer needed to suffer on the working parties. The prisoners needed to trust one another not to feign illness so that those who were genuinely sick would receive treatment.

POWs were treated not only at the *lazaret*[3] in Lamsdorf but also in hospitals around Silesia. In Cosel, a town slightly southeast of Lamsdorf, were three hospitals, St Carolusstift, the Garnison *Lazaret*, and the Abyssinian *Lager*, where Capt. Peter Tattersall was stationed. Abyssinian *Lager* was located on the South side of Cosel and was composed of two single storied wooden barracks arranged in a triangle. The hospital accommodated 600, although there were no surgical facilities and limited medical supplies. Doctors were forced to be extremely inventive and resourceful. They needed to bargain and barter, to plot and plan in order to get the supplies they needed.

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[3] A Lazarett was a small medical facility within the walls of the camp. Similar to a first aid station. They would not normally perform any operations there.

Despite harsh conditions, illness, infestation, boredom, depression, and filth, many POWs worked incredibly hard to maintain a degree of normality within the camp. It seems ironic during a period of such confusion, destruction, hatred and inhumane behaviour that much normal life was possible. Were it not for those who attempted to bring enjoyment and stimulation to an otherwise stagnant and numbing situation, there would probably have been much more depression and suicide. In various camps, there were orchestras, theatres, numerous sports clubs and teams, lectures and academic courses. At Lamsdorf in particular, there was great enthusiasm about, and involvement in theatricals. The prisoners produced plays from *Macbeth* to *My Fair Lady*. The casts of which included Denholm Elliot.

Lectures ranged in topic from "Soap" to, "An American Christmas" and "The Sugar Industry in Queensland and the Islands". These talks were run by the *Stalag* Talks Organisation and ran from November 1944 to 22 January 1945, when the camp began to disperse. All of these activities broke up the monotony of prison life and helped to improve morale during the most trying times.

By the end of 1944, there was increasing hope for liberation and the end of the war as reports began to leak into the camp of allied advances. Information was received by POWs through smuggled radios, which were concealed from the German guards, and from newly arriving prisoners who had reports of what was happening at large and of their own immediate experiences. Depression and mental illness returned with a vengeance, however, at the time of Arnhem[4].

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[4] Arnhem, a Dutch city on the lower Rhine, was the site of an allied offensive operation that was launched on the 17th of September 1944. Although initially successful, the German counter-attack forced the British

Everyone had hoped that if the breakthrough was successful they would be home for Christmas. As Keith Kilby, an ex-POW from Lamsdorf recalls: "The strain was too great for many. I was called in to do night duty in the hospital for one case. He had almost succeeded in cutting his throat. He wished he had succeeded, as the shame of it would always show. I tried to convince him that he was a casualty of war as were others in other ways."(4)

Towards the end of January, chaos began to creep into the camp. The Russians were advancing, and the front line was being rapidly pushed west towards the Oder river.(See map #2) Panicked by reports of Russian brutality, the Germans were changing their minds hourly as to what they should do. On January 20 the POWs could hear the noise of the attack on Breslau, just 40 miles away. By the 21st the noises were louder and on the 22 January, Blocks 1, 2,3,4 & 5 were told to be ready to march. Everyone rushed around packing up his few belongings, making backpacks and sledges out of anything and everything. The German plan was to evacuate Lamsdorf and send as many POWs as possible to Stalag VIIIA at Gorlitz. In doing this, they would make room at Lamsdorf for prisoners arriving from Teschen and Upper Silesian *Arbeitskommandos*.[5] By 23 January almost all of the blocks had marched out, leaving behind those who were deemed unfit to march. George Morton, a former Lamsdorf POW, describes the event of that day in his novel, *Doctor In Chains*,

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forces to withdraw on the 25th of September, obliterating all hopes of an allied victory before the end of 1944. For a more detailed note see, *The Macmillan Dictionary of the Second World War*, Second Edition.

[5] "Teschen was too far south for its occupants to outpace the Russian advance in a move north to Lamsdorf, and was forced, as were most of its detachments, to turn west into Czechoslovakia."(Mason, 454)

> With the dawn of the 23rd of January, 1945, the tension eased, but no working parties arrived from the camp to supply the latest news. In vain, we looked for them. . . Calling out, we learnt that the camp had been evacuated, with only two hours notice to move and only the sick remained.
>
> They had marched out of the camp at thirteen degrees below zero—but what of their future? No arrangements had been made to feed and accommodate them. (Morton, 209)

The camp was left in shambles. Keith Kilby said, "It was as though pockets and lockers of hundreds of schoolboys had been tipped onto the floor"(16).

January in Poland and Germany is bitterly cold, and, after months or years in a prison camp the prisoners were weak and exhausted. A seemingly unending treck into the countryside through snow, slush and mud was close to impossible to bear. "The army prisoners who had been out at Arbeitskommandos doing heavy physical work were in better condition to stand the march. But even they were not proof against the bitter January weather in eastern Germany"(Mason, 455).

The entire country was in a panic, trying to escape before the Russian troops arrived. So, along with the thousands of POWs marching in columns, there were thousands of civilians packing up wagons, carts and cars and evacuating their homes. David Rolf describes the conditions of the march: "In worsening chaos the prisoners struggled on blindly through atrocious weather, many of them suffering from dysentery and everyone from terrible hunger. After

they passed the snow was stained with blood and excrement. Their boots and clothing were saturated"(154).

Day after day the POWs would march for an average of 25 kilometers, and, with the starvation rations that they received, most days turned into a mind numbing battle for survival. In his memoir's, G.M. Wyatt recounts: "At least one prisoner became so crazed by the dazzle of the snow and the relentless monotony of the landscape that he ran off from the column, to be shot down by a guard."(30). For the majority of the march, the POWs received no hot food, merely a daily ration of bread, margarine and tinned meat. Some days they received no ration at all and others a half packet of biscuits. These conditions drove the men to steal and eat anything they could get their hands on. On one occasion, mentioned in the memoirs of both Lieut. Gimball and H.P. Weiner's, three American POWs found a few piglets "which they tore to pieces and devoured raw"(Weiner, 103). When the farmer discovered the empty blood-stained sty, he immediately reported the incident to the German officer. As a consequence, the entire column was forced to spend that night "in the quarry. The floor of the quarry was covered in mud, snow, and ice and there was a snowstorm at the time. The men spent the night there with no rations,"(Gimball, pg.3) and had to attempt to sleep standing up. Eight American POWs died that night.

In addition to the lack of food and the resulting starvation, the abominable accommodations made the entire experience increasingly torturous and unbearable. There was a distinct lack of organisation. From day to day the

POWs did not know where they were going, where the final destination was and how long this was going to continue. The Germans did not appear to know either. Accommodations had to be improvised, and, often, the groups would be dispersed throughout numerous farmsteads and left to sleep in barns. These were some of the better accommodations they encountered. It was also common for the prisoners to spend nights in brick factories because they were tall towers with only one small ground level door, making it easy for the Germans to secure a large number of POWs with little effort or man power. H.P. Weiner, in his account of the march asserts, "These towers were sheer hell and had no toilet facilities, so that excrement came running down from all floors through the wire mesh"(104).

The marches were horrific. The POWs were reduced to scavengers, desperately fighting for survival, both mental and physical. For many, this required teamwork. They worked in packs, helping one another, scrounging, stealing and providing a sense of comradery. As the days of the march began to draw to a close, and liberation was imminent, many found the anticipation and excitement overwhelming. Wyatt recalls the nights leading up to his liberation:

> For many men, lying exhausted on the hospital bunks, the anticipation of release, after so many years in captivity and privation, became too much to bear. One man beckoned me to his bedside, drew a crumpled photograph from his pocket, and pressed it into my hand. 'My wife', he said. 'It won't be long before I see her now'. With that he took a deep breath and passed away in my arms. Eleven men died during that night.

It was one of the most distressing experiences that I had encountered. (31)

The elation of being set free after years of imprisonment, loneliness, depression, and famine was followed by a growing sense of frustration from the delays in returning home. American and British repatriation teams were working to bring home all prisoners, particularly the sick and wounded, as quickly as possible, but the demands of the war lead to numerous delays.

While their home countries placed immense importance on the safe return of the Western allied ex-prisoners, the Russians had destroyed all communication with their POWs. Stalin believed that "there are no Russian prisoners of war. The Russian soldier fights on till death. If he chooses to become a prisoner, he is automatically excluded from the Russian community"(Rolf, 176). The results of this belief were horrifying. A witness from Stalag IIIA recalls the Soviet Liberators shooting "their own men lying sick who were too ill to join in the final battle for Berlin"(176).

Many allied ex-prisoners went on rampages after their liberation, stealing, fighting, drinking, and raping. "When they were released some men expressed all their pent-up frustrations and anger in looting, rape and general mayhem – the prerogative of the victor down the ages"(Rolf, 173). No mercy was shown and the German civilians were left beaten, and stripped of all belongings and food. As one POW wrote, "The German people might have some idea of the sensation of hunger by now"(173).

Slowly the ex-POWs began to return to their homelands. Most were granted and took a temporary leave from service, in order to attempt to piece together the fragments of their lives remaining after years spent as prisoners. Some wrote novels or articles about their experiences, others carefully put together scrapbooks of photographs and other remnants of their time as a POW, and many tried desperately to forget all of their experiences.

Chapter Three:

Textual Scholarship and Flexible Editorial Methodology: a look at the editorial technique applied to the diary of Peter Tattersall.

In editing this the diaries of Peter Tattersall, I have been led to consider my role in the process. I have had to develop a philosophical approach to the project, taking into consideration the historical and literary contexts of the text. I have, in effect, focused my efforts not on the recovery of a historical text, but on the examination of the diaries themselves as text. According to D.C. Greentham,

> Textual scholarship is more than just "criticism," however, and it is best defined as the general term for all the activities associated with discovering, describing, transcribing, editing, glossing, annotating, and commenting on texts. (Gibaldi 103)

In order effectively to edit the diaries, I needed to negotiate between historical and literary editing. By classifying myself as a textual scholar, I am broadening the scope of interpretive and editorial possibilities. As G. W. Tanselle asserts in *A Rationale of Textual Criticism,*

> The split between the activities usually called "literary criticism" and those traditionally labeled "textual criticism" is symptomatic of a widespread failure to grasp the essential nature of the medium of literature(16)

Since I do not claim that the text with which I am working is literature and wish to avoid the constraints of a particular editorial tradition, my engagement with this text is best described as that of a textual scholar. This is not to say that the

editing of the diaries of Peter Tattersall is not a literary activity, but that the text that I am editing is not, in its original form, literature and requires open and fluid editorial treatment.

Traditionally, as G.W. Tanselle claims, in his book *A Rationale of Textual Criticism*, "historical editions give more attention to explanatory annotation than to the detailed recording of textual data, whereas the literary editions reverse this emphasis."(219) For my purposes, it is important to maintain the accuracy of the transcription as well as to provide enough information in annotations and appendices to create a complete historical narrative. Drawing from both traditions, I have used conventions and ideas that would assist me in developing a comprehensive, accurate, and readable text. I tried to find not an editorial methodology that I could directly apply to this text, but, rather, to develop my own methodology taking into consideration the text, its context, my intended audience, and final editorial objective. By allowing for a flexible and eclectic editorial approach, the possibilities for textual interpretation and representation were multiplied, making it easier for me to achieve my editorial goals. My use of a flexible and eclectic editorial approach and text, allowed Peter Tattersall's story to emerge.

I agree with many modern literary and historical editorial theorists who believe that it is not essential to develop a universally applicable theory of editing. Instead, it is important to provide editors with models and tools that they can manipulate and use in a way that best suits their needs. Furthermore, it is essential that the editor take seriously his/her role as academic interpreter, and

that he/she consider the implications of any emendations or additions to a text. As Donald G. Marshall asserts, in his paper "Literary Interpretation",

> An interpreter is someone who helps another understand the meaning of something. What is to be understood is already there, but it is unable to speak for itself. Its message needs mediation through the interpreter's special knowledge and skill. (Gibaldi 159)

The editor acts as the mediator between the original text and the modern audience, giving voice to what was initially mute. Through editorial interaction and interpretation, the editor animates the text and provides the reader with the knowledge needed in order to engage fully with the words and the narrative.

The editing of a text is not subjective but individual. Each text and each editor is unique and, therefore, every editorial project is different. Through the relationship that develops between editor and text, a methodology emerges, tailored to the expectations of the editor, and the specific explanatory needs of the text. By reading and interpreting the text, and reflecting on its textuality, its sociological and historical context, the textual editor has the ability to create a comprehensive and understandable text that transcends the intellectual and cultural constraints of time.

> In any case, the interpreter must talk in a way that reorients readers by supplying background information, descriptions of the text and its structure, or explicit statements of its thematic, cultural, or artistic presuppositions – thus leading them into a situation within which they can understand and respond to what the text says (Gibaldi 170)

Editing is not simply a pragmatic act, although it does serve practical purposes; instead, it is a complex interaction between editor and text, involving structured theoretical and methodological applications as well as sociological and emotional responses, recognizing the importance of both text and context in the final editorial product. With this in mind, I began the editorial process.

When I conceived this project it was with the understanding that Peter Tattersall had kept one diary during the period between his evacuation from Lamsdorf on 23 January 1945 and his flight home after his liberation on 12 April 1945. In 1979, Dr Peter Tattersall, along with his friend Dr. J.H. Paterson, transcribed and created a typed and annotated edition of Tattersall's diary. I believed that this edition was copied word for word from the original and would, therefore, provide me with an accurate text from which to begin my work. When I arrived at the Imperial War Museum in London England to begin my revision of the transcription, I was surprised to find two books that had overlapping diary entries. Initially, I thought that somehow someone else's diary had been put in with Capt. Tattersall's, but, upon closer examination, I realized that the same person wrote them both. One of the books had entries, starting from the first page and dating from 23 January to 6 February, followed by a blank space, but it had also been flipped over and turned upside down with entries beginning on 8 March again, from the back of the book working to the middle. The other book had entries dating from 22 January to 7 March, and it had been written in chronological order from the first page to the last. Why then did accounts of the first 16 days of the trek overlap?

Although initially perplexed, I soon realized what had happened. Peter Tattersall had begun taking notes daily in a notebook that he had been already using to record people's names and addresses. When, after fifteen days of Marching, they arrived at Stalag VIIA in Gorlitz, they received Red Cross parcels. In one of those packages or from another source, he must have received a second note book, this time completely blank. While stationed at Gorlitz, he would have had the time to transcribe his entries from the partially filled first notebook into the empty second notebook. He probably thought that he would have enough space in this second notebook to record the entire journey, but by 7 March when he had not yet been liberated but had reached the end of the second book, he was forced to return to the first notebook to record the rest of the treck. By flipping the book upside down, he was able to start writing from the back of the book as if it were new.

What I had expected to be a reasonably straightforward editing project quickly became a complex one involving three texts, with differing overlapping entries. I needed to make some decisions on which text to use as my primary source. Peter Tattersall did not intend that his diaries should be more than a documentation of the 'death march' from Lamsdorf to Dittfurt. Therefore, the decision as to which version of the text I should take as my source was not determined by concerns over final authorial intent or the production of an 'ideal copy', but, instead, with concern for historical accuracy and readability. I decided to use all of book two and continue with the end of book one, where the final entries are. This decision was made for various reasons. Book two from

beginning to end followed by the back of book one provides a chronological account of every day of the march and uses a slightly more organized approach to the first two weeks recounted in book one. The transcription done by Peter Tattersall and J.H. Patterson also used the same source text and, therefore, for whatever reason, Dr Tattersall must have felt that this was the most accurate account of his experiences.

Although I used book two followed by the back of book one as my basis for transcription, I have included, in square brackets, excerpts from book one which do not appear in Peter Tattersall's and J.H. Patterson's original transcript, and, in italics and square brackets, entries which appear in the transcript but not in either of the original diaries. Thus, the final transcript is an eclectic one, in effect, combining three pieces of writing as a single coherent text.

Patterson's and Tattersall's transcription from 1979 was not concerned with making a precise replica of the original text but, instead, with recording the material in a readable form. There are numerous 'silent' omissions and additions, including, grammatical alterations, expanded abbreviations, changes in spellings of names and cities, and all sorts of other added information. From an editorial perspective the transcription has numerous faults, but, regardless, its value is immeasurable because it is the only evidence that we have of Dr Tattersall's later recollections and intention to expand textual perspective. The endnotes fill in some of the emotional and historical blanks in the original text.

Unlike Patterson's objective in transcription, my intent has been to create a text that is as close to the hand-written original as a typed version can be. The

text is recorded as written, and any factual inaccuracies, spelling errors, and abbreviations, even if inconsistent, have been retained; I have added explanatory footnotes where necessary. By using information found in other diaries and memoirs of POWs from Lamsdorf on the same 'death march', I have put together a comprehensive collection of footnotes that are intended to provide the reader with as much background information and elaboration on events as is possible.

Because of the conditions in which it was written, the diary is strictly factual and emotionally minimalist. POWs were not permitted to keep diaries, and if diaries were found containing derogatory remarks about the Germans and their practices, they would be immediately confiscated and the writer punished. In order to avoid reprimand, Dr Tattersall restricted his entries to include information about the weather, distances, food, and illnesses. On a few occasions there are vague remarks about an incident, but there is no detail. Fortunately, in Patterson's transcription he and Dr Tattersall provided explanatory endnotes, which elaborated on the incidents recounted in the diary. I have turned all of the endnotes written by Patterson and Tattersall into footnotes, so that they are easily accessible to the reader. These footnotes are italicized to distinguished them from my footnotes.

In addition to endnotes and footnotes, I have decided to include a series of appendices that will help the reader understand the geography and historical and sociological context in which the diary was produced. A map of Poland (Silesia) and Germany, including the route of the trek, is included. This map is based on the original route marked on a Nazi map by one of the German Officers who was

leading the march. This map was surrendered to Peter Tattersall after he was liberated, and has remained in his family's possession since. I include also a diagram mapping out the location of Lamsdorf in relation to other prison camps, concentration camps, working camps, Jewish ghettos, and extermination camps to illustrate the astonishing number that were located in and around southern Poland. To clarify what the cities and villages were called during the war and what they are known as now, I have constructed a chart of both the German and Polish place names. In addition to these maps and charts, I have appended a series of photographs to create a more complete picture of what life was like on the "death march" and in the prison camp. These include photos of Peter Tattersall, Capt Clare, The hospital in Cosel where Peter Tattersall was stationed, a group of men on the 'death march', a photograph of Schloss Heidersdorf as it would have appeared when Peter Tattersall stayed there, as well as photographs of other places where they spent nights on the 'death march' as they exist today. Additional supplementary material such as a list of the contents of a typical red cross package and a copy of an email from the Grandson of Graf Sponet describing how his grandfather died, have been included.

It is not my intention to provide the reader with a comprehensive understanding of what was happening in the war between 22 January and 18 April, 1945. Instead, I hope that readers will be able to engage in a more personal and individual interaction with the text and the story that it tells. It is, I think, a testament to his bravery and endurance, and to the horrors of the time.

DIARY OF CAPTAIN P.E.R. TATTERSALL. RAMC

INTRODUCTION

Peter was captured at St Valery en Caux with the 51st Highland Division on ? June '40. Some doctor had to stay with the wounded and Peter lost the toss. He worked as a POW with the wounded and sick of many nationalities throughout the next 5 years, + eventually at Stalag 344 at Lamsdorf. This was a big camp in an area where there was a large number of POWs as well as forced labour victims from the occupied countries in other camps. Lamsdorf is in Silesia close to the Polish border to the north and Czechoslovakia to the south.

The treatment of the Russian POWs and civilians and Polish slave labourers was harsher than that of the other nationalities, except for the Jews. Jews in Allied Armed Forces uniforms were always apt to be victimised but did not fetch up in the Concentration Camps as a rule, as was the fate of their civilian counterparts. The Russian POWs were systematically starved. Russia not being a party to the International Red Cross, they had to do with the scanty rations supplied by the Germans, and received no Red Cross parcels. In consequence they died in large numbers of malnutrition and intercurrent diseases, especially tuberculosis, and other infections including typhus. Through the de-lousing centres typhus spread to other communities and camps.

The Germans put the Russian POWs in bunks when they collapsed but they allowed them to die of starvation. The burial arrangements at Lamsdorf included a large re-usable coffin with a hinged bottom held by bolts which could be pulled back when over the lime pits allowing the corpses to fall into these communal graves. Several

wasted corpses at a time could be thus disposed of conveniently. The returning burial parties were able to obtain bread by bartering cigarettes and chocolate with German civilians and the loaves were carried back in the empty coffin past the guards. The extra bread was very welcome despite its rather sinister smuggling container.

John Borrie's book, "Despite Captivity" gives a fine description of life and his surgical work in the area between the various prison camps. Peter as a physician had a rather different type of work and a great deal of it with minimal drugs and equipment.

However, this is not a description of life in a POW Camp but a bald factual day to day record of the last 3 months of captivity during which Peter and several thousand other POWs set out under German orders to march as starving captives before the advancing Russian armies.

When the Russians approached Breslau in 1945 Hitler ordered that all POWs should be withdrawn in front of the Russian advances as potential hostages. The ultimate plan was to concentrate the POWs in or near Berlin, again as hostages, in the hope of saving the capital from destruction. Actually the Lamsdorf columns were diverted from this line of march on the initiative of Hauptmann Baumgardt and contrary to Hitler's orders. A further sidelight on the German attitude to the advancing Allied armies was the preference they had for surrender to the British rather than to the American forces. Both were infinitely preferable to the Russians. The Americans had the reputation of being much rougher with the captured Germans than the British, and Hauptmann Baumgardt tried to take his columns to a British sector at the finish, but was unable to do so.

The Diary covers the period from 23 January 1945 to 18 April 1945 when the surviving POWs were liberated. During those 11 weeks prisoners who completed the

march covered about 600 miles on starvation rations and mostly in bitter winter weather. Out of the 6000 men who started from Lamsdorf about 2000 stayed the course. It is impossible to say how many of the other 4000 died or how many survived to return home. Peter weighed 7 stone when liberated.

The Diary is extraordinarily complete in that not one day is missed from the record although Peter was starved and exhausted like everyone else. Furthermore he contracted diptheria on the march, and the manuscript is hard to decipher for the two weeks when he was so critically ill, and his memory of that period is very hazy, and indeed largely blank. He recalls that on one occasion when his illness was at its height he very nearly refused to attend some sick German civilians when sent for at the end of a day's march, but in the end he complied.

Here is the Diary verbatim. The emphasis on food is an indication of its extreme scarcity. I have added notes here and there which elaborate incidents as Peter remembers them now. An appendix of names and relevant details concerning some of the characters mentioned is added, and there is a short glossary of German and other terms used here and there.

J.H. Patterson

Monday 22nd Jan 1945. Stalag 344 Lamsdorf

Whole camp seething c[i] rumours + expectations. Camp loud speaker announcement at 1230 hrs that Blocks I,II,III,IV + V to be ready to march out at 1500 hrs. Starting with Block V R.A.F.[ii] + Block III N.C.Os[iii]. Capt Stallard[iv] detailed as M.O.[v] to accompany party. Blocks I, II + IV to follow. M.0. Capt Davidson[vi]. Later announcement that Blocks XI + X, VII + VIII, VI + IX would be following the next day.[vii]

Capt Clare[viii] to go c X + XI

Maj MacLardy[ix] " c II + VIII

Maj Woolley[x] " c VI + IX[1]

Tuesday 23rd Jan 45 1st Day.

Notified 0600 hrs by Col Crawford[xi] RAMC[xii] would proceed on march c Blocks VI + IX to replace Maj Woolley who pleaded sick.

Party I - Bks[i] X + XI - Capt Clare - Dept 1000 hrs.

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i with
ii Royal Air Force
iii Non Commissioned Officer
iv Tony Stallard, Captain in RAMC, marcher.
v Medical Officer
vi George Davidson, Captain in RAMC, marcher.
vii Each Block comprised approximately 2000 men.
viii Wesley Clare was a Canadian RAMC Captain. He kept a diary while on the march. A copy of Capt. Clare's diary entries from the days that he and Capt Tattersall were marching together are in appendix 1.
ix McLardy (no record of his first name), also referred to later in the diary as "Mac", was a Major in the RAMC and was also a marcher.
x Woolley (no record of his first name) was a Major in the RAMC. He was not on the march because Peter Tattersall replaced him.
xi Crawford (no record of his first name) was a Colonel in the RAMC. He was not on the march. He was the Senior British Medical Officer at Lamsdorf.
xii Royal Army Medical Corp

Party II – Bks VII + VIII - Maj MacLardy - Dept 1130 hrs.

Party III – Bks VI + IX - Self - Dept 1230 hrs.

Kit packed on sledge made from scrap wood. Rucksack (converted from kit bag). Haversack.

Kit:- In packs, one shirt, pants, vest, towel, handkerchiefs (5), socks (5), Toilet articles, knife, fork, spoon, tin cup (butter tin), Sleeping bag, Blanket (1). Wearing Shirt, pants, vest, pyjama trousers, Pullover, Battle-dress, Greatcoat, gloves + mittens, Scarf, Balaclava, Puttees. 4 bars Chocolate. (2 N.Z.[ii] Gift from Bill Foreman[iii]). 4 oz Tea. Many decided that the prospect of a march was not pleasant + pleaded sick + were returned at the gate.

Party III left Stalag[iv] gates at ca[v] 1130 hrs. Issued at gate c Parcel (i) Xmas.

Cigarettes 50.

Tin Tobacco (i).

½ German loaf.

ca. ½ tin Margarine.

Medical Kit:- Morphine, Sulphaguanidine[vi], Elastoplast, Bandages, Suppositories, Aspirin, Dovers, Sulphonamide[vii] Block VI M.I[viii]. room staff failed to turn up at the gate + thus start was made without the necessary orderlies as previously arranged. Thus shortage of medical supplies.

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i Block
ii New Zealand
iii Bill Foreman was in the RAMC. He was not on the march. According to Peter Tattersall, "he was a very good type". He was a great friend of Peter Tattersall's and was the godfather of his first son Michael. After the war Bill Foreman became a chest physician in Cardiff.
iv *Stalag* (*Stamm Lager*) = base camp
v ca (*circa*) =approximately
vi Sulphaguanidine: this non-absorbable sulphonamide was developed in the 1930's and was used in the treatment of diarrhoea.
vii Sulphonamides interfere with the synthesis of nucleic acids and were, in the 1930's and 40's, commonly used in the treatment of arthritis, joint inflammation, and ulcerative colitis.
viii Medical Inspection

Long wait until we got moving at ca 1230 hrs via Lamsdorf village. Horse drawn refugees columns ++[i] from Oppeln. V.[ii] slow going. Signs of battle to the N + E - ? Oppeln. Thick snow, Cold c v. difficult pulling on main Oppeln Neisse road. Abandoning of surplus kit commenced. Help by attaching sledge to horsedrawn waggon refugees for 4 kilos or so. Bore right (i.e. to west) off Oppeln-Neisse road. Column v. drawn out + many men fatigued. Arrived at Friedewalde after passing level crossing + pulling through thick 9" snow for 2 kilos. Other parties bedded down in barns + not seen. Arrived 2030 hrs. Halts on the way – 3 - Each ca 10 mins to enable stragglers to close up. One or two (elderly men) collapsed + were placed on waggons. Passed by bus full of sitting G[iii] wounded. Accommodation for night - large wooden barn, v. draughty, straw. Overcrowded, 50 men slept outside in the snow.[iv] Gunfire clear all day + night. Cold water provided. Blowers[i] + fires for 1 hr after arrival so some men managed hot drinks.

Supper. 1 slice bread + ½ tin frozen Heinz beans. Water.

Slept- ? 3-4 hrs - sitting up in blankets. Men were cheerful - but v. cold. No sick parades. no men reported sick. Distance 23 kilos.

Wednesday 24th Jan D.2.

Heavy morning barrage at 0630 hrs. Men up early - some boiling water. Was offered sips of tea + cocoa. Breakfast - ½ tin frozen beans + slice of bread. Lost my service hat. Located Parties I + II.

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i lots
ii very
iii German
iv " *10° frost? No cooking or hygiene*"

Arranged to share sledge c MacLardy + kit packed on. Capt Davidson "fallen out" - owing to frost bitten toes. Located in empty stall, straw c ca 40 sick of his party. Many already complaining of cold, exhaustion + diarrhea. Own sick + those of Parties I + II if they thought unable to march advised to fall out here. ca 150 - thus added to Capt Davidson's party. Sunny but v. v. cold. Dept 0930 hrs No.2. - Pulling c Mac. Rejoined Neisse rd + general direction - W.N.W. Heavy going. Fatigue + exhaustion ++ after first few kilos. V. hot pulling. Attempts to obtain water at village pumps. Passed by refugees on lorries + a party of civilian Jews c same.[ii] Route to Prieborn. Fair going. Lunch halt - Tin sardines, B + B[iii], chocolate c Mac. Stuka[iv] activity ++. Party joined by 1 man who had been in French Kommando[v] for 24 hrs. Arrived at Prieborn Dominion[vi] 1615 hrs in snowstorm. Quarters. Men v. crowded, better than 1st night. Sick visited in barns - told to report in morning for blister dressings. Locked in - difficulty in getting out - obstructive guard. Own quarters - stable, straw pile. Rats ++. All 3 M.Os together with Bakeland[vii] + Jimmy[viii]. Supper - Tea, M + V[ix] stew. Cake.

No potatoes. Farmer (owner) v. helpful. Belg, Russian + Polish POWs working on farm all v. helpful. Chief complaints on march Groin pain, blisters, diarrhoea + exhaustion. Ps[x] in separate stable[xi]. [Capt Clare - last party in.]

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i Cooking equipment made by POWs out of old milk cans
ii *A party of civilian Jews, identifiable by their armbands "J" (Juden) and patches cut from their clothing and replaced with different coloured ones.*
iii Bread and butter
iv German Dive Bombers
v *Kommando* = Party
vi Farm buildings
vii Bakeland is an unidentified marcher.
viii Jimmy was a medical orderly who was on the march.
ix Meat and Vegetables
x *Padres* = Priests
xi *Padres: Father McManus (RC) and Rev MacIntyre.*

Distance ca 22 kilos.

Issues - Cold water available.

Thursday 25th Jan D.3

Small dressing parade.

Breakfast - Tea + bread Dept No.1 ca 0900 hrs. 33 sick from my party left, including Al Burke, Tony Boyes, Jacobs [i](N.Z.). Long wait outside. R.A.F. sick 15 To Gasthaus[ii].

Issue- 1/5th Bread. Later [iii] Bread - 2/3rd reclaimed to supply other companies. Plans changed - went westerly direction instead of N.W. (to .? Stirnau). Noise of battle to N.E. Fighter bombers +.[iv] Kit on waggons for first time. Carried haversack. Sick. Diarrhoea. Blisters. Chills.

Route via Münsterburg-

Issue. Mixed veg soup in tinned veg factory. Polish girls. Personal friend of Hptm[v] + Mrs Baumgardt[vi]- arranged this. Hard pull up hill – through thick snow to Altbärwalde where billets occupied so pushed on a further 3-5 kilos across country + thick snow drifts to Aldemsdorf. Many collapsed owing to cold + exhaustion on this last route. First party arrived 2000 hrs in billets. Large dominion[vii] for Zug[viii] 3 (self). Zug 1 a further kilo on the road. Zug 2 (Mac)

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i Al Burke, Tony Boyes (also recorded as Boyce), and Jacobs, from New Zealand, were all marchers.
ii *Gasthaus* = Inn
iii This symbol appears twice in the diary. It appears to be an indication of a fraction, possibly 1/10th.
iv *"At Weigelsdorf – 6 dumped from waggon".*
v Hptm (*Hauptmann*) = Captain
vi *Hauptmann* Baumgardt was the German officer in charge.
vii Dominion refers to a large farmstead. There is no such word in German, but because everything that Peter Tattersall writes comes from what he hears it could be that there are one or two German words that sound like Dominion and so that is what he has written.
viii *Zug* = column

remaining in Altbärwalde - most of them sleeping out in the snow. Stopped Clare + Jimmy who shared my billet c padres - across the road from the dominion + in a stable. Danger from kicking horses. Cooking facilities in house.[i] Men v. cold. crowded. Distance 29-30 kilos.

Supper - Tea, Bread + meat.

Jimmy - all in - blisters + exhaustion. Men - Exhaustion, frost bite + hungry - but more cheerful after soup at Münsterburg which was killed by cross country pull.

Friday 26th D4[ii]

Breakfast, Coffee, apples + biscuits in farm kitchen. Wash + shave. Gun fire (? anti tank) quite close. Helpful hostess. Ukrainian girl. Sick parade - 1 hr in dominion, [self + Clare.] Told we were having a rest but later to be on road in 1 hr. Dept 1130 hrs [leaving 12 sick. Very cold.] Joined Zug 1 ca 1 kilo further on via Stotz + Frankenstein (road blocks) Italian POWs[iii] to Olbersdorf. Men in 3 different Dominions. Mac had fixed quarters for Clare, Self + P's in Fuhrman's house. [V. good quarters for men]. Large reception room [3 M.Os + 3 Padres together] sleeping on carpets. Hard but good. Separated from all kit, waggon having been lost.

Supper. Tea, Meat, Bacon, Yorkshire pudding, potatoes. Potatoes + milk from the house.

Desnoyers[iv] - Grippe[v] + bad feet.

Distance 23-25 kilos.

Incident of Hoppies knife[i]

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i "Washing up in farm kitchen".
ii *"12 sick left – see nominal roll".*
iii *Former allies of the Germans, now prisoners after changing sides. They were not mining bridges.*
iv Refers to Des Noyers, a marcher.
v Grippe = Influenza (flu) a common contagious respiratory infection caused by a virus.

Sat 27th D.5[ii]

Breakfast. Tea + bread. No sick parade. Total 59 sick left. Chiefly D + V[iii]. Exhaustion.

Dept ca 0930 hrs. Parties in close order. Zug 3 last. 3 MOs together. Lunch - cheese + biscuits.

Route via Reichenbach to Neudorf. V. cold - ride on back of horse waggon for 1 kilo. Transports ++.

Men - all 3 Zugs in large dominion. Self - crowded kitchen. Children ++. V. warm in room.

Radio news. Sick parade 1900- 2100 hrs in kitchen. Kit recovered from waggon. Mac lost blankets.

Issue- Potato soup for men - all night relays. No bread. Sgt – slept in kitchen T102. Grippe

Distance 21 kilos.

Sunday 28th D.6.

Breakfast - Tea + bread. Dept 0930 hrs - Zug 3 - last away separate nominal roll. Total 40 sick.

Met up with parties 1 + 2 in Schweidnitz[i]. Refugees ++ being evacuated. Soup issue from kitchen on train - Italian cooks. Bartering. Men v. hungry + discontented. Through Schweidnitz to Alt Jauernick. Slow cold journey. Zug 3. Good quarters in dominion, men got down to milking cows. Quarters - in farm kitchen. Helpful host. Bread + milk. Supper c P's. - Provided 1 tin meat (for 5!!) + own tea - they provided 1 tin beans. Sick parade in kitchen 1900-2000 hrs. (Zug 1 + 2

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i *Incident of Hoppie's knife. "Forgotten". Hoppie may have been a padre.*

ii *"Kit removed from waggon. Some foodstuffs missing. Mac lost blankets. Incident of the padre's pork Jimmie's feet gone. Water +. Sleighs improved in efficiency.* One sick Sgt - T 102° - grippe. Slept in kitchen _ us.".

iii diarrhea and vomiting

had to march a further 5 kilos into the wilds to v. cold quarters in half built barn. No straw or water + no one slept. Hys blindness[ii] Must march back to main road next day. Thus separated from Mac + Clare. Two long halts before arrival - ? cause of frostbite- v. cold wind. [Sick parade (on my own) 1900 to 2000 hrs.]

Distance 18 kilos. Traffic control by Storks.[iii]

Staff car. ? Fieldmarshal.[iv]

Slept on couch.

Monday 29th D.7

Issue - soup at breakfast. Haferflocken.[v] Tea + bread. Sick -35 left to walk 11 kilos to Streigau.

Dept 1000 hrs. No 1.

No sight of other parties - snow blizzard. Call in at Mill (Herr Sterner)[vi] Zedlitz for bread by making detour. Issue - 1 [civil.[i]] bread for 10. Through Streigau + up hill climb out of -to Rhonstock + past to Bohrhoff. Bohrseifersdorf. Large dominion. 1st party to arrive. Quarters in stable c guards, WOs[ii] + sick. V. crowded. Clare + Mac arrived ca 2100 hrs after a v. hard day. 22 sick arrived on waggon at 2030 hrs. Supper-Tea, bread + meat.

Distance 23 kilos. Lights on all night. [Padres + WOs in one corner]

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i Schweidnitz 'deserted'
ii Hys Blindness = Hysterical Blindness: A pseudoneurological syndrome resulting from stress, and worsening in the presence of other signs of other psychiatric illnesses, such as depression and panic attacks.(Shaibani)
iii Fieseler Storchs (spotter planes)
iv The only German Field Marshal in the area was Schorner. Albert Speer writes in his book *Inside the Third Reich*, "On January 21, 1945, I went to Oppeln and met Field Marshal Schorner, newly appointed commander of the army group." (421)
v *Haferflocken* = Rolled Oats
vi *Herr*.(Mr) Sterner was a German civilian who owned the mill.

Tuesday 30th D.8[iii]

Rest day: Dominion at Bohrhoff. 2nd Waggon of sick 18 arrived after spending night c refugees in Oberrhonstock.

Issue - Bread 1/4 loaf. Soup issue. Haferflocken.

Sick parades-

1000-1230 hrs (4. Working)

1530-1700 hrs (3. Working)

Middle room of farm - chiefly Blisters. Frostbite -. hands + feet. No congenial civvies. H. speech.[iv] Uncomfortable night. Danger to toes from' Ps.[v] Blowers + fires in evidence. Supper Tea. Bread + meat. Arrangements made c RSM[i] Muir for attempting to improve conditions of march etc.

Wednesday 31st D.9

Reveille 0600 hrs. Breakfast. Tea. 1 slice B + B. Left Bohrhoff. Zug 3 - as first party at 0815 hrs. Issue - 1/5th loaf. Weather – mild - snowing - heavy going. Steadily approaching gunfire to the north ? at Steinau. 29 sick followed on carts. Made good time ca 4 kilos/hr via Jauer - refugees ++. Road blocks + mining. Signs + noise of battle nearest ever. Passed Circus - caravan stuck on

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i civilian – not made by German military
ii Warrant Officer
iii Regimental Sergeant Major Muir was a marcher. *"RSM Muir appointed RSM Broderick RSM Jolly (6+9). Burnt fingers. D + V."*
iv This may refer to Hitler's Speech. Hitler gave his last radio broadcast to the German people on the 30 January 1945.
v *Damp and frostbite*

hill - turned west in Jauer + noise of battle diminished. Arrived 1430 hrs. Village Zeichau. Billets - good. Large dominion. Issue - Haferflocken soup MOs + Ps. Kindergarten.[ii] Childrens' stretchers. Good billet. Cooking facilities upstairs in kitchen. Unmarried mother. Glass of Chianti. Dried socks etc. Signs of occupation dominion by previous British P.O.W. party. [Fire. Ashes still warm. Tins and discarded sledges. Nos 2 + 7 left 1200 hrs today.] 6 N.C.Os picked up en route - joined our party having been loose for 4 days. Sick parade - 1 hr in the dimly lit barns. Weather - commenced to thaw. Accident to Tickner[iii]- caravan + bolting horse - contusion of leg. Supper - Tea. Potatoes + tin M + V for 5.

Distance – 22 kilos.

Visited by Hptmn Baumgardt[iv] - details for next day's march.

Thurs 1st Feb D.10

Good night on children's stretchers. Pillows +. Reveille 0630 hrs. Breakfast - Cocoa. Haferflocken. Cherries. Bread + G meat (gift) sandwiches for lunch. Thawing fast. No snow on roads.

Dept 0915 hrs - Zug 3 dept. NE Many sledges abandoned - others pulled on snowless roads - v.v. heavy. Air activity ++. Road blocks. Clear sky, warm wind + sunny. feet v. wet. Arrived dominion 1 km E of Goldberg.[v] Zug 3 c P's went on another ½ mile to better billets - not seen

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i Regimental Sergeant Major
ii *Kindergarten* = children's school
iii *"Accident on route Blk 10 - Tickner pulled along by horse for 100 yds when helping traveling horse-drawn circus downhill."*
iv *"Hptman Baumgardt, Lt Charon, Lt Mandel"*
v *"Signpost 17 km to Liegnitz 35 km to Hirschberg."*.

again until following morning. Dressings done by Cpl Jarkham[i]. Distance 12 kilos. Arrived 1300 hrs. 31 sick from previous party R.A.F. etc + 8 sick from Breslau party. *[Fallen out sick from party which had marched from Breslau].*

Shave + tea on arrival. Billets for men - fair.

Self - upstairs in kitchen of 2 room Polish family.

Sick parade - 1530-1700 hrs.

Issue. Bread 1/10th circular loaf. Haferflocken soup, thin. Supper. Cocoa. B + B. Potatoes (gift) - tin steak + kidney between 5. Bed down at 2100 hrs. Straw in kitchen. Medical attention to local inhabitants. Food of local inhabitants - potatoes + milk.

Friday 2nd Feb 11th D

Reveille 0600 hrs. Few sick - ca 39. Transport sick list altered + completed. Issue - 1/5th loaf.

Dept

0930 hrs.[ii] No sledges. All packs on backs. Sunny - roads wet + muddy. Good winding road uphill + then down into Pilgramsdorf. Zug 3 last to arrive. Distance - 10 kilos. Arrived 1300 hrs. Billets. All 3 companies in large dominion. Water supply v. bad. Sick parade. 1430-1545 hrs in annexe to byre (cows+). Medical attention to locals. Milk potatoes from teachers. Own quarters - kindergarten - separate room from Ps. Kind + helpful hostess. N ++[i]. Loan of electric stove + cups. Issue - Potatoes only. Straw - good dry quarters. Coal + fire wood.

Supper. Potatoes. Pork + stuffing 1/5th. Tea. G bread for cigarettes. [Dry toast. Milk from farm.]

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i Jarkham (no record of first name) was a Corporal in the RAMC and a marcher.
ii *"Didn't see No 3".*

Saturday 3rd D.12

[Reveille] 0600 hrs.

Breakfast. Dry toast. Cocoa + milk.

Issue. Bread 2/5th.

Dept 0815 hrs. 32 sick on lorry to Gorlitz (incl. Carroll[ii] -aortic ↓ [incompetence- a heart valve leak]. Packs on trailer to next halt for night. Carried small haversack - 1 tin meat, 1 milk, tea, bread. Roads dry - fresh breeze - picked up one straggler- [Jew- Kahn[iii]-] Hard going up hill through Lowenberg + then still climbing - picked up by Hptmn Baumgardt on ration waggon for last 6 kilos. Helped to push Waggon to help horse up steepest part of hill. Fine wooded scenery. Dropped down into village Welkersdorf. Coffee + bread in Gasthaus. Zug 3 last to arrive -120 men billeted here - rest further down in village (no contact). Zug 1 + 2 - further 2 kilos to v. bad quarters - wet, dark. Stayed behind in Gasthaus c Sgt Nicholls[iv]. Sick parade for 1 hr. Then pushed on c Posten[i] across muddy country to join Zug 1 + 2. V. poor billets [bad wet, dark quarters]. MOs + Ps. Cold draughty barn at side of house. Hurricane lamp. Issue - Barley soup thin.[ii]

Supper. Tea Potatoes + 1/5th tin meat. Radio news. 2 Apples. Started to rain. Bed down 2100 hrs. Distance 31-33 kilos. Village - Kesselgut im Schoszdorf. Inhospitable hostess.

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i N = news
ii *"Carroll 266635 (POW) for waggon".*
iii Kahn (no record of first name) was a Jewish marcher who was straggling behind.
iv Sergeant Nicholls (no record of first name) was a marcher.

Sunday Feb 4th D.13

Reveille 0630 hrs. Breakfast. Haferflocken + tea.

Issue - 1/10th loaf Sick parade - in coach shed before start. Dept No 3 at 1030 hrs. 34 sick left in Gasthaus to follow on waggons *[sic]*. 18 of whom in first cart followed + were picked up by lorry in Laüban. Cold morning, slight snow. Windy hilly roads, slow going through villages to Laüban. Through Laüban to Lichternau -no quarters - so on a further 8 kilos to dominion + Schloss[iii] Heidersdorf. (Graf Sponet *[sic]*)[iv]. Sign post Görlitz 20 kilos. Another 15 added to lorry which took 33 to Görlitz. Polish girls c picks + shovels in Laüban.

Soup issue (on the Schloss), mixed vegetable.

Distance 25 kilos.

Dinner. 1/10th tin Spam. B + B. 2 Xmas puddings + custard. Tea. Large twin beds. for Mac + Self, MacIntyre + Clare.[v]

Issue - thin barley soup for men.

Monday 5th Feb D.14

Reveille 0715 hrs.

Breakfast - Haferflocken. Tea. B + Honey (Treacle).

Sick parade 1015-1100 hrs.

Issue - Good pea soup [for men]. Bread ¼ loaf.

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i *Posten* = Guard
ii *"One acute dysentery"*.
iii Schloss = Castle
iv Graf Sponet is actually Graf Maximilian von Sponeck. He died on May 19 1945 after a Russian attack.
v *"Mattresses on floor for 4 padres. Countess who speaks a little English - hostess"*. Countess died in 1968.

[Met the Graf and] saw one or two rooms of Schloss.[i] Dept 1230 hrs No 2. 15 sick on waggons. Easy marching muddy roads through Schönbronn to Görlitz-Moys. Arr 1630 hrs.

Distance 16 kilos.

Large mixed camp. Mud ++. V. crowded. Conditions v. bad. Men - majority on damp stone floor. No Red X food. S.B.M.O.[ii] Major Bramlow-Downing[iii]. Quarters - Room for Mac, Wes[iv] + Self in Revin barrack. Usual beds + wood wool mattresses. Capt Gibbons[v] R.A.M.C. – here unable to reach Lamsdorf on return from repat.[vi] train. Capt Stallard - looking all-in, having arrived Sat 3rd Feb. Bucket bath in room. Changed clothing, shirt etc first time for 14 days. Good meal c Soup. Rice, meat. Toast. Dried Bananas. Tea. [Total Min 282 Max 287.]

Tuesday 6th

Late rising. V. tired. Rest day. Capt Stallard completely washed out. Stalag food - 1/7th bread. Marg. Potatoes 3 weekly. Dried veg soup. V. hungry. No parcels. No cigarettes.[vii]

Wed 7th

Commenced work.[i] Taking over Bk 22A - 80 severe frostbitten + infected blister cases. Dirty dressings. V. hungry.

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i *"Met with Graf + saw over the Schloss".*
ii Senior British Medical Officer
iii Bramlow-Dowling (no record of first name) was an RAMC Major. He was the Senior British Medical Officer at Stalag 8A at Gorlitz-Moys.
iv Capt Wesley Clare
v Gibbons (no record of last name) was an RAMC Captain. He joined the march at Stalag 8A at Gorlitz-Moys. He replaced Tony Stallard, previously of Lamsdorf, who was sick.
vi repatriation
vii *"Visited Blks 10, 11, 12 where parties located".*

Thurs 8th

Plans for future march. First party 3000. Maj MacLardy, Capt Gibbons. Lazaret[ii] - Capt Clare. To stay - Capt Stallard ? Maj Dowling. 2nd party 3000 - Capt Tattersall. Work as previous day. [22B frostbite dressings. Mixed (dried) veg. soup and potatoes. Sweet soup at night.]

Fri 9th

[Gibby and Wes Clare for Lazaret. Took over Gibbons' ward 22B and A. i.e. 150 beds.] + adjacent annexe, about 90 patients. Chiefly Exhaustion, Debility, Influenza, Diarrhea + Pneumonias +. U.S.A. troops v. bad condition. V. thin, anaemic + emaciated + No resistance. (22B + taken over from Capt Gibbons)

Sat 10th

3000 Ex Stalag 344 *[Lamsdorf]* left at ca 1200 hrs c Maj Mac- Lardy + Capt Gibbons. Sgt Nicholls. Issued c ½ loaf bread 1/10th tin G meat, Food continues v. bad. V. hungry. Wards 22 a + b as usual. Clare to Laz.[i]

Sun 11th

Work as usual. All past days parties of stragglers have been arriving from the march. No sign of

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i *"Tony + Wes, sick parades*
Gibby Con hut -22B
Self Con hut -22A Frostbite ++ ca 90 cases
Food - thin soup. No potatoes. Bread".

ii *Lazarett* = Military Hospital

first party left at Friedewalde[ii]. Parties from Prieborn, Neidorf, Frankenstein, Gold berg [following] etc etc. Work continues hard + food v. poor. No smokes.

Mon 12th

Rumours of next move? Thurs 15th. Jimmy joins Clare at Laz. Work + food as usual. Picking up a little. 30 admitted from 700 column passing after 23 days march.

Tues 13th

Party of Russians moved out on march. Strafe[iii] prisoners admitted for night. Parties of stragglers continue to arrive. Many after 23 days marching or travel in various ways. Check of 700 figure those unable to march by G. Dr. Figures must be reduced by 10-20%. Gift of parcels from Belgian M.O. 4 between 6.

Wed 14th

0900 hrs - Check of those unable to march, Ca 600 seen by Capt Stallard + self, Final figure 560 or so still unfit. Work as usual in afternoon 22 a + b. Owing to gift of parcels mens' food improves somewhat. Heavy bombing at night? Dresden. [iv]

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i As M.O.
ii Captain Davidson who was left at Friedvalde returned to Lamsdorf.
iii Strafe = Punishment
iv Dresden was bombed by British and American bombers on 14 and 15 February 1945 and was destroyed by a fire.

Thursday 15th Feb March II. D. 1

Orders see 'routine orders'. (?) Paraded at 0700 hrs. Reveille 0600 hrs. Breakfast. Tea. Porridge. Bread. Outside gates at 0830 hrs. Cold + driving rain. V. wet. Muddy.

Issue - ½ loaf bread (per man for 2 days. 1/10 tin G meat)

Division 3 groups ca 1000.men

Group I	Stalag 8A	ca 1000.
Group II	Stalag 344	ca 1000.
" III	Stalag 344	ca 500, plus 250 French, 250 Slovaks = 1000. Moved off at

ca 1000 hrs. V. slow going. Moved c Group III. No pack waggons, carried Rucksack + haversack. McManus, Tom[i] + Cpl Burman[ii] c waggon. Many Stops. Air raid alarm. U.S.A. bombers seen. V. many - bombing ? D.[iii] ? flying from East. Paper strips. [Radar "Foxer" Foil[iv]] Passed by Hungarian division. Wait of ca 1½ hrs. Route through Reichenbach to Kroppnitz. All G. III + 500 G.II Rest of G II + G I at Mausewitz in same area. Arrived ca 1900 hrs. Distance ca 24 kilos. Billets-Barns. English speaking owner. Arranged own billets. Upstairs near billeted G troops. Straw. Pleasant host. Adjacent room empty. 4 men. Honey, marg + cheese. Difficulty obtain hot water. No water for men owing to missing loaf.[v] Supper. Tea. Bread + G meat.

Friday 16th DII

Reveille 0600 hrs. Moved off at 0900 hrs. Ca 130 pleaded sick + unable to continue. One man

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i Tom is an unidentified marcher.
ii Corporal Burman is a marcher.
iii D = Dresden
iv Aluminium foil dropped from airplanes to make one big target and disturb the enemy radar operators.
v This was a punishment for a stolen loaf of bread.

Pleurisy. T 104.5. Others - weakness, feet, D + V + scrounging. Sick marched slowly to neighbouring village Mausewitz - some returned to party on G instructions. Ca ? left c Burgermeister. Here joined up c other groups. Long wait, moved off c Group II + slow march to dominion Nachaum. Distance 12 kilos. Arrived 1330 hrs. Billets good. Food v. short. Hot water- but few men had tea or drinks available.

Sick parade - 1630-1730 hrs. Other parties i.e. I + III, ca 3 kilos nearer Bautzen (ca 12 kilos away).

Quarters - men - good. Self - next to boiler room. Straw, cement, cold. Sick parade in entrance to this room. RSM Beaumont[i]. CSM Leaper[ii]. Bedded down early.

Supper - Potatoes + carrots (bought). Thin veg soup. Bread. Meat. Tea.

Sat 17th DIII

Reveille 0600. Breakfast. No sick. Tea. Bread. Onions. Trouble over stolen meat. Dept 0900 hrs. Slow journey to Bautzen, - Saxony. Road blocks etc. Passed at halt by party of Jews - concentration camp.[iii] Dry rations issued in large barracks at Bautzen-Bread ½ loaf. meat 1/3 tin. Cheese 1/11th pkt large. Soup powder (pkt). Slow business. Dept turned off Dresden rd on to Kamenz road, further 12 kilos. Men v. tired, happy to have food again. Hilly. Passing under

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i Regimental Sergeant Major Beaumont is a marcher.
ii CSM Leaper is a marcher.
iii *A total of 90 Jewish men in party, clad in the striped pyjama-type concentration camp garb. Heads bare with close cropped hair in the standard way for such prisoners, a 2" band from forehead to nape. 36 of them were hitched by ropes to a German wagon which they were trying to pull up the hill. They failed. They were then unhitched, lined up by the roadside and mowed down with sub-machine guns by their Ss guards. Another party of 36 were then hitched up and thus encouraged and stimulated by whips, they succeeded in pulling the wagon up the hill. All those Jews were emaciated and very weak.*

Autobahn[i] to Billets. 3 separate barns. No water issued. Separate quarters, crowded stable c 4 WOs. Parties I + II not seen after food issue.

Supper. Tea. (Good brew). Bread + meat. V., poor night. Slept v. little. Smell. Crowded + ammonia. Coughing. Distance 26 kilos.

Sun 18th DIV

Reveille 0600 hrs. Tea made in farm kitchen - helpful girl. Boiler for hot water for men. Fires.

Dept 0900 hrs. V. slow at onset. Arrived Kamenz at 1500 hrs. Beautiful spring weather.

Kamenz barracks. Issue - Roggan[ii] soup. Coffee - unsweetened.

Billets. In Garrison cinema - on floor c 200 men.

Supper - Cold milk. Bread. Meat. Butter.

Distance 16 kilos. Sick parade 1 hr.

Mon 19th DV

Reveille 0700 hrs. Bad night. Breakfast - coffee unsweetened. Bread + cheese. Dept 0900 hrs.

Short easy march to Königsbrück - Distance 16 kilos. Large military area. Arrived just in front of ca 500 French officers. Issue - Bread - 1/3 loaf. Soup - Thin barley. Small tin cheese 1/4. Billets.

Small room in wings of stage. Men to sleep in stalls among the seats. V. crowded.

Supper. Tea. Bacon. Bread Fried. Bread. Ham + Egg spread. Bread + cheese. Sick parade 1½ hrs.

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i *Autobahn* = highway
ii *roggan* = rye

Tuesday 20th Feb DVI

Reveille 0700 hrs. Arranged transport of ca 80 sick. 29 left in Königsbrück for revier[i] treatment. Incl. Hoyle[ii] - Pleural Effusion[iii]. Breakfast: Tea. Bread. Cheese. Dept 0900 hrs. Slow marching - Large waggon party of refugees from Glozau area causing delay. Russian P.O.Ws + French officers also on road. moved as GIII. GI + II not seen. Cpl. Burt[iv]. Collapsed on road - Auricular fibrillation. Placed on refugee waggon as far as Radeburg - arrived later at billets. Slow cross country march crossing Reichsautobahn[v] to village of [vi] Sick + ca 300 from my group in sheep stall. Other parties in neighbouring barns + villages. 600 further 6 kilos to another village. No fires. Hot water issue. Supper. Potatoes, ¼ tin Bully + Tea. Bread + Cheese. Cooking in Russian Kdo[i] ca 50 yds outside farm. Mended cart - shaft having broken 5 kilos from end of journey. Loaf of bread bought. Issue – G. Tea in a.m. Russian run over by lorry - no bones broken. 16 left in Konigsbruck for Laz treatment. See separate nominal roll. Remainder of sick transport from Radeburg where they spent a night in church. Beautiful weather. Sunny 'spring' day. Distance ca 22 kilos.

Wed 21st Feb DVIII

Reveille 0600 hrs. Miserable pouring rain + cold wind - Low clouds. Breakfast - Tea. Bread. Cheese. Issue - Sausage. Dept 0915 hrs. Joined by remainder of GII, after ca 2 hrs. Slow moving

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i *revier* = sick bay
ii Hoyle(no record of first name) was a marcher.
iii Pleural Effusion: "An abnormal buildup of fluid between the linings of the lung and the chest wall, a pleural effusion is the result of a disease process or inflammation."(Day)
iv Corporal Burt(no record of first name) was a marcher.
v *Reichsautobahn* = state highway
vi The village is probably Radeburg.

v. wet. Sick walking slowly behind. Slow wet march -cross country v. muddy lanes + v. heavy pulling[ii] to large unfinished military barracks just outside Meissen.

Distance 20-22 kilos. Issue - Thin barley soup. Supper - Tea. Bread. Sausage. Billets - New uncompleted stables - upstairs straw +. Cold. No lights. Fires allowed. Sick arrived 150 odd - after walking + some transported from Radeburg where they had spent night in church.

Thurs 22nd DVIII

Reveille 0600 hrs. Breakfast. Tea. Bread. Sausage. Moved off to draw rations at 0800 hrs. Cold. Wet. Sick parade 0700 hrs. Issue. G Tea. ¼ bread. Piece sausage meat, moved off 1000 hrs. Slow moving down into Meissen past road blocks + across the Elbe - moved west along river bank + then turned off to billets at Lommatzsch. Parties split up into various dominions. Issue. Thick barley soup at rly[i] station. Later moved down to billets for sick in warehouse near rly siding. V. good quarters. 71 walking sick. Large room. Lights. Straw. Cooking facilities. Italian P.O.Ws. Supper. Excellent. Pea soup. Tea. Potatoes. Bacon. Sausage. Hot water on tap. Thorough wash + shave. Bed down at 2200 hrs. Evidence that ? Mac + other M.O. Gibby c padres were here 5 days ago. Distance 16 kilos.

Fri 23rd Feb DIX

Reveille 0600 hrs. Dept 0900 hrs. G. Tea issue. Cold. Raining. Feeling rotten. Fetched from sick quarters by Posten. T 102°. Marched quickly to catch up c party which was ahead. Drink of cider

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i Kdo (*Arbeits Kommando*) = Work Party
ii *Of wagon.*

in Gasthaus. Took 1½ Grams of M + B 693 which made me feel even worse - headache - foul pus on left tonsil, dysphagia[ii], anorexia. T 102°. Vague recollection of day's journey except that I hung on to side of refugee horse waggon for ca 10 kilos until picked up by M. Neville[iii] in his car -addressed as - "Good morning Capt Tattersall". Passed column in car - parked - Report given on march. Home address. Details of destination etc Stalag IXC. Rejoined column + marched total of 22 kilos to Döbeln - Billets in Sawmill - boiler room, Bedded down straight away, Unable to do sick parade. Feeling lousy. Boards on cement floor next to floor - nothing to eat or drink, except some thin barley soup. George[iv] did dressing parade.

Sat 24th DX

Reveille 0600 hrs. No breakfast. Gargle c hot water + salt. Started Albucid[v] 1 gram t.d.s.[vi] Dept 0900 hrs. Cold, rainy. Feeling perfectly bloody T 102 . Dysphagia ++. Spread to R. tonsil Glands ++. Issue – ¼ loaf. 1/3 tin meat, coffee (at station point).

Vague recollection of days march to Leisnig - Total ca 20 kilos (near Fischerburg). Pleasant town. Hilly. Quarters in barracks. Raining + cold.

Issue - Thin Rogan soup - hot. Upstairs billets in cage on landing - bed down at 2000 hrs after 2 hrs sick parade. Feeling bloody but throat slightly easier. Empty bottle of communion wine in

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i Rly = railway

ii Dysphagia: a swallowing disorder presented as coughing, choking, or an abnormal sensation of food sticking in the back of the throat or upper chest. If untreated dysphagia can lead to dehydration, malnutrition, aspiration pneumonia, and asphyxiation.

iii This is probably Monsieur Gabriel Narveel who was a Swiss Red Cross worker accompanying the march.

iv George(no record of last name) was an RAMC medical orderly.

v Albucid: These antibiotics prevent susceptible bacteria from growing and dividing, resulting in the death of the bacteria. Used to treat eye infections.

vi The abbreviated form of *ter dadie sumendum*, meaning to be taken three times daily.

cage. G did dressing parade. G Dr saw severe Dys cases + admitted some to revier. Called up at 2400 hrs to see Randolph[i] - fever + dyspnoea[ii]? Pneumonia -admitted to side room. Nothing to eat for 2 days. Slept badly.

Sun 25th DXI

Reveille 0600 hrs. Issue Coffee + Bread 1 loaf 4½ men. Dept 0815 hrs. Fresh cold morning. Throat slightly easier. Both tonsils pus ++ L>R. Glands L>R ? Peritonsillar abscess L. early. Albucid 1½ gm + 1 gm tds. Vague recollection of cross country march - Lift on pack waggon for last 8 kilos. Distance 26 kilos to Bad Lazick. Parties split up among neighbouring farms in small groups. Self + padres c George + Tom in English revier- M.O. Capt Wright[iii] S.A.M.C. - running sick parade for marchers. Ca 160 our group passed through. Many scroungers. Good quarters. M.O's billet- Wash + shave. Gargle. Tea + biscuit. Admitted to ward, 16.[iv] Evening Meal: - white bread. Savoury sausage. Butter. Tea c milk + sugar. Fruit salad. Early to bed. Slept well.

Mon 26th D12

Rev. 0700 hrs. Breakfast. Tea. Bread + honey. Left at 0745 hrs to join parties in scattered barns. One Malaria to Laz. Transport for sick - 4 waggons. Riding c sick - feeling bloody. Throat bad. T 101°. Bad Lausick to Borna. 12 kilos. Row of barns along side street. Slept in loft. Draughty. Hot

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i Randolph was an unidentified marcher.
ii Dyspnoea: An attack of breathlessness.
iii Capt Wright(no record of first name) was an MO in the South African Medical Corp. He was not a marcher.
iv Patients.

water + made tea from house across road. Visit to Res Laz in search of medical equipment - useless. Overcrowded conditions. Felt bloody all day. T 102 at night.

Issue - ½ loaf. Good soup. Coffee.

Tues 27th DXIII

Rev. 0600 hrs. Dept 1000 hrs c sick transport waggons (4). T 101 . Feeling bloody. Long journey - cold - Through Mausewitz-badly damaged by recent bombing to Wishwitz. Quarters *c* sick -upstairs in gasthaus public room - v. little straw. Slept on stage. Able to make tea for self in kitchen. 3 men on farm under arrest for killing ducks.[i] Bad night. G attended sick. One American just about dead, - exhaustion + starvation, after only just being discharged from Bad Lausick. Trouble about own quarters + continual dragging of chronic sick *c* column Issue. Sausage + raw meat.

Wed 28th D.14

Left c sick transport waggons (3) feeling bloody still T 100 . Throat ISQ. Nose blocked. Membrane +. Short direct journey to barracks in Zeitz. Where helpful + accommodating Hauptmann arranged separate quarters for me + Mac on straw in small tactical room. T 101 .

Issue - Soup.

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i These men were from a previous batch and not from P.E.R.T.'s column. Their fate is not known, but the usual punishment for stealing, especially from civilians, was execution by firing squad.

Thurs 1st Mar D.15

Reveille 0600 hrs. Feeling bloody. T 101 . Throat bad. Both tonsils pus ++. Nose blocked. ? False membrane. Parties left from 0900-1000 hrs. Remained c sick ca 60 awaiting transport. Issue. Bread -? ½ loaf. Tin meat - 1/8th. Obtained for sick- Coffee x 2. Good bean soup. Waited until 1600 hrs until bus arrived for sick. This filled c kit - G + rations + guards, self + G Sani. Others left for 2nd trip. Mac ordered to come by first bus. Arrived at Eisenberg at ca 2000 hrs (2 hrs in buses). Billets bad, cement floor, in brick factory. All alone - sedative, slept well. Nil to eat on arrival, 1st party of transport sick arrived at 0100 hrs. Walking sick had just arrived when we came in by bus. Overtaking them on road. Mac + George did not put in an appearance c first sick bus load. Thus without food or drink.

Fri 2nd Mar

Party up at 0600 hrs + away. Sick left behind in factory. Feeling better after shave + wash. Tea from L/Cpl Williams[ii] in house attached to factory. V. pleasant married couple (25 yrs) v. helpful + kind. Bread. Tea etc from Williams. Arranged improved billets for self on wood wool in a corner c Williams. Sick parade to check transport list. No sign of rest of sick c Mac + George. Soup from French factory workers. Rest of party (fit) - marched ½ hr away or so to stone quarry where they spent so called rest day. cold + windy. Mac, George + Tom arrived in factory at about 1500 hrs. Having left Eisenberg c 3rd bus load at 0600 hrs arrived at 0800 + spent the day wandering.

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i San (*Sanitator*) = Medical Orderly
ii Lieutenant Corporal Williams was a marcher.

Sat 3rd

Parties moved off at 0900 hrs. Informed 2 lorries would arrive to take sick. First one arrived at 1400 hrs. 30 sick + self- quick journey c many stops to deal c wood gas burner. Arrived at village of Dorndorf near Stendnitz - billets on gallery in Gasthaus zu Blauenschild. Evacuee in kitchen who spoke good English. Helped c cooking potatoes etc. Sick accommodated in barns in village - one quarter particularly good - where they had soup + potatoes from farm. 2 Pneumonias in this barn.

Sun 4th March

Announced - Rest day. Slept till 0900 hrs. Feeling lousy - unable to swallow still + febrile T 101 . Up to visit sick in billets surrounding Gasthaus "Blauenschild". Reported that 40 American sick from previous column lying many moribund in farm at Stendnitz. 3 already dead - 2 more dying - chiefly Pneumonia, Dysentery + starvation. During afternoon all parties given ½ hr to pack + be on road to cement factory near Stendnitz. Sick all crowded in cold factory room on straw. Self half way up wall on alcove on straw. Many of the party slept outside in quarry etc. 2 Pnemonias arrived by Waggon from their good billet. All other sick must march to factory. Food. No issue. Obtained coffee, potatoes.

Americans removed in 2 lorries - ? for Bad Sulza. Total of 5 died in village during their 3 days here.[i]

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i *A very bad time for all. A very unpleasant Gauleiter was throwing his weight about. and there was talk and a very real danger of mass executions as a reprisal for the bombing of Dresden.*

Mon 5th Mar

Left Stendnitz at 0900 hrs. Ca 50 severe sick including 5 pneumonias etc met by 3 horse waggons to IXC at Bad Sulza. Left c kit waggons through mountain pass to Mellingen village. Full of English + American sick - ca 960. Padre MacIntyre, Des Noyers, RSM Muir, here ca 5 days. 3 deaths. Poor food + quarters. Lousy. Diarrhoea ++. Blood + mucus. After protest to G Capt made by Mac, G.Drs arrived to clear up position of severe sick - ca 120 already removed to hospital. One G.D. remained in village to clear up position of sick from transports indefinitely. Issue - Bread in ? Jura (for men).

Soup on arrival in Mellingen for men. Billets in farm where pack waggons billeted. Couch in kitchen.

Supper nil. But Tea + condensed milk + ½ tin bully + bread from MacIntyre in his billet. First party arrived ca 1900 hrs - more, as kilos 30 + [meaning "straggled out"].

Rumour-? 5 days more. Hptmn states tomorrow into 2 lagers[1]. Many men v. weak *c* diarrhoea! blood ca 30 collapsed + were picked up by waggons during day's march. Felt slightly better today but nose still blocked + thick membrane from nasopharynx coming away - blood stained. Haemoptysis. Slept in kitchen on sofa at farm where pack waggons billeted.

Tues 6th Mar

Up 0600 hrs. Contacted sick party ca 180 in barn a few 100 yds away. Rest of party split up into groups - snowstorm - ca 1600 NCOs + WOs to march further 5 days or so to? Stalag IXA. Rest

of our column in village 15 mins from Mellingen, name Taübach, including the sick able to walk there. 27 more severe sick taken to so-called revier barn. Examined by self + G Dr. 16 for admission there. Chiefly diarrheas - blood mucus +. Met up *c* Mac, Tom + George again in morning. Tea + soup at lunch time - George detailed to go to Taübach c sick. Left old billet + fixed up quarters in MacIntyre's farm - straw on floor of wash room. V. heavy, evening meal fatty. Soup. Potatoes, pickled cabbage, fat. Marked indigestion all night + diarrhoea. V. uncomfortable.

Wed 7th Mar

Up 0700 hrs. Down to Revier - arranged to take 11 walkers back to Taübach. One Diptheria (American) in open cart to Weimar. Met Hptmn Baumgardt + Lt Mandel[ii] again. Arrangements made to accompany CSM Duffyiii to 9C[iv] to see about food + medical kit. Walked to Weimar. Lunch in waiting room. Lemon juice. Sandwiches. 2½ hour wait for train to Bad Sulza. Train to Bad Sulza, arrived ca 1600 hrs. Met S/Sgt Horn (Vertrauensmann[i]) + interviewed Col commandant of camp. Promise of ca 400 parcels to meet us at Lindenbach. Camp crowded c sick from march columns, several having died. No British M.O. Coffee + biscuits in Red X store. Train back to Weimar at 1830 hrs carrying 10 parcels Invalid comforts. Hellish walk back from

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i Lager = Camp

ii *Hauptmann Baumgardt, an elderly German officer, was a veteran of the First World War. He was one of the staff at Lamsdorf, but P.E.R.T. had not met him before. He was in command of the Lamsdorf column and always did his best for the prisoners throughout the whole march. He is frequently mentioned in the Diary and was liked and respected by all. He had a son, a submariner, a prisoner of war in Wales, which probably helped. Nowhere in the Diary is he mentioned except with respect and gratitude although he was their jailer. Lt Mandel was Baumgardt's Adjutant and was also well liked.*

iii CSM Duffy(no record of first name) was a marcher.

iv 9C refers to Stalag 9C.

Weimar to Mellingen in snowstorm carrying parcels. Arrived Mellingen 2200 hrs - to find Padre MacIntyre asleep - No sign of Tom or McManus. No billets for night + no kit. Typical of MacIntyre. Arranged sleep on couch in his room. German Doctor - Dr van der Wall[ii]. Assistentarzt[iii]

Thurs 8th

Parties from Mellingen marched off at 0900 hrs. Ration ¼ bread 1/14th sausage. Moved off c sick on Bulldog trailer. Cold + sleet. Rest of party on ahead. Via Weimar. Met up c Hptmn Baumgardt in Gasthaus. Sick changed to horse transport. Arrived at village of Bursleben near Lindenbach. Quarters for sick in 2 fair barns. Own quarters in Gasthaus. Lousy[iv]. Many caught on vest. Itchy. Kit in transport waggon - not seen. Supper- Potatoes. Tea. Sausage. Straw on floor - upstairs in Gasthaus. RSM Muir. MacMann[v], Tom, George - talkative sanitator. Slept fairly well, coldish.

Fri 9th

Up 0800 hrs. Arranged sick A,B,C groups - ca 35 on hospital lists - 136 walking. Rest back to columns. V. busy morning. Parcels arrived at ca 1000 hrs as promised. Able to arrange1/5th parcel per man. American parcels . . cigarettes. MacIntyre took 52 parcels (for ca 100 sick) as

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i *Vertrauensmann* = Someone who is trusted by the Germans
ii Dr van der Wall was a German assistant doctor.
iii *Assistentartz* = Assistant Doctor
iv This refers to body lice.
v MacMann is an unidentified marcher.

lorry passed through Mellingen . . unable to make issue ¼. S/M Braem[i] came over to fetch the parcels. C.S.M. Duffy + R.S.M. Muir helpful. Finished at 1600 hrs - Evening meal. Potatoes + onion fried. Meat. Parcel, one American. Bath in wash house in wooden tub. ½ bar chocolate exchanged for a pitiful amount of lard by McManus - No idea! Called up at 2200 hrs to see man who had fallen from loft in barn. No internal injuries or bones broken. Morphia. Issue ¼ bread. Cheese.

Sat 10th

Up at 0600 hrs. Tea + Bread. Parade 0800 hrs - moved off 0900 hrs. Sick + v. ill on one waggon - another waggon for slow walkers kit. Marched c waggons through Erfurt, Kdo in Erfurt - Got gift of cigs, tea + 2 prs trousers B.D.[ii] Further 22 kilos or so to Siebleben near Gotha. Sick - severe ca 50 fixed in school. 2 pneumonias - 20 bad Dysentery. Own Quarters fixed by Hptmn in Brückengasse. Bed in room c R.S.M. Muir. Padre + Tom upstairs. Did severe sick in School. Conference c Hptmn. Arrangements for sick parade following morning. Supper. Potatoes. Meat, Beans. Bully and one egg. Shave. Air raid - 3 mines dropped quite close. Blast ++. Bed at ca 22.30 hrs. Distance 27-28 kilos. Last 6 kilos c bulldog[i] + trailer. One dead American found in school on arrival (see details). Issue - ¼ bread. Sausage.

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i Sergeant Major Braem(no record of first name) was a marcher.
ii Battledress.

Sun 11th

Attempt to leave 62 sick in Siebleben c G revier - failed. Arguments by 2 G Feldwebel[ii] over waggons. Sick eventually loaded on to 3 waggons + brought along c column. Passed through Gotha. Bought some charcoal + Tannalbin (40 Tabs). Along road to Lanensalza - attempt to visit G Res Laz to obtain equipment. Result - asked for ausweiss[iii] 3 Pneumonias, 2 pleurisy - Others sheer exhaustion - long marches + poor food - Dysentery. Arrived at village Schönstadt. Distance 28 kilos. Billet - small room - straw, warm, Cadging host - but gave potatoes + hot water. Attended severe sick in billet 69. 33 for transport. Bad pneumonia doing fairly well c Sulphapyridine. V. difficult to arrange enough drinks. Soup arranged. Bed down 1000 hrs. Issue - ¼ bread. Sausage. Dying American found in village. To be taken c us following day if still alive.

Mon 12th

Rev. 0600 hrs. Sick on to 4 waggons. Incl. dying American -3 pneumonias + pleurisy. V. severe sick total 9. Rations -¼ bread. Sausage, drawn in village 3 kilos en route. Traveled behind columns c G pack waggon. Pace fast. Men falling out like flies. Just falling as though stunned. Slow recovery at roadside. Moved quickly to Mühlhausen in 7h. Rapid arrangement c G Unterarzt[iv] + Hptmn B about disposal of severe sick. Also left total 156 back - those who appeared weakest etc. Left in charge of Cpl Leslie[v], Cpl Delaway, Ptes[vi] Weir[vii], East[i], Edgar[ii],

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i tractor
ii *Feldwebel* = Sergeant
iii *Ausweiss* = pass
iv *Unterartz* = Medical N.C.O.
v Leslie (no record of first name) was a Corporal in the RAMC and a marcher.
vi Privates
vii Private (no record of first name) Weir was in the RAMC and was a marcher.

R.A.M.C. as medical orderlies. Left Res Laz c some Tannalbin, opium, + mag.[iii] Then CSM Duffy + self visited Zug Lager IXC in Schloss Braüern at Mühlhausen. BMO Capt Allenby[iv]. R.A.M.C. (Arnhem). Padre Himsleyv. Able to obtain 3 rolls of Elastoplast, Dovers, Aspirin, dressing material etc. Cup of coffee + bread. Left the camp - over-crowded - owing to dropped-off marchers etc. Quick march + then picked up waggon which Hptmn B had left for us + quick run through to Zella. Billet in school room. McManus coming back from advanced village c kit. Walking sick in barn. Sick parade + febrile cases seen. Wash + shave. Egg. Potatoes. Fried meat roll.

Tues 13th

Original - move off at 0630 hrs. Later canceled - rest day. Sick parade in Zella - village hall of pub where billeted. Ca 130 walking sick seen. One pleurisy, one pneumonia + a further 7 for transport on 14th. Other sick from remaining billets seen at same time. Lunch - chocolate drink. Egg ++ potatoes, sausage + bread. At 1315 walk to next village 4 kilos (Silberhaüsen) for sick parade - ca 50 seen. Return to Zella + sick seen in sick billet - ca 7 hrs of sick parade during the day. Bunk down at 2100 hrs. One Yank c Diptheria. Issue ¼ bread. Box cheese.

Wed 14th

Dept Zella 0800 hrs - 1 waggon for sick, one for packs. Rations issued in Silberhaüsen. Waggon

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i Private East (no record of first name) was in the RAMC and was a marcher.
ii Edgar (no record of first name) was a Private in the RAMC and was a marcher.
iii *stomach powder*
iv Allenby was a Captain in the RAMC and was at Arnhem. He was not a marcher.
v Captain Himsley was a *padre*. He was not a marcher.

No 2 with sick Americans. ¼ Bread Spread cheese.

Easy walk - riding most of way on half empty waggon to Worbis. Beautiful spring day. Distant bombing all day. Distance 16 kilos. Sick billets -200. 2 Yanks, Koons[i] Goodlin[ii], c Dip. Obtained 30,000 units + syringe Diptheria anti-toxin from Civil (Catholic) hospital. 15,000 *[units]* each. Had brew + supper. Potatoes + meat + then returned to sick billet at 1900 hrs. Attended severe sick until *[went to bed]*. Our billets c Mac, orderlies + Vertrauensmann in main road - barn etc.

Thurs 15th

Rest Day - next halting place Düderstadt being full. Sick parade in Monica billet - ca 60 to return to column. Trouble trying to get 2 Diptherias away. Afternoon Luftwaffe[i] lorry took 2 Diptherias + 14 others into Düderstadt, Hptmn B + self. 4 left in Reserve Lazaret, 12 in neighbouring Kdo C? sick from earlier marching 2 women in kdo. French + English 4000 being sorted out in Brick factory. Castle + registrar. V. beautiful town. Visit to pub v. similar to good old English tavern. Told we would stay in Worbis 2-3 days. Attempt to contact Stalag 9C by telegram etc for parcels + boots. Beautiful spring day. Orderlies visited USA column for dressings etc.

Supper - onions, potatoes, bully 1/5th.

Issue - 4 small loaf 2 cheeses (small)

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i Koons was an American suffering from Diptheria. He was a marcher.
ii Goodlin was an American suffering from Diptheria. He was a marcher.

Fri 16th

Morning - attended to sick in Monica Quarters. Cpl Bierman[ii] + Kiwi 'San' toured billets in Worbis.

Lunch - Potatoes. Barley onion soup. After lunch visited men in the 2 mills 2 kilos away. One pneumonia, several flu's + one, or two bad diarrheas. Sick changed c fit men in Monica quarters. Trouble over milked cow in billet 7.[iii] Most billets having trouble over petty thefts.

Hair cut by Cpl Allen[iv]. Issue – 1/3 (500 gm) cheese.

Sat 17th

Up later, dull day, raining. Visit to Hptmn B c Hauptfeldwebel about stolen meat in Monica billet.

Apotheke[v] - 40 Tannalbin. Sick quarters — 2 pneumonias + 2 bad Dys + weakness, on ration lorry to Düderstadt revier in Brick factory. Lunch - Bread - cheese. Afternoon visit~ to the 2 mills c R.S.M. Brehem - one mill getting a soup after some difficulty.

One bad dys changed c fit man in Monica billet.

Issue - Bread 500 g[vi]

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i *Luftwaffe* = Airforce
ii Corporal Bierman was a South African medical orderly, possibly Jewish, who was on the march.
iii *No one was shot*
iv Corporal Allen (no record of first name) was a marcher.
v *Apotheke* = Dispensary
vi _ *of a 1½ kilo loaf.*

Cheese one

Marg. 30 g

Sun 18th

Up late. Breakfast — coffee, Sardines.

Morning — Visit Monica billet 2 severe sick c upper abdominal pain + vomiting. Nil else.

Visited all billets in village 33, 7, 11, 12 + 1. Most billets doing well c soups + issue potatoes 5 per man. No 7 v. good + extra soup from convent hospital but overcrowded + bad sanitation. No 33 also good + helpful hostess.

Afternoon. Finished off billets + visit to Monica again. Issue — Potatoes 5 per man

Bread 500 gm

Cheese/ one

Marg 30 gm

Sausage 10 gm

Own lunch from Dr Wehr[i]. Noodle soup c veg. Potatoes + some boiled mutton fat. Supper. Toast + liver pate + (Return to watch Strecker[ii]) coffee + birthday cake[i] with Hptmn B.

Mon 19th

Theft from next door house of meat, sausage + bread by 3 *[POWs]* men who were working there. Fortunately other men in billet XI proved innocent + most of the meat returned. Visit to

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i Dr Wehr (no record of first name) was a local general practitioner. He was German.
ii There is no other record of this incident, or who Strecker is.

Apotheke + sick billet Monica. One Yank — Jaundice — 2 other previous cases among Yanks on march. Acute gastritis c severe colic pains + flatulence ++, convulsions. Visit to Krankenhaus for bath + then visit to billets 12, 7 + 33. 2 severe sick removed from 7, Dys. Unable to visit the mills owing to pressure of work in Worbis.

Supper — bread, Egg, Cheese.

Lunch - Potato + veg soup.

Issue — Bread 300 g

Cheese — Liquid, one piece *[camembert type]*

Tues 20th

Called at 0700 hrs by G Feldwebel to visit Winzigerode - USA column 45 mins walk c Cpl Bierman to village. Found one man dead, G.S.W.[ii] lung, through + through, + 2 wounded. G.S.W. shoulder, + G.S.W. L Thigh. Shot while stealing. 3 others killed while escaping. Back to Worbis at 1200 hrs. Conference c Hptmn B re new orders - Frequent changes + eventually ca 450 men marched off by R.S.M. Muir to Düderstadt + ? Arbeits Kdo. Rest of day until 1900 hrs spent sorting out sick in Monica. 10 severe to be removed to Düderstadt + from there by train to Laz. Ca 40 sick only to remain in sick billet if possible. Fit men to fill up billets in village evacuated by privates.

Lunch — soup

Supper — Bread + cheese

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i Hauptmann Baumgardt's birthday.
ii Gun shot wound

Issue — 300 g Bread 60 g Margarine

Wed 21st

Morning visited Monica billet. One pneumonia. One jaundice (Yank). 10 Severe sick removed to Düderstadt. 2 pneumonias, jaundice, v. severe Dysentery cases.

Lunch — Potato + bean soup c bones.

Afternoon - visited the mills. Several septic legs, boils + dys cases c weakness. 2 USA parcels issued to those going to hospital in D. Request from men to open remainder of parcels + issue 1 cigarette per man. Supper - Fried bread, Meat + veg 1/5th (tinned), Tea.

Orders changed several times during day — Final — probable march to Duderstadt on 22nd. Gift of Butter, Malt Extract, + oil — Reason behaviour of C.S.M. Duffy + Bakeland.

Thurs 22nd

Beautiful spring morning. Visit to sick billet — ca 5 severe cases for removal by cart — possibly others if unable to walk. Orders to march at 1230 hrs. Marched at ca 1300 hrs— slow going + many halts. Arrived in Düderstadt at 1700 hrs. Distance 13 kilos. Men sorted out into N.C.Os + N.C.O. volunteer workers + men. Registered at entrance to brick Factory + then returned to Haus der Jugend[i] where Solomon[ii], MacIntyre + 4 French M.Os billeted. Slept in bed - hay mattress.

Fri 23rd

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i *Haus der Jugend* = Youth Hostel
ii Solomon is an unidentified marcher.

Whole morning spent seeing sick off on transport train. 580 removed — 20 cattle trucks. Average 30 + 1 San in each truck. Rations. Cpl. Leslie + Pte Weir seen again — 4 days in Mühlhausen + then transport through to Düderstadt c sick. 5 deaths. They left on train. Trouble c C.S.M. Duffy, Bakeland + hangers—on trying to get off on train c sick.[i] Spent rest of morning sorting out remaining sick on train. Ca 100 unable to find room + returned to factory. Quarters in factory terrible. Shit everywhere. Rations v. poor, 6 to 1 loaf. Returned for lunch + train left at 1400 hrs. Visit in evening to Oberstabarzt[ii]. 2 more French M.Os arrived c party of 15 ? sick French.

Sat 24th

Visit to Ursula Res Laz. 40 sick in attic on straw mattresses. 2 Fr + 2 English Sans. Food good + adequate. Conditions of men desperate — Dehydration + malnutrition c Dys, Pneumonia, Diphs + G.S.Ws. Deaths from pure exhaustion + toxaemia. P.m. visit to Ziegelie[iii] (Factory) ca 350 more British arriving including Sgt Beck[iv], having fallen out on march + coming now from Stalag IXC. Revier in Ziegelie + sick parade. Return + urgent call to Polterwerk, dying American. Ca 50 patients on straw in a 1/3 of usual army barrack. Dys etc.

Sun 25th

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i Duffy and Bakeland were trying to keep off joy-riders.
ii *Oberstabartz* = Senior Staff Doctor
iii Ziegelie (*Ziegleret*) – Brick/tile works
iv Sergeant Beck(no record of first name) was a patient who rejoined the march.

Some dressings in Haus der Jugend. Visit to Ziegelie — Sick parade + arrangements for further medical services made. Afternoon — visit to Immigrode Polterwerk[i] + Ursula to see installations etc. Beautiful spring day.

Medical. Weak Americans c dys + pure exhaustion — appear to collapse v. rapidly, lapse into Unconsciousness (? Hypoglycemia) + die within 12 hrs. Heart sounds, particularly 1st, v. weak. Non oedematous, starved cases chiefly— dehydrated. No clinical cardiac enlargement. Non asphyxial + quiet death. Appears to be a peripheral circulatory failure, at least towards the end. Skin cold. Pulse, on the other hand generally bradycardia, poor vol. 50—60. Many dys cases now showing superficial ulcers + redness on dorsum of tongue — ? Nicotinic acid deficiency. No ariboflavinous as yet. Other features of diarrhoea - v. severe colicky abdominal pain — men crying out! Flatulence ++. Oedema cases — chiefly U.S.A. Oedema legs, hands + eyelids. Urine — no Alb. Sudden onset + gross. Their general condition appearing much better than many non—oedematous cases (even after allowance has been made for the oedema) ? Beri beri ? Protein deficiency. ?? Why do these men collapse so rapidly, just turn up their toes + die??

? Peripheral circulatory failure.

? Hypoglycemia.

? Toxaemia. No facilities, adequate diet etc.

Mon 26th

Sick parade Ziegelie 0900—1230 hrs. Afternoon dressing parade — 1600 hrs. Eagleston[i] admitted

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i Polterwerk (*Polsterwerk*) = Upholstery works

Ziegelie revier. Having been left by me at Mellingen, taken to Bad Sulza (9C) + then on the road again. Condition v.v. poor, weak, exhausted, unable in evening to feed himself, lapsed into unconsciousness + died 0630 hrs on 27th Tues. Buried in Düderstadt same day by Padre McManus. Probable cause of death heart failure. So far ca 30 deaths Anglo USA in Düderstadt. 2 U.S.A. Diptherias in Ursula collapse + died during day- Heart.

Tues 27th

700 (Russ + 1 NCOs) left for work.

0900 hrs —1100 hrs. Sick parade.

1400 hrs—1500 hrs. Dressings.

Wed 28th

250 French NCOs left. Ca 1800 left in camp.

Sick parade + dressings etc.

Thurs 29th Mar 1945. Day 43.

No movement. Sick parade + dressings.

Fri 30th Mar 1945. Day 44.

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i Private Eagleston(no record of first name) was a marcher. He later died. He was the nephew of one of the POW Doctors at Lamsdorf.

400 Privates + NCOs to work. Hunger oedema c signs of early peripheral neuritis increasing daily,

e.g. Numbness + paraethesia. Altered sensation to pinprick at periphery. Tender calves + Reflexes ++

Sat 31st

Sick parade 5 oedemas. Afebrile pneumonias v. poor condition. Return of 400 workers after march of 25 kilos each way - ½ way/ to Nordheim + then turned back. 30 sick c column— exhausted etc. 2 Pneumonias — afebrile - both lobar + basal. Deaths ca 2—3 per day continue.

Sun 1st, Easter Sunday.

Dressing + sick parade for returned working party. The best G food for 5 years.

Lunch Tasty Macaroni soup. Veal, Mixed veg, Potatoes, Ice cream (delicious). V. light iced sponge cake + coffee. Tea Bread, English Tea. Butter, Raw meat + egg. Altogether the best day yet! One pneumonia from returned party died in Ursula.

Mon 2nd April

Morning sick parade. Then orders to sort out those unfit for marching. Workers ca 400 to go to factories + non-working NCOs march to IXA[i] - direction Magdeburg + over the Elbe again to East. Afternoon sorted out non-marchers ca 200, excluding those in hospital. Good lunch —

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i Stalag 9A

mixed meat salad c egg — Ice cream excellent + Soup. Saw Hptmn B + explained there would be no M.O. c column. Artillery fire ++.

Tues 3rd MARCH III. D. 1.

Awakened at 0700 hrs + told that I must accompany column. After trouble + cross arrangements etc c Solomon ordered by Lt/ Col Fuhrman[i] to march. Heavy rain. Left Düderstadt c Unteroffizier[ii] Pfarrer[iii] (Dolmetscher[iv]) some 1 hr after column. Bill Chesters[v] + Radford[vi] to accompany me. Easy march but v. wet unpleasant weather to Osterhagen. Good billets c R.S.M. Brehem[vii], Leon[viii] etc. Magnificent evening, soup, cake + coffee. Son—in—law of house P.O.W. in U.S.A. Slept on couch in kitchen, others in barn.

Issue 2/3rd loaf (For 2 days Cheese 2 boxes)

Distance 20 kilos.

Wed 4th DII

Reveille 0600 hrs. Windy + sunny — Retreat ++. Occasional preparations for road block. Uphill climb through lovely wooded country to Bad Sachsa. Then v. wet + down into valley + along to Werna. Billets c others.

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i Fuhrman was a Lieutenant Colonel German Officer.
ii *Unteroffizier* = Noncommissioned Officer
iii *Pfarrer* = Clergyman
iv *Dometscher* = Interpreter
v Bill Chesters was a marcher.
vi Radford(no record of first name) was an American medical orderly. He was a marcher.
vii Brehem was a South African Regimental Sergeant Major. He is probably the same marcher mentioned on 9 March, but his name was spelt Braem.
viii Leon was a South African, possibly a RSM. He was a marcher.

Supper — Potatoes + fried meat (gift). Tea. Slept inside on couch. Others on floor (straw). Visit from young San (stud med[i]) + Russian nurse etc. Noise of many bombers. Nordhausen in flames. Cycled back to Werna for sick parade c USA column + group 2. French POW driver for sick carts, talkative. Distance 20 kilos. Issue — nil

Thurs 5th DIII

Left early —returned to Werna c Bill etc - then turned up the mountain c Pfarrer + Hpt B. Boys pushing the bikes. Heavy going. Cold wind. Yanks falling out + finding going v. hard. Clear view of the Brocken[ii]. Issue 1/10th loaf at top of hill. Visit to hotel c H. B. — soup + control by Police Easy walk through v. pleasant valley to Hasselfelde. Billets scattered. Sick in small Schutzenhaus[iii] (30). Help from G Stabarzt[iv] offered and accepted. Butter + 6000 Units Diptheria antitoxin given to the Diptheria (Sgt Feeney[v]). Evening soup c family + good Tea.
Slept on v. comfortable couch. Feather cover + quilt. Commencing heavy cold. Others upstairs in loft bedroom - good. Raining. Later Issue 1/3rd loaf. 2 cheeses (fish).

Fri 6th D IV

Rest day - Good nights sleep. Got up late. Sick parade for Yanks in Schutzenhaus. Lunch soup - Tea. Visit to other billets in village for sick parades p.m. Supper — Soup. Potatoes.
V. heavy rain all day.

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i medical student
ii *Brocken* = local hill
iii *Schutzenhaus* = Guardhouse
iv *Stabartz* = Staff Doctor
v Sergeant Feeney(no record of first name) was a marcher suffering from Diptheria.

Issue 1/3rd bread. Cheese.

Sick did well with soup etc provided by German Stabarzt +Hpt. B. — meal, butter etc.

Sat 7th DV

Rest day. Raining all day. Rest day in view of impossibility of obtaining dry rations. Waggon on the road trying to obtain food c Oberzahlmeister[ir]. Visit to all billets to see sick. Attempt to get Dipth + 2 other severe sick away to hospital. Prospects for march on Sun 8th without food.

Sun 8th DVI

Party moved off at 0800 hrs, Sunny cold morning. RSM Brehem, B, Pfarrer + self took cross country march through woods + fields to Thale. Marvelous walk through Bodetal to Thale. Bohm[ii] — friend of H.B. Halberstadt destroyed by U.S. bombers. Through Thale to Westerhausen across country. 3 sick left by Chesters in hospital — Crawley [i]— Dys USA, Sgt Feeney — Dipth Canada, and Pneumonia - USA. Arrived ca 2 hrs after sick and main column. Heard about Naval Kdo in Thale of 150 men. Hpt B. arranged to contact same in morning re food, boots, soap, clothing.

Supper - soup (marvelous). Flour etc arrived — own bread to be baked. 4 Bakers supplied to help in bakehouse.

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i *Oberzahlmeister* = Senior Paymaster
ii *Herr* Bohm was a German friend of *Hauptman* Baumgardt.

Mon 9th

Rest day to allow for baking of bread. Sick column (one Group IV) 75 strong. 2 severe sick c Dys. Goldfinch[ii] (N.Z.). Weakness chief other complaint. Hudjek[iii] dies on latrine, USA billet. Navy turns up trumps — arriving c 3 handcarts, ca 120 American + Canadian parcels (half their stock). 5 Invalid comforts. 60 pairs boots + 4 sacks clothing, soap, medical kit etc etc. Kdo 844/4 Thale Marlag I. C.P.O. Bennet [iv](JX. 133943) Sgt Lee[i] R. Marines. A really magnificent effort for 120 men.

Issue — 1/8th parcel + 12 cigs/per man

½ soap per man

1/6 Peanut butter

Bread (fresh) 2 kilo loaf 1/8th

Margarine

Dry veg

Stendal bombed. No orders re Tuesday. Boy c measles in village.

Tues 10th

No orders — Later on parade at 1245 — but orders changed + men returned to billets awaiting further orders. Sat in sun most of p.m. awaiting orders. Later to move at 0630 hrs in morning.

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i Crawley(no record of first name) was an American marcher.
ii Goldfinch(no record of first name) was a marcher from New Zealand.
iii Hudjek was an American marcher who died while on the toilet.
iv CPO Bennet was in the navy. He had come from Marlag camp to deliver Red Cross parcels. He was not a marcher.

Emergency call at 2230 hrs after going to bed — womans head required stitching after fall downstairs? Artillery fire during night quite close - flashes etc.

Issue — 1/8th 2 kilo loaf. Marg.

Wed 11th

Moved off at 0630 hrs in direction of Quedlinburg — (Eastwards) to Dittfurt (village). Column marched across country. Severe sick ca 30 traveled c packs on waggon (motor) + trailer. Arrived at about 1130 hrs owing to halts for air

raids + dive bombers (fighter). ? Advance units already in

Halberstadt. Billets in No 15 at top of village. Champagne.[ii]

Distance 10 kilos.

Bread — 1/10th 2 kilo loaf.

Meal Marg. Meat.

Proposed rest day tomorrow for bread baking.

Thurs 12th

FREE. U.S.A. troops arrived at 0730 hrs.[iii]

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i Lee. a Sergeant in the Royal Marines came with Bennet to deliver the parcels. He was not a marcher.

ii Liberation being imminent, Hauptmann Baumgardt invited P.E.R.T. and Bill Chesters (U.S.A. medical orderly) to join him and Lt Mandel in drinking two bottles of champagne which he had with him. He said he would rather they drank it than the Americans who were close at hand.

iii Liberated by American troops. The POWs kept back down off the main street in their billets as they saw American soldiers running down the street, but eventually they came out and approached the relieving troops. These chaps were very wary and trigger-happy, so it was with some apprehension that the POWs who first appeared were

They moved on within the hour, leaving us alone. Further support groups through during day. All weapons collected. 4 severe sick removed by ambulance. Armoured div moved in during night, staying only 1 hr.

Fri 13th

Sick parade 0900.

Sickbillet in Deutschen Haus[i].

350 German POWs in village.120 of Guard company.

Visit to dairy + Rathaus[ii]. Eggs + chicken. 11 G officers Ger P of W c 150 ORs[iii] moved by lorry.

4 more severe sick on ambulance.

Cavalry group in village. ? Threat from Audlinburg.

Sat 14th April 1945.

8th Armoured div moved in — support company. Interview c Colonel. State of health etc reported

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escorted by these rather excited and suspicious soldiers back at gun point to the leading tanks and American officers (for a bacon and egg pancake + jam breakfast in a tank!)

The POWs returned to their billets pending instructions, and that evening P.E.R.T. and Bill Chesters invited Hauptmann Baumgardt and Lt Mandel to a fine supper which they had cooked by a farmer's wife. This feast was in full swing when the door burst open and in came a couple of very hostile U.S. soldiers with sub-machine guns. They were greatly incensed at seeing the two German officers in the party, and an officer had to be fetched before they could finish their meal. Eventually P.E.R.T. gave an undertaking that he would be personally responsible for the safe delivery of the Germans to the Prisoners' Cage next morning, and the party was allowed to proceed. There was a strict non-fraternisation rule in force at the time.

i *Deutschen Haus* = German House

ii *Rathaus* = Town hall

iii OR= Other Ranks

— ca 80 sick to be moved. Visit from U.S.A. M.O. 2nd Arm Div to view situation later visit from M.O. 8th Arm Div c ambulances + 36 removed lying 2 sitting.

Interesting morning c Capt in H.Q.

Sun 15th

Visit from Maj Martini, Scots Greys, attached 2nd Arm Div ?

removal of remaining 800.

Organised sheep for food. Butter. Milk. Eggs.

Mon 16th

Maj Martin, Scots Greys, returned — informed we were under

8th Armd Div for transport.

Yanks + some British removed on 6 waggons ca 300.

Excitement during night.[ii]

Arrangements for tomorrow's move.

Tues 17th April.

Commandeered village transport - trailers, waggons etc.

6 trucks also arrived. Private cars etc to Halberstadt.

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i Martin(no record of first name) was a Major in the Scots Greys Attached 2nd Armoured Division.

ii *A German patrol came into the village.*

Transport fixed in Halberstadt + through to Hildesheim. Slept in Revier.

Wed 18th

Fixed to fly to England tonight.

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[1] From Captain Clare's Memoir he writes "Of the 12'000 men in camp, about 6'000 had to march out. 6 Groups each, with one M.O. (medical officer) as the only officer and 1'000 to 1'100 men we were to leave at 3 to 4 hour intervals. . . My kit bag had 2 blankets, a change of clothes some chocolate and all the cigarettes I could manage. Those people remaining in camp were moved later by train near Munich. . . It was clear that the men were poorly equipped for a long winter march, poor footwear, cold weather, deep snow."(Clare, 22)

Appendix One

Captain Clare's diary entries from Tuesday January 23 to Thursday February 15 1945, the days that he was marching with Capt. Peter Tattersall.

Tuesday Jan 23rd/45 Distance walked 23 km.

Up at 5A.M; Jim (my orderly) and I loaded the sleigh: by 8:30 A.M. were out the gate of the cmp where we were issued – 1 Red Cross parcel, ½ loaf of bread, margarine. I had received from the officers remaining in camp about 300 gm of tea, one tin powdered cocoa and mild. Some sugar and 2 small packages of raisins. 12 Noon, rest for lunch. Previous parties, already discarding kit along road. The roads were food except last kms we had deep snow. At 5-30 arrived at Dominion at Friedwalde, dusk, crowded old vegetable barn. At. 8:30. P.m. I found Capt. Davison in a barn with 88 sick.

Wed. Jan. 24 (1945) Distance 25 km

Up at 6.15 (am) Had 68 sick. Left 9:30 a.m. At noon one man fainted and was sent back to Freiwalde. Road food. Sleigh worked well. 6 P.M. at Prieborn, in horse barn; Saw 5 padres from another camp, cooked hot meals, rats in straw. I had Synovitis of left Achilles Tnedons. No food issue.

Thurs. Jan 25 (1945) Distance 30km

Up at 7AM. Issued bread (civilian loaf) 1/5 each. Load on sleigh came loose, one runner came off. Hard going all morning; lef painful- 5PM had vegetable soup at Fabric In Munsterburg. Long march up hills, then through snow. It took one hour to go 1 km. At 10 PM arrived at barn; Met Capt Tattersal and padres from another group. Everything

full; party split in two groups between Altburwalds and Alt. Aldemodorf; completely tired; supper – teas.-bread and meat.

Fri. Jan 26 (1945) Distance 23-25km

Up at 8 A.M. Wash & Shave in kitchen of house; dried socks by fire; hot coffeee and apples in house; Jimmy (Sanitator) fixed barrel hoops for sleigh runners. Capt Tattersal and I did dressings in morning, One padre in poor condition, we dressed his feet and he had influenza gunfire seemed clower. Marched off at noon. Through Frankenstein; putting up road blocks of trees at edge of town. Arrived at Olbersdorf; slept in ballroom of large house. Had put kit bag on waggon, did not arrive; No blankets for night.

Sat. Jan-27 (1945) Distance 21 km

Left at 9:30 (am); 3 M.O.'s walked together as groups were all together. Went through Reichenbach to Neudorf; Lunch – biscuits and cheese. Heavy transport on road. Three groups were t a large farm(Dominion); eleven of us in a small kitchens slept on straw, had radio news. We had 2 hours of sick parade in kitchen while boys cooked. Kit arrived with waggon. One M.O. lost his blankets. I lost cigarettes, chocolate and socks. From 10p.m. to 3 a.m. some men got soup. Sanitators feet very bad, no bread issue; gave bread and biscuits to man who had his food parcel stolen.

Sun Jan 28 (1945) Distance 24km

Tea and bread; 40 sick; went through Sweidnitz; being evacuated; roads jammed with evacuees. Had soup from train kitchen. Went on to Alt. Jaurnich; everything full; went

on 6km across open moor; 40-50 cm-snow. Dreary road, cold, to barn with no roof; no water; sat by fire all night, very cold; much frost bites; one man had boots stolen in night.+

Mon. Jan. 29 (1945) Distance 29 km

Marched back to Alt Juarnich; arrived at 11:15 a.m. One party had soup early. The sick started to walk 11 kilos but returned, I stayed with Major McLarty(M.O.) while his group had soup and used forge in Dominion to fix sleigh; One New Zealander was blinded by smoke from previous night. Started at 2 p.m.; Issued 1/10 loaf of bread at mill.. Walked in blizzard and snowdrifts through Streigau to Rhonstock to Dominion at Barhof. I pulled sleigh most of the day as Jimmy (Sanitator)(orderly) was ill. After night march through blizzard arrived at 9 p.m. I slept in stable with padres and sick; 22 sick arrived on waggon for the night.

Tuesday. Jan 30 (1945) Rest Day

Had shave and wash in the open; had sick parade for 2 ½ hours in morning and 2 ½ hours in afternoon; blistered feet and frostbite. Night was noisy and crowded; food poor; no fires allowed for cooking. Had issue of bread 1 loaf to 4 men, soup, oatmeal (Halbel flocken).

Wed. Jan. (1945) Distance 22km

Up at 6 a.m. Tea. 1 slice bread. Left at 8:15 a.m. Weather mild, snowing. Roads very hard walking; gunfire to the north. Made good time to Jauer where road blocks were

under way. Passed circus with waggons stuck in the snow; very slow, deep snow, turned westand gun fire decreased. About 1500 hours were at Kuchau. Billets food; slept in Kindergarten on stretchers for children. Told this was home area of Baron Von Richtofen. Had Habelflocken soup, potatoes, glass of wine and cherries. Did sick parade in barns and dressed 2 hands in our billets. Ashes from previous groups still warm. Joined by 6 NCO's (Non Commissioned officers) from previous party. One man run over by waggon., Traded for dry oatmeal (Halbelflocken), tin meat, salt.

Thurs Feb 1 (1945) Distance 12 km

Breakfast – oatmeal porridge, bread, cocoa and cherries. Meat for sandwich on march. Left 0900 hours, roads soft, snow melting; sleighs were being abandoned. Ours left behind 3 km from Goldberg. Road blocks being built, sunny, clear day. Arrived at Dominion 1 km east of Goldberg; stayed upstairs in Polish kitchen. Had tea. From 15:30 hours to 17:30 hours had sick parade of 31 men from Air Force group; 8 men from Breslau group. Issue-1 loaf of bread for 10 men, thin soup. Poles gave us mashed potatoes. All the local families came to see the doctor. Slept on straw on floor. Supper – potatoes and milk.

Fri Feb 2. (1945) Distance 10km

Up at 0600 hours. Tea and bread; 39 sick. Issue – 1/5 loaf; Left at 09:30; all sleighs gone. Carried packs 10 km to Pilgramsdorf. Mens' accomodation poor, no water; Postens (guards) kicked out all the fires. We had billets in Kindergarten; young school teacher. Had sick parade 14:30 to 15:45. Bought loaf of breads, jug of milk and 2 rye

loaves. Teacher gave us potatoes and had an electric heater so we had tea and toast. Slept on straw in room. Issue of potatoes to some men. Had potatoes, bread, tea for supper.

Sat Feb 3 (1945) Distance 33km

Up at 0600. Cocoa and toast. Issue- bread 2/5 loaf; 32 sick on lorry. Started at 0800 hours; Our kit was cut down; All our blankets were on postens (guards) waggon. Had blister by noon; had drink of buttermilk. It was hard going uphill through Lowenberg. Had ride on ration waggon for last 4-5 km. Stopped at Gasthaus for coffee and bread; had beer from postens (guards). Helped, push waggon up a hill. At Welderdorf, Capt Tattersal and party stayed in village. Our party went on 2 km to poor barns. We had billets in a machine shed on straw. Ate in hallway. Issue – soup and 3 potatoes. Bought loaf and apples from house. Held sick parade in horse stable. It was raining, muddy; Men wet and tired.

Sun Feb 4. (1945) Distance 25 km

Breakfast – oatmeal porridge, bread, tea. Issue – one loaf to 10 men. Had sick parade in lean-to shed. Left 34 sick for waggons on raod at 09:30 hours. Very slow going; lunch at Lauban. Went through Lichtenau; no room. Went further 8 km to Schloss Heidelsdorf. Passed large group of Jewish prisoners on road. One man fainted and helped him in last 4 km. I always stayed at the back of the column to protect and help the stragglers, Sent 33 men on lorry to Gorlitz. Spent night in castle. Had spring bed – 4 in a bed, hot and uncomfortable. Supper – potatoe soup from houses bread, tea. Men had barley soup. Had wash and shave. Started with nausea and dysentery.

Mon Feb. 5 (1945)

Up at 0800 hours. Had porridge tea and bread. Sick parade for one hour. Issue – pea soup one loaf bread to 4 men. Left at 12:30; Put 15 sick on waggon. Arrived at Gorlitz-Mays at 16:30 hours (Stalag VIIIC). Got kit from waggon. Met Capt Tony Stallard in front of Revier (from Lamsdorf) and Capt. Gibbons (Lamsdorf) who had accompanied a group to Switzerland for repatriation, had arrived back at this camp. So 5 of the 6 doctors that walked from Stalag 344 had arrived at VIIIC.

Tue Feb 6 (1945)

Rested. Took Sulfa-guanidine for dysentery.

Wed. Feb. 7 (1945)

In morning went to lager to see men. In afternoon began work in the Medical Inspection room. Worked 14.00 to 17.30 hours. Checked sick from Sweidnitz.

Thurs. Feb. 8 (1945)

Rested in morning. Word of further move. Capt. Tattersal was supposed to go to the French Lazarette. Had sick parade in the afternoon.

Fri. Feb. 9 (1945)

Morning was free. Sick parade in afternoon. At night told that Capt Gibbons and I were to go to the Lazarette, packed.

Sat Feb. 10 (1945)

Lazarette move cancelled. Major McLarty and Capt. Gibbons were marched out with 3000 men from Lamsdorf. At 12.30 I was sent to the French Lazarette which had 5 French docotrs. Had small room, a fire and a bath.

Sun. Feb. 11 (1945)

Had hot chocolate and white roll from French. Made hospital rounds. Had all English speaking patients moved to one barracks. Had 2 French orderlies in the barracks. An Australian sergeant was the interprcter. Cases mainly frost bite and pneumonias. Private Tyler had gun shot wound left arm, infected amputated given penicillin 19,000 units daily. My First use of Penicillin. He seemed improved.

Mon. Feb. 12 (1945)

Hot chocolate. Rounds in A.M. Arranged wards by type of infection checked medical stores checked the pneumonias till 1800 hours. Had supper with French doctors. Read for an hour.

Tues. Feb. 13 (1945)

Chocolate and bread. Rounds at 10.00 am and from 14.00 – 18.00 hours. Checked histories and worked in barracks. We received medical supplies from camp hospital in Gros Strehlitz. Sgt. Vertrauensman had been on march 24 days. Sent to Stalag for my personal kit. Had abscess on my right ankle.

Wed. Feb. 14 (1945)

Chocolate. Word from Stalag that all well people were to march. Lazarette lists were prepared and all English-speaking were to go by train. Prepared lists of walking, sitting and lying cases after dinner. There were air-raids and bombing. Saw all English and American patients in Lazarette. One American. severe religious mania, had to be left in hospital, later.

Thurs. Feb. 15 (1945)

Tea and bread. No ward rounds. Capt Tattesal and 1000 English, Canadian and American left camp. Transferred sick from camp to Lazarette. Word that extra personnel were to leave hospital Thursday night or Friday. That night word that English-speaking were to go by train, French to stay.

Appendix Two

During the Second World War, Silesia was under German control, and, therefore, all of the place names mentioned in the diary are German. Now that Silesia is once again a part of Poland, the names have changed back to their Polish names. This chart matches the German names used in the diary with the Polish names that appear on present day maps.

German Place Names	**Polish Place Names**
Lamsdorf	Lambinowice
Friedewalde	Skoroszyce
Oppeln	Opole
Neisse	Nysa
Prieborn	Przeworno
Altbarwalde	Niedzwiednik
Stirnau Munsterburg	Ziebice
Stolz	Stolec
Frankenstein	Zabkowice Slaskie
Neudorf	Nova Wies
Reichenbach	Dzierzoniow
Alt Jauernick	Jaworzyna
Schweidnitz	Swidnica
Streigau	Strzegom
Seichau	Sichow
Jauer	Jaworzyna
Goldberg	Zlotoryja
Liegnitz	Legnica
Hirshberg	Jelenia Gora
Pilgramsdorf	Pielgrzymka
Welkersdorf	Rzasiny
Gorlitz	Zgorzelec
Heidersdorf	Wlosien
Lauban	Luba

Appendix Three:

Following is a list of the contents of typical Red Cross food parcels from Canada, England, America, New Zealand, and Scotland. Of particular importance to the POWs was the inclusion of cigarettes. Cigarettes were as good as or even better than money. They were an excellent bartering tool.

Canadian (Standard)
The Canadian Red Cross parcels were the most valuable to the prisoners because they came in wooden boxes which could be used for all sorts of building projects or for fire wood.

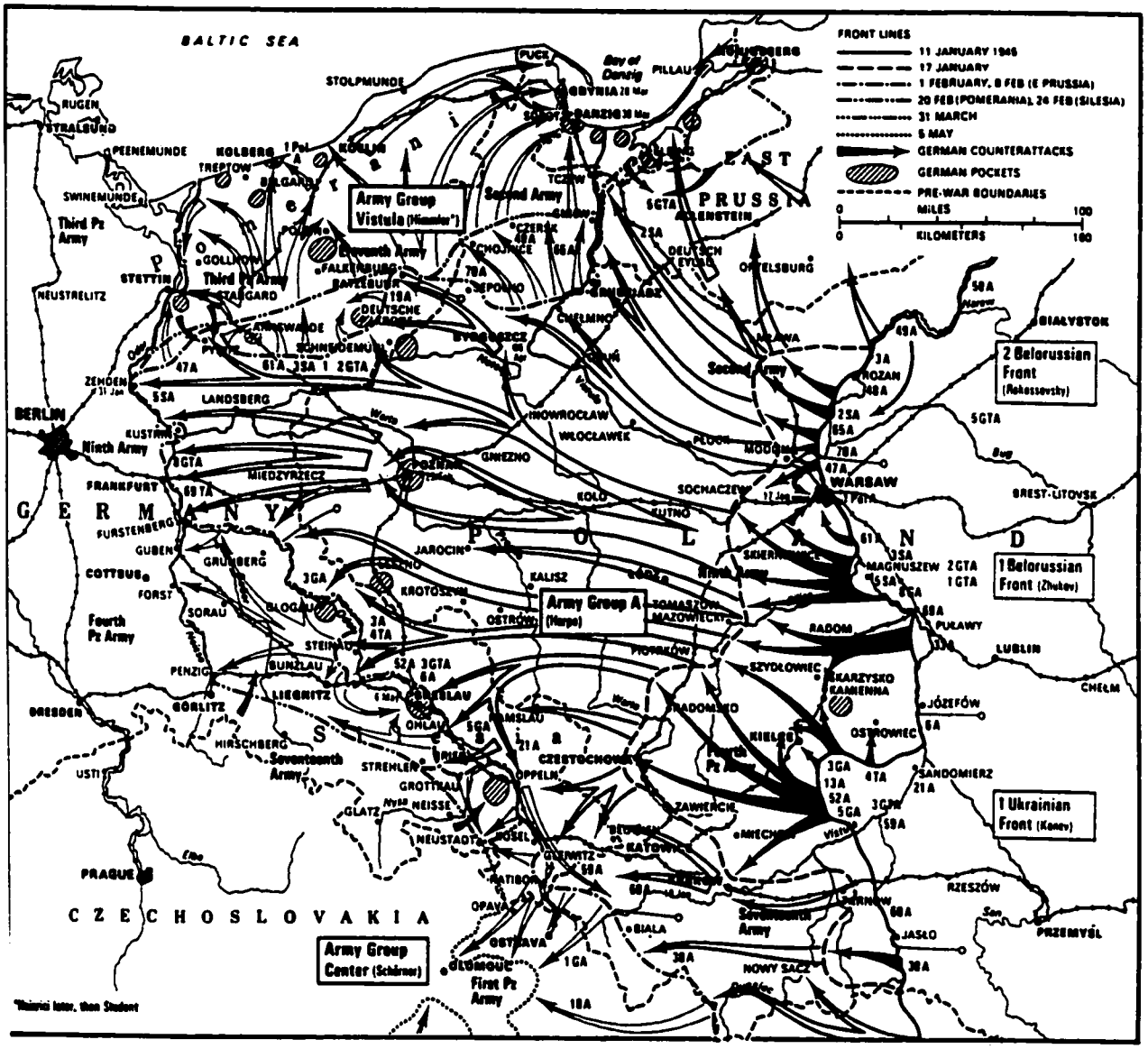
1lb tin of Klim (brand name milk. This is what they used to make blowers)
½ lb sugar
1 lb butter 1lb biscuits
5 ozs chocolate (milk or plain)
10 ozs tin of meat roll
3 ozs tin of Sardines
7 ozs raisins
1 Pkt salt and pepper
50 cigarettes
4 ozs tea or 6 ozs coffee
1lb jam
12 ozs tin of bully beef
7 ozs tin of Salmon
4 ozs bar of processed cheese
6 ozs prunes
1 bar soap (3 ozs)

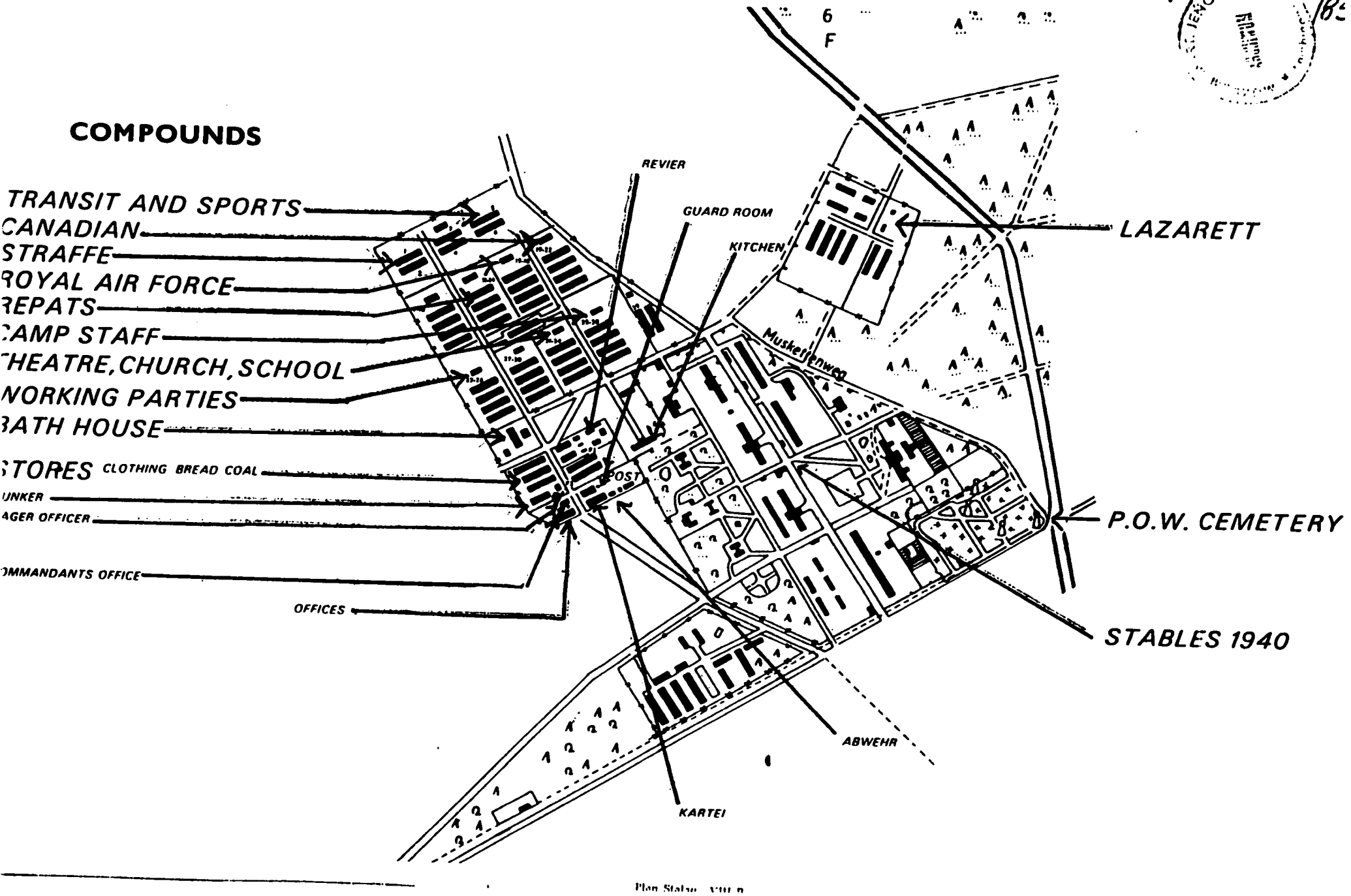
English (very variable)
1 tin of Nestle's milk
4 ozs block of sugar
8 ozs Margarine
8 ozs tin Peak Freene's biscuits
10 ozs tin of meat roll
8 ozs tin of rolled oats
3 ozs tin of processed cheese
4 ozs plain chocolate
50 cigarettes
2 ozs tea
4 ozs Rowntree's cocoa
8 ozs jam or marmalade
1 lb tin meat and vegetables
7 ozs tin of salmon or pilchards
2 ozs tin of dried eggs
8 ozs of dried fruit
1 bar soap (3 ozs)

American (variable)
1 lb tin of powdered milk
8 ozs sugar
4 oxs concentrated coffee
8 ozs sweet chocolate
7 ozs 'K' type ration biscuit
6 ozs tin of jam
1 lb tin of Oleo margarine
12 ozs tin of Spam
12 ozs tin of bully beef
7 ozs tin of salmon
6 ozs tin of rose milk pate
8 ozs pkt of processed cheese
1 lb pkt of raisins or prunes
1 pkt vitamin c tablets
2 bars soap (2 ½ ozs each)
100 cigarettes

New Zealand (variable)
1 lb butter
1 lb honey
12 ozs jam
1 tin condensed milk
3 ozs tea
4 ozs brown sugar
50 cigarettes
8 ozs emergency ration chocolate
6 ozs raisins
6 ozs dried peas with mint
1 lb tin of sheep's tongues
12 ozs tin of bully beef
10 ozs tin of cheese

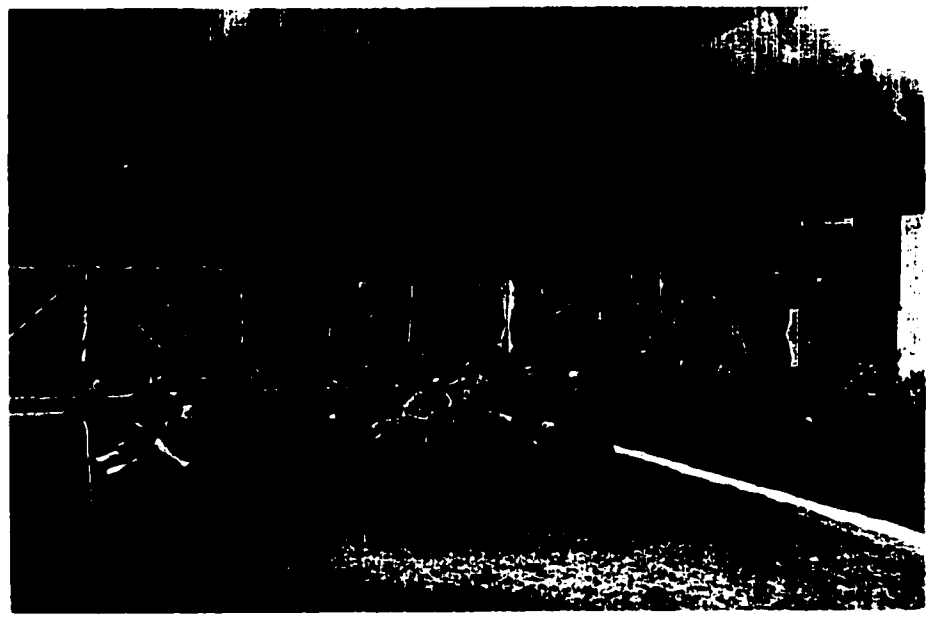
Scottish (variable)
1 tin Nestle's milk
2 ozs tea
4 ozs cocoa
3 ozs block of sugar
8 ozs margarine
8 ozs jam or marmalade
1 lb tin of meat and vegetables
8 ozs tin of sausages
50 cigarettes
10 ozs tin of meat roll
1 tin of processed cheese
8 ozs tin of Midlothian oats
7 ozs tin of ginger pudding
4 ozs plain chocolate
1 small pkt sweets
8 ozs tin of vegetables
1 bar soap (2 ozs)


BALTIC SEA
FRONT LINES
11 JANUARY 1945
17 JANUARY
1 FEBRUARY, 8 FEB (E PRUSSIA)
20 FEB (POMERANIA), 24 FEB (SILESIA)
31 MARCH
6 MAY
GERMAN COUNTERATTACKS
GERMAN POCKETS
PRE-WAR BOUNDARIES
MILES
KILOMETERS
Army Group Vistula (Himmler*)
Army Group A (Harpe)
Army Group Center (Schörner)
2 Belorussian Front (Rokossovsky)
1 Belorussian Front (Zhukov)
1 Ukrainian Front (Konev)
Second Army
Third Pz Army
Fourth Pz Army
Ninth Army
Seventeenth Army
First Pz Army
Sixth Army
GERMANY
POLAND
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
EAST PRUSSIA
BERLIN
WARSAW
PRAGUE
*Himmler later, then Student

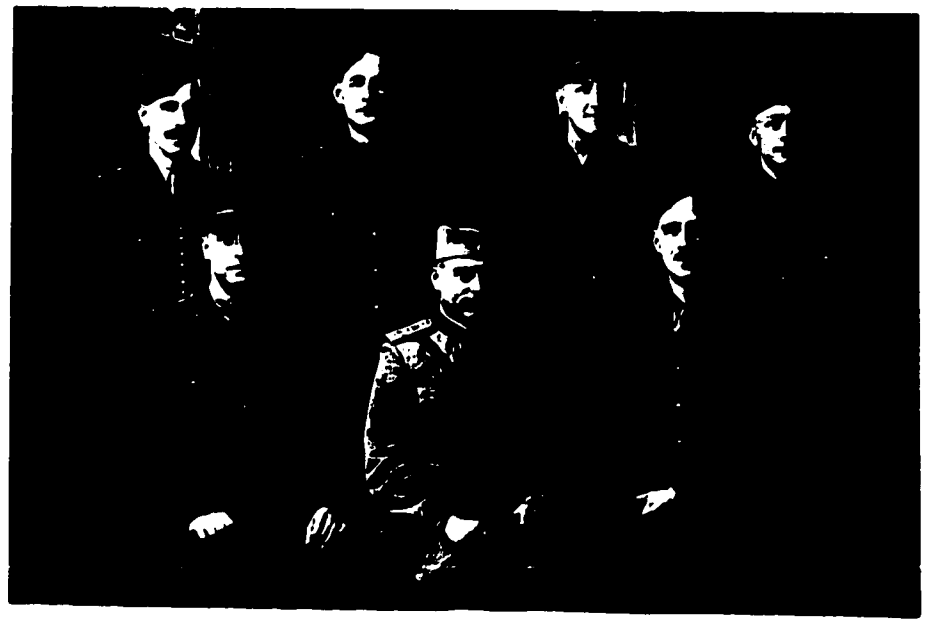

COMPOUNDS
TRANSIT AND SPORTS
CANADIAN
STRAFFE
ROYAL AIR FORCE
REPATS
CAMP STAFF
THEATRE, CHURCH, SCHOOL
WORKING PARTIES
BATH HOUSE
STORES CLOTHING BREAD COAL
BUNKER
MAGER OFFICER
OMMANDANTS OFFICE
OFFICES
REVIER
GUARD ROOM
KITCHEN
LAZARETT
Musketenweg
POST
P.O.W. CEMETERY
STABLES 1940
ABWEHR
KARTEI
6
F

Appendix Six:

Cosel Reserve Lazarett
Capt Peter Tattersall in lying on the left at the front of the picture.



March 1943 – Cosel Reserve Lazarett Medical Staff
From left to right, back row: Capt R.F.K Webster, Capt Foreman, Capt Rose, and Capt Peter Tattersall.
From left to right, front row: ?, Col, B Stojic, Major A. Slater.



Photographs taken by the German's at Stalag VIIIB. They have a Stalag stamp on the back indicating that they are suitable to be sent home. These photographs were propoganda, illustrating that the Germans were keeping their prisoners healthy, clean, and happy. What the recipients did not know was that, often, the uniforms were issued only for the photograph and then confiscated soon after.





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