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# Introduction

Volodymyr Zaiats – a Ukrainian citizen born in Boromlia – was one of millions of victims of Nazi persecution during World War 2 (WW2). An electrician by training, Zaiats was first sent to Dachau concentration camp in Germany as a ‘protective custody prisoner’ on the 18July 1942.[[1]](#endnote-2) After a short period of release, he was transferred to Neuengamme concentration camp near Hamburg on the 14 December 1942.[[2]](#endnote-3) But Zaiats was not murdered in either of these now-notorious SS-ran concentration camps. Instead, on the 5 April 1943, he was shot by his SS overseers just one month after arriving at Sylt, a Nazi concentration camp on the island of Alderney – a small island and British Crown Dependency in the English Channel which was occupied by the Germans from the 2July 1940 until 16 May 1945.[[3]](#endnote-4) He has no known grave.

Burial in an unmarked grave on Alderney was a fate shared with 18-year-old Archip Alexeianko.[[4]](#endnote-5) Having been “recruited” in his hometown of Piaski, Alexeianko was sent to Alderney to undertake heavy construction works under the control of the Todt Organisation (*Organisation Todt*; OT), a civil and military engineering unit tasked with supporting the Nazi forced labour programme.[[5]](#endnote-6) On the 8 November 1942, following just three months of incarceration – this time in a labour camp called Norderney - he died of cachexia, a condition that involves weakness and muscle wastage of the body resulting from the poor living and working conditions he endured.

These men were just two of several thousand labourers sent to Alderney - or ‘Adolf Island’ (*Insel Adolf*) as it was codenamed– after this small island, sixty miles from the British coast and eight miles from France, was occupied by the Germans (Figure 0.1).[[6]](#endnote-7) They were also two of several hundred who perished who remain missing persons. Although these men arrived under the governance of two different agencies – the SS and OT – they both joined their fellow forced and slave labourers in building fortifications that historians have suggested would assist with Hitler’s plan to make Alderney an ‘impregnable fortress’ and a ‘stepping stone’ from which the Germans could potentially invade mainland Britain.[[7]](#endnote-8) Whilst some labourers were recruited into the labour programme (voluntarily or, in most cases, under duress), others were incarcerated because they were classed as political opponents, criminals or Jews.[[8]](#endnote-9) Hence, the labour programme on Alderney also fulfilled another purpose - removing and punishing so-called enemies of the Third Reich. Housed in a network of camps all over the island, these forced, slave and less-than-slave labourers suffered universally from ill-treatment in the form of poor living and working conditions, beatings and a lack of food. [[9]](#endnote-10) For many, ill-health, disease or injury (accidental or inflicted by their overseers) meant that Alderney became their final resting place.

[Insert Figure 0.1 near here]

In addition to its impact on the lives of those who became victims of Nazi persecution, the German occupation of Alderney also had a dramatic effect upon the landscape. Following the decision by the British government that the Channel Islands were too difficult and expensive to defend, in the week before the occupation began, the island’s 1432 inhabitants were evacuated to mainland Britain. Hence, the Germans were free to make use of the houses, businesses, fields, transport facilities and personal possessions left behind.[[10]](#endnote-11) Previously unassuming buildings and fields were transformed into labour and concentration camps, and some became killing and burial sites. The forced and slave labour programme also involved huge construction works; green fields and quaint buildings were transformed by the presence of vast concrete megastructures, minefields and military equipment in order to protect against ‘even the strongest attempt at landing’.[[11]](#endnote-12) In March 1942, Alderney’s fortifications became part of the Atlantic Wall after Hitler ordered the defence of the entire coastline from Norway to the French border with Spain.[[12]](#endnote-13) Ultimately, five coastal artillery batteries, twenty-two anti-aircraft batteries, thirteen strongpoints, twelve resistance nests and three defence lines were built across the island .[[13]](#endnote-14) Infrastructural developments also led to large-scale excavations, the vast majority of which were carried out by the labourers. Both above and below the ground, Alderney was radically altered and became what Paolo Giaccaria and Claudio Minca have described as one of several ‘Nazi grand geographies’.[[14]](#endnote-15)

Uniquely drawing upon more than a decade’s worth of historical, forensic and archaeological research by the authors, this book’s main aim is to refocus attention on the stories of the forced and slave labourers sent to Alderney and to demonstrate how the complex landscape forged by the Germans impacted upon their lives, work and deaths.

Before explaining how this study was carried out, it is important to address some of the reasons why it was necessary, many of which relate to how the forced and slave labourers were perceived and presented in the aftermath of WW2. When the first investigators arrived on Alderney after the liberation of the island by the British military on the 16 May 1945 – and when its former inhabitants returned from Britain the following December - they observed a landscape ravaged by military activity. Teams led by Major Cotton and Major Haddock, and later by Captain Pantcheff, also came across the abandoned remains of the camps and burial sites connected to the forced and slave labourers, leading to the conclusion that ‘crimes of a systematically brutal and callous nature were committed on British soil’.[[15]](#endnote-16) Efforts were made to interview witnesses (which included former labourers, German personnel and civilians), inspect the camps and investigate claims regarding the nature of the burials on the island. The British personnel were joined by a Soviet investigatory team (whose remit was the documentation of crimes against Soviet citizens) for a short period in June 1945 and they too conducted on-site investigations and interviewed witnesses.[[16]](#endnote-17) They excavated a small number of graves and attempted to establish the exact number of victims. Searches for the perpetrators were initially carried out and plans to pursue prosecutions relating to ‘mal-administration’, ‘assault’ and ‘murder’ were formulated by the British government.[[17]](#endnote-18) As such, an extensive body of material concerning the experience of the forced and slave labourers was created. However, the initial impetus of the British government to fully document the labourers’ fates dwindled and so did their willingness to undertake legal proceedings. Whilst the initial investigators observed that forced and slave labourers from all over Europe and North Africa were sent to Alderney, declassified documents reveal that the British government went on to claim that all workers were ‘Russians’.[[18]](#endnote-19) Drawing upon the *Declaration of Atrocities* within the Moscow Agreement (1943), the investigations were handed over to the Soviet government who failed to pursue any trials. Once the native islanders returned, a focus on rebuilding and a desire by the local government (the States of Alderney) to shift attention away from the crimes perpetrated, added to the sanitised, ‘official history’ established by the British government.[[19]](#endnote-20) This was cemented further by exhumations carried out in accordance with the Anglo-German War Graves Agreement in 1961 which classified the 389 deceased forced and slave labourers found as ‘German war dead’.[[20]](#endnote-21) Claims made by witnesses about further deaths on the island have been regularly dismissed in the years since the war in light of these findings.[[21]](#endnote-22) Documents pertaining to the original investigations remained classified for decades.

As a result, knowledge about the labourers – who they were, where they came from and what they experienced on Alderney, and the extent and nature of the places they built and inhabited - remains sporadic amongst the population of Great Britain and beyond. The events themselves reside in an uncomfortable grey area and raise several challenging questions in terms of British reactions to Nazi persecution and the Holocaust, not least of all because the crimes took place on British (albeit occupied) soil. Hence, they cast doubt on the argument presented by many politicians after the war - that the British had ‘helped destroy’ the ‘vast act of criminality’ that was the Third Reich at every available opportunity.[[22]](#endnote-23)

Instead of addressing these uncomfortable aspects and focusing on the victims of these crimes, Channel Island historians have preferred to focus on Alderney’s military history. The German fortifications have been discussed in terms of their architecture and the role that they played in military strategy, rather than as products of forced and slave labour.[[23]](#endnote-24) If one were to visit Alderney today, much of the physical evidence connected to the forced and slave labourers remains hidden from view. Of course, because of their scale and permanence, visitors cannot avoid the fortifications that still dominate the landscape but their role in the forced and slave labour programme is not made clear. The former camps are more difficult to identify as they have been reused, engulfed in vegetation and left to decay. Efforts to commemorate these places with memorial plaques and heritage trails have all been instigated by private individuals (as opposed to government) and their value as places of atrocity and commemoration is not widely accepted or promoted at local level.[[24]](#endnote-25) The cemeteries that contained the bodies of labourers have remained unmarked since the exhumations in the 1960s. The appearance of the sites is (in part at least) connected to the pervasive view that the forced and slave labour programme in Alderney is ‘taboo’.[[25]](#endnote-26) Whilst (or perhaps because) there have been some efforts in recent years to change this situation by enthusiastic local and external activists, efforts by some local government officials and some community members to oppose outside research or the growth of tourism connected to forced and slave labour have become more veracious.[[26]](#endnote-27) A lack of adequate heritage legislation, austerity, issues surrounding land ownership and proposed infrastructural developments have also played a part in the ongoing neglect and contested nature of these sites.[[27]](#endnote-28)

It would be inaccurate to state that the forced and slave labour programme has not received any attention in the years since the end of WW2. In fact, many examples of published literature exist which were borne out of efforts by individuals to raise awareness of this aspect of Alderney’s occupation. Several survivors of the Alderney camps published their testimonies, many following the collapse of the Soviet Union when they were finally able to speak freely and discern exactly where ‘Adolf Island’ was located.[[28]](#endnote-29) Publications by the head of the second British investigation team to arrive on Alderney after liberation (Theodore Pantcheff) and by Brian Bonnard provide important accounts regarding the crimes perpetrated, although it should be noted that Pantcheff’s accounts lacked many of the details about the brutality that he included in his original classified reports written for the British government.[[29]](#endnote-30) In the 1980s and 1990s, the declassification of some of the British investigative files in the National Archives and the release of some materials held in Russian archives, also led to an upsurge in interest in the occupation of Alderney and the plight of the forced and slave labourers. A publication by journalist Madeleine Bunting challenged the idea of a ‘model occupation’ which had been born out of other publications seeking to present an official – less controversial – historical account.[[30]](#endnote-31) This book and another by Solomon Steckoll demonstrated how the British and local governments downplayed the events in the aftermath of WW2, resulting in a focus on military history rather than on the camps, burials and experiences of the labourers. Unfortunately, as a result of this approach (and in Steckoll’s case, because of some of the rather colourful language he used), these books were branded sensationalist by those who sought to maintain the official history and draw attention away from these uncomfortable aspects. Sadly, this continues to be the reaction of some local historians and officials towards anyone wishing to address these topics with the effect that the victims’ voices continue to be silenced. As a direct reaction to the official histories and the continued focus on the military history of Alderney, several publications and claims have emerged which have muddied the waters further. Proclamations in the press about tens of thousands of deaths sit alongside books likening the situation in the Channel Islands to Auschwitz.[[31]](#endnote-32) Therefore, when the authors first began researching the forced and slave labour programme in Alderney in 2008, it became clear that the events of the occupation would be unclear to even the most discerning of readers. The war of words between those promoting the ‘official history’ and so-called ‘sensationalists’ has certainly contributed to this.

Academic sources on the topic are fewer in number. In 2005, Paul Sanders provided what remains the most reasoned account of the forced and slave labourers’ experiences, embedded within a wider study concerning the Channel Islands as a whole and drawing upon a range of source material.[[32]](#endnote-33) Similarly, research by Karola Fings and Marc Buggeln respectively has contextualised the events on Alderney within discussions concerning the Nazi labour programme more widely.[[33]](#endnote-34) However, like the majority of the other aforementioned published works, these represent traditional historical texts with a focus exclusively on written and oral sources.

Therefore, prior to the instigation of the research outlined in this book, there has never been a comprehensive study that has sought to examine the archaeological evidence connected to these events nor one which forefronts spatial readings of the archival sources on which historians have relied. Drawing on our own research in the sub-field of Holocaust archaeology and forensic archaeology, we have approached the sites connected to forced and slave labour as crime scenes, a strategy that opened up new opportunities for a more precise analysis of the violence, murders and clandestine burials carried out.[[34]](#endnote-35) By viewing Alderney’s occupation through a spatial and forensic archaeological lens, we set out in particular to address the biggest questions concerning this period (and ones which remain the most controversial): What was the true nature of the forced and slave labour programme on Alderney? Who was sent there and why? And crucially, how many people died on the island, who are they, how did they die and where are they buried? In order to draw conclusions about these topics – and to provide a more comprehensive history of the period - it was also necessary to address several other key questions connected to the experiences of the labourers and the actions of their overseers which were not answered satisfactorily in published literature: Why did the Nazis fortify Alderney, and did they really intend to use it as ‘a launch pad to invade mainland Britain’? What form did the camps on Alderney take and how did they function? How did these camps fit into the wider Nazi camp system across Europe? What was known about the events of the occupation in its aftermath and why were the perpetrators not brought to justice? How have these reactions influenced the landscape and cultural memory? Therefore, the book stands apart from previous works in that it offers a novel interdisciplinary view that is necessarily a record of the experiences and identities of those who suffered and died on Alderney, a historical retelling of the events of the occupation, a presentation of the newly uncovered physical evidence connected to it, and an exploration of the ‘traces of memory’ that exist as a result of perceptions of sites and the people to which they relate.[[35]](#endnote-36) In providing such an account, we hope to inspire archaeologists working at sites of atrocity and conflict to explore ways in which the study of landscapes and material culture can provide a means to highlight the often marginalised or forgotten stories of the victims as well as the actions of the perpetrators and witnesses. We also hope to contribute to the forensic and material ‘turns’ that have seen historians recognise the value of non-traditional sources, including physical evidence, when writing about the Holocaust and other genocides.[[36]](#endnote-37)

As with our wider work connected to Nazi persecution, this study first involved a review and archaeo-critical assessment of known archive material in order to (1) examine primary evidence (much of which has been consciously or unconsciously distorted in some previously published works) and (2) offer new perspectives regarding individual and collective experiences, the natural and built environment, and the fate of missing persons.[[37]](#endnote-38) Secondly, the declassification of (and increased level of access to) sources from the UK National Archives, former Soviet territories (most notably Ukraine and Russia) and the International Tracing Service (ITS) archives, was the catalyst for new research regarding many of the forced and slave workers, leading to the creation of micro-histories and a reassessment of what happened to specific individuals. The discovery of many new materials – including several long-thought destroyed reports and correspondence created by the British investigators – led to a re-evaluation of post-war approaches to the occupation. Documents, photographs, aerial reconnaissance data, maps, plans, testimonies and a wide range of other sources are thus brought together for the first time. Thirdly, the project involved state-of-the-art non-invasive archaeological research, undertaken between 2010 and 2017, which facilitated the location, documentation and characterisation of the various types of physical evidence connected to the labour programme, specifically the camps, fortifications and burial sites. Through the combination of desk-based analysis (e.g., aerial imagery and satellite data) supported by a Geographic Information System (GIS), walkover survey, drone-mounted Light Ranging and Detection (LiDAR), Global Positioning Systems (GPS) and Total Station technologies, photogrammetry and geophysical survey, a wide range of macro- and micro-level evidence has been recorded and interpreted above and below the ground. Detailed in-field archaeological investigations took place at Sylt, Norderney and several smaller camps identified on the island. Longy Common (where one of the labourer cemeteries and many fortifications are located) and various fortifications across the island were also surveyed.[[38]](#endnote-39) Finally, the research drew upon a wide range of scholarship and methodological innovations, uniquely bringing together archaeology, history, forensic investigation, conflict and genocide studies, games technology, digital humanities, film, geography and memory studies into dialogue with each other. Utilising scholarship relating to the ‘spatial turn’ and ‘spatial witnessing’, our approach recognises and analyses the importance of space and place within individual and collective experience, as well as Nazi policies.[[39]](#endnote-40) Sharing the view expressed by Knowles et al that the efforts to occupy Europe and persecute elements of its population were ‘profoundly geographic phenomenon’, we explore the evolution of Alderney’s landscape, testimonies relating to it and the physical evidence that survives therein in order to learn more about the dynamics and effects of these actions.[[40]](#endnote-41) We examine the camps and fortifications constructed and inhabited by a range of individuals, acknowledging as Jaskot has suggested that each individual element’s ‘final form resulted from the many hands that constructed the building and who changed its meaning’.[[41]](#endnote-42) Emerging and established frameworks in Holocaust archaeologies[[42]](#endnote-43), forensic architecture[[43]](#endnote-44), the archaeology of suffering[[44]](#endnote-45) and internment[[45]](#endnote-46), Holocaust geographies[[46]](#endnote-47), conflict archaeology[[47]](#endnote-48) and sensory archaeology[[48]](#endnote-49) have also shaped our interpretations of the physical evidence we have uncovered and have focused our attention on the often symbiotic relationships between the people and landscapes involved in the forced and slave labour programme on Alderney. With a focus on establishing identities, revealing personal stories and humanising Alderney’s occupation landscape, our work also draws upon and contributes to a body of scholarship focused on bringing back the names of victims of Nazi persecution, revealing the ‘textures in everyday life – the ordinary in the extraordinary’ and determining the fate of missing persons.[[49]](#endnote-50)

This work represents the first detailed investigation of the lives, and landscape inhabited by, the forced and slave labourers in Alderney. It goes beyond the studies of other scholars who have approached the subject from a single discipline and exceeds the scope of the 1945 inquiries conducted by the British and Soviet governments, not least of all because we have utilised equipment that these investigators simply did not have. Hence, some sites have been revisited and re-examined whilst others were located and investigated for the first time. Although it is recognised that important evidence connected to the occupation period has undoubtedly been lost – both within archives and the landscape – the interdisciplinary approach taken has provided the opportunity to analyse multiple evidence types whilst also examining some of the reasons why information might not be available. It should be noted that permission to excavate the camps on Alderney has never been granted; hence, the authors are aware that micro-level material culture such as objects are often absent from our interpretations. Considering the ongoing controversies that surround this period, the temporal scope of this book extends from WW2 to present day. Whilst we attempt to provide a comprehensive history, we do so with a focus on the forced and slave labourers, and with a focus on materiality. Hence, some topics such the technical specifications of the military installations and post-war rebuilding are referred to mainly in the context of what was discovered and how the landscape was modified. This book is indebted to the research of the aforementioned scholars and survivors whose manuscripts sought to draw attention to the events of the occupation of Alderney, firstly for the information they provided during the research and secondly because they provide supplementary material for readers interested in topics not covered herein.

Between this introduction and its conclusion, the book is divided into four sections: work, life, death and aftermath, each of which provides information about the forced, slave and less-than-slave labourers and the specific places they experienced e.g., fortifications, camps, cemeteries etc. The first section considers the role that work played in both the economic aspirations of the Nazi administration and in persecuting so-called enemies of the Third Reich, and thus the subsequent impact that this had on both the experiences of the labourers and the ways in which they have been perceived in the years since WW2. Chapter 1 presents the different categories of labourers sent to the island and provides information about their working lives before and during their time on Alderney. The goal here is to rehumanise the men and women sent to the island, moving away from the notion that they were an anonymous collective of ‘Russians’ who acted only as ‘tools’ in the Nazi labour machine (as the Germans often described them). In Chapter 2, the fortifications that the labourers constructed are evaluated, not from the perspective of their military significance, but rather in terms of their status as products of forced and slave labour, and their impact upon the sensory experiences. This chapter also discusses other material traces interacted with, or generated by, the labourers and members of the German garrison - most notably marks (including graffiti) and objects – whilst also considering the role that these played in resistance and oppression. The second section, life, focuses on the daily lives of the labourers within the camps and other internment sites in which they were housed. The history and archaeology of the four main camps - Borkum (Chapter 3), Helgoland (Chapter 3), Sylt (Chapters 3 and 4) and Norderney (Chapter 5) - and the labourers experiences in each, are discussed first. This is followed by an evaluation of unnamed and smaller camps as well as prisons in Chapter 6. By focusing on the architecture and spatiality of internment throughout, this section considers both the uniqueness of Alderney’s camp system and its place within the wider Nazi camp system in Europe.

Chapters 7 to 9, which make up section 3, consider the somewhat controversial topic of death and burial on Alderney and focus on one of the main questions posed in our study: how many people died on the island, who are they and where are they buried? Although a system for registering deaths appeared to be in place, Chapter 7 considers how this “system” operated in practice. With the aid of death certificates, burial registries and other documentation, it then goes on to reveal the stories of those who died on Alderney, whilst simultaneously demonstrating demographic trends that can further define the nature of mass violence. Chapter 8 then provides new evidence regarding the burial procedures employed on Alderney, offering new perspectives on known internment sites and identified possible unmarked, clandestine graves. Chapter 9 focuses on the missing, those individuals who are known to have died on Alderney, whose graves have never been found. This research is unique in its efforts to provide the names – and not just the numbers – of victims. The final stages of the occupation and its legacies are the subjects of Chapters 10 and 11 in the book’s final section, Aftermath. Chapter 10 includes a review of the post-liberation investigations, evaluating what the British government knew about the events on Alderney during the occupation and how they utilised this information over time. This chapter also assesses how and why certain aspects of the occupation have been forgotten or remembered and, crucially, it documents what happened to the forced, slave and less-than-slave labourers who survived after liberation, many of whom went on to suffer further internment and persecution. The penultimate chapter, Chapter 11, focuses on the legacies of the occupation and the impact that this has had on how the sites and stories connected to forced and slave labour have been approached since WW2 at local, national and international level. Beginning with a review of the impact that the ravaged landscape had on Alderney’s returning islanders and vice versa, the chapter charts the ways in which cultural memory and approaches to archaeology and heritage have evolved up to the present day. The concluding chapter of the book reviews the major findings of the study and considers the challenges that will impact upon emergent and future discussions concerning the Nazi forced and slave labour programme on Alderney, and its associated archaeology and heritage.

1. NARA, Zugangsbuch Nr 113/041148 and Nr. 111/031596. [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
2. AG*-*NG, ‘Transportlisten: Wladimir Sajac’, undated. [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
3. Ibid [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
4. IA, FK31-11, ‘OT Death Certificates’. Misc Dates; Another record initially stated that Alexeianko died earlier in September 1942. However, it was later confirmed that this was not his body and that he was still alive until November 1942 when he died as described here. See Chapter 7. [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
5. C. John, *Building the Third Reich: Organisation Todt: From Autobahns to the Atlantic Wall* (Gloucestershire: Amberley Publishing, 2014). [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
6. A. Wood, and M.S. Wood, *Islands in Danger: Story of the German Occupation of the Channel Islands 1940-45* (Kent: New English Press Ltd, 1982). [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
7. M. Packe and M. Dreyfus, *The Alderney Story 1939-1949* (Guernsey: Guernsey Press, 1971), pp.38. [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
8. It should be noted that many people did not fall into the category assigned to them by the Nazis. For example, some inmates who were designated as Jews were in fact not practicing Jews. Likewise, many so-called criminals had not actually committed a crime according to the law, but they opposed the Nazi regime. Others were classed as political prisoners, but they were also Jewish. [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
9. These categories of labourers are adopted from the following text and are discussed further in Chapter 1: M. Spoerer and J. Fleischhacker, ‘Forced Laborers in Nazi Germany: Categories, Numbers, and Survivors’, *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 33: 2 (2010), 175. [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
10. B. Bonnard, *Alderney at War* (Stroud: The History Press, 1993), pp.11. [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
11. Ibid. [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
12. Kaufmann et al., *The Atlantic Wall,* ebook page location (hereafter loc.) 1853. [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
13. Davenport, *Festung Alderney,* p.7. [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
14. P. Giaccaria and C. Minca, *Hitler’s Geographies: The Spatialities of the Third Reich* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 2016)*,* pp.151. [↑](#endnote-ref-15)
15. TNA, WO311/13, ‘Report No. PWIS(H)/KP/702 ‘Report on Atrocities in Alderney (1942-1945)’, 23 June 1945. [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
16. GARF, Fond 7021 List 149 File 167, ‘Letter from the Commissioner for the Repatriation of the Germans' Atrocities on the Island of Alderney (France)’, 26 April 1947; GARF 7021 List 149 File 152, ‘Correspondence Extraordinary Commission with the Office of the Authorized Person of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR for repatriation of atrocities committed against Soviet citizens and prisoners of war in the Channel Islands (Alderney, Jersey, and Gapzi (Guernsey)) in Norway’, 29 November 1946; GARF, Fond 7021, List 149, File 169, ‘The Island of Alderney’, 3 July 1945; TNA, WO311/11, ‘Letter from Brigadier Shapcott to Major Haddock’, 28 May 1945. [↑](#endnote-ref-17)
17. Ibid [↑](#endnote-ref-18)
18. T.X.H. Pantcheff, *Alderney Fortress Island* (Sussex: Phillimore, 1981), pp.9; TNA, WO311/11, ‘War Crimes’, 14June and 16July 1945; TNA, WO311/11 ‘Channel Islands’, 2 June 1945; M. Bunting, *The Model Occupation – The Channel Islands under German Rule 1940-1945* (London: Harper, 1995), pp.297. [↑](#endnote-ref-19)
19. For an example of the official history, see C. Cruickshank, *The German Occupation of the Channel Islands* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975). An overview of responses to the occupation at local level can be found in G. Carr and C. Sturdy Colls, ‘Taboo and sensitive heritage: labour camps, burials and the role of activism in the Channel Islands’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 22:9 (2016), 702-715. DOI: 10.1080/13527258.2016.1191524. [↑](#endnote-ref-20)
20. TNA, DO35/6145, ‘Anglo-German Agreement on German War Graves in United Kingdom Territory’; TNA HO284/84. ‘Anglo-German War Graves Agreement’, 1959; CWGC, PA UKC/10823, ‘Members of the German Todt Organisation’, 7 December 1961. [↑](#endnote-ref-21)
21. For the official death toll cited by Major Pantcheff, see Pantcheff, *Alderney Fortress Island*, p.73. [↑](#endnote-ref-22)
22. D. Stone, ‘"The Greatest Detective Story in History": The BBC, the International Tracing Service, and the Memory of Nazi Crimes in Early Postwar Britain’, *History and Memory* 29: 2 (2017), 63. [↑](#endnote-ref-23)
23. T. Davenport, *Festung Alderney*, (Jersey: Barnes Publishing Limited, 2003); C. Partridge, *Fortifications of Alderney: A Concise History and Guide to the Defences of Alderney from Roman Times to the Second World War* (Alderney: Alderney Publishers, 1993); M. Ginns, *The Organisation Todt and the Fortress Engineers in the Channel Islands* Archive Book No. 8 (Jersey: Channel Islands Occupation Society, 1994). [↑](#endnote-ref-24)
24. L. Vanaker (ed), *The Striped at Alderney* (Unpublished manuscript, 2008); JTrails, ‘Alderney Holocaust and Labour Trail’, <http://www.jtrails.org.uk/trails/alderney-holocaust-and-slave-labour-trail> (accessed 5 May 2017). [↑](#endnote-ref-25)
25. Carr and Sturdy Colls, ‘Taboo and sensitive heritage’, p.702. [↑](#endnote-ref-26)
26. For examples, see Ibid; BBC News, ‘Should Alderney make its wartime camps tourist attractions?’, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-guernsey-40940531> (accessed 20 October 2017); Alderney Press, ‘Forgotten’ Nazi camp on British soil revealed by archaeologists’, 12 April 2020. Further discussion is provided in Chapter 11. [↑](#endnote-ref-27)
27. Ibid; C. Sturdy Colls, ‘Holocaust Archaeology: Archaeological Approaches to Landscapes of Nazi Genocide and Persecution’, Chapter 5 (PhD dissertation, University of Birmingham, 2012). [↑](#endnote-ref-28)
28. B. Bonnard, *The Island of Dread in the Channel: Story of Georgi Ivanovitch* *Kondakov* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing Limited, 1991); J.Dalmau, *Slave Worker in the Channel Islands* (Guernsey, Guernsey Press Co Ltd, 1945), pp.19. See also testimonies in: Bunting, *The Model Occupation*; S. Steckoll, *The Alderney Death Camp* (London, Granada,1982); B. Luc, *Les déportés de France vers Aurigny* (Marigny: Eurocibles,2010). [↑](#endnote-ref-29)
29. Pantcheff, *Alderney Fortress Island*; Bonnard, *Alderney at War*. [↑](#endnote-ref-30)
30. Bunting, *The Model Occupation*; Steckoll, *The Alderney Death Camp*. [↑](#endnote-ref-31)
31. T. Freeman-Keel, *From Auschwitz to Alderney and Beyond* (Malvern: Seek Publishing, 1995); R. Kemp and J. Weigold, ’Hitler's British death island: Astonishing story of how the Nazis murdered 40,000 people in Channel Island concentration camps - and planned to blitz the South Coast with chemical weapons, [www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4478574/Nazis-killed-40-000-Alderney-chemical-weapons-island.html](http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4478574/Nazis-killed-40-000-Alderney-chemical-weapons-island.html) (accessed 5 May 2017); R. Philpot, ‘In Nazi-occupied Britain, graves at Alderney’s ‘Little Auschwitz’ may be defiled’, [www.timesofisrael.com/in-nazi-occupied-britain-graves-at-alderneys-little-auschwitz-may-be-defiled/](http://www.timesofisrael.com/in-nazi-occupied-britain-graves-at-alderneys-little-auschwitz-may-be-defiled/) (accessed 16October 2017). [↑](#endnote-ref-32)
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