

**Lasting Relationships Out of Unwarranted Fear:  
The POW Camp at Lake Wabaunsee, Kansas 1944-1945**



Jake Flynn  
Adam Rosendahl  
History 533: Dr. Morgan  
Chapman Center for Rural Studies  
Kansas State University  
Fall 2011

The fear held between German POWs at Lake Wabaunsee Kansas and the local population was quickly eroded through professional and casual interactions. Shared culture and mutual respect laid a strong foundation for unlikely relationships that often lasted a lifetime.

President Roosevelt once said that, “The only thing to fear, is fear itself.”<sup>1</sup> Fear often clouds one’s thoughts making it difficult to see past previously held notions. This concept of fear lived freely among the members of Wabaunsee County, Kansas, the site of the Lake Wabaunsee German prisoner of war camp from 1944-1945. The residents never could have imagined that the void left by the brothers, sons, and husbands sent to fight the Germans in WWII would be filled by the enemy they had grown so wary of. This obstacle of fear was a major hurdle for the citizens and prisoners to overcome. The Germans had been trained to despise the Americans and the Americans had been taught and fed information that formed unwarranted fear in their minds. It turns out that the preconceived fear was found to be null and void upon further interaction between the two groups of people. The barriers that were built up quickly broke down due to need to accept the presence of one another. The farmers in Wabaunsee County needed extra labor to help harvest crops and the German prisoners were a solution to that problem, whether they liked it or not. Through these interactions, it quickly became known that there was no need to fear each other, and the concept of employing and working for the enemy was quickly replaced with friendship and trust. The farmers learned to accept the prisoners as hard, diligent workers who did not require supervision. The heavy German influence among the local population allowed the prisoners to let down their guard ultimately connecting and relating to the local populace on a personal level. The Germans and the Americans developed a unique relationship through shared experiences and shared culture proving that there truly was nothing to fear. In order to fully understand this relationship we must first look at the series of events that brought the prisoners to the Lake Wabaunsee prisoner of war camp.

---

<sup>1</sup> Franklin D Roosevelt. *The Public Papers of Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Year of Crisis, 1933*. Vol. 2. (New York: Random House, 1938), pg 11-16.

## Part I: Journey to Lake Wabaunsee

After the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941, the United States accelerated its preparation for war, and the allied nations adopted the policy of Germany first. “On November 8, 1942, the military forces of the United States and the United Kingdom launched an amphibious operation against French North Africa.”<sup>2</sup> Throughout the remainder of 1942 through the spring of 1943, German units began surrendering as the Allies advanced across Africa, with the final surrender of the Nazi and Vichy French defenders in May of 1943.<sup>3</sup> A fear existed after the defeat of the “*Afrika Korps*” that prisoners being held in close proximity to the front lines were more prone to escape attempts. Due to this fear and the shortage of prisoner of war (POW) holding space in Allied European countries, specifically Great Britain, prisoners were sent to the United States.<sup>4</sup> The United States was apprehensive to bring the prisoners onto U.S. soil because “officials feared that housing [the POWs] could create security problems and heighten fears among Americans at home.”<sup>5</sup> A lack of experienced guards in the US added to this concern, but after months of having to divert crucial logistical resources to supply prisoners overseas, US officials saw the efficiency of housing POWs in the United States despite the lack of experienced guards.<sup>6</sup> In 1942, the US began utilizing the naval ports at Shanks, NY, and Norfolk, Virginia to process the German prisoners. After processing took place, the POWs were sent to large camps

---

<sup>2</sup> Williamson Murray, "Operation Torch: Allied Invasion of North Africa." (Weider History Group.) <http://www.historynet.com/operation-torch-allied-invasion-of-north-africa.htm>. (Accessed December 5, 2011).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Duncan Adams, "German WWII POWs in the U.S. remembered." *Navy Times*, June 12, 2011. <http://www.navytimes.com/news/2011/06/ap-german-pows-not-forgotten-in-virginia-061211/>, (Accessed December 3, 2011).

<sup>5</sup> Bowman, Michael. *The Encyclopedia of Arkansas History & Culture*. "World War II Prisoner of War Camps." <http://encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=2398>, (Accessed December 5, 2011).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

at various military bases across the country. These bases included Fort Campbell, Kentucky, Fort Bragg, North Carolina, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and Fort Rucker, Alabama.<sup>7</sup> Fort Riley was also used extensively as a POW detention center, housing many members from Nazi General Erwin Rommel's loyal Afrika Korps.<sup>8</sup>

Fort Riley converted Camp Funston, the 9<sup>th</sup> Cavalry training ground, into a prisoner of war camp<sup>9</sup> and transported the prisoners to Fort Riley via the Union Pacific Rail Road.<sup>10</sup> From 1943-1946, of the 350,000 German soldiers held in the United States, roughly 4,500 prisoners were kept in Fort Riley.<sup>11</sup> Once again to manage the number of POWs at the camp, prisoners were sent to a number of satellite POW camps across the state. One such camp was located in Concordia, Kansas, which was constructed in 1943. The majority of prisoners, transported 83 miles from Fort Riley to Concordia most likely on the Union Pacific Railroad, were from North Africa.<sup>12</sup> The North African troops consisted of many Nazi ideologues. The loyalty of many of the prisoners to Nazism paired with the inexperienced guards created problems within the camp, confirming early pessimistic thoughts of housing prisoners in the U.S. The fact that "most of the good candidates [for guards] were in the military service, [leading to] the guards being untrained

---

<sup>7</sup> Wikipedia. "List of World War II prisoner-of-war camps in the United States."

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_World\\_War\\_II\\_prisoner-of-war\\_camps\\_in\\_the\\_United\\_States](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_World_War_II_prisoner-of-war_camps_in_the_United_States). (Accessed December 5, 2011).

<sup>8</sup> Stokes, Keith. "Camp Concordia WW2 POW Camp."

<http://www.kansastravel.org/campconcordia.htm>. (Accessed December 3, 2011).

<sup>9</sup> Wikipedia. "Fort Riley." [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fort\\_Riley](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fort_Riley). (Accessed December 3, 2011).

<sup>10</sup> Homer E. Socolofsky and Huber Self, *Historical Atlas of Kansas*. 2nd ed. (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), pg 36.

<sup>11</sup> Associated Press. "World War II POW's to be honored." *The Topeka Capital-Journal*, November 16, 2011. [http://cjonline.com/news/2011-11-16/world-war-ii-pows-be-honored#.TtqUFk\\_5IUp](http://cjonline.com/news/2011-11-16/world-war-ii-pows-be-honored#.TtqUFk_5IUp). (Accessed December 3, 2011).

<sup>12</sup> Socolofsky and Self, pg 36.

Distancebetweencities.net. [http://www.distancebetweencities.net/concordia\\_ks\\_and\\_fort-riley\\_ks/](http://www.distancebetweencities.net/concordia_ks_and_fort-riley_ks/). (Accessed December 5, 2011).

and unfit for the duty assigned,” resulted in the camp essentially being under the control of the German prisoners.<sup>13</sup> This was efficient at first because the guards did not have much responsibility, but when any German prisoners began to show signs of anti-Nazism, severe punishments were issued without interference from the guards. Fear began to sweep through the POW camps across the United States. Change in policy came at the hands of Eleanor Roosevelt herself as she interceded on the behalf of the anti-Nazis, and “began restructuring the entire POW system in America.”<sup>14</sup> The resulting policy called for a separation of Nazi prisoners into three groups: “pro-Nazis, moderates, and Allied sympathizers.”<sup>15</sup> In order to accomplish this, a series of tests was issued to identify where the prisoners’ loyalty rested. The pro-Nazi prisoners were sent to a camp in Alva, Oklahoma, and the rest were sent into a reeducation program to help them adjust to the post-war world. The reeducation program called for the prisoners to be sent to smaller labor camps that offered more freedom and responsibility. These smaller camps were built in order to fulfill the need for labor in the local farming communities such as Wabaunsee County.

Wabaunsee County was chosen to hold the POW camp at Lake Wabaunsee’s abandoned barracks units. The Lake site was not built intended to house German POWs. Construction was completed in 1937 as part of the Civilian Conservation Corps. Later on, the National Youth Association used the camp. The camp was used to teach young men basic shop and mechanical skills. There was a machine shop built to house the equipment and a barracks to house the camp members. Many members of the NYA camp were troublesome to the public, and the project was eventually ended. Fort Riley saw an opportunity to train soldiers in water maneuvers, be able to

---

<sup>13</sup> Greg A. Hoots, *The Complete History of Lake Wabaunsee*, (Flint Hills Publishing, 2008), pg 17.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

use the lake and docks available.<sup>16</sup> After Fort Riley finished its use of the training area, the camp was once again left abandoned and as seen in Figure 1, became used for recreation. With the



**Figure 1: A photograph of recreational use of Lake Wabaunsee. Wabaunsee, KS circa 1943. SOURCE: The Lodge Bar and Grill at Lake Wabaunsee.**

increased number of men being called to service due to the draft initiated in 1940, lasting through the end of the war, labor was short on the surrounding farms.

From 1940 to 1946, the Army enlisted 567 men out of Wabaunsee County; add the Marines and Navy enlistments, and that number increases to roughly 790 men.<sup>17</sup>

The shortage of labor in Wabaunsee County was troublesome in the 1940's war period. When looking at solely the sorghum production, with similar results in winter wheat harvest, from 1940-1944 there is an interesting correlation between the amount of land harvested in years prior to large US involvement in WWII and those after. In Wabaunsee County in 1940, 15,000 acres were harvested. This year was the beginning of the draft period leading up to WWII, which means it is highly probable that the majority of the local labor force was still present. In 1941,

<sup>16</sup> Lungren, A.V. "General History." Lake Wabaunsee Sportsmen Association.<http://www.lakewabaunsee.com/Communities/History/GenHist.html> (Accessed December 6, 2011).

<sup>17</sup> Kansas Historical Society, <http://www.kshs.org/p/world-war-ii-selective-service-index/15806>, (Accessed December 6, 2011).

the total acreage harvested was 15,280. Pearl Harbor was bombed in December of 1941, consequently increasing the number of men drafted. This demand for service men is reflected in the 1942 harvest of only 11,710 acres.<sup>18</sup> This suggests that there was less labor available to assist in the planting and harvesting of sorghum in Wabaunsee County. As previously stated, the United States was increasing its military size in anticipation for the war against Germany, beginning with Operation Torch in 1943. The increased number of men needed is seen in 1943 with a harvest of only 9,770 acres. As the war progressed, it became evident that the people of Wabaunsee needed assistance with their labor shortage.

In response to this labor shortage, “the Wabaunsee County Extension Service organized a farm labor committee that...took a survey that revealed that there was indeed a severe shortage of farm labor.”<sup>19</sup> The initial reaction to this suggestion was negative. Despite the shortage of labor, many saw the presence of the POWs as threatening to the community due to the possibility of escape. A vote in April of 1944 declined the request to use the Lake Wabaunsee Civilian Conservation Corp buildings as a prisoner of war camp.<sup>20</sup> However, because of the persistence of the Wabaunsee County Farm Labor Committee, a second vote was held on April 21, 1944, passing the development of a 100-person camp at Lake Wabaunsee. The Wabaunsee camp was located five miles west of the city of Eskridge (many of the prisoners would be transported there to work).

The Army Special Projects Division took control of the camp and code named the camp, Camp Number 5. Located only five miles away from Eskridge it was vital to ensure the POWs,

---

<sup>18</sup> United States Department of Agriculture, [http://www.nass.usda.gov/QuickStats/PullData\\_US\\_CNTY.jsp](http://www.nass.usda.gov/QuickStats/PullData_US_CNTY.jsp), (Accessed December 6, 2011).

<sup>19</sup> Clark, Penny. *Farm Work and Friendship: The German Prisoner of War Camp at Lake Wabaunsee*. N.p.: Flint Hills Independent, 1998.

<http://lakewabaunsee.com/Communities/History/Prisoner1.html>. (Accessed December 5, 2011).

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

who were in the final stages of the reeducation program, arrived in an orderly fashion.<sup>21</sup> By July 1, 1944, there were roughly 100 prisoners at the camp providing labor for local families. The Germans were used in a variety of ways while at the camp. They were used to farm, in construction projects, and for manual labor in rock quarries among other labor-intensive jobs.<sup>22</sup> If you look again at the Sorghum harvest in the County, the influx in prisoner labor can be seen. The harvest increased from 9,770 acres in 1943, to 15,490 acres in 1944. This increase in harvest in conjunction with the German POWs arriving is evidence that the extra labor truly was beneficial to the County.

The citizens of Wabaunsee County would have benefitted greatly if they could have seen the advantages of employing the prisoners as we can today. As previously stated there was tension initially between the US civilians and the German prisoners. The prisoners came into their new working situation apprehensive as to what to expect from the Americans. The Americans reciprocated the feeling as prisoners arrived and the process of validating or breaking down previously held prejudices began.

## **Part II: The Breakdown of Fear**

After surrendering to the allies, the Germans were immediately taken into custody and placed into makeshift jails in the Sahara Desert such as Camp Chanzy. Conditions in this camp were terrible. There was little shelter except for basic tents and they were given very little food or water. The conditions were just as bad when the prisoners were moved by rail. During the day when the temperature would be over 100°, the rail cars were kept closed increasing the temperature inside, and during the night, when the temperature regularly fell below freezing, the

---

<sup>21</sup> Hoots, pg 18.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*



rail cars were opened, exposing the prisoners to the harsh desert elements.<sup>23</sup> With the harsh way the prisoners were treated before even reaching a POW camp combined with the propaganda they were given by the German Army, many of the prisoners were very worried about what was in store for them.

In Wabaunsee County, Kansas, there are a large number of citizens who have German heritage in their families. This heritage can be seen in 1895 when the census recorded a total of 220 members of the community being born directly in Germany, and who since then have had families increasing the German influence in the following years.<sup>24</sup> Some of the citizens at the time were first generation Germans, and this heritage was a way for the German POWs and the local citizens to relate to one another. Some of the farm families could speak German, giving them an easy way of communicating with the German soldiers. A member of Alma, Kansas said that she could speak German and understand what the prisoners were saying but she never told them she understood the language, creating a source of entertainment as she listened in on the German conversations.<sup>25</sup> This common ground was one of the many factors that led to a growing bond between the Germans and the local farmers of Wabaunsee County.

When the sons, fathers and brothers of Wabaunsee County, Kansas, went to fight in the war, an enormous need for farm workers arose. The idea of using German POWs was proposed to work the farms and fill the void left by the war. Despite the need for workers, the idea of German POWs working on local farms was not well received by some farmers. It was rejected by a vote of 3-2, but another vote in April 1944 would approve the opening of a POW camp at

---

<sup>23</sup> Clark.

<sup>24</sup> Kansas State Historical Society, <http://www.kshs.org/p/kansas-1895-state-census/10951>, (Accessed December 7, 2011).

<sup>25</sup> Alma Quilters, Informal Discussion, Wabaunsee County Museum of Kansas. Alma Kansas, November 29, 2011.

Lake Wabaunsee.<sup>26</sup> Jim Busenbark continued to lead a movement against using the Germans on local farms. He felt that the Germans would sabotage the local farms or not work and take orders from Americans. Busenbark was not the only one to passionately speak out against the use of POWs. Numerous newspaper articles appeared in local newspapers that supported Busenbark and discouraged farmers from using POWs. A September 1944 Eskridge Newspaper published the following letter from a serviceman opposing the camp:

Do you see Jim Busenbark? I saw a piece in the paper about him and what he thought of the prison camp at the Lake. I sure wish there were more men like him at home. He will stand up and say what he thinks. I sure hate to see those guys ruin our nice lake that way and I bet a lot of guys in the Army feel that same way. If you see Jim tell him thanks a lot from me.<sup>27</sup>

While there was strong opposition to stop the use of Germans as labor, in the end the strong need for the workers overcame the fears of some citizens.

Life at the POW camp was very enjoyable for the majority of the Germans sent to the camp after their capture in North Africa. The Lake Wabaunsee Camp was a vacation compared to other German POW camps in the U.S., England, and France due to its relaxed security measures, rights, weather, and freedoms enjoyed by the POWs. While living at the Lake Wabaunsee prisoner of war camp, many of the prisoners felt as if they were not even in a prison camp or that they were prisoners of war but away at summer camp like they were kids again. They lived in a POW camp that had a homelike atmosphere where they planted gardens and played soccer in their free time. The citizens of nearby towns in return for the farm and construction work showed movies to the detainees once a week.<sup>28</sup> Other activities enjoyed by the POWs were playing the piano, listening to music in the camp's mess hall, and fishing in Lake

---

<sup>26</sup> Hoots, pg 18.

<sup>27</sup> Clark.

<sup>28</sup> Alma Quilters.

Wabaunsee. While at the camp educational, cultural and religious services were provided to the Germans. While many of the prisoners were allowed to bring their own books, over 20 books were sent to the camp from nearby Ft. Riley.<sup>29</sup> Using these books the POWs studied a variety of



**Figure 2: A photograph of German prisoner and their pet dogs at Lake Wabaunsee outside of the barracks. Wabaunsee, KS circa 1944. SOURCE: Greg A. Hoot. *The Complete History of Lake Wabaunsee*.**

different subjects such as mathematics and chemistry, while the majority of the Germans sought to learn English to better communicate and socialize with the farmers they worked for. The religious services

were provided by a priest from the town of Eskridge five miles west of Lake Wabaunsee.<sup>30</sup> The permission to own pets in the camp was a welcome bonus that certainly made life a little more enjoyable. One of the POWs had a pet rabbit whereas many of the others had dogs they looked after and cared for, as seen in Figure 2 above. According to many of the prisoners, the sleeping conditions in the war camp was better than when they were in the German Army.<sup>31</sup> The barracks the men slept in were not furnished with poor quality beds but as Figure 3 below shows, standard US issued bunk beds were used, the same ones used by the United States Military at the time.

<sup>29</sup> Clark.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Alan Winkler, Informal Discussion, Wabaunsee County Museum Historical Society. Alma, Kansas. November 29, 2011.

These privileges were very uncommon for POWs during the war, but the friendly and respectful nature of the Germans encouraged the guards and local citizens to treat them with respect and kindness.

It was not all fun and games for the prisoners however. Due to the lack of able-bodied men to work the thousands of acres in Wabaunsee County, the Wabaunsee County Grower's Association set up the conditions necessary for the POWs to be brought to the county. Farming was the most important industry in the county during the 1940s and with most of its young men in the military during the war, there was a large

demand for labor. Nearly all of the prisoners were sent to work on local farms but some did construction or trade work as well. Some of the prisoners were apprentices in a trade or skills occupation before the war and when they arrived at the camp, they were sent to help wherever their skill or trade was needed. Some times the Germans stepped in and corrected a mistake or completely redid what the local farmers planned to do. While helping a local farmer remodel his home, the POWs found an error in the plans drawn up by the Americans and

corrected it in a matter of minutes to the embarrassment of the locals. When the Germans were not fixing American building errors, they were practicing others trades such as wiring, masonry work, and working at Army Ordnance Shops in Topeka. A less enjoyable job handled by the



**Figure 3: A photograph of US issued bunk bed used by German prisoners at Lake Wabaunsee, Wabaunsee, KS circa 2011. SOURCE: Wabaunsee County Historical Society.**

POWs off the farm was in the rock quarries south of Eskridge, Kansas, sometimes as punishment for breaking camp rules.<sup>32</sup> Despite some of the work done away from the farms, the majority of prisoners worked in the fields of the local farmers.



**Figure 4: Photograph of unsupervised German workers. The P on the pants denotes the status of prisoner. Wabaunsee, KS circa 1944. SOURCE: The Lodge Bar and Grill at Lake Wabaunsee.**

While working with the local citizens on and off the farm, strong bonds and friendships were built between the farmers and German POWs. Contrary to popular belief, very few of citizens actually felt threatened by the prisoners, and as seen in Figure 4 above, there was virtually no security once the Germans were brought to the farmers to work. So much trust was built between the Germans and Americans one prisoner was even allowed to hold a baby the same age as his son back in Germany.<sup>33</sup> When asked about the amount of security around the POWs, in a telephone interview, Alma resident Roger Schwalm, said: “There was no security

---

<sup>32</sup> Clark.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

from guards when the POWs were working on our farm. We became so friendly with them that it was crazy for us to even consider them a threat to our safety.”<sup>34</sup> This was a common held belief from the citizens who employed the POWs during the camp’s operation. Many of them remember the Germans being very friendly and respectful to everyone with no problems regarding safety. When working on the farms, the families would feed the Germans with all they could eat, sometimes even taking them out to eat in nearby restaurants or cafes. The POWs were also rewarded with extra food or treats for working hard on the farms. Sometimes during meals, the POWs would give half of their food to the children of the family or even bring them candy when they came for work.<sup>35</sup> Such strong trust was established between the farmers and the POWs that the farmers considered the Germans friends instead of prisoners working for them. They were introduced as friends instead of POWs to family friends who would visit. The Schwalm family even threw a surprise birthday party for one of their workers. Even though it was against the rules for the families to buy or make clothing for the POWs, the McKnight family would buy their workers hats to wear in the field during the hot Kansas summers. The Germans couldn’t bring the hats back to the camp with them for fear of them being confiscated, so they left them at the McKnight house on their own personal hooks.<sup>36</sup> These acts of kindness from both the German POWs and the citizens of Wabaunsee County were the reason for the strong bond and friendship between the two. The Germans would work hard all day and the farmers would do all they could to reward them and treat them with respect for working as hard as they did. The greatest sign of friendship occurred when the POWs were not even in the camp and after the war ended. An example of the strong friendship made is the fact that many of the

---

<sup>34</sup> Roger Schwalm, Interview by author. Telephone Interview. Manhattan, KS, December 2, 2011.

<sup>35</sup> Clark.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

Germans and Americans stayed in contact after the war was over and the Germans were sent back home.<sup>37</sup> The trust and friendship that was built between the Germans and the farmers was incredible considering that during their time at the camp the Germans and Americans were still at war with each other. Roger Schwalm managed to keep in contact with one of the Germans until the prisoner's death soon after he returned to Germany. German POWs Fritz Ott and Josef Vesper kept in contact with the farmers they worked for over 40 years.

A strong bond formed between opposite sides during the Second World War in a small Kansas community. Respect and trust was the cornerstone in the friendships that developed between prisoners of war and Wabaunsee County farmers. To this day, those that remember the POWs have nothing but fond memories of them. The Germans were brought to Kansas to be farm hands but left as friends of those they worked for. This break down of expectations that the Americans and Germans held before the interactions began shows that often, fear is an unjustified emotion. The emotion should in itself be feared due to its ability to paralyze a capacity to experience positive events. The initial treatment of the Germans built up a fear in their minds that made it difficult to interact with the Americans as they arrived in the United States. The citizens of Wabaunsee County had been told that the Germans were their enemy and would cause harm to their way of life, building a fear inside the community in anticipation of the POWs arrival. Through simple, sustained interactions between the Germans and Wabaunsee residents, fear was replaced with understanding; an enemy was replaced with a friend.

---

<sup>37</sup> Roger Schwalm, Interview by author.

## Bibliography

- Adams, Duncan. "German WWII POWs in the U.S. remembered." *Navy Times*, June 12, 2011. Accessed December 3, 2011. <http://www.navytimes.com/news/2011/06/ap-german-pows-not-forgotten-in-virginia-061211/>.
- Alma Quilters, Informal Discussion, Wabaunsee County Museum of Kansas. Alma Kansas, November 29, 2011.
- Associated Press. "World War II POW's to be honored." *The Topeka Capital-Journal*, November 16, 2011. Accessed December 3, 2011. [http://cjonline.com/news/2011-11-16/world-war-ii-pows-be-honored#.TtqUFk\\_5IUp](http://cjonline.com/news/2011-11-16/world-war-ii-pows-be-honored#.TtqUFk_5IUp).
- Bowman, Michael. *The Encyclopedia of Arkansas History & Culture*. "World War II Prisoner of War Camps." Accessed December 5, 2011. <http://encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=2398>.
- Clark, Penny. "Farm Work and Friendship: The German Prisoner of War Camp at Lake Wabaunsee". N.p.: *Flint Hills Independent*, 1998. Accessed December 5, 2011. <http://lakewabaunsee.com/Communities/History/Prisoner1.html>.
- distancebetweencities.net. Accessed December 5, 2011. [http://www.distancebetweencities.net/concordia\\_ks\\_and\\_fort-riley\\_ks/](http://www.distancebetweencities.net/concordia_ks_and_fort-riley_ks/).
- Hoots, Greg A. *The Complete History of Lake Wabaunsee*. N.p.: Flint Hills Publishing, 2008.
- Kansas Historical Society. Accessed December 6, 2011. <http://www.kshs.org/p/world-war-ii-selective-service-index/15806>.
- Kansas State Historical Society. Accessed December 7, 2011. <http://www.kshs.org/p/kansas-1895-state-census/10951>
- Lungren, A.V. "General History." Lake Wabaunsee Sportsmen Association. Accessed December 6, 2011. <http://www.lakewabaunsee.com/Communities/History/GenHist.html>
- Murray, Williamson. "Operation Torch: Allied Invasion of North Africa." Weider History Group. Accessed December 5, 2011. <http://www.historynet.com/operation-torch-allied-invasion-of-north-africa.htm>.
- Roosevelt, Franklin D. *The Public Papers of Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Year of Crisis, 1933*. Vol. 2. New York: Random House, 1938.
- Schwalm, Roger. Interview by author. Telephone Interview. Manhattan, KS, December 2, 2011.



Socolofsky, Homer E., and Huber Self. *Historical Atlas of Kansas*. 2ndnd ed. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1988.

Stokes, Keith. "Camp Concordia WW2 POW Camp." Accessed December 3, 2011.  
<http://www.kansastravel.org/campconcordia.htm>.

United States Department of Agriculture. Accessed December 6, 2011.  
[http://www.nass.usda.gov/QuickStats/PullData\\_US\\_CNTY.jsp](http://www.nass.usda.gov/QuickStats/PullData_US_CNTY.jsp).

Wikipedia. "Fort Riley." Accessed December 3, 2011.  
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fort\\_Riley](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fort_Riley).

Wikipedia. "List of World War II prisoner-of-war camps in the United States." Accessed December 5, 2011. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_World\\_War\\_II\\_prisoner-of-war\\_camps\\_in\\_the\\_United\\_States](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_World_War_II_prisoner-of-war_camps_in_the_United_States).

Winkler, Alan. Informal Discussion, Wabaunsee County Museum Historical Society. Alma, Kansas. November 29, 2011.