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German POWs Make Colorado Home: Coping by Craft and Exchange

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German POWs Make Colorado Home: Coping by Craft and Exchange

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ABSTRACT

From 1943 to 1946, the U.S. government held over 3,000 German POWs at Camp Trinidad in southern Colorado. In 2013 and 2014, archaeological fieldwork, interviews, and archival research were conducted in order to better understand the daily lives of those incarcerated at the camp. The information gathered about artifacts, environmental features, and personal narratives, reveals insights into the lesser known details of the prisoners' lives. Despite the U.S. military rules and regulations and efforts by American personnel within camp, prisoners created goods they wanted or needed. Acquiring the necessary goods was accomplished through modification of available goods, through scavenging the local built or natural environment to craft desired items, and through exchange of goods between the prisoners and their captors. By creating the goods the prisoners wanted or needed, they were not only able to exert their own power within institutional confinement, they also coped and made-do in their temporary home.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

When the United States declared war on Japan on December 8, 1941 and then on Germany on December 11, 1941, they did not have a plan for how to deal with captured enemy combatants. During World War I, prisoners of war (POWs) were kept overseas on European soil, where the fighting had occurred. The U.S. had no reason to think that WWII would be any different. However, as the tide of the war began to shift in the Allies' favor during the North Africa Campaign, there became such an influx of captured enemy combatants that Britain could not hold all of them, especially in accordance with the Geneva Conventions of 1929. A new plan of action was needed to deal with the increasing number of prisoners. Reluctantly, the U.S. agreed to take 50,000 of the prisoners as an emergency shipment. Realizing the situation, administrators slowly began to plan for an even greater inflow of enemy POWs of mostly German and Italian nationalities.

The POWs held in both Britain and the U.S. were to be treated much differently than those held in captivity during WWI. After the appalling atrocities of WWI, the international community had developed plans for dealing with enemy prisoners. These plans came in response to the miserable treatment of POWs and the insufficient nature of The Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907. In 1929, the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of POWs was held. As a result of this meeting and the increased number of

Axis POWs under Allied jurisdiction, Britain could no longer contain enemy POWs within the confines of its borders. Special accommodations had to be made for POW holding facilities, which included transporting some to the United States. Once the prisoners arrived at U.S. Points of Embarkation they were shipped via train to various camps established throughout the United States. One of these camps that housed enemy combatants was the Trinidad Internment Camp, located in southern Colorado approximately 15 miles from the New Mexico border and five miles from the Town of Trinidad (Figure 1). The Trinidad Internment Camp, also known as Camp Trinidad, was in operation from 1943 until 1946. It was this locale that thousands of German Prisoners called home for the duration of the war.

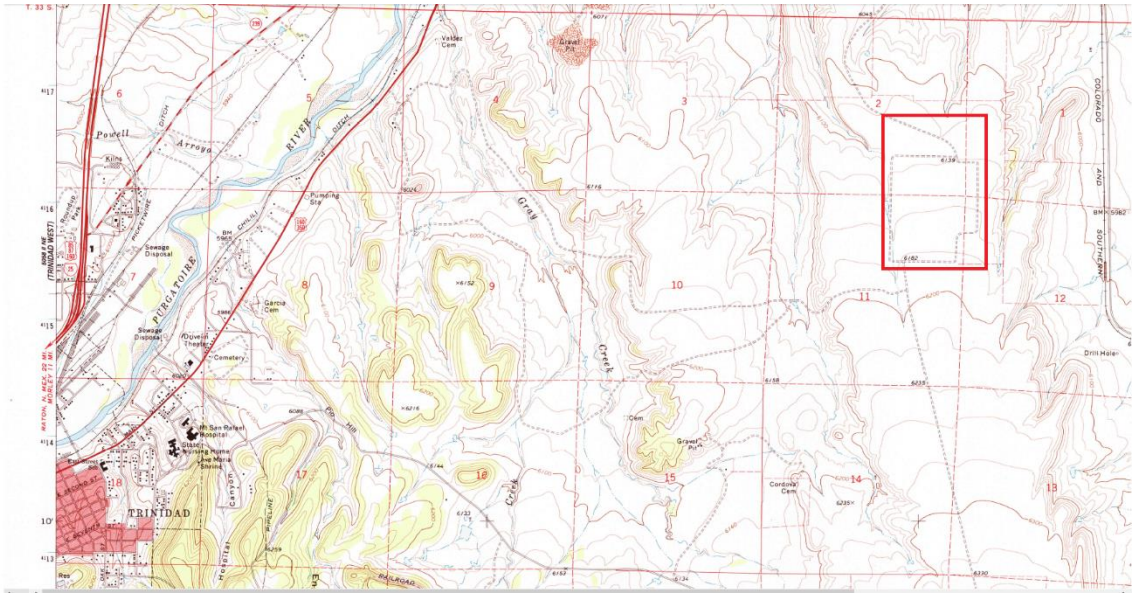

Figure 1. Location of Camp Trinidad in relation to the City of Trinidad, Colorado. The camp lies approximately five miles northeast of Trinidad. USGS 1971.

After the closure of the camp in 1946, the U.S. government auctioned off the facilities and buildings to private businesses and public institutions. Buildings were

loaded onto flatbeds and shipped to their new owners. In the years after the war, reunions were held in Trinidad where American guards and German POWs came to catch up and see old friends. At first glance, all that seemingly remains of the camp are concrete slabs that once served as foundations and concrete footings (Figure 2), save for a few storehouses, one lone chimney (Figure 3), and the old road system. Upon deeper inspection through the use of archaeological methods, pieces of the camp in the form of artifacts, building modifications, and landscaping shed light on the former activities that took place within camp.

Figure 2. Concrete footings on the surface of the camp. Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 3. A lone chimney still stands in the American Compound. Photograph taken by the author.

Significance

The contiguous United States never saw the ghastly fighting that took place throughout the globe during WWII. As a result, sites of significance from this era are neither as prominent nor abundant as they are in Europe, North Africa, and throughout the Pacific. Most of these sites in the U.S. surround the attack on Pearl Harbor, or the manufacturing industry that supported the war effort, such as Rosie the Riveter/WWII Home Front National Park. Exceptions to this are the internment camps, which housed Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans from the west coast, such as the Granada

Relocation Center also located in southeastern Coloardo, and the enemy POW camps that held soldiers of belligerent nations, such as Camp Trinidad.

Historians have explored the entire WWII POW camps system within in the U.S. (Gansberg 1977; Krammer 1976, 1996), and have also focused on the history of single camps or camps within a region (Cowley 2002; Koop 1988; Paschal 1979; Thompson 2008). However, little research on the material culture and features left behind by WWII POWs has been done in North America, save for a select few archaeology projects (Barnes 2013; Buchner and Albertson 2005; Connor 1999; Myers 2013; Thomas 2011; Waters 2004). Unfortunately, many of the former internment camps are destroyed or are threatened as a consequence of development, including farming. Additionally, many of those individuals who were once associated with these camps, either through working in them or through imprisonment, have passed on or are in fragile health. Their testimony and experience can aid in telling the story of this time period; this is especially true for interpreting the material culture of these camps.

The information contained in the archaeological record of WWII is important to the heritage of the United States, because it can provide answers and give insights about the daily lives of those participants during such a crucial time in U.S. and world history. The time to gain what knowledge we can from these camps is now.

Research Goals

Prior to the archaeological field work that I conducted between 2013 and 2014, previous formal archaeological investigations had not been implemented at Camp

Trinidad. As part of the Colorado State Historic Fund (SHF) Assessment Grant I acquired to help fund this project, site documentation, including an assessment of the site's potential eligibility for listing in the National Register of Historic Places was required. Therefore, one of questions that I needed to address was whether or not the site retained archaeological integrity after the closure, dismantling, and removal of buildings from the site. I define integrity through the criteria cited in National Register Bulletin No. 15 and this will be addressed in the Discussion chapter. During the 67 years since the camp closed, various reunions were held up through the 1990s when former German prisoners and American personnel returned to Trinidad and visited the former camp. It is possible that during this time the visitors may have collected surface finds. Additionally, I have learned through speaking with some of the residents of Trinidad that some of the previous and current landowner's friends or acquaintances may have been given access to the camp, which may have also led to further surface collecting. It should be noted that this is well within their legal right as private property laws in the United States dictate that cultural resources (with a few exceptions) are the landowner's. The grounds that the camp occupies are currently home to grazing cattle and horses, who also pose a threat to the integrity of the camp by dragging surface finds away and trampling artifacts. After assessing site integrity, I evaluated the camp for significance and eligibility for listing in the National Register of Historic Places.

Another research goal was to understand daily life for those incarcerated. Specifically, I sought to learn how the prisoners were able to make do with what they had. Evidence of this was manifested in the form of modified artifacts. Both the archival and archaeological record yielded artifacts that helped to answer this research focus.

The next chapter provides historical background, including information on the Geneva Conventions and the prisoner of war system in the United States, historical accounts of Camp Trinidad, and previous archaeological investigations within four North American POW camps. Chapter Two also details the theoretical framework for the interpretation of my results. Chapter Three discusses the various methods I employed for gathering my data. Chapter Four contains the results of my research and Chapter Five synthesizes those results into a discussion of the significance and integrity of Camp Trinidad and how those data gathered fall within the theoretical framework discussed in Chapter Two. The final chapter provides additional research questions and avenues for further research at Camp Trinidad.

CHAPTER TWO: BACKGROUND

The Geneva Convention

After the First World War, there were concerns among nation leaders regarding the inhumane treatment of prisoners of war. They determined that if armed conflict between nations were to occur in the future, the capture and subsequent treatment of enemy combatants should be more humanitarian. Therefore, the Geneva Convention of 1929 was convened. It contains 97 articles that attempted to rectify issues including the capture, housing, sanitation, discipline, wage payments, labor, and repatriation of POWs. Similar to The Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, it stated that soldiers in captivity were to be treated parallel to those in the armed services of the capturing government. Section II, Chapter 1, Article 10 mandates that prisoners be kept from damp conditions, have sufficient heat and lighting, and that the capturing government ensure the health and hygiene of the barracks (ICRC 1929). As with lodging, food rations for prisoners were to be the same as those of the troops holding the POWs. Canada, Germany, Italy, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and The United States of America all signed the convention on July 27, 1929 and each of these nations ratified into law the new provisions between 1931 and 1934, prior to the hostilities of the Second World War. The Soviet Union and Japan neither signed nor ratified the Geneva Convention of 1929.

As a result, Germans that fell into Soviet hands had a 35.8% chance of dying, compared to a 0.15% chance in U.S. hands (Ferguson 2004:186). Failure to sign the Geneva Convention was not the only reason for this disparity; the tremendous German fatality rate from Soviet captors was also attributed to retaliation. As the German soldiers marched into Soviet occupied territory they abused townspeople, and pillaged and plundered every town they came through (Weinberg 2005).

Historical Background: The POW system

In 1941, the Provost Marshal Generals Office (PMGO) was reactivated after its dissolution shortly after the First World War. The initial duties of the office were concerned with the control of enemy aliens and the administration of POW camps (Craig 2004).

The first wave of POWs to come to the United States was in the form of an emergency shipment of 50,000 soldiers in August 1942. Britain was at capacity for holding prisoners per the Geneva Convention of 1929, housing over a quarter million already and needed some relief (Krammer 1996). According to the Geneva Conventions, captured enemy soldiers needed safeguarding, which required that Allied forces move the prisoners form the war zone. Keeping them behind the front line was not the only issue, because the POWs needed to be fed properly and treated as a soldier in the captive's army. Those prisoners in the war zone and just behind the front lines would divert valuable resources from those troops engaged in combat. As a result of the U.S. entering the war, Britain began heavily pressuring Washington to take troops. Having not had to

worry about enemy POWs on U.S. soil in WWI and with no formal plan in place, the United States reluctantly agreed. Within the U.S. many Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camps still standing as part of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal Program were a good first solution for housing the incoming prisoners. As the number of available camps in locations able to accept enemy POWs were quickly taken, the U.S. needed to devise a new plan (Gansberg 1977; Krammer 1996).

By the end of 1942, the U.S. prepared for an even greater influx of prisoners when General Field Marshal Erwin Rommel's *Afrika Korps* took substantial losses in the North Africa Campaign. The converted CCC camps and portions of military posts designated for POW use at the time were not enough and additional locations were sought POW camp construction. Concerned with the potential for escapes and the ensuing threat to the security of the war industry, the PMGO created regulations that required POW camps to be greater than 150 miles from shipyards, munitions plants, or other areas imperative to the war effort. Camps were also to be 170 miles from either coast, and greater than 150 miles from Mexico and Canada. Camps were generally constructed to hold between 2,000 and 4,000 prisoners and divided into four main compounds that could house between 500 to 750 men each (Gansberg 1977; Krammer 1996).

Prior to making the journey to the United States, the U.S. Army disarmed the prisoners and marched them to reception centers. Here they were formally processed, which included a medical examination, the assignment of a serial number, and in many cases U.S. soldiers stripped the POWs of their medals and other personal items to claim as trophies – if this had not already been done prior to the march from the battlefield. Due to the sheer numbers of prisoners at any given time, sometimes the assignment of serial

numbers and the processing of prisoners was not completed until they reached their final destination in a U.S. POW camp. Following processing, the prisoners were sent to ports of embarkation to be transported on U.S. ships returning stateside after dropping supplies. Once they reached the states, the prisoners were loaded onto trains and sent to their designated camp (Gansberg 1977; Krammer 1996).

Throughout U.S. involvement in WWII, 141 base camps were established in the continental United States. Auxiliary camps, called branch camps were also established and were administered by a local base camp. These branch camps were often much smaller and were used to house POW labor workers near their worksite. Prisoners were assigned to a base camp, but those enlisted men and officers that volunteered to work might be then sent to one of the nearby branch camps under the purview of the base camp (Krammer 1996). Some of the prisoners that volunteered remained housed at the branch camp, and others were sent to a branch camp for work duty depending on the type of and the location of work.

Early in 1943, when prisoners first began arriving regularly in the U.S., many of them complained about boredom. As the internment program progressed, however, security was loosened and prisoners were allowed to work outside of camp. Per the Geneva Conventions, they were not allowed to be involved in excessive work or work that dealt with the war effort. The government work program initially employed the prisoners to work on military installations, but eventually allowed them to be contracted out to the private sector for work in industries such as logging and agriculture (Krammer 1996). The POW labor helped supplement the loss of industry workers to the armed services.

In addition to the 10 cents a day each enlisted prisoner received for the purchase of toothpaste, razor blades, shoe polish, handkerchiefs, and tobacco, they also received a maximum of 80 cents per each day of work. The POWs were paid in scrip, which could be redeemed in the camp canteen, and any surplus could be converted to currency upon repatriation (Krammer 1996). Officers received salaries and were not required to work. Each month, Lieutenants received $20, Captains $30, and Majors through Generals $40 (Krammer 1996). According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, $20 in 1944 gave one the equivalent buying power of $270.60 in 2016 (BLS 2016).

Aside from work, prisoners also kept busy through education programs. Many of the captured Germans were professionals, some with Ph.Ds. The prisoners were allowed to take classes and were given college credit upon the completion of the course. Many of the POWs that took classes applied the credits received while in camp to achieve a degree after the war.

Historical Background: Camp Trinidad

In the case of Colorado, Senator and former governor, Edwin C. Johnson expressed interest to the War Department in establishing a POW camp at Trinidad in an effort to help revive the local economy. Trinidad, once a trading and wholesale distribution center for the local coal mining district was faltering due to a declining mining industry (Landsberger 2007). On September 14, 1942, the senator was informed that Camp Trinidad was approved and immediate construction was requested (The Chronicle-News [CN], 16 September 1942:1). The newly constructed POW camp

employed an estimated 30 civilians to work the Post Exchange (PX), serve as secretaries in offices, and to run the coffee shop, barbershop, and dry cleaning shop. In addition to the creation of jobs, the military bought most of their supplies from local merchants, and many of the U.S. soldiers rented apartments in town and spent their money in Trinidad. Water for the camp was available for purchase from Trinidad at a cost of ten cents per thousand gallons used (Landsberger 2007).

According to James Levitt, a former American Officer at Camp Trinidad, there were two main groups of German soldiers present in the camp (1991). In the spring of 1943 General Field Marshal Erwin Rommel's elite *Afrika Korps* began to arrive. Late in the summer of 1944, prisoners of the Belgian Bulge, known as "Hitler's Last Army" entered camp (Levitt Collection 1991). The camp originally contained three compounds for 1,000 prisoners (CN, 17 September 1942:1). An expansion of the camp was approved in January 1943 (CN, 8 January 1943:1). Compounds 2, 3, and 4 were then used to house German officers, leaving Compound 1 for the German enlisted men.

While in camp, Karlhorst Heil, a German prisoner, kept a diary of his accounts. Kurt Landsberger, an American officer that worked as a translator in the camp, translated parts of this diary for his book (2007). Heil's diary records his initial reactions upon arriving at Camp Trinidad, including observations of the surrounding environment and the camp structures. Heil also used his diary to record daily occurrences within the camp (Landsberger 2007).

In Landsberger's (2007) translation, he notes the prisoners felt as if they had come to the end of the world upon arriving with only the yellowish-brown prairie with no trees or bushes and soldiers holding rifles in guard towers to greet them. Heil also mentions the

fresh new living arrangements and the blankets, towels, and bed linens, which he quickly hid. He told the guards they were missing, and was subsequently issued new ones. With the new ones he and his roommates made pajamas, tablecloths, and other items. The diary makes reference to daily activities such as meals, daily walks, classes, writing correspondence to loved ones, and holiday celebrations (Landsberger 2007). For example, in one entry, Heil wrote on June 14 that, "the wind relented, it promised to be hot again today…For a change we went to lecture (10.00 to 11.00) by Brennecke on 'Agriculture in the Reich'" (Landsberger 2007:71). Another entry mentions that they would go on hikes without guards. Sometimes they would return with plants for the camp gardens, or bring animals into the camp. In a few of the entries Heil writes that the Colorado sunset and sunrises are indescribable. He also notes that artists quickly try and capture all of the color variety. Landsberger's book documents some of the more well-known events that took place regarding the camp such as the shooting of a German soldier and the use of an escape tunnel.

There were a few major events that took place within Camp Trinidad, and a couple that gained national media recognition including, a camp shooting that killed two POWs; the construction, use, and the eventual discovery by American guards of a POW escape tunnel; and the escape of German soldiers with the aid of Japanese American sisters who had been relocated to the Granada Relocation Center, also called Amache, by the War Relocation Authority.

According to Kurt Landsberger (2007), the shooting that took place at Camp Trinidad was the result of a combination of factors. First, the American guards arrived just four days prior to the first wave of 2,000 battle tested German soldiers from

Rommel's *Afrika Korps*. Hardly enough time to acclimate themselves to camp surroundings or prisoner training, and coupled with a lack of personnel with only one guard per compound instead of the four that regulations called for, the American soldiers were at an immediate disadvantage. Furthermore, not only had the American guards not had time to familiarize themselves with their new roles, those that were chosen to stand guard at POW camps were mostly soldiers deemed not fit for combat, be it through psychological or physical conditions. Having seen little or no combat and being thrown into a situation surrounding some of the most experienced German soldiers could have been nothing but intimidating.

Another factor was addressed by then Camp Commander Lt. Col. Hunn. He mentioned that from the beginning the German officers were trouble and antagonized the American guards (Landsberger 2007:34). Also leading up to the shooting was the issue of an incomplete camp. Not only were the buildings not finished, those that were finished and housing prisoners were not properly furnished. To overcome this issue, the German officers began to take lumber after construction crews left for the day. The POWs dismantled portions of the built structures and used the lumber to construct their own chairs, beds, and dressers. An ongoing problem of theft eventually culminated in the death of Private Kurt Frisch and 1st Lieutenant Ernst Kramer on July 15, 1943. An American posted in Guard Tower 8 approximately 700 feet away gave Frisch a verbal warning, which was not heard, then fired upon him with a warning shot, followed by a shot that killed him. The same bullet that killed Frisch ricocheted and wounded bystander Kramer, who later died from his wounds. Limited training, the attitudes and intimidation

by the German officers, which eventually filtered through the entire camp to the enlisted men, and a desire to improve their personal situation lead to deaths of two POWs.

Accounts of the famous escape tunnel at Camp Trinidad appeared in national press, including *The New York Times* on November 9, 1943. The tunnel was 150-feet long, electrically lighted, and extended 65 feet beyond the outer fence. The prisoners made a trap door in a barrack closet for the entrance and an escape hatch at the exit for a quick escape into the desert-like prairie. Used for nearly two months by the POWs in an effort to get to Mexico, the Americans eventually found the tunnel and ordered it filled.

Also associated with escapes was the nationally covered trial of three Japanese American sisters who aided two German POWs in their escape from Camp Trinidad. Corporal Heinrich Haider worked on an onion farm north of Trinidad where he met three sisters from Amache, Tsuruko (Toots) Wallace, Shitara (Billie) Tanigoshi, and Shivze (Flo) Otani, working on the same ranch. Haider, an Austrian native, began talking to Toots and told her how before the war he had signed a petition along with 95 other men and 12 women that called for an uprising against Hitler. The Gestapo found out, arrested him and placed him in a concentration camp in 1938. In 1940 he was released and forced into the German army where he served until his capture in 1943. He told Toots that he wanted to escape for fear of his life that he would be hung by the Nazis in camp because it had come to light that he was in a concentration camp for dissenting. He asked Toots and Billie for help and said that if he were to get free, he would help the Allies fight against Germany either in the Austrian or Czechoslovakian Legion. During their few days together, Flo took pictures of Toots and Billie with Haider. Toots and Haider also devised a plan through notes to help Haider escape (Denver Post [DP], 8 August 1944).

Corporal Kamerad Loescher, a friend of Haider, accompanied him on the escape and helped to dig a hole to escape under the fence. The three sisters met up with the Germans on the road six miles outside of Trinidad, where they picked up the prisoners in a car and drove to New Mexico. They made it two miles outside of Wagon Mound when the sisters decided it best to stop if they were going to return to the onion farm with enough fuel. They said their good-byes and Billie slipped some photographs of their time together and some money into Haider's pocket. The next night the two POWs were picked up in a Tavern by the highway patrol, arrested, and the photographs, which Haider was unaware were in his possession, were discovered (DP, 8 August 1944). Billie, Toots, and Flo were questioned, arrested, and charged with treason. They were found not guilty of treason, but guilty of conspiracy to commit treason. Toots was sentenced to two years in prison, and Billie and Flo each received 20 months. Each of the sisters were required to pay a $1,000 fine (DP, 18 August 1944).

After the closure of the camp, reunions were held both in Trinidad and Germany for the former POWs and American military and civilians that worked within the camp. A plaque, now housed in the lobby of Trinidad City Hall, was dedicated to the prisoners of Camp Trinidad and its workers on July 30, 1994 (Figure 4). A portion of the inscription reads,

"In 1964 the Germans returned to Trinidad for the first reunion of former POW's and the U.S. Personnel. Since then, we have held reunions in 1985, 1988, 1990, 1992, and 1993. These gestures of friendship, in the shadow of Fisher's Peak, have inspired a fraternal spirit that spans the distance between Trinidad and Berlin.

On the Occasion of yet another reunion, we the Germans and Americans that formed this camp, gathered to dedicate this monument to honor this lasting bond."

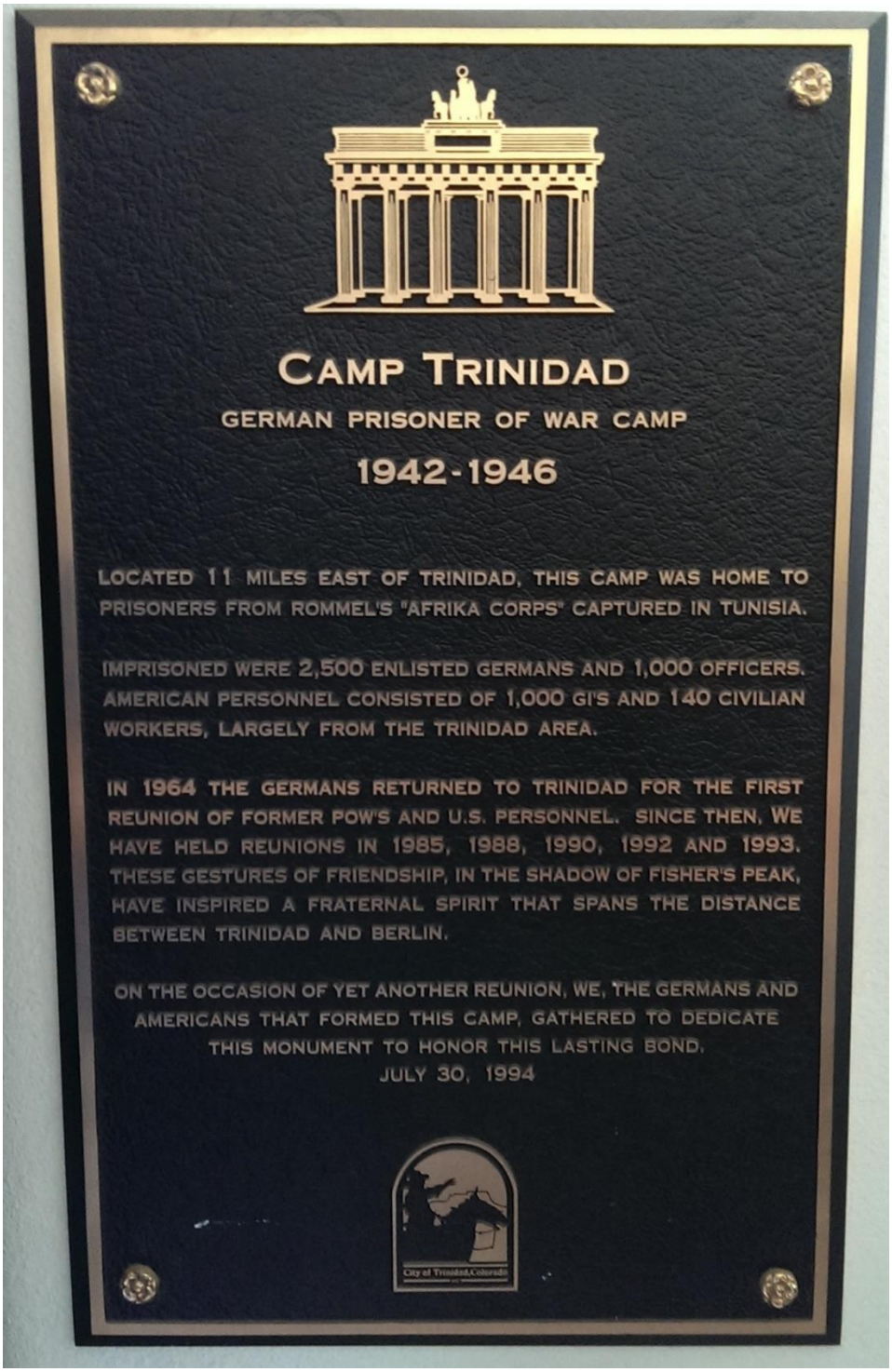

Figure 4. A plaque in Trinidad's City Hall that commemorates the camp and the former occupants. Photograph taken by the author.

Camp Trinidad Physical Arrangement

Camp Trinidad contained four compounds for housing German prisoners (Figure 5). The largest compound, Compound 4, was to the south and housed German officers. The two compounds north of Compound 4, Compounds 2 and 3 also housed German officers. Compound 1, the smallest compound, was to the north and housed German enlisted men. To the west of the German prisoner area was the recreational area.

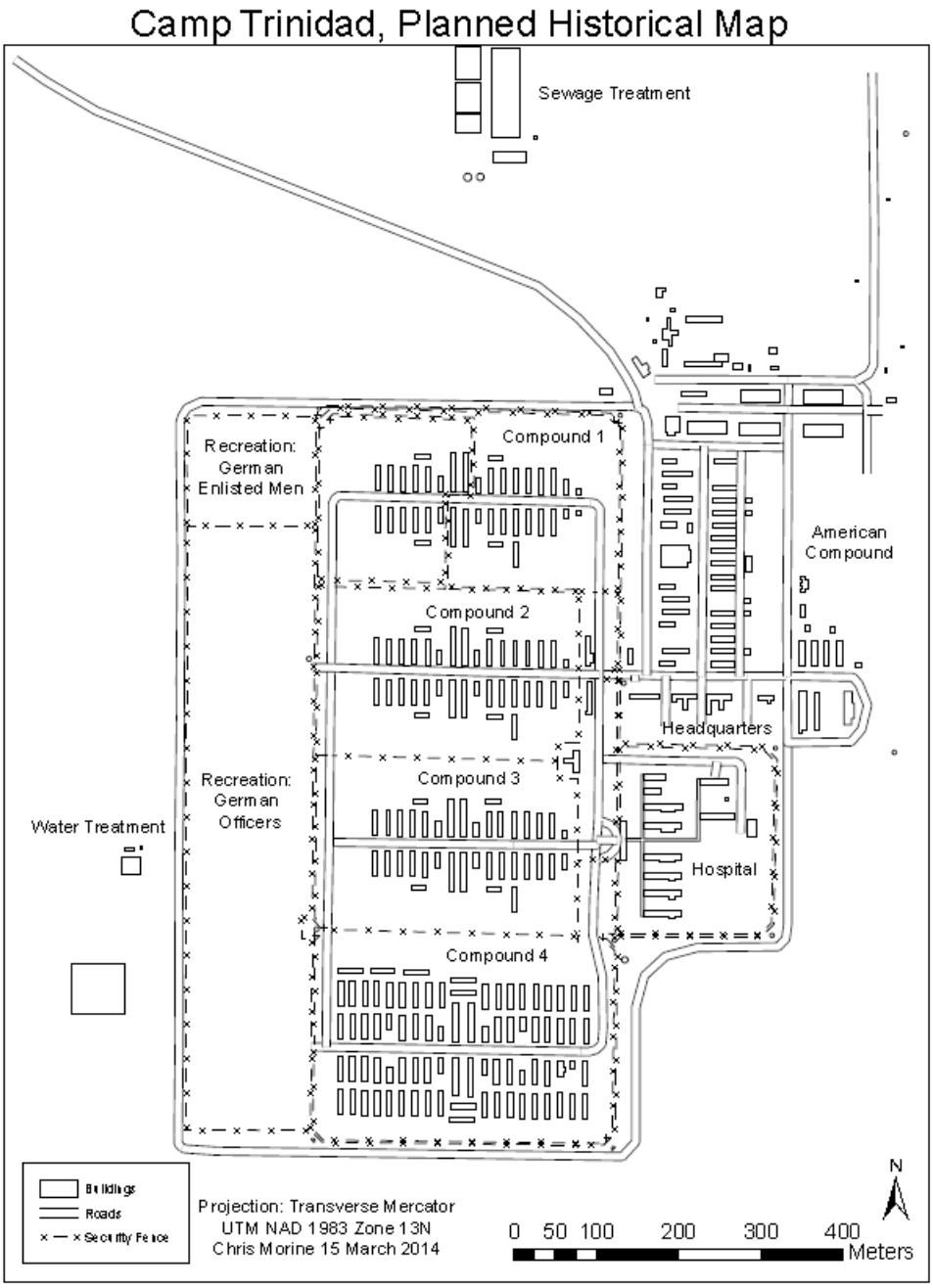

Figure 5. Author's recreation of the planned camp from a map in the NARA Rocky Mountain Branch in Bloomfield, Colorado.

The east side of camp contained the American compound. The hospital area was farthest south. Adjacent and north of the hospital was the administration area. East of the

administration was the American officers' area. To the north of administration was the enlisted men's area. North of the American enlisted men's area was the utility area which contained a motor pool, oil storage, wash rack, gas pump, lumber yard, blacksmith shop, dog yard, warehouses, and coal storage.

Previous Archaeological Investigations at North American POW Camps

Little excavation has been done on WWII POW camps in the North America, but it is increasingly a topic of archaeological study (Barnes 2013; Buchner and Albertson 2005; Connor et al. 1999; Myers 2013; Thomas 2011; Waters 2004). The largest archaeology project was at Camp Hearne outside of Hearne, Texas in 1996 and 1997 by Texas A&M University (Thomas 2011; Waters 2004). The first phase of excavations was conducted in 1996 which consisted of preliminary survey and excavation. Once the archaeologists removed the vegetation, they were able to see building foundations and cement fountains. They employed metal detectors to find both isolated items and concentrations of artifacts. A more extensive survey was conducted in 1997, when large areas of vegetation were burned in order to survey a larger segment of the camp. The archaeologists used metal detectors once again to locate artifacts which were then plotted onto maps and subsequently collected. Work conducted both in 1996 and 1997 revealed that most of the artifacts were associated with walkways, entrances to buildings, and other high traffic areas. Other artifacts were found behind the lavatories where prisoners washed their clothes. The lowest concentration and occurrence of artifacts were found in the recreation areas. Archaeologists excavated to a depth of 10 centimeters. The sediment

was then screened through quarter-inch mesh. During survey and excavation, the archaeologists recorded more than 20 POW constructed features, including: fountains, formal flower gardens, a theater, and miniature castle with cement figurines in a fountain (Waters et al 2004). Waters was one of the first to conduct such research at a U.S. WWII POW camp and this model has become a standard approach.

Judith Thomas of Mercyhust University conducted archaeological field work at the former North Camp Hood Internment Camp (NCHIC) in 2006 as a response to the possible expansion of the military base at present day Fort Hood, Texas (2011). Thomas, in her archival research, noted that per the PMGO, the contractors were to place all buildings perpendicular to the central service road. However, after looking at aerial photographs of the camp as constructed, Thomas noticed that the barracks, mess halls, and latrines were parallel to the central service road (2011). Thomas's objectives for field work were to identify, define, and characterize the NCHIC architectural and archaeological remains, register the site with the Texas Archaeological Research Laboratory, and determine the site's eligibility for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. As a result of the visible concrete slab in Compound 2, the archaeologists cleared the surrounding vegetation and conducted a metal detector survey along one meter transects. Afterwards, the archaeologists excavated 13 one-meter by one-meter units, placed at the base of the concrete slabs where the entrance or exit to the building would have been. Applying Waters' model, these units were placed in high traffic areas, which resulted in a higher concentration of artifacts.

Thomas was able to recover artifacts such as glass fragments, concrete, brick, ceramic tile, and shotgun shells. Other materials that specifically indicate military use

include tent stakes, plastic eating utensils, and a shoe sole. Thomas's research indicated that none of the materials excavated were able to be tied directly to the German prisoners. The structural features that Thomas recorded were a concrete slab foundation with a chimney, a stone-lined gravel walkway, and the concrete slab foundation of a latrine (2011).

Archaeological investigations carried out at Riding Mountain Camp in Manitoba, Canada yielded extensive material culture recovered by archaeologists from formal and informal trash middens (Myers 2013). Adrian Myers used the material culture to demonstrate how the prisoners were subjected to conformity through institutional goods like hotelware but still had some choice in goods through recovered personal material culture such as Coca-Cola or grooming products like hair pomade and cologne. Chocolate, a highly rationed good during WWII for example, was shipped to the POWs from Germany, and became a force with which to exert power over their captors. Chocolate tins with Third Reich imagery of the *Reichsadler* and swastika were found in the Canadian guards' informal middens, likely an attempt to hide their illicit trade (Myers 2013). Ultimately Myers demonstrated that the prisoners used personal material culture for resistance, cooperation, or to express their individuality through items like handicrafts, despite the efforts of their captives to maintain conformity and reeducation.

Prior to the work completed for this research, archaeological excavations of WWII POW camps in Colorado had only been carried out at Fort Carson. The archaeological excavation at Fort Carson was conducted by the Midwest Archaeological Center branch of the National Parks Service located in Lincoln, Nebraska, under the direction of Melissa Connor. Project objectives were to determine what remained of the

internment camp and whether the material record provided information not found in the historical record. Metal detectors were also employed by Connor and her team to aid in the placement of excavation units, and to ensure that the units were sterile upon reaching the final level. Their research concluded that the POW base camp at Fort Carson no longer has archaeological integrity. The former camp is not isolated and is adjacent to military housing, which has encroached on the site. Additionally, many locals use the former camp grounds for recreational purposes and shortcuts, which, as Connor suggests, might lead to people collecting surface finds and shallow buried artifacts (Connor et al. 1999).

Theoretical Perspective

It is important to understand how the prisoners defined their place within the spaces they occupied. Space is not only a reflection of its use and of the various activities that take place, but it is also a reflection of cultural codes and meanings (Engelstad 1991:50). Analyzing a particular landscape can yield insights into how a particular group operates in their surroundings on a daily basis (Anderton 2002). One way to examine the space within the POW camp is to view it through a sense of home. Home can be defined as a place to which one continually returns. One goes out into the world, conducts various activities, and then returns home. Because one cannot willfully come and go as one pleases, prison is not a home and is similar to the grave; once you die, you cannot leave the grave. Therefore, prison can be seen as a home close to death, in that it is a temporary state of being outside normal life (Westman 1991). The POW camps during WWII in the

U.S., however, are not prisons in the traditional sense. On one hand POW movements were somewhat restricted with barbed wire fences, armed guards, and sentry dogs. On the other hand, the prisoners were free to roam within the compounds for most of the day, create facilities such as soccer fields, volleyball courts, a baseball field, and running track, and take leave from camp on the honor system. Other times they were allowed to leave camp with an armed escort to collect items needed for camp or to go out on work detail. In essence their barrack and the area within the camp they occupied was their home away from home and was certainly more secure and comfortable than the battlefield camps they were accustomed to. Yet, they were in a liminal state as they were no longer performing their military duties and functions as they pertained to winning the war. As Corporal Loescher remarked when testifying against the Japanese American sisters at the trial, "I was no longer a soldier. You take his arms and his company away and a man is no longer a soldier, but one who cries for freedom" (DP, 8 August 1944). For the purposes of this research, I will view the barrack as that POW's home. They left for the day to attend classes, work, sporting events, and theatrical performances, but at the end of each day they returned to their home.

In German, the concept of home is expressed by the term *Heimat*. A strong need for and connection to *Heimat* is often seen as key to the German sense of self (Eigler 2012:45). But that connection need not be to one's homeland. "[H]uman beings can make somewhere other than their birthplace into Heimat through the investment of physical labour and a concomitant spiritual attachment" (Boa and Palfreyman 2000:6). Home is not just where you are born, but where you make it through hard work accompanied by some intangible force. As I discuss later, the POWs worked hard at beautifying their

camp and barracks through landscape modifications such as gardens; their spiritual attachment to the camp environment is eluded to in the artists' sketches and paintings.

Since the buildings have all been removed, any prisoner modifications done to the rooms to make them their own are not readily available. The landscaped features around the barracks, particularly the prisoner-made gardens, supply the greatest remaining information regarding prisoner modifications to the camp. Gardens, like the home, are places of activity and behavior and act as microcosms of an individual or group's cultural values and attitudes (Helphand 2006:3). Inherent in all gardens are traits such as home, work, and hope (Helphand 2006:18). Gardens can serve as a reminder of home and transform place into hope and something more familiar. Gardens also create a sense of identity and satisfaction from manual labor. They are symbolic of hope for the future, as a seed is planted, cared for, grows into a plant, and then bears fruit or flower, all the while the gardener is ever present through each of the stages and invests their time to aid the plants coming to fruition and then enjoying them. (Helphand 2006:19). That these gardens were cultivated and tended to in an otherwise high desert landscape and created under adverse environmental and disagreeable political positions defines the prisoner made landscape features as defiant gardens (Helphand 2006).

To understand how the prisoners made do in confinement on a daily basis, I turn to Elanor Conlin Casella's strategies of negotiation (2007). In her examination of confinement, instead of viewing the prison system as a power relation of domination and resistance, Casella takes a circumstantial approach. In this instance power within confinement is characterized by varying situational perspectives where power is seized by those incarcerated through moments of opportunity rather than in a static dominator-

resistor model (Casella 2007). For example, prisoners could wield power through material culture to improve their situation within camp. At Riding Mountain Camp, Adrian Myers demonstrated the prisoners' ability to resist, cooperate, or express their individuality through the use of personal material culture (Myers 2013:199). Furthermore, it is this power wielded at different moments that allows those incarcerated to cope and survive within the institution (Casella 2007).

As previously noted, the POW camps were not typical maximum security or wartime prisons one might think of, especially when the prisoners are under the same orders as their comrades fighting on the front lines to destroy the army of their captors. The Geneva Conventions ensured that enemy combatants were to be treated humanely and of the same consideration given to the captors' soldiers. Therefore, certain deprivations that are apparent in maximum security prisons (Sykes 1958) or contemporary terrorist prisons like Guantanamo, were not felt by those housed in American POW camps in the United States. Even still, other deprivations were apparent. Loss of goods came from the moment of capture and continued during the processing in Africa and Europe. Once in the POW camp, certain goods could be purchased from the camp canteen with the use of scrip, but other goods such as contraband and goods rationed for the war effort may not have been as easy for a prisoner to acquire. Deprivation of goods occurred more frequently during the beginning of the POW system as a result of the growing pains and unfinished camps but also at the end of the war, when it became clear the Allies would win. American prisoners were liberated from the German *stalags* and without worry of retaliation on American GI POWs, the U.S. quickly cut rations for the German prisoners.

Loss of ways to occupy time was another problem faced by the prisoners and frequently brought to the attention of the International Red Cross and German diplomats. Feelings of boredom and uncertain expectations for the future are many times associated with depression in prisons (Zamble and Porporino 1988). In examining suicide and coping in prisons, Alison Liebling (1999) correlated that the lower the availability or desirability of work, physical education, and other methods of occupation and distraction, the greater the instance of suicide attempts. Having the option to work and occupy time through various activities was crucial to the health and well-being of the POWs.

Even when living in imposing and controlling physical structures, being watched by those guarding them, and dealing with a deprivation of goods and loss of ways to occupy time, inmates are still able to exert their own agency, which is subsequently reflected within the archaeological record (Mytum 2011). Evidence of scavenging for resources to produce handicrafts and artwork was found during the research of civilian internment camps in Germany and Austria (Carr 2011) and the German POW camp at Riding Mountain (Myers 2013). Through the prisoners own agency and at times acts of resistance, the prisoners were not only able to occupy their time, but also created objects useful to them that helped to offset the deprivation and loss caused by imprisonment.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODS

I collected data for the Trinidad Archaeological Project through archival research, interviews, and archaeological fieldwork.

Archival Research

I conducted archival research from Fall 2012 through Summer 2013. Data that I sought included maps with construction details and camp layout, rosters of prisoners, additional government documents pertaining to the camp, and correspondence from prisoners or guards either during or after the time of the operation of the camp. The locations I visited were the Western History and Genealogy Department at the Denver Public Library, the Stephen H. Hart Library at History Colorado, History Colorado's Trinidad History Museum, the United States National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) Rocky Mountain Branch, and the U.S. NARA II in College Park, Maryland.

The purpose of the maps was to identify structures from their footprints during survey and to understand the planned camp from the actual built environment. The rosters of the POWs served to identify who was held at Camp Trinidad, to find their specific

barracks and possibly tie material culture to a smaller group of individuals rather than the group as a whole. I sought government documents to gain historical accounts specific to Camp Trinidad. Not only would this allow for a better understanding of the inner workings of the camp, but it would offer a basis to refute, corroborate, or expand the current narrative using data from the archaeological record. The correspondence from POWs and the American authorities might provide more intimate details regarding the daily life within camp.

Interviews

The informal interviews I conducted spanned from Winter 2013 through Fall 2014. My goal was to gain a personal narrative of life within camp from one former prisoner's perspective. I facilitated the interviews via Skype from Centennial, Colorado and the interviewee, Dr. Erwin Reisch, in Stuttgart, Germany. The interviews consisted of Dr. Reisch discussing his memories of his time in camp, where he allowed me to ask follow up questions in many instances. On some occasions, specific questions were asked of Dr. Reisch to help clarify or amalgamate the archival research and archaeological fieldwork. The interviews ranged in length from 30 to 90 minutes, dependent upon Dr. Reisch's health and spryness. I took notes during these sessions in a notebook solely dedicated to interviews and transcribed to a Microsoft Word document for digital storage.

Archaeological Fieldwork

The methods I employed for the archaeological fieldwork component of the Camp Trinidad project were shaped by the SHF Assessment Grant. Completion of the grant required site documentation and an evaluation of archaeological integrity. Since this was an assessment grant, only limited excavations were encouraged. Therefore, fieldwork was accomplished primarily using pedestrian survey, ground-penetrating radar, and magnetometer. Excavation was also employed, however only one unit was opened during the course of the fieldwork.

During pedestrian survey, crew members were spaced two meters apart, with one crew member behind the line creating a tally sheet of artifacts as they were called out. Those performing survey disregarded artifacts related to the construction of the camp, such as staples, nails, and window glass. Often times, these artifacts are quite useful when attempting to identify a structure or archaeological site. Since we knew this was a known archaeological site and due to time and budget restraints, we felt turning our attention to diagnostic artifacts was a better use of time to answer the research questions we set out to answer. We spaced white pin flags in 5m intervals along the pedestrian survey grid's north and south boundaries, and were used as reference points to guide the surveyors. Objects of interest were flagged by type: pink and red flags indicated artifacts, green flags indicated modified artifacts, and yellow flags indicated features, such as trash scatters or landscaping (Figure 6). Initially, all artifacts that surveyors came across were flagged as I was unsure how much could be recovered from the surface.

Figure 6. Objects flagged during pedestrian survey to be recorded and photographed. Photograph taken by the author.

As the survey progressed, only those artifacts that were deemed unique or diagnostic were recorded. Wire, for example, is abundant on the site and all wire was initially flagged and recorded. As the survey was continued, only wire that we could determine was modified was flagged and documented. Ceramic, glass, and metal were also abundant on site; if they were not diagnostic or showed no evidence of modification, they were not recorded or flagged, but were still noted on the tally sheet.

We recorded flagged artifacts using a Trimble GeoXH 6000 GPS unit with TerraSync software in centimeter edition. With one site-specific modification, we used the DU Amache Research Project data dictionary to guide recording. Once recorded, the artifacts were placed into paper bags with a corresponding bag tag. To ensure redundancy

in the recordkeeping, the same information on the bag tag was also written on the outside of the bag. At the end of each field day, I imported the data collected on the GPS into GPS Pathfinder Office to differentially correct the data. Differential correction increases GPS accuracy by comparing the readings from the rover unit, in this case the Trimble GeoXH 6000, and a base station with known geographic coordinates. The result gave corrected location accuracy between three and 50 centimeters. Some of the more ornate features were digitally mapped using the Trimble GPS. These were also mapped using graph paper and pencil. Due to time restrictions, not all features were mapped, but they were noted as part of our survey area count. I adopted paper field forms from the DU Amache Research Project. These forms included a photo log, catch and release form, bottle glass, a ceramic glass tableware form, a metal and other form, modified artifact forms, and unit level and unit closure forms.

Camp Trinidad encompasses an area of approximately one square mile and due to time available for survey and budgeted funds, I chose a sample of areas to survey. Pedestrian survey consisted of three sample areas. One survey area was chosen within a German officers' compound, one in the German enlisted men's compound, and one in the American officers' compound. I added an additional survey grid in Compound 2 after new information became available during archival research. All survey areas are noted within Figure 7. The southeast quadrant of Compound 4 (German officers) was chosen because archival research indicated that an escape tunnel was located within and extended from one of the barracks in this compound. Additionally, a building identified on the map as the theater was located in southeast portion of Compound 4 (Figure 8). Compound 4 also contained the most architectural features, primarily foundations and

concrete footings, which are still visible on the surface. Compound 1 was the smallest of the compounds and according to archival maps, was the only one to house enlisted men. The south side of Fourth Street was chosen because of the presence of a large prisoner made feature not identified on any maps. One of the original goals of the project was to compare the availability of goods and quality of living conditions between the Americans and Germans, therefore, I chose the American officers' quarters and club east of B Street for survey.

Figure 7. Surveyed areas within Camp Trinidad overlaid on Figure 5.

Figure 8. Remains of the theater in the southeast corner of Compound 4. Photograph taken by the author.

Ground-penetrating radar is a geophysical technique that archaeologists can use to detect and map buried archaeological features (Conyers 2013). Radar energy is transmitted from an antenna on the surface through the ground, is reflected from buried discontinuities, and then received back at an antenna on the surface. These discontinuities can include changes in geologic contacts, changes in water separation between mediums, or contacts between buried archaeological features and the surrounding matrix (Conyers 2013). As the pulse of radar energy travels through the ground, the velocity of the waves will change, depending on the medium through which they travel. Every change in velocity at a discontinuity creates a reflection wave that travels back to the antenna and is

recorded. Through velocity calculations, the depth of the medium causing the reflection can be accurately estimated (Conyers 2013).

Two common ways to calculate velocity are the reflected wave method and hyperbola fitting. The reflected wave method is used when there is a visible reflection in the radar profile from an object or feature at a known depth. Many times this can be done by taking a metal bar, such as rebar, and hammering it into an outcrop or excavation side wall. The antenna can then be pulled across the bar. Where the reflection of the bar appears in the radar profile is the known depth and if a time scale is shown, one can calculate the velocity with known depth and wave travel time. Hyperbola fitting can be used when known depths are not available, but there are point source reflections within the profile from objects such as rocks, pipes, or walls in the subsurface. The steepness of the hyperbola arms is a function of velocity through which the radar wave passes. This velocity can then be acquired through trigonometry carried out by programs such as GPR Viewer. It is important to note that the velocity of the subsurface is not uniform and can change with each natural stratigraphic level or with variations in the soil matrix and water content. Similarly, as environmental conditions change, such as precipitation, or freeze/thaw cycles, velocity will also be impacted. Therefore, it is important to calculate velocity at multiple depths within the subsurface and these values may only be useful for a given time period. As environmental and temperature changes occur throughout the day or year, velocity may be impacted.

Magnetometer is a passive method that uses the Earth's magnetic field to detect and map the subsurface (Kvamme 2006). The instrument detects subtle changes in the magnetic field due to magnetic soils or objects that may have archaeological significance.

There are two types of magnetism. Thermo-remnant magnetism occurs when atoms susceptible to the magnetic field reach their Curie Point, which varies for different materials, and align themselves with magnetic north. Once that material cools, those atoms are frozen to magnetic north until the material is reheated to the Curie Point. Induced magnetism refers to those objects that are susceptible to magnetism and include materials that contain naturally magnetic minerals like iron oxides. Soils collect magnetic compounds and tend to exhibit greater magnetism due to wet-dry conditions. Both types of magnetism are discernable to the magnetometer and reads each similarly. Archaeological objects of interest that exhibit magnetism include iron, hearths, kilns, bricks, and complete ceramic vessels (Aspinall et al. 2009; Kvamme 2006). Aside from large metal objects, it is the magnetic contrast between materials in the ground that are depicted on grids of mapped data, not the objects themselves (Kvamme 2006).

In order to gain accurate readings, we calibrated the two sensors of the magnetometer in an area with little or no magnetic readings. The magnetometer was calibrated on-site, south of Tenth Street, away from any visible metallic material culture.

Based on the results of the magnetometer survey, discussed in the next chapter, I placed a one by two-meter excavation unit, which we excavated through shovel skimming. Excavators employed arbitrary levels with five centimeter intervals. Soil was dumped into buckets and subsequently screened through quarter-inch wire mesh. We bagged artifacts by level, which we brought to the archaeology lab at the University of Denver with the diagnostic artifacts recovered from pedestrian survey for further analysis.

The survey grid in Compound 4 was a six sided polygon (Figure 9). It extended 119 meters in the north-south direction, beginning at the trench north of Tenth Street and continued to the middle of Ninth Street. The south base line was 217.5 meters, while the north base line was 200 meters. The southeast quadrant of Compound 4 contained 19 buildings aligned in the north-south direction. There were two buildings south of the mess halls that were aligned in the east-west direction. If Compound 4 were divided into four equal parts, these two east-west buildings would have been bisected. Therefore, in order to survey the entire building, the grid was extended by 17.5 meters to the west for 60 meters north, and then brought back east 17.5 meters for the remaining 59 meters running north. This allowed for us to encompass both east-west buildings, instead of only surveying half of each barrack.

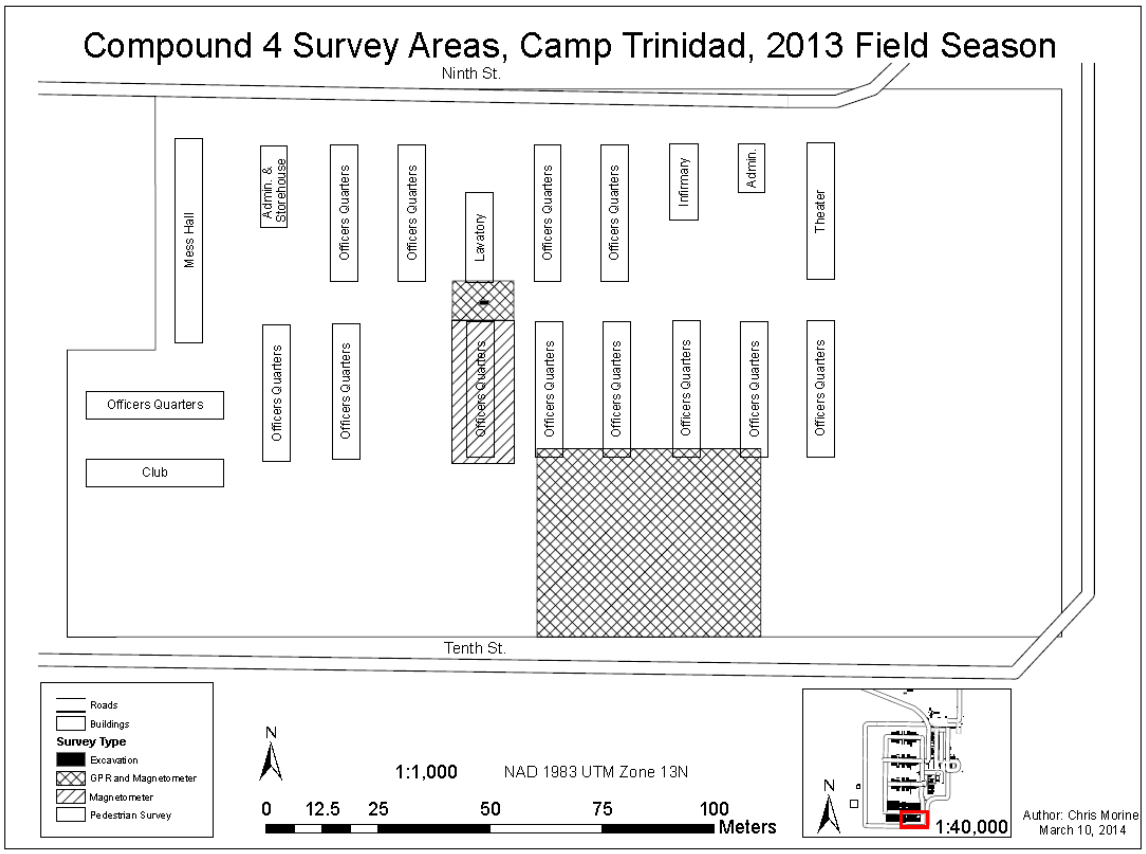

Figure 9. Survey area of Compound 4. Note the complete Officers Quarters and Club buildings in the southwest corner were included in the survey.

Within the Compound 4 survey grid, archival research indicated that the escape tunnel was located in barrack number 1273, the fifth barrack from the east end of camp in Compound 4, and extended southeast under the fences and Tenth Street towards the prairie. We created a 42 by 50 meter GPR grid and began survey in the southwest corner and traversed east for 50 meters. Once at the east baseline, we turned the radar unit around, moved one half meter north of the previous transect and traversed west, parallel to the previous transect, for 50 meters. Transects were spaced every half meter for 42 meters.

We first surveyed with a 400 MHz antenna and then the 270 MHz antenna. The 400MHz antenna was set to 40 scans per unit with a time window open to a depth of 30 nanoseconds (ns), while the 270 MHz antenna was set with the time window open to 70 ns and 40 scans per unit. When the GPR unit transmits energy into the ground, it creates waveforms called wiggle traces that are displayed on the monitor illustrating amplitudes. As the radar unit is pulled across the surface, scans are collected, averaged together and extracted to create radar profile. For a setting of 40 scans per unit, the radar unit samples 40 of these wiggle traces per meter to create a profile.

Time window refers to how deep the antenna will collect data in terms of nanoseconds. Radar waves travel at the speed of light in air, but their velocity decreases in other mediums such as soil and water. This is because more energy is required to pass through these mediums. The higher the megahertz, the shorter the wavelength and the less energy is retained as the wave travels deeper through a medium. Therefore, higher frequency antennas are not able to travel as deep into a medium, because energy loss or attenuation occurs sooner. During a test transect, the 400 MHz radar waves attenuated at approximately 30ns. In order to avoid collecting large amounts of unusable data, I only allowed for collection up to 30ns deep. The 270 MHz antenna sends much longer wavelengths into the ground which have greater energy than the 400 MHz antenna. Due to the increased energy, the larger antenna typically sends radar waves deeper into the ground and allows for energy reflections at deeper depths. Therefore, with the 270 MHz antenna, I opened the time window to a depth of 70ns. Attenuation occurred much earlier than 70ns, but in an optimistic effort to collect usable data I opened up the time window more to collect anything I could.

As wavelengths are transmitted through the ground they reflect off of changes in mediums and travel to the receiving antenna. In order for wavelengths to reflect back, both the crest and trough of the sin wave must simultaneously come in contact with that medium. If a medium is too small, this reflection will not be visible within the radar profile. Since the 400 MHz antenna has a shorter wavelength, smaller objects can be detected than the longer wavelengths of the 270 MHz antenna. This is referred to as radar resolution. The 400 MHz antenna can detect smaller features and artifacts than the 270 MHz antenna, but the 270 MHz antenna can send radar waves deeper into the subsurface.

We utilized magnetometer in the same 42 by 50 meter GPR grid. The software used to process these data requires symmetrical grids, such as 20 by 20 meters or 10 by 10 meters, so this grid had to be divided into separate 20 by 20 meter grids. I created six of these grids and then stitched them together during post-processing.

After completing GPR and magnetometer survey in search of the escape tunnel, I came across additional archival research that indicated a discrepancy with the location of the escape tunnel in barrack number 1273. Allen Paschal (1979) stated that the escape tunnel was in barrack 1271, two barracks west of barrack 1273. With this information, we established another grid 20 meters west of the initial GPR grid to encompass the south side of barrack 1271. This grid extended 25 meters east to west and 30 meters north to south. We used the 270MHz antenna with the time window open to 70 ns and 50 traces per meter and transects were spaced 0.5 meter from each other.

An additional 20 by 60-meter geophysical grid was also set up in Compound 4, just south of a lavatory building foundation identified as building number 1244. Since excavations by Waters (2004) at Camp Hearne identified the use of areas surrounding the

lavatory as wash areas and locations of lost items, I expected similar finds here. This grid also encompassed a mound that covered the former footprint of building 1272. Using the magnetometer, I collected this grid in three 20 by 20 meter grids and then stitched them together during post-processing.

The magnetometer reading indicated a magnetic contrast near the center of the grid just south of lavatory building number 1244. As a result, we excavated a one by two-meter excavation unit in this location.

To compare American officers and German officers, I set up two adjoining grids in the American compound that included what was listed on the map as American officer's quarters, lavatories, American officer's club, and American Officers-Q and Nurses-Q. Presumably, "Q" is an indication for quarters. After the grids were established, they were designated AMOS (American Officers South) and AMON (American Officers North). AMOS was 90 meters east-west by 75 meters north-south, and AMON was 90 meters east-west by 80 meters north-south (Figure 10). Since archival research did not yield information on recreation fields or other built structures, GPR and magnetometer was not employed in either American grid.

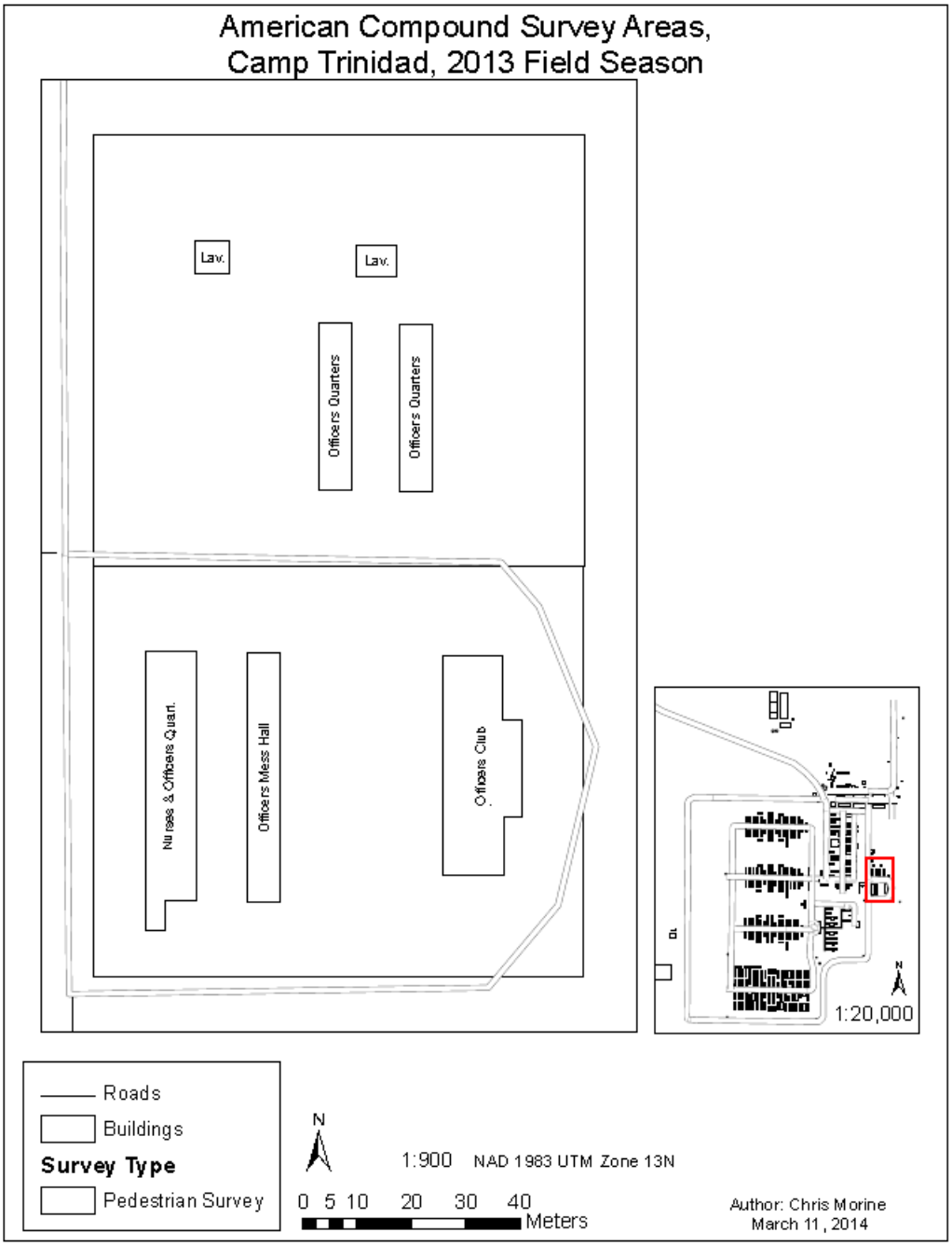

Figure 10. Surveyed area in the American Compound

We established two grids for pedestrian survey in Compound 1 (Figure 11). The main grid was 180.5 meters east-west by 50 meters north-south. It began from the center

of the mess halls south of Fourth Street and extended to the east to E Street. We created a second grid in order to expand the original grid to include the prisoner made feature and building 788. This was a 50 by 50-meter grid that began 50 meters from the west baseline of the original grid and extended south and east.

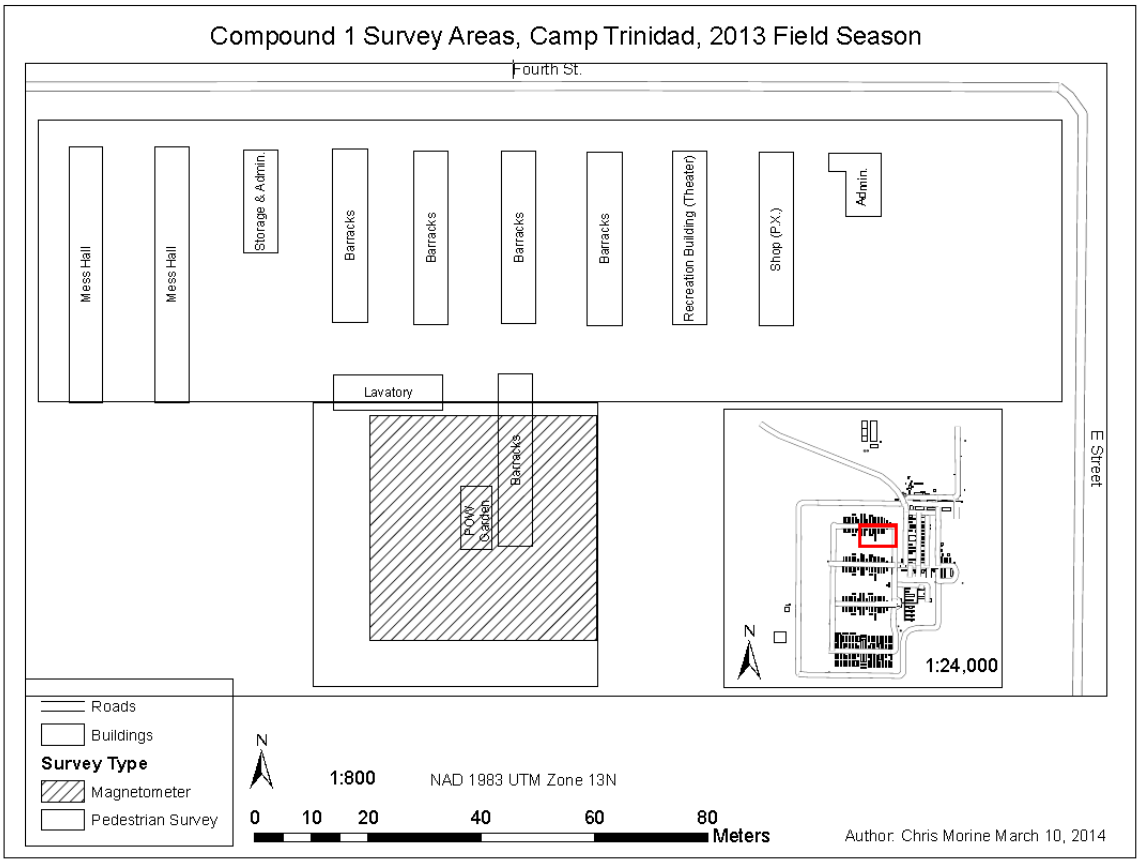

Figure 11. Surveyed areas in Compound 1.

An area of the 50 by 50-meter grid also served as a grid for magnetometer. I chose a smaller survey sample area, 40 by 40 meters, in order to encompass the prisoner made feature not present on the map. As a result, I created four 20 by 20 meter grids and then stitched them together during post-processing. The idea for sampling this area was

to see if any visible detection in magnetic soil composition could be discerned from the prisoner made feature and the surrounding soil.

I also created a geophysical grid in Compound 2. Prior to the start of fieldwork, Mary Palovich donated a copy of Captain Ehrcke's, a former prisoner, diary to History Colorado's Trinidad History Museum. The diary contained a sketch of his barrack along with adjacent landscaped features. One feature of interest was a square area labeled as a volleyball court. After a walkthrough of the area, there was no court or field discernable from the surface. In order to see if geophysical equipment would be able to detect the former volleyball courts, I established a 60 by 40 meter GPR grid north of Ehrcke's former barrack (Figure 12), which extended north towards the former fence line separating Compounds 2 and 1, and west towards the lavatory, building number 724. A 400 MHz and 270 MHz antenna were both used for purposes of resolution and depth. The 400 MHz antenna was set to 40 scans per unit with a time window open to 40 ns and the 270MHz antenna was set to 40 scans per unit with a time window open to 60 ns.

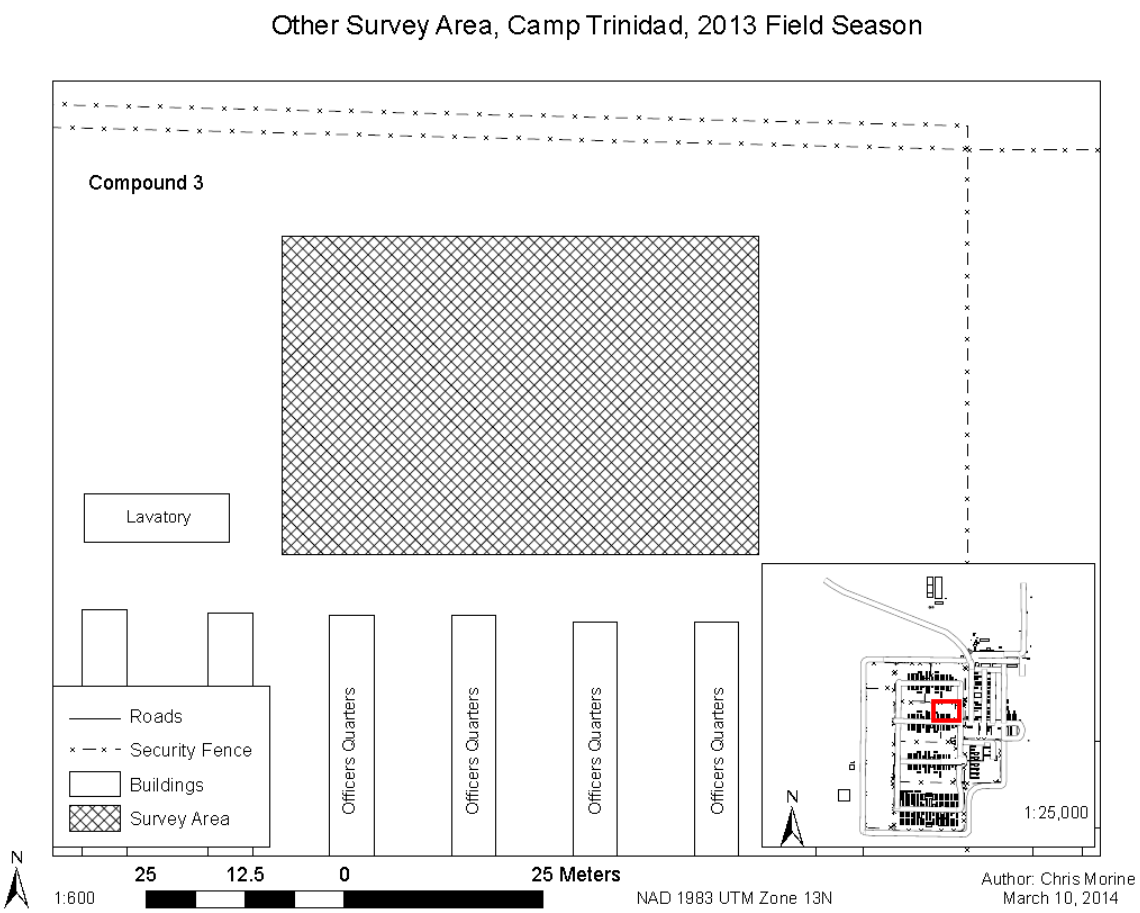

Figure 12. Geophysical survey grid in Compound 2 to locate a former volleyball court.

I also employed Magnetometer in this grid. The 60 by 40-meter grid was separated into six 20 by 20 meter grids, surveyed individually, and then stitched together during post-processing.

Archaeological Lab Work

Artifacts that I knew or thought to be diagnostic or those that I was unable to distinguish in the field were brought to the archaeological laboratory at DU for further

analysis. There, I removed artifacts from the paper bag, washed, dried, photographed, placed into clean plastic bags, and set them aside to be further analyzed.

As a way to ensure redundancy and to capture details that may not be visible from the photographs, I traced and sketched into a lab notebook nearly all artifacts. I separated artifacts into various material classes: ceramic, glass, metal, and composite/other. I researched each artifact to discern the form and function, dates of manufacture, company, and place of manufacture if possible. Sources I consulted were bottle and ceramic guides, professional and collector websites, and Dr. Reisch. I entered the acquired information into a Microsoft Access Database, modeled after that employed by the DU Amache Research Project.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

Archival Research

I conducted archival research at various locations including the Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy Department, National Archives and Record Administration (NARA) II in College Park Maryland, NARA Rocky Mountain Branch, History Colorado's Stephen H. Hart Library, and History Colorado's Trinidad History Museum.

The Western History and Genealogy Department at the Denver Public Library is a repository for archived issues of *The Denver Post* and *Rocky Mountain News*. I sought articles written about Camp Trinidad in these papers. Within the Western History Collections is the Trinidad Prisoner of War Camp Collection. In 1990, staff member Lynn Taylor sent requests for donations to former camp staff members. Twelve individuals responded and donated material to the collection. Items include copies of American military correspondence, a copy of a POW diary, pamphlets and programs of camp reunions, some photographs, and artifacts. Artifacts donated include a prisoner made smoking stand (Figure 13) and letter opener (Figure 14), coins from France, sales tax tokens, a coffee sack stamped, "Deliver to Enemy Alien Internment Camp" (Figure

15), and a needlepoint sign for the military police escort guard (MPEG) that reads, “391 MPEG Camp Trinidad, Colorado 1943-1945” (Figure 16).

Figure 13. Prisoner created smoking stand located at the Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy Department. Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 14. Prisoner created letter opener located at the Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy Department. Photograph taken by the author.

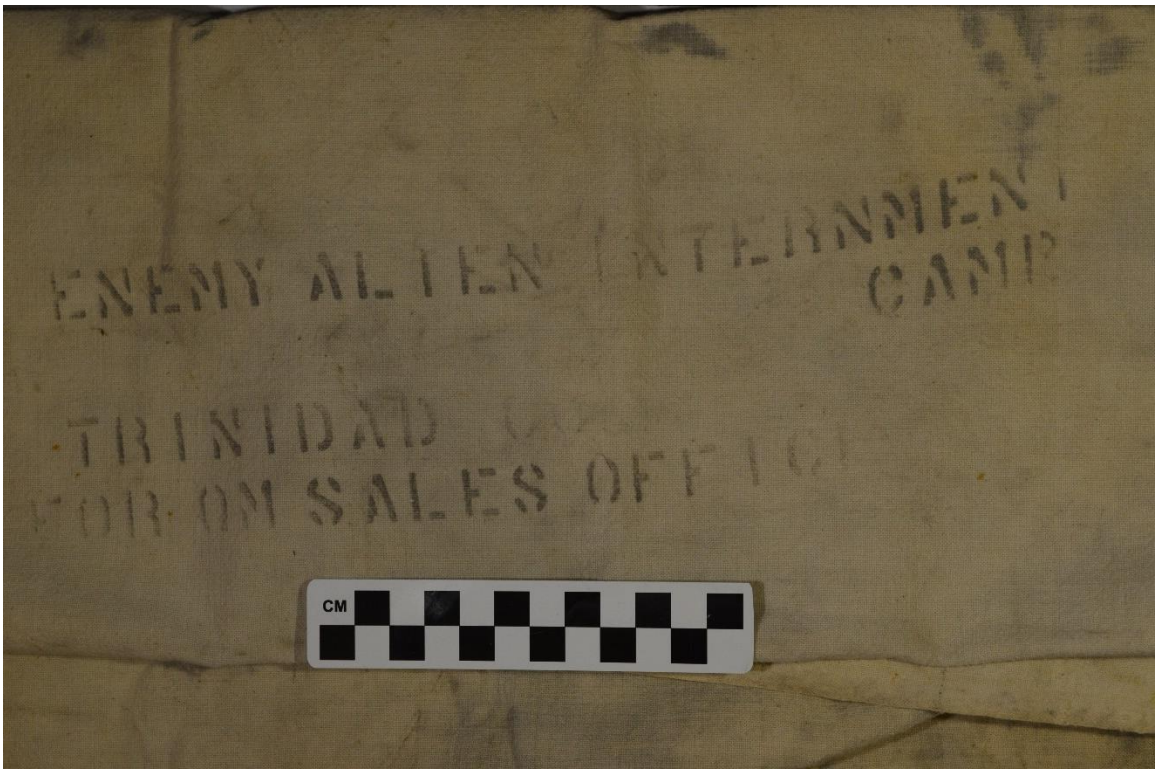

Figure 15. Coffee sack from Camp Trinidad located at the Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy Department. Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 16. 391 MPEG needlepoint sign. Located at the Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy Department. Photograph taken by the author.

NARA II in College Park, Maryland houses an extensive collection of military and WWII archival materials. Most of the materials at this facility contain military reports and correspondence, such as the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers Completion Report, camp approval, officer housing, requests and plans for camp expansion, and labor reports. Other useful information includes site visit and inspection reports from personnel in the International Red Cross and from the U.S. Prisoner of War Special Projects Division. These reports note complaints from and morale of the prisoners and note the various activities in which the prisoners engaged. Other materials tell of the food available to the prisoners and include menu guides, food rations, sandwich guides, and

mess guide. Also of note is an FBI Escape Report and segregation questionnaire. As the U.S. POW program progressed, problems of POW Nazi supporters within the camps harassing those prisoners not devoted to the cause increased. In some instances, these issues escalated to homicide. In an attempt to mitigate these problems, incoming prisoners were given a questionnaire. Based on the answers to the questions, those found to have National Socialist ideals were separated from the rest of the prisoners into special camps.

The regional national archives branch, housed in Broomfield, CO contained mostly camp disposition reports and correspondence from those parties interested in acquiring camp buildings and utilities. Also within the archives are camp architectural blue prints of many of the buildings, including those that show the modifications made to existing buildings to accommodate more prisoners by converting mess halls and store houses into officers' quarters. Another important document is a camp-wide map that details the entire camp, including the four different prison compounds with the expansion that took place shortly after the prison was opened, the cemetery, recreation areas, water treatment facility, sewage treatment facility, and the American Compound with hospital barracks, administration buildings, storehouses and warehouses, lavatories and barracks, motor pool, stables, lumber yard and coal field.

Archived collections of Trinidad's newspaper *The Chronicle News* are housed at History Colorado's library. Local news reports primarily focused on larger events within camp, such as escapes, a shooting, or plays put on by the Americans. The newspaper also documented the quest for Trinidad to become home to a POW camp, the approval, and the construction and subsequent expansion. Also included in the library is the Levitt

collection. James Levitt was a U.S. Army captain during WWII who was assigned to Camp Trinidad. The collection contains correspondence, newspaper clippings, reunion photographs, and a copy of his manuscript for a slide show that he presented on the camp at various locations and dates. This manuscript describes the camp layout and description of some of the buildings including one of the prisoner theaters and the arrival of the prisoners in 1943 and 1944. Not included within the collection are the actual slides used for his presentations.

Those involved with the camp or their family members have donated materials to History Colorado's Trinidad History Museum over the years. A daughter of former prisoner Major Ernest Otto Wilhelm Engel donated a binder that contains some of his sketches of camp, a photo of him in uniform, and a recollection of him keeping his diary in his boots and his wedding ring in his cap. Also included is a letter dated December 20, 1944 from Camp Commander Lieutenant Colonel Lambert Cain to the German prisoners wishing them a Merry Christmas. Lt. Cain states the prisoners will always be regarded as part of his commands and then declares the prisoners carry out an honorable profession regardless of nationality and of the fact that they are members of a nation at war.

Another set of documents was obtained by Trinidad resident Marilyn Palovich who donated photo copies of Captain Heino Ehrcke's diary and sketches. The diary begins with Captain Ehrcke on leave followed by his capture and detainment. He discusses his arrival at Camp Trinidad and wrote that he had good food, a movie theater, a performing arts theater, and a giant sports field. He describes Fisher's Peak and the Spanish Peaks, and mentions the warm and sunny climate and recalls the wind. Also mentioned is the landscape, which he describes as nearly treeless and the only flowers

present were those on the cactus. Captain Ehrcke also noted the various animals including prairie dogs, described as kind of a guinea pig that barked like a dog all night long, rattlesnakes, bullsnakes, and grasshoppers with very colorful wings. He also mentioned the clothing they received, which included two pairs of khaki pants, a set of woolens, two pair of shoes, two sets of summer underwear and two sets of winter underwear, one cap and a pair of gloves. Through the camp canteen they were able to purchase 7UP, beer, milk, cigarettes, toilet articles, laundry soap, and cake. Captain Ehrcke stated that officers made furniture out of what materials they could find and even added paint and wallpaper to their living quarters and added curtains. The diary also discusses Captain Ehrcke's journey home to Germany after the end of the war. Captain Ehrcke's sketches include his barracks and barrack layout (Figure 17), the Spanish Peaks, and Fisher's Peak (Figure 18).

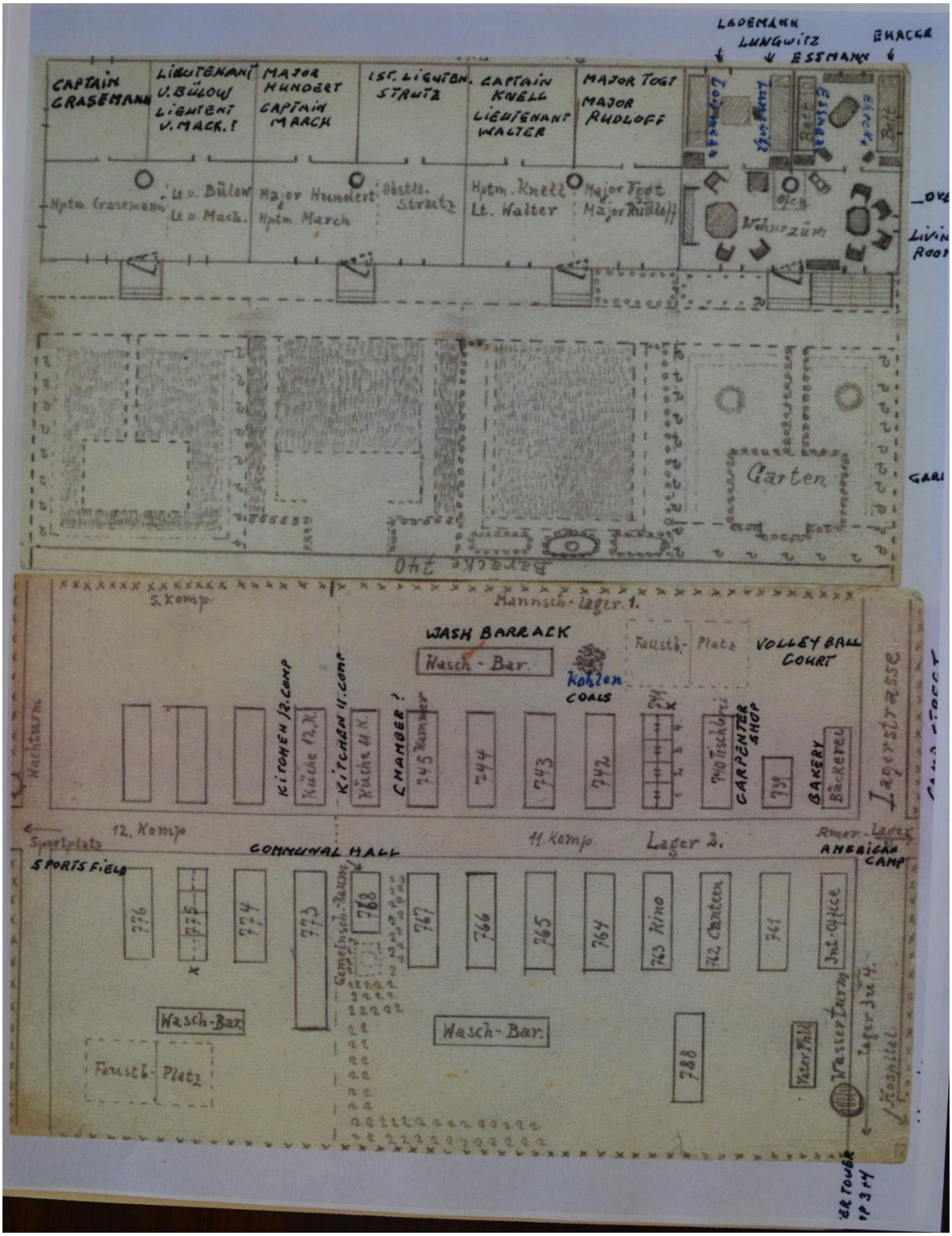

Figure 17. Sketches from Captain Ehrcke's diary: top, names of the prisoners in his barrack, the layout of his room, and the landscaping features outside his door across the walkway; bottom, the barracks in his compound including the carpenter shop, wash barrack, and associated features such as the volleyball court behind his barrack and the pile of coals. Photograph taken by the author from copies of the diary at History Colorado's Trinidad History Mueseum.

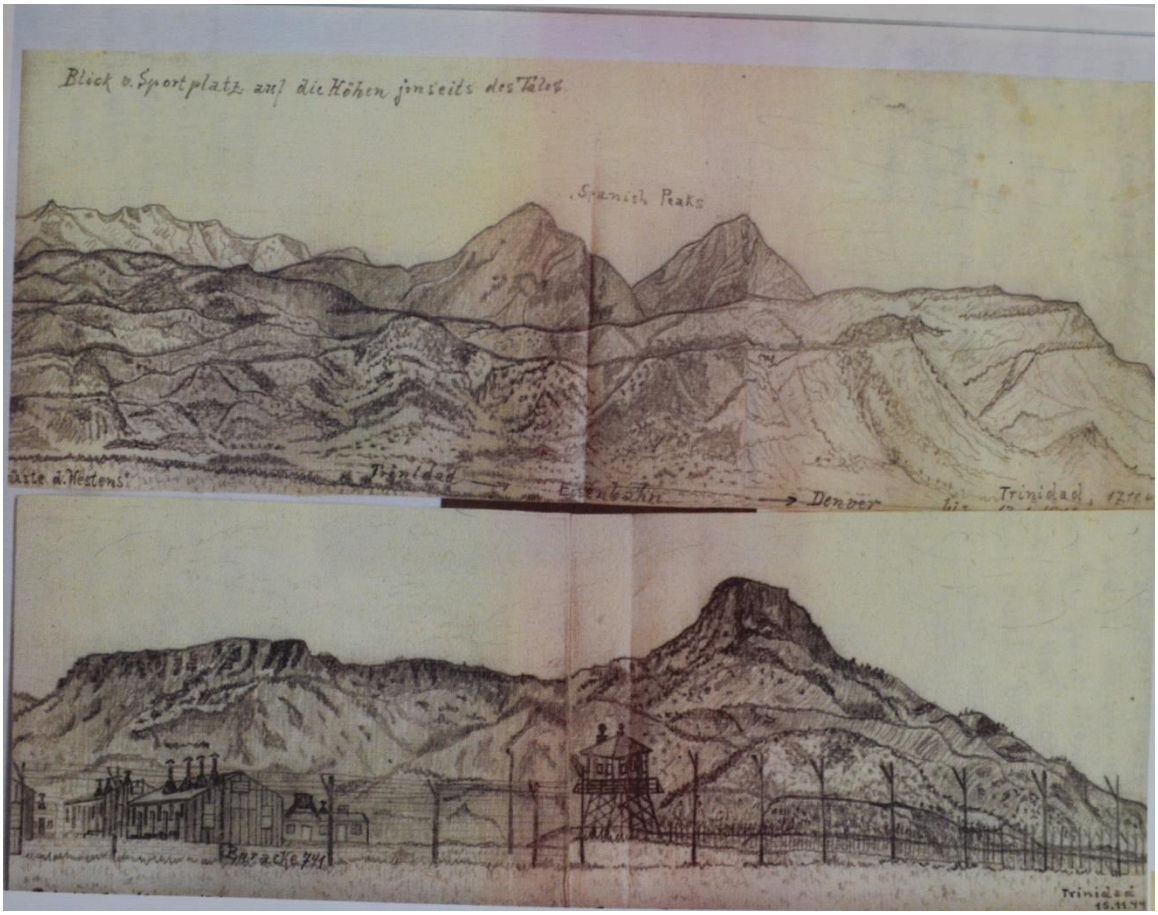

Figure 18. Skectches from Captain Ehrcke's diary: top, the Spanish Peaks; bottom, Fisher's Peak with his barrack, barbed wire fence, and guard tower. Photograph taken by the author from copies of the diary at History Colorado's Trinidad History Mueseum.

Former POWs and their family members occasionally contact History Colorado's Trinidad History Museum with information or materials regarding the camp. In December of 2013, the grandson of former POW Captain Paul Lorenz sent a painting (Figure 19) and a sketch (Figure 20) that Captain Lorenz created while in camp.

Figure 19. Captain Paul Lorenz's watercolor of the camp including barracks, a guard tower, barbed wire fence, telephone poles and a large landscaped feature. Scanned image sent to History Colorado's Trinidad History Museum from Volker Lorenz.

Figure 20. Captain Paul Lorenz's sketch of barracks. Note the stone-lined walkway in the foreground leading to the barrrack on the left. Also note the garden in front of this barrack. Scanned image sent to History Colorado's Trinidad History Museum from Volker Lorenz.

Kurt Landsberger joined the U.S. army after fleeing Nazi Persecution in Austria. He was assigned to Camp Triniad and served as a translator. He conducted research on Camp Trinidad for his book published in 2007. His research included a trip to NARA II and many of the documents he photocopied now reside in the Trinidad History Museum. Included with Landsberger's materials is a photocopy of Karlhorst Heil's diary, which served as a primary source for his book. His research also included programs from the various theatrical performances given by the POWs in their theater.

Through my efforts of public outreach, I was of Kitsy Comi. Her father, Steve Comi, was the funeral director responsible for carrying out the funeral arrangements for the POWs that died while in camp. As a thank you for his service, one POW Fritz Dienst gifted him a painting of a POW walking near some laundry strung up surrounded by barracks and Fisher's Peak in the background (Figure 21) (personal communication with Kitsy Comi June 2013). The painting is on cardboard and framed with scrap wood that the artist scrounged.

Figure 21. Paitning by Fritz Dienst on cardboard framed in wood. Gifted to Steve Comi for his funeral services. Photograph of the painting take by the author at the Comi Funeral Home, Trinidad, Colorado.

Interviews

Conversations with Dr. Reisch presented data that addressed his experience arriving at Camp Trinidad and the ways he occupied his time there, including landscaping, labor, sports, theater, music, and coursework. Dr. Reisch also provided some insight in the analysis of artifacts to aid my efforts to gain an insider's perspective on the material culture.

Dr. Reisch also spoke to how the gardens were constructed and what they meant to the prisoners. The POWs were allowed to go with an American guard to the Arkansas River Valley to collect vegetation for their gardens. According to Dr. Reisch, POWs, took two truckloads of plants from the nearby river valley. They were allowed to leave for up to three hours between 10 a.m. and 1 p.m. In addition to guard escorts, the POWs were required to wear a jacket with "P.W." in white paint on the back. Once the plants were collected, they were transplanted within the camp at various locations and watered twice daily. Prisoners took an additional step in the care of their plants by discarding the leftovers from meals in landscaped areas, which provided necessary supplemental nutrients to the soil.

Allowed to work to keep busy, Dr. Reisch was able to recall several jobs that he performed while in camp. As a younger officer, he felt obliged to join one of the various labor tasks. He began as a dishwasher where he cleaned the big iron pots and pans, by hand, four to five times a week. Later he became a dishwasher for non-iron containers where he steamed and sterilized dishes. After four to five weeks of washing dishes, Dr. Reisch then became an assistant to the chef in the mornings. His duty was to prepare

three large pots of oatmeal. This was a challenging task, as he had to stir the oatmeal very fast on high temperature, and if he failed to do so he would not only burn the oatmeal, but it would create an awful burning smell that many of the higher officers did not like. Another duty he had while working in the kitchen was stocking the food pantry. On Friday of each week reserves were filled, where he had to check in the amount received for breakfast and dinner. Prior to receiving new product, the pantry needed to be emptied, cleaned with hot water, and dried. After working in the kitchen, Dr. Reisch was a barber, calling upon his experience from his life prior to joining the German Army. When he was growing up, the nearest town was 15 kilometers (9.32 miles) so in order to avoid the trip, Dr. Reisch learned to cut his brothers hair.

Volunteers were also asked to work outside of camp on local farms. Aside from keeping busy, Dr. Reisch volunteered to get away from camp. He recalled some volunteers having little to no experience working on farms and were not able to do proper farm work. Having been raised on a farm himself, Dr. Reisch took the opportunity to help others out with their work. He harvested potatoes, sugar beets, corn, and also worked at a turkey slaughter house. He would work on one farm for three to five days and then proceed to the next farm. They would stop for lunch around noon and the host farmer would feed them, mostly soft white bread, which they did not find very satisfying. One time in particular, he remembered working on one farm where the farmer's grandparents had come from the southern part of Germany, moved to the United States, and created a nice farm. While working on this farm, the farmer served the German's chicken and beer and lunch lasted for an hour and a half! The American Guards became quite vocal with the farmer, but the Germans were most gracious.

Prior to war, Dr. Reisch learned to play the piano. In May 1945, the Catholic priest wanted someone to go with him to play piano at the nearby branch camps. Accompanied by an American guard and driver, the priest and Dr. Reisch went to local camps Stonewall and Silver Lake where the priest conducted service and Dr. Reisch played piano. Time away from camp included service, lunch, and a couple of hours of free time until about 4:00 p.m. when they returned to Camp Trinidad in order to return by 6:00 p.m.

Other activities that Dr. Reisch participated in included a Shakespeare theater production where he played a female role, because he was one of the younger looking POWs. Dr. Reisch also played soccer while in camp, but had to stop due to an enlargement of his heart. One of the most important activities for Dr. Reisch was taking educational courses in agriculture and the natural sciences. Upon repatriation after the war, he was able to apply these courses for college credit at the University of Göettingen. The Y.M.C.A. supplied books for some courses and they also took prisoners to the prairie to study rattlesnakes and other small animals. Professionals that had joined the German Army from forty to fifty various fields taught courses in camp. In the spring of 1946, Dr. Reisch sent a document from Camp Trinidad to the University of Göettingen. He was administered a test and was able to move on to advanced courses after the war.

One of the fondest memories that Dr. Reisch had within camp was in regards to the evening ritual of drinking coffee and playing cards. Making coffee was no easy task in camp, as there were no coffee drip pots in the barracks, so the prisoners improvised. First a container was needed to heat up the water. For this they heated a wire and sliced the neck off of a glass bottle. Dr. Reisch thinks that this may have been done at one of the

shops in camp where the POWs worked, but he himself never cut the glass. They also needed a filter for the coffee, which they created by carefully removing strands of wire from their window screens. To heat the water, they took a wire and coiled it around the glass bottle and inserted one end of the wire into an electrical socket. The electrical current heated the water, which was then poured over the wire mesh containing the coffee grounds to make their coffee. Sometimes when the wire was inserted into the electrical socket it would blow the fuse at which point they would quickly hide their coffee making apparatus, as this would alert the guards and they would come and inspect the barracks.

As previously noted, Dr. Reisch was also helpful in being able to provide insight into some of the artifacts that were recovered during fieldwork. In lieu of discussing each of these artifacts, his input will be included in the discussion chapter that follows.

Fieldwork

The primary method used to gather the following data was accomplished through intensive pedestrian survey of Camp Trinidad (see figure 6). We also employed geophysical techniques of ground-penetrating radar (Figure 22) and magnetometry (Figure 23). The GPR results were poor and likely due to the high electro conductivity of the soils. The magnetometer results showed more promise, but were likely hampered by the amount of magnetic iron on the site's surface and below ground in the form of nails, rebar, wire, tin can fragments, and other miscellaneous metal. I was able to identify one high metal contrast in the results (Figure 24) and decided to place a one-meter by two-meter excavation unit over this area.

Figure 22. The author (left) and graduate student volunteer Matthew Golsch (right) conducting GPR. Photograph taken by Katharina Hemingway.

Figure 23. Volunteer Tim Dodson conducting magnetometer survey with the help of volunteers Kara Allison, Virginia Ogg, and Jeremy Haas. Photograph taken by the author.

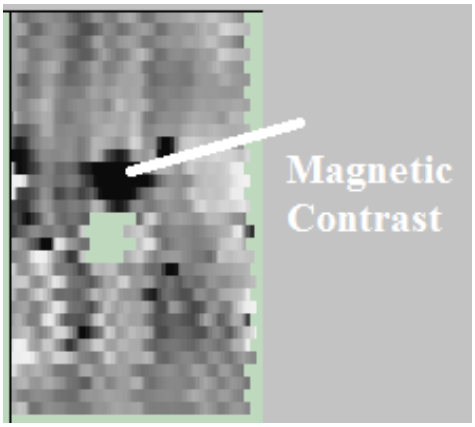

Figure 24. A highly contrasted magnetic reading compared to the surrounding soil. Excavation here yielded a metal safety razor.

During pedestrian survey, my goal was to identify artifacts on the surface, landscaped features like gardens, and the placement of buildings. Once I identified the

placement of buildings, I correlated those buildings to a historic map that I found during archival research. We were able to correlate each of the buildings listed on the map to the foundations and footings visible in the field in the sample areas that we surveyed, except for the buildings numbered 6, identified as a storehouse, and 1271, identified as a barrack (see figure 5). There is no evidence on the surface, such as a building footprint or exposed cinder blocks or footings, that there was a building present at either of these locations. Additionally, the building just west of building number 6, number 561, shows evidence that the building was not built as indicated on the map. The map depicts a standard barrack size and shape, but the visible foundation indicates that the building was in the shape of an L.

The majority of the footings and foundations are clearly visible in Compound 4 and become increasingly more difficult to discern farther north into Compounds 3, 2, and 1. Many of the flat cement slab foundations were either removed or buried through aeolian and fluvial forces. Through looking at the foundations and the surface footprints of the structures, it appears as though camp construction followed Geneva Conventions. Barracks for the Americans and Germans were the same size and the land grading appears to be uniform throughout the camp. The elevation of Compound 4 is approximately 6,188 feet and is approximately 6,153 feet in Compound 1. The calculated slope between the two compounds, a distance of approximately 2,188 feet, is 1.6%.

As for the material culture, the only difference we were able to find in what the Americans had compared to the Germans was that the American Compound yielded two possible whiskey bottles, where no evidence of alcohol, including beer, was found in either of the sample areas from the German compounds.

Material culture that we identified as German increased as survey expanded north into Compound 1. Compound 4 contained only two artifacts that were likely German military clothing, while Compound 1 contained five artifacts that were likely part of the German uniform. There appears to be an inverse relationship to the presence of architecture and amount of diagnostic material culture. The greater the architectural remains, the less diagnostic material culture are present. This may be, in part, due to locals that have or had access to the site being drawn to areas that have increased visible architectural remains.

Another reason for increased diagnostic material culture for areas in the north may be related to issues of access. Access to the camp today is gained by entering from the south. The roads have not been repaired or maintained since the camp was in operation nearly 70 years ago. Access to the northern reaches of the camp can be difficult as a result of road conditions and unmarked and overgrown streets. This may have impacted and mitigated the removal of material culture for those areas in the north from the camp after it was dismantled.

The constant grazing is a threat to the integrity of the site as cows and horses constantly drag and move artifacts from the building where they were deposited near (Figure 25). The artifacts are also buried through cattle and horse trampling and aeolian deposition. One excavation unit placed to the south of building 1244 yielded 160 glass fragments from bottles and windows, one metal can fragment, 21 nails, two staples, one screw, and one nearly intact safety razor. This excavation unit indicates that there are other artifacts that could add to the data collected during survey buried below the surface.

Figure 25. Cattle gathered around a water trough at the southeast corner of Compound 4. The grounds of the camp are currently part of a larger plot of land currently used for grazing. Photograph taken by the author.

During intensive pedestrian survey, 491 artifacts were flagged, photographed, and recorded. Of those artifacts recorded, 346 were determined as either non-diagnostic or unable to yield additional information and were left *in situ*. The remaining artifacts were collected and brought to the University of Denver Archaeology Lab for further analysis. Appendix A contains the artifact catalog for those artifacts I collected.

Many of the landscaping features that were present during the operation of the camp are still visible today. These are delineated by stone cobbles, predominately sandstone and basalt, placed by the prisoners (Figure 26). This includes many of the gardens associated with buildings such as barracks, mess halls, and administration buildings. Over 64 gardens were identified in the designated sample areas, of which 23

were photographed and formally recorded with either the GPS, hand mapping, or both. These gardens were of various shapes, sizes, located near barrack entryways, along the sides of barracks, and in the front yard portions of barracks. The consistent presence and intricacy of gardens is more apparent in Compound 4 than in Compound 1. Compound 1, however, contains a prisoner made feature that likely resembles a garden structure (Figure 27). Appendix B lists the gardens that were formally recorded.

Figure 26. A prisoner-made garden in Compound 4. Lined with sandstone and basalt cobbles, trees and shrubs planted by the POWs are still present today. Photograph taken by the author.

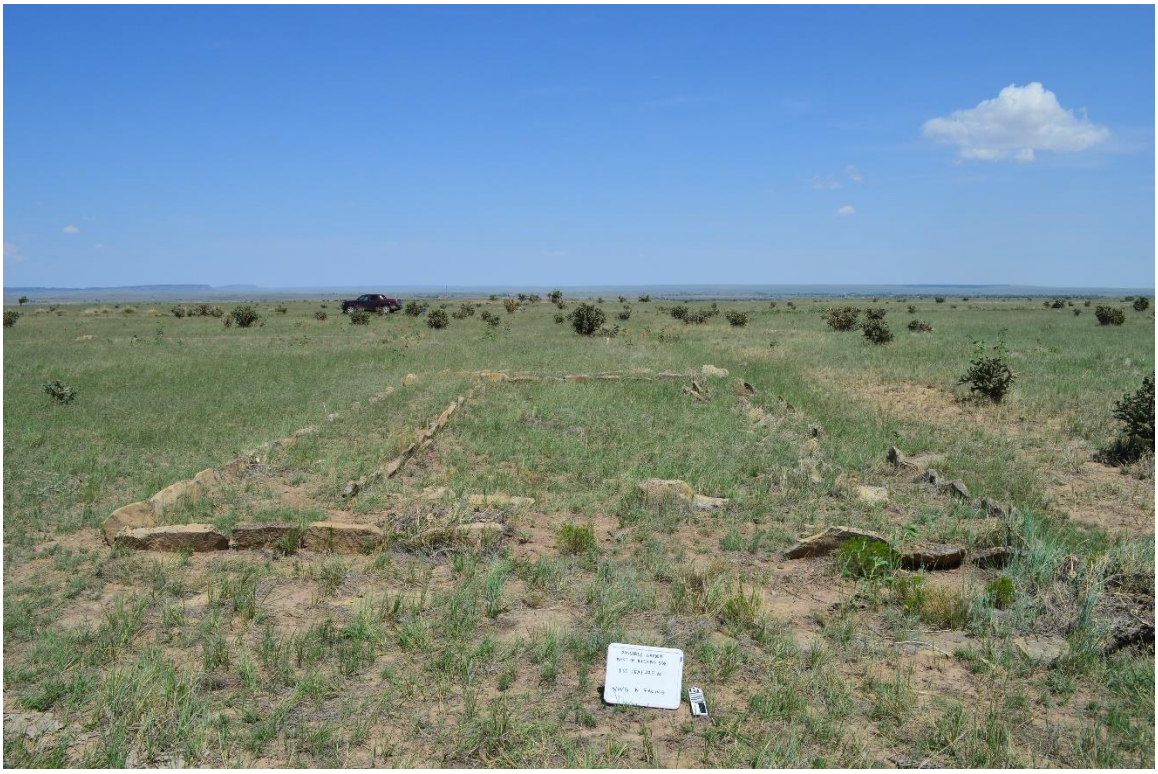

Figure 27. A large prisoner-made landscaping feature in Compound 1. Photograph taken by the author.

GPR and magnetometer were the two methods of geophysical survey that I employed during fieldwork. As stated above, the GPR survey did not yield usable results, because of the environmental conditions at the site. Trinidad is located in a dry and arid climate and the camp itself sits atop an elevated wind-swept plateau. Clastic sediments, which are electrically conductive, are constantly blown in from the Sangre De Cristo Mountain Range to the west and are deposited on the plateau. Without ample rainfall to wash these sediments through the soil, they remain at shallow depths. When the radar waves are sent from the antenna the energy cannot fully penetrate these electrically conductive clay soils and have enough energy to return to the antenna. As a result, the waves attenuate and create a profile that is filled with noise.

The magnetometer survey proved to be somewhat more successful in that we were able to identify some areas of magnetic contrast. Although the surface and subsurface contains abundant magnetic metals, such as iron, there were instances where large areas of contrast were visible. One contrast was located to the south of a lavatory barrack in Compound 4. Michael Waters (2004), in his investigation at Camp Herne, Texas, used metal detectors to locate concentrations of artifacts. In one location in particular, behind the lavatory, they found many artifacts such as buttons and other personal items that the archaeologists suspect were lost while washing clothes. Since the magnetometer results indicated a high magnetic contrast near the lavatory in Compound 4, I decided to lay in a one-meter by two-meter excavation unit there. It yielded mostly architectural debris, such as nails and window glass. We did, however, uncover a nearly complete 1940s safety razor.

Magnetometer results also revealed the possible volleyball court in Compound 3. This compound was not initially part of the survey, but after I came across Captain Ehrcke's sketch map (see Figure 17), I decided to search for the volleyball court using GPR and magnetometer. These results, however, are inconclusive but subsurface testing such as unit excavation may yield more conclusive results.

Lab Work

Of the 491 artifacts identified, 35 were designated for catch and release and 110 were collected and brought back to the University of Denver for further laboratory processing and photographs. The following is a discussion of the artifacts brought to the

University of Denver for analysis. The artifacts recovered include items manufactured for consumption by Americans, likely used by the Germans, as well as goods produced in Germany intended for the German soldiers. All of the artifacts that could be tied to German origin were items that were likely part of the German Military uniform or equipment. Additionally, survey in the American compound yielded artifacts that were consumed or used by the Americans.

The wide range of artifacts I brought back to the lab for further analysis include food containers like bottle and vessel glass, various ceramics, and tin cans; grooming, health, and hygiene products such as comb fragments, scissors, hair tonic bottles, and toothpaste tubes; clothing and equipment; and indicators of activity such as modified artifacts and a marble. Although all artifacts were not brought to the lab, the field notes recorded from those artifacts that remained in the field were also entered into the database.

To facilitate discussing the results of artifact research, artifacts are broken down by compound. I will begin with Compound 4, the German Officers' Compound, followed by Compound 1, the German Enlisted Men's Compound, and then the American Officer's Compound. Not only will this aid with discussion, but this approach will also allow for more readily accessible inter-compound comparisons. Within the discussion of each compound, artifacts are broken into broad functional classes that include *Activities*, *Domestic*, *Gardening*, *Institutional*, *Personal*, *Structural*, or *Indefinite* if not enough information could be gathered to discern the functional category of the artifact. Within each functional class, I assigned a more specific functional category to allow for a more detailed analysis and discussion of prisoner use of material culture. Appendix C identifies

the various functional categories within each functional class. I first assigned artifacts to functional classes by the likely intended manufacturer use, followed by the functional category. If an artifact contained evidence for modification, I also assigned the artifact a functional class on possible additional functions. Some artifacts fell within the same class, but different category, while others may have fallen in a different functional class. If items were multipurpose they were coded twice. For example, soda bottles are both food containers and used for consumption, so they are coded under both categories.

The sample area of Compound 4 was the largest and measured approximately 25,984m^2. This is likely why we recovered the largest artifact assemblage of the three compounds here. A total of 277 artifacts were recorded from this compound, of which I collected 45 for further analysis and assigned them lot numbers. Appendix D shows the artifacts from Compound 4 and the various functional classes assigned to each category. The table is sorted by class and then by category alphabetically.

A total of 27 artifacts were recorded within the functional class *Activities*. Of these, 20 were assigned O*ther Activities* and were primarily objects that may have been used for an activity that was not a predefined functional category within the database. For example, FA 212, a shotgun shell casing, was likely deposited as a result of post-occupation small game hunting or target practice. The activity *Crafts* (n=10) contain artifacts such as modified tin can lids and glue and ink bottles. Two bottles were also assigned to the functional category *Writing*.

The functional class *Domestic* (n=154) was the largest functional category recorded from Compound 4. Within the *Domestic* class, 162 artifacts were assigned to a category of foodways, such as food consumption, food container, food preparation, or

food storage. Artifacts assigned to the category *Food Consumption* were those artifacts that would have been likely used to consume food and include spoons, ceramic plates, and soda bottles. *Food Container* (n=104) contained the most artifacts. This category includes items such as tin cans and can lids, even if modified so long as the likely primary function was as a food container. Other items include bottle caps, jugs, tableware, jar lids, and soda bottles. *Food Preparation*, which included pie tins, mixing bowl fragments, and fire king sherds and *Food Storage*, which included jugs and jar lids had four and 12 artifacts respectively. Also within the *Domestic* class was the category *Health* (n=18). These artifacts included toothpaste tubes and caps, and glass bottles and jars likely containing health products. One artifact was assigned to the category *Heating/Lighting*, a possible stove fragment, and one artifact was assigned to the *Household Decoration* category, a porcelain figurine that may have been used as household bric-a-brac. Artifacts that I was unable to fit into a predefined functional category were assigned *Other Domestic* and included one nail and wire, and five modified wire, possibly shaped into clothes hangers.

Artifacts were identified that may have been possibly used for gardening activities. Categories that fell within the *Gardening* class include *Decorative Elements*, *Fencing*, *Plant Containers*, *Tools*, and *Watering*. One artifact fell in each of the listed categories within Compound 4, except for *Plant Containers*; two earthenware artifacts were assigned to *Plant Containers.* The *Decorative Elements* artifact was a screw and hook that may have been used to hang a sign. This same artifact was also assigned to the category of *fencing* as it may have served as a latch to a gate. The tines portion of a pitchfork was recorded within a garden, and was therefore assigned to the *Gardening*

category *Tools.* A modified tin can that was likely used as a watering can, also assigned to the *Domestic* class in the category *Food Container*, was also assigned to the *Gardening* class in the category *Watering*.

At total of 84 artifacts were assigned to the functional class *Indefinite*. Most of these artifacts include small or unidentifiable fragments of bottle and milk glass that I was unable to assign to a specific class due to the lack of identifiable diagnostic features. Other artifacts include wire and other metal. Early on during pedestrian survey, it was unclear as to the number of artifacts might be found on the surface through pedestrian survey. Therefore, as a precaution, all artifacts were flagged to be recorded. As the survey progressed and it was clear that diagnostic artifacts were readily found on the surface, fewer of the non-diagnostic artifacts that were later classified as indefinite were recorded.

Artifact categories within the *Institutional* (n=24) class were assigned to the functional categories *Administration, Confinement*, *Mess Hall, Other Institutional,* and *Transportation. Administration* contained a three ringed binder mechanism likely used by POWs that worked in the administration barrack for this particular compound or by construction workers tasked with camp demolition. A guy wire, likely used to help stabilize and tie down a guard tower was assigned to the category *Confinement*. Artifacts found in association with the mess hall included pie tins, a spoon, jugs, bowls, tin cans, and can lids and were assigned to the category *Mess Hall*. One can that was likely motor oil was assigned to the functional category *Transportation*. The remaining artifacts were assigned to *Other Institutional*, and include artifacts that were likely military in nature, such as buttons or a tunic belt hook, and possible insulator fragments.

A total of 41 artifacts were assigned to the functional class *Personal*. Of these, 13 fell into the functional category *Clothing* and included items such as buttons, a tunic belt hook, clothes hangers, and a rubber boot sole. Artifacts assigned to the category *Grooming* (n=10) contained bottles such as hair tonic, grooming scissors, and a safety razor. The functional category *Hygiene* (n=10) included toothpaste tubes and caps, and a glass bottle of Dyanshine, a brand of shoe polish. In addition to the functional category of *Clothing*, buttons were also assigned to the category *Personal Adornment* and in some cases *Other Institutional*.

Although the surface of the site is littered in window glass and various nails, these were not recorded. It is evident that buildings were located on this site and their footprints are delineated by footings and slab foundations still on the surface. Some structural artifacts, although were recorded, and were assigned into the functional categories of *Concrete*, *Electricity*, *Fastener*, or *Other Building Materials*. *Concrete* includes a possible building footing, *Electricity* includes a ceramic insulator. *Fastener* includes a wire tied to a nail, a cable, and a clamp. *Other Building Materials* include wire, pipe, and wire mesh.

The Compound 1 sample area measured approximately 11,560m^2 from which we recorded a total of 147 artifacts. I collected 43 of these artifacts for further analysis and assigned them lot numbers. Appendix E shows the artifacts from Compound 1 and the various functional classes assigned to each category. The table is sorted by class and then by category alphabetically.

Within the functional category *Activities* (n=13), I assigned artifacts to the functional classes of *Collecting, Crafts, Games, Other Activities, Sewing, and Writing*.

One artifact, a New Mexico Tax Token was assigned to the functional class *Collecting*. It is unclear if this token was deposited in the archaeological record from a prisoner or from an American during camp demolition. A prisoner may have acquired the token while on work duty outside the camp, but they would not have had money to make purchases, as they were paid in scrip, which was later exchanged for currency after the war. I assigned five artifacts to the functional class *Crafts*, all of which were modified artifacts, and were placed in this category because of the crafting that it took to modify these artifacts into something useful or meaningful to the prisoners. The functional class *Games* contains three artifacts, two of which are golf balls and are evidence of post-occupational activities that take place on or near the site. The third artifact assigned to this class was a glass marble, which shows signs of use-wear. Four artifacts fall within the class *Other Activities* since they may have been used for a function other than the predefined classes in the database or I was unable to discern the activity for why the artifact was modified. An artifact that consisted of half of a safety pin was the only object assigned to the functional class *Sewing.* Two glass bottles were assigned to the class *Writing*. One is a small bottle the size of an ink bottle and the other bottle contains an ink well.

A total of 82 artifacts were assigned to the functional category *Domestic*. Within this category, I assigned artifacts to the functional classes of *Food Consumption*, *Food Container*, *Food Storage*, *Health*, and *Other Domestic*. I classified 15 artifacts within *Food Consumption*, which contains bottles and bottle glass, a mug, a bowl, a spoon, one possible beer can, and a bottle opener. Seventy artifacts were classified as *Food Container* and included mostly soda bottle and bottle fragments, bottle caps, jars, jugs, and tin cans and tin can fragments. Jars, jar lids, and jugs comprised the *Food Storage*

class, which contained 18 objects. I classified three bottles and one jar as *Health* and two clothes hangers to *Other Domestic*.

I assigned two artifacts to the functional category *Gardening*. Fragments of one pot were assigned to the class *Plant Container*. The other artifact, a modified can, was assigned to the functional class *Watering*.

A total of 25 artifacts were assigned to the functional category *Indefinite*. I was unable to determine the possible function of these particular artifacts. These artifacts include unidentifiable melted glass and bottle glass, metal tags cut out of a metal sheet, unidentified metal, a possible modified iron fastener, and a barrel hoop.

Within the functional category *Institutional* (n=15), I assigned objects into the functional classes *Administration*, *Mess Hall*, and *Other Institutional*. The three artifacts in the class *Administration* are the New Mexico tax token, clipboard clips, and a portion of a straight metal paper fastener. As noted above under the *Collecting* class of the category *Activities*, the tax token may have been collected by a prisoner or lost by the camp disposition crew during demolition. The clipboard clips and metal paper fastener might have been used by the German administration or those tearing down camp or transporting buildings to their new homes. I classified one ceramic bowl, found in association with the mess hall, into the *Mess Hall* class. The remaining 10 artifacts were classified as *Other Institutional* and were mostly of military nature including a tunic belt hook, buttons, and metal buckles, a boot heel sole, and a boot heel plate. Other artifacts include a drain stopper, a cast iron fragment (possibly a stove part), and possibly wire screen window mesh.

I categorized a total of 45 artifacts in the functional category *Personal*. Within this category, objects were assigned *Clothing*, *Grooming*, *Hygiene*, *Other Personal*, and *Personal Adornment* classifications. Within the *Clothing* classification, I assigned 19 artifacts, which contained a tunic belt hook, buttons, clothes hangers, a boot heel and plate, a safety pin, and shoe polish tin and bottle. Hair tonic bottles, combs, scissors, and a jar were assigned to the class *Grooming*. I classified a bottle of Hind's Honey and Almond Cream, a bottle of Fitch's Hair Tonic, and a bottle fragment with a similar lip and neck to Fitch's Hair Tonic as *Hygiene*. *Other Personal* contains buttons, button fragments, and a buckle and *Personal Adornment* contains buttons.

The category *Structural* contains five artifacts in the classes of *Electricity*, *Fastener*, *Hardware*, and *Other Building Materials*. I classified a fragment of a ceramic outlet in the class *Electricity*. A wire tied to a nail is classified as a *Fastener*. A possible hinge is classified as *Hardware*. Wire screen mesh and a keyhole plate are classified as *Other Building Materials*.

The sample area of the American Officers' Compound measured approximately 14,000m^2 from which we recorded a total of 67 artifacts. I collected 10 of these artifacts for further analysis and assigned them lot numbers. Appendix F shows the artifacts from American Officers' Compound and the various functional classes assigned to each category. The table is sorted by class and then by category alphabetically.

I categorized four artifacts from the American Officers' Compound with the functional category *Activities*. Of these artifacts, I assigned three to the functional class *Alcohol*, and one to the class *Writing.* One artifact that was assigned to *Alcohol*, was also assigned to the class *Other Activities*, because it was not only a possible beer can, but it

also contained evidence of possible shotgun shells, another indicator of possible post-occupational target practice. The other two artifacts assigned to *Alcohol* were bottle fragments of possible whiskey bottles. One bottle base contained patent information for a whiskey bottle used for Windsor Straight Bourbon Whiskey. The other contained information for a pint sized bottle and was brown in color. The fourth artifact, assigned to the functional class *Writing* was a pencil ferrule, possibly from use by the American military or by those involved with the disposition of camp.

I categorized a total of 36 artifacts to the functional category *Domestic*. Within this category, artifacts were assigned to the functional classes of *Food Consumption* (n=9), *Food Container* (n=26), *Food Preparation* (n=3), *Food Storage* (n=3), *Health* (n=1), and *Other Domestic* (n=3). The *Food Consumption* class contained artifacts such as soda bottle glass fragments, likely of 7up, ceramic plate and bowl sherds, a beer can, and a sardine tin. The *Food Container* class contained artifacts such as bottle caps, cans, soda bottles, jar lids, and a sardine can. *Food Preparation* contained two bowls and a pie tin and *Food Storage* contained glass carafe fragments and two metal lids for jars. One artifact in the class *Health* was a toothpaste tube, and the class *Other Domestic* contained two clothes hangers and a window roller shade bracket.

Fieldwork yielded only one artifact that could be assigned to the *Gardening* category. Red earthenware sherds were recorded that were likely from flower pots, which I assigned to the functional class *Plant Containers*.

Twenty-two artifacts were categorized within the functional category *Indefinite*. The artifacts contained unidentified metal fragments, unidentified bottle and glass fragments, a bucket and a can.

I assigned three artifacts to the functional category *Institutional*. These artifacts consisted of a paper clip, assigned the functional class *Administration*, one cast iron fragment, and one 1942 Mercury Dime, both assigned to the functional class *Other Institutional*.

Five artifacts were categorized as *Personal*. I assigned two clothes hangers to the class *Clothing*, one hair brush handle fragment to the class *Grooming*, and one toothpaste tube to the class *Hygiene*.

Found in association with a lavatory, a draft regulator was assigned to the functional class *Other Building Materials* within the functional category *Structural*.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

Two goals of this research were to assess if the site of former Camp Trinidad is significant for listing in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and to gain further insights into the daily lives of the prisoners at the camp. The following discussion addresses both these goals by identifying the significance and integrity of the site for evaluation in the NRHP and demonstrating what the archaeology of the camp can tell us about Camp Trinidad.

Statement of Significance

In order to ascertain archaeological integrity, I had to determine the key factors that make the site significant. According to National Register Bulletin (NRB) 15, integrity is rooted in significance. One must first understand when, why, and how a property is significant before a determination for integrity can be made (NPS 1997). To be significant, a district, site, building, structure, or object must meet at least one of four National Register Criteria (36 CFR 60.4). The criteria for Camp Trinidad's significance are Criterion A for its association with an important event or pattern of events and Criterion D, because it has yielded, and is likely to yield in future studies, information important to history.

Camp Trinidad is not only associated with World War II--one of the most, if not the most, significant events of the 20th-century--but it is directly associated with the development and operation of the United States prisoner of war program. Never before had the United States held so many foreign prisoners of war within its borders. The grounds of the former camp have the potential to yield information on the lives of a group of those prisoners. Information in the form of artifacts and archaeological features can be found on and below the surface as demonstrated in the results of my fieldwork.

According to the code of federal regulations (CFR) 60.4, it is not enough for a property to meet one or more of the NRHP Criterion. The property must also possess integrity. There are seven aspects of integrity that include location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Not all aspects of integrity are treated equally and some are weighted more heavily than others depending on the particular property and the Criterion or Criteria for which it is important (NPS 1997). For a site to have integrity under Criterion A, most or all of the seven aspects of integrity should be met. To be eligible under Criterion D, an emphasis is usually placed upon location, design, materials, and workmanship (NPS 1997).

The aspect of location requires that the historic property is either where it was constructed or where the historic event occurred. Although the camp was formally disposed of and the buildings removed, many of the foundations and building footprints remain. Furthermore, the sandstone and basalt lined walkways and gardens are still present and an observer can still navigate through the camp today. The camp, albeit incomplete, is still in the location where it was during WWII.

NRB 15 describes design as including the elements of form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property (NPS 1997). Camp Trinidad was one of over 400 camps in the WWII POW program. This camp was intentionally designed, built, and then expanded as a component of the greater POW system. Although the buildings have been removed, many of the elements of design are present.

Setting refers to the physical environment of a historic property. Of the three POW base camps in Colorado, Camp Trinidad is the only one that has not yet been disturbed through development. The entire footprint is visible and remains largely untouched under the ownership of a private landowner.

The materials aspect refers to the building materials and patterns used to create the property. Modified theater of war buildings were used throughout Camp Trinidad and the entire POW system. The guard towers, barbed wire fences, water tower, utility buildings, barracks, mess halls, theaters, and clubs have all been removed. NRB 15 states that the key exterior materials that date to the period of historical significance must be retained. Certainly key exterior materials have been removed, although other key materials remain, such as the walkways and roads, gardens, and foundations.

Workmanship refers to the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or group during any given period. The American workmanship can be seen in the foundations, building ruins, and the mostly intact road system. The Germans also left their mark though the modified artifacts that remain on the surface, their personalized and communal gardens, and even their building modifications. Although not all key materials

and workmanship are present, there is enough on and below the surface to make a case for Camp Trinidad meeting these integrity aspects.

Feeling, perhaps the most subjective of the seven aspects, is the ability for a property to evoke an emotional response and to give an observer a historic sense of a particular time. Standing on the windswept mesa in the POW compounds, one can still take in the sights and feelings to which the German POWs might have been subjected. During the public archaeology day, a former prisoner's daughter was filled with joy and nearly brought to tears after she was able to share the same sights and feelings that her father might have experienced while in camp. Many of the prisoners sketched and painted the prominent geologic features such as Fisher's Peak, the Sangre de Cristo Mountain Range, and the Spanish Peaks, which can all be seen from the camp. Lost are the feelings of being observed and the threatening feel of machine guns and sentry dogs patrolling the barbed wire, but without too much trouble, one can envision and elicit those feelings.

The last aspect of integrity, association, concerns the historic property's ability to convey to the observer the relationship of the historic event. The grounds of the former camp have not been radically altered and are able to convey such a relationship, especially when one views the aerial photograph and can see the uniformity of the institutional design.

Camp Trinidad is significant because it is an example of a POW camp that housed enemy combatants during WWII. Aside from the attack on Pearl Harbor in Hawaii, the fighting that took place on the Aleutian Islands in Alaska, and the U.S. Army's role in guarding the civilian internment camps, these camps are one of the few ways that the

military's involvement in WWII left a direct material trace in the U.S. The physical features that remain on the surface in the form of ruins are enough to allow an observer to understand where they are and to navigate the former camp. The features present also have the ability to convey that significance to the observer. Although not all key elements of the seven aspects of integrity are present, enough of the vital aspects are there to establish the archaeological integrity of the camp. Therefore, since the property retains the identity for which it is significant, Camp Trinidad can be said to have archaeological integrity.

Insights on Daily Life at Camp Trinidad

The various ways the prisoners lived their daily existence and adjusted to their confinement in America can be seen through multiple avenues of my research. In order to survive within confinement, prisoners must learn to cope and make do, which in turn enables each individual incarcerated to deal with the institutionalization process (Casella 2007). One way the POWs made-do was to adjust to a lack of available goods. The prisoners could purchase items from the canteen or request many of the comforts of home from the Red Cross or YMCA such as musical instruments, books, and sporting equipment. As a result of rationing on the home front for the war effort, other goods such as those made of metal, were not as easy to come by. Therefore, the prisoners had to forage for needed goods or modify existing materials to suit their needs. Another avenue

to make do is through exchange. Through my research I uncovered some material examples of exchange and reciprocity that took place within the camp.

The POW created smoking stand (see Figure 13) housed in the Denver Public Library, is an example of how one prisoner made-do through exchange. POW Werner Stützer created the stand for Bob Deaville, an American with the 390th MPEG. In a letter that accompanied this piece as a gift to the Denver Public Library, Mr. Deaville stated that the smoking stand was, "something that I have treasured for many years" (Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy [WH] Trinidad Prisoner of War Camp Collection, 1939-1993 1942-1946, C MSS WH618). In the letter, Deaville mentioned that Stützer gifted this to him because he gave Stützer "two giant Hersey bars on his birthday" (WH C MSS WH 618). The stand itself represents the quintessential artifact of a POW camp in that it was created from what was available, including the use of a shoe polish tin for an ash tray and bits and pieces of wood to create the stand.

Also given to Deaville was a prisoner-made letter opener (see Figure 14). A POW by the name of Oscar worked in the foundry and welding shop in camp and gifted the fishtailed letter opener to Deaville in 1944. An inscription on the blade reads, "To Bob Deaville from Oscar P.O.W." Both the smoking stand and letter opener clearly demonstrate how prisoners scrounged for materials and the time and effort they expended to create them. One of the biggest complaints from the prisoners to the Americans and German authorities was boredom. Through the creation of these objects (and doubtless many others), the prisoners were able to occupy their time to stave off the monotony of camp. Not only do these two pieces of material culture demonstrate the ingenuity and

craftsmanship of the prisoners, but they also detail the exchange that took place within the camp; exchange that was strictly prohibited between the guards and prisoners, yet still occurred. Furthermore, they represent the beginnings of friendships forged, some of which would last years after the closure of camp. The plaque in Trinidad city Hall is testament of those forged friendships, friendships that lasted more than 50 years and spanned 5,000 miles.

Paintings and sketches were also common among the prisoners. Captain Ehrcke sketched the plan of his compound and barrack in his diary (see Figure 17). His sketch includes the majority of Compound 2 and also details the names and locations of the officers living in the different rooms of his barrack. Included in the sketch is the specific layout of his particular home in the barrack and the landscaping features associated with his building, including his and his housemates' garden. POW Fritz Dienst created the painting with the ever present Fisher's Peak in the background on cardboard and framed it with scrap wood (see Figure 21). Captain Paul Lorenz painted a watercolor of a garden with barracks, guard tower, barbed wire fence, and the snowcapped Sangre de Cristo Mountain Range in the background (see Figure 19). Captain Lorenz also sketched in pencil of one of the streets of Trinidad with a garden in the foreground and barracks that extend into the background as far as the eye can see (see Figure 20).

A recurring theme in each of these sketches and paintings are the landscaped features within the compounds set against the conformity and drab surroundings of the institution. Whether the gardens are sketched, painted, or outlined as part of a plan, they are present in the illustrations and were likely very important to the prisoners. Also

important to the POWs was the landscape surrounding the camp, especially Fisher's Peak and the Sangre De Cristo Mountain Range. The views of these geologic formations would have added beauty to the camp surroundings and was a reprieve from the monotony of the camp structures.

Another example of coping and passing time in camp came from interviews with Dr. Reisch, as discussed in Chapter 4, who took turns making coffee with friends and playing cards most evenings. According to Dr. Reisch, these evening gatherings with friends and taking turns to make coffee are some of the best memories he has of camp – electrocution aside.

As previously noted, during the early days of fieldwork, most of the artifacts that archaeologists came across were flagged and recorded. Initially we were not certain as to how much material culture was left on the surface, since no previous formal archaeological study had been conducted at the POW camp. During informal reconnaissance, some artifacts were visible on the surface It was not until we employed an intensive systematic survey and began to make our way from one end of the survey area to the other in structured transects that the quantity of artifacts became more apparent. At the beginning of this survey, we flagged and recorded nearly all artifacts, including those that did offer fruitful information about the former prisoners or the camp. These artifacts included unidentified iron can fragments, unidentified clear vessel glass, and milk glass. There are however other artifacts that we identified that can be most helpful in gaining insights into the daily lives of the German prisoners.

The artifacts recovered and discussed demonstrate the prisoners' power through the acquisition of personal material culture. These objects were used by the prisoners for their own purposes be it resistance or cooperation, or to express their individuality (Myers 2013). As Myers demonstrated at Riding Mountain Camp, the modification of objects and the purchase of goods at the camp canteen are efforts to escape conformity and achieve individuality. Furthermore, what makes this material culture personal is that the goods purchased or modified by the POWs were not acquired by the overseers for the planning and function of the camp (Myers 2013). Therefore, many of the objects recovered at Camp Trinidad can be viewed in the vein of personal material culture, such as modified institutional objects and handicrafts, the health and grooming products, and the soda bottles and their bottle caps. One caveat to labeling goods as either institutional or personal, Myers explains, is that there is no decisive boundary between them. As prisoners were able to purchase goods from the canteen, it was ultimately the institution that oversaw and decided what was permissible to sell (Myers 2013).

One example of personal material culture recovered during archaeological survey was what appeared at first glance to be a rusted fragment of scrap metal located in the German officers' compound. Upon further examination, we noticed that this particular piece of scrap metal was fashioned into a measuring tape (Figure 28). Most intriguing is how it displays markings for centimeters on one side (Figure 29) and markings for inches on the other (Figure 30). Perhaps this artifact provides insights of the Germans coping with a camp constructed using English units and their desire to make modifications using the metric measuring system to which they were accustomed. In any case, it demonstrates

their necessity to work in two different standards of measure, and the means by which they were able to incorporate their way of measurement into their camp surroundings.

Figure 28. Scrap metal fashioned into a measuring tape. There are markings for metric one side and inches on the other. Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 29. Measuring tape side with metric markings. Note the 1-meter mark in the center. Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 30. Measuring tape side with inches. Photograph taken by the author.

Other artifacts we recovered that show evidence of modification include tin cans made into cutting utensils (Figure 31), a tin can lid made into a stencil or cutout pattern (Figure 32), a wire fashioned into a hanger (Figure 33), and a piece of metal strapping formed into a pry bar (Figure 34). All represent further evidence of the prisoners attempting to get by with what they had.

Figure 31. Can lid modified into a cutting utensil. Note the serrated edge on the bottom left side of the can lid. Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 32. Can lid with a star pattern cut out. Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 33. Wire modified into a clothes hanger. Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 34. Metal strapping modified into a pry bar. Photograph taken by the author.

Artifacts that demonstrate the POWs attempt to adjust to their new environment are the various health and grooming product containers we found within proximity to the

prisoner barracks. Like much of the southwest, Trinidad's climate is often hot and dry, which is very different than the generally temperate climate of Germany. The health containers we found include Hind's Honey and Almond Cream, Pond's Cold Cream, and Fitch's Hair Tonic. Hind's Honey and Almond cream was marketed specifically for chapped and cracked skin, sunburn, and windburn, all of which the prisoners would have been subjected to while in camp. Fitch's Hair Tonic was marketed as an aid for dry, itching scalp. Dr. Reisch, stated that cold cream was a commonly used product amongst the prisoners and that it served to help aid with sunburn.

Also found throughout the camp were fragments of soda bottles and a few mostly or fully complete soda bottles. I was able to identify three brands: Coca-Cola, 7UP, and Dr. Pepper. We also recovered 65 crown bottle caps, which represent the presence of soft drinks throughout the camp even though the bottles were not nearly as prevalent. Certainly the bottle caps suggest that the POW purchase and consumption of sodas were in much greater quantity than the glass identified and recorded suggests. The likely cause for this disparity is the bottle deposit. At five cents per soda plus a two cent deposit, imposed by the soft drink producer to ensure the return of their bottles, failure to not return the bottles would have added up quickly.

In one location, I recorded a pile of hundreds of bottle caps at the back corner of one of the canteen buildings during an informal survey in an area outside of our designated formal survey area (Figure 35). This might suggest a possible hang-out location or where there might have been a bottle opener fixed to the wall of the building and the POWs cared not to remove the caps once discarded. This is supported by our

identification of a distinctive bottle opener in Compound 1 (Figure 36). The bottle opener is rounded, unlike a church key where one side is for the removal of crown bottle caps and the other side punctures holes in cans. Due to the one pointed end, it is possible that church keys were not allowed in camp. Therefore, it is in the realm of possibility that the American's attached a bottle opener to the side of the building in an effort to supply an opener that would not have been contraband. Whether or not this was a hang-out area or simply an area where the POWs popped their bottle caps off, the pile of bottle caps is discreet and is likely not the result of camp demolition or post-occupational forces.

Figure 35. A collection of bottle caps at the corner of a camp canteen. Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 36. A bottle opener recovered from Compound 1.

Ceramics yield further insights into the preferences of the prisoners. We recovered hand-painted whiteware ceramic fragments associated with officers' barracks and the officers' club in Compound 4 (Figure 37). Unlike Compound 4, the only ceramics we recovered from the enlisted men's compound were institutional ceramics such as undecorated hotel ware and one ceramic stamped "U.S.Q.M.C." that indicates production for the U.S. Quartermaster Corps. The ceramics in Compound 1 were purchased by the U.S government for soldier use, unlike the decorated ceramics in Compound 4, which were likely purchased by the POW officers. Adams and Boling (1989) warned of the pitfalls of relying solely on ceramics as markers of status and that a better assessment of status and class using ceramics is the completeness of matching sets. Nevertheless, within

the sample area surveyed, preference appears to be for the decorated ceramics among the officers in Compound 4 versus the institutional undecorated ceramics found in Compound 1.

Figure 37. Hand-painted whiteware recovered from Compound 4. This was the only compound where decorated ceramics were located. Photograph taken by the author.

The POWs within Camp Trinidad were primarily responsible for policing themselves. While guards watched from the guard towers, the daily duties fell to the ranks of the German prisoners. Perhaps in order to distinguish themselves and reaffirm to themselves of their own status, the officers purchased decorated ceramics as an indicator of that status. Furthermore, many of the officers within the *Wehrmacht* were educated professionals and the purchase of these ceramics was a personal preference important

enough to spend their camp scrip on. This may have been a luxury item not afforded by the enlisted men as the rates of compensation were much less for lower ranking POWs.

Archaeological features have also helped to answer questions of how the strategies of negotiation were employed by the internees. Still present on the surface of the camp, in addition to the architectural ruins, are the prisoner-made gardens. Through intensive pedestrian survey, we were able to identify three main types of gardens: entryway gardens (near the barrack and building entrances), front yard gardens (those gardens across the stone-lined walkway opposite the front door), and one that may have possibly been a communal garden. The gardens we located had sparse vegetation, but some contained iris, small shrubs, and Chinese elm, all of which were likely planted by the POWs. Some gardens also contained hardscaping such as basalt boulders, and brick pavers.

These former gardens harmonize with Kenneth Helphand's definition of defiant gardens, as they were created in difficult political conditions; furthermore, the prisoner-made gardens can be viewed within a framework of assertion (Helphand 2006:1). Removed from the violence of death of the two fronts of the European Theater, the prisoners began creating gardens in their sparsely vegetated new home. These new enhancements added beauty to the high desert landscape that was previously only occupied by prairie grass, modified theater of war barracks, warehouses, guard towers, and barbed wire fences. According to Dr. Reisch, the gardens were not only created for camp beautification, but also to make their new home far from Germany seem less so. As German leaders within the camp were not sure how long they would call Colorado home,

they wanted to transform the landscape into something that might be seen in Germany. Small trucks that could take five or six people and a guard were driven to the Arkansas River Valley, as far as 60 miles away, to collect plants to place in camp. As much as the gardens enabled a sense of home, they also created social cohesion within the camp. The POWs came from various military companies that had never met before and the gardens spawned new interactions between prisoners – so much so that competitions were held between many of the barracks to see which could create the best garden. Furthermore, gardening also gave the Germans something to care for. After their meals, many of the POWs would add nutrients to the soil by dumping their leftovers from meals into the gardens.

Although the barracks have been removed, what is left of the foundations can still yield important information. Building 1278 located in Compound 4 provides an example from our survey area. The foundation is unlike the other remaining foundations in this compound. Labeled on the map as the theater, the prisoners modified the foundation to make a building more suitable to them. Instead of the barrack consisting of a flat slab of concrete, the POWs cut out a portion of the foundation to create a slope in the floor beginning at the north end of the barrack to meet another portion of the foundation that the POWs completely removed near the southern end. About a quarter of the original foundation was untouched in the southernmost portion. Within the part of the barrack with the ramped floor, the prisoners laid wood into the foundation, likely to support chairs or a built structure capable of holding chairs (Figures 38 and 39). The segment of the foundation that is missing and appears as a hole today was likely used as an orchestra

pit, while the untouched portion of the foundation likely served as a stage. Known as the *Offiziere* Theater, this building was the site of activity on a nightly basis.

Figure 38. The German Officer's Theater, note the slanted floor with embedded wood.

Figure 39. German Officer's Theater, note the hole between the slanted floor and raised flat stage area.

Dr. Reisch described his time in camp as, “amazing for me,” yet there are accounts of prisoner’s experience in Camp Trinidad, and elsewhere in German POW camps within the U.S., which range from bullying to fatal. In many instances there were clashes between those in the *Afrika Korps*, the most ardent Nazi supporters, and those soldiers from the Western Front captured in France. By 1944 the Germans captured in France had a much different outlook on the war and more realistic expectations as to how the war would ultimately end compared to those that were captured in Africa in 1942 and 1943. If supporters of the Nazi party overheard or suspected someone of any degree of disloyalty, then they were subject to beatings, staged trials, or even death. Evidence of this behavior in the archaeological record eluded us during our short and limited survey,

but accounts of these fears and actions are documented in sources such as in the trial of Toots, Billie, and Flo and in a letter dated May 4, 1945 from a Camp Trinidad POW, Special Leader Emil Wintgen, to his mother in Germany. Wintgen reveals insights into the potential risks of being found out as anti-Nazi. The letter reads:

> Since there is no longer a German censor, and since the Gestapo has lost its power, I can write you a little more freely about the conditions which prevailed in our camp. Actually, we were more the prisoners of the camp Gestapo than prisoners of the Americans. These sub-human creatures played and lost their last trump last Sunday night. The SS officers, who stand to lose everything with the imminent end of the war, wanted to satisfy once more their thirst for blood by slaughtering all of the Anti-Nazis in this camp. By chance the matter was discovered and counter measures taken. The Americans patrolled the camp throughout the night. I and both of my roommates, who are all known to be Anti-Nazis and hated by the party big shots, had to be ready to protect ourselves. We sat on our beds during the whole night, armed with heavy wooden clubs. That anything of this nature could ever take place in an officer's camp, I would never have deemed possible. These SS hangmen and party big shots have already been transferred to a special camp. ---Unfortunately, they were not all caught and some of them are still here among us. [NARA II RG 389 Entry 468 Box 1846]

This is certainly a sobering and frightening glimpse into some of the darker events within camp and demonstrates that it was not always easy as a prisoner in an American POW camp.

Archival research, interviews, and archaeological fieldwork yielded valuable insights into how the prisoners were able to navigate their way through institutional confinement. Staving off boredom and keeping themselves occupied was of primary concern and one that the POWs dealt with most creatively.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

Camp Trinidad, although dismantled and long abandoned, has retained its archaeological integrity primarily through lack of development. As a result, the data at the site – present in the form of artifacts and features on and below the surface – have yielded and have the potential to further yield information regarding not only Camp Trinidad, but the POW system in the U.S.

Although the sample area we studied was limited to just over 3% of the entire camp, the building remnants, garden features, and artifacts demonstrate the integrity of the camp grounds. Moreover, these features and artifacts yield insights into the activities the prisoners engaged in and shed light onto what was important to the prisoners of Camp Trinidad.

The principal evidence presented in this research yielded insights on how the prisoners in camp made do with what they had and the various ways they occupied their time in camp. When the prisoners were unable to acquire certain goods, either as a result of rationing or camp regulations, they fashioned items into what they needed from what was available. This can be seen in the tin can lids modified into a knife or the metal strapping converted into a tape measure. When POWs could not make or remake goods, they turned to exchange with the American guards. The smoking stand and fish-tailed letter opener are two examples of exchange between the prisoners and guards. Not only

do these two objects demonstrate that exchange took place within camp, they demonstrate the time the POWs had to create such objects.

Other ways prisoners occupied time included the beautification of the camp through the creation and subsequent nurturing of gardens and the sketches and paintings of the camp and surrounding landscape. Further examples of time occupying activities included the modification of a recreation barrack into a theater for theater productions and concerts, educational classes taught by Ph.D.'s and other professionals, and various sporting events

This master's thesis was just one way that data from this project was disseminated. Prior to beginning fieldwork, I gave a talk to the local Trinidad community in an effort to engage the public and advise them of the work being done as it related to their town. During fieldwork, I hosted a public day where town's people were invited to the camp to see it first hand and to see the research we were conducting. Both the talk and the community day at the camp were sponsored by History Colorado's Trinidad History Museum.

As a deliverable for History Colorado's State Historic Fund Assessment Grant, I wrote a technical report and completed site forms in order to formally record and document the location of the camp. Furthermore, details as to what we found such as the gardens and artifacts were also documented. I also created a website in order to make my research findings more available to the general public. The website can be found here: http://portfolio.du.edu/cmorine. Another way I made my research and information regarding the camp more available was through the creation of a booklet, available at

History Colorado's Trinidad History Museum. It details the some of the findings of my research and contains a brief historical background on the POW system in the U.S. and Camp Trinidad. As a first step to comparing data between Camp Trinidad and Amache, Dr. Bonnie Clark and I (2014) coauthored an article for the Telluride Historical Society. It examines the power of place making and how two seemingly different cultures made each of their respective camps their own.

There is still much that can be learned from additional archaeological research at Camp Trinidad. Future research with similar data sets, such as diagnostic and modified artifacts and landscaped features, would allow for a more detailed and comprehensive comparison between the officers and enlisted prisoners. Future research could also include a more in depth comparison between the data sets from Camp Trinidad and the data sets from Amache. With these data juxtaposed, details can be contrasted and compared on how these two groups, enemy combatants and exiled Japanese and Japanese Americans, lived. Were the camps constructed comparably? Were each of the groups given the same opportunities, such as education, leisure, and work activities? What are the similarities and differences in how they occupied their time? What types of goods were modified by each of the groups? Through a comparison between the two camps, insights will not only be gained on the role that these two groups played in Colorado during WWII, but also into the role that these camps played in the United States.

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APPENDIX A

Camp Trinidad Artifact Catalog

Compound	Lot No.	Sublot	Object Name	Short Description
1SE	1SE.01	1	Bottle	Complete Clear Bottle
1SE	1SE.02	1	Bottle	Honey And Almond Hand Cream
1SE	1SE.03	1	Bottle	Clear Complete Glass Bottle With Screw Cap
1SE	1SE.04	1	Button	4 Hole Button, Blue Green
1SE	1SE.05	1	Bottle	Complete Glass Bottle
1SE	1SE.06	1	Tax Token	New Mexico Tax Token
1SE	1SE.07	1	Buckle	D Shaped Buckle
1SE	1SE.08	1	Bottle	Complete Dr. Pepper Bottle
1SE	1SE.09	1	Tag	Metal Tag With Possible Writing
1SE	1SE.10	1	Template	Metal Tag Template
1SE	1SE.10	2	Tag	Metal Tag With Hole Punched Out
1SE	1SE.10	3	Tag	Metal Tag With Notches
1SE	1SE.10	4	Tag	Possible Tag
1SE	1SE.11	1	Button	Three Hole Deep Dish Metallic Button
1SE	1SE.12	1	Button fragment	Possible Back To A Button
1SE	1SE.13	1	Button	Kriegsmarine Button
1SE	1SE.14	1	Hook	Tunic Hook
1SE	1SE.15	1	Comb	Celluloid Plastic Comb Fragment
1SE	1SE.16	1	Scissors	Grooming Scissors
1SE	1SE.17	1	Spoon	Utensil Handle, Likely Spoon
1SE	1SE.18	1	Drain Stopper	Sink Or Drain Stopper
1SE	1SE.19	1	Can Saw	Modified Saw From A Can
1SE	1SE.20	1	Bottle	Complete Brown Glass Bottle With Cap
1SE	1SE.21	1	Marble	Opaque Marble With White, Red, And Orange
1SE	1SE.22	1	Jar, Ink	Ink Jar With Built In Inkwell
1SE	1SE.23	1	Bottle	Complete Coca-Cola Bottle
1SE	1SE.24	1	Button	4 Hole Button
1SE	1SE.25	1	Button	Two Hole Button With Wire And Backing
1SE	1SE.26	1	Button	4 Hole Button
1SE	1SE.27	1	Button	4 Hole Button
1SE	1SE.28	1	Bottle	Complete Coca-Cola Bottle

Compound	Lot No.	Sublot	Object Name	Short Description
1SE	1SE.29	1	Bottle	Complete Clear Glass Circle A Bottle
1SE	1SE.30	1	Bottle	7UP Bottle Base And Body
1SE	1SE.31	1	Boot Heel	Rubber Boot Or Shoe Heel
1SE	1SE.32	1	Boot Heel Plate	Boot Heel Plate
1SE	1SE.33	1	Buckle	Buckle
1SE	1SE.34	1	Bowl	U.S.Q.M.C. Bowl
1SE	1SE.35	1	Button	U.S.A. Button
1SE	1SE.36	1	Opener, Bottle	Bottle Opener
1SE	1SE.37	1	Scissors	Grooming Scissors
1SE	1SE.38	1	Key Hole Plate	Key Hole Plate
1SE	1SE.39	1	Bottle	Complete Bottle, Two Ounces
1SE	1SE.40	1	Shoe Polish Tin	Possible Shoe Polish Tin
1SE	1SE.41	1	Electrical Outlet	Ceramic Electrical Outlet Casing
1SE	1SE.42	1	Bottle	Complete Dyanshine Bottle
1SE	1SE.43	1	Paper Fastener	Straight Metal Paper Fastener
4SE	4SE.01	1	Figurine	Porcelain Figurine
4SE	4SE.02	1	Jar Lid	Jar Lid With Jar
4SE	4SE.03	1	Button	Shell Button - 2 Holes
4SE	4SE.04	1	Button	Iron Button
4SE	4SE.05	1	Jar	Clear Glass Jar
4SE	4SE.06	1	Comb	Black Comb
4SE	4SE.07	1	Bottle	Glue Bottle With Top And Applicator
4SE	4SE.08	1	Bottle	Complete Clear Glass Bottle
4SE	4SE.09	1	Knife	Tin Can Lid Modified Into Knife
4SE	4SE.10	1	Pie Tin	Iron Pie Tin Or Plate
4SE	4SE.11	1	Spoon	Tea Spoon
4SE	4SE.12	1	Flatware	Hand Painted White Earthen Ware
4SE	4SE.13	1	Hanger, Clothes	Made Hanger
4SE	4SE.14	1	Bottle	Bartons Dyanshine Bottle
4SE	4SE.15	1	Tin Can Lid	Tin Can Lid With Deliberate Puncture Holes
4SE	4SE.16	1	Toothpaste Tube	Possible Toothpaste Tube
4SE	4SE.16	2	Toothpaste Tube	Toothpaste Tube
4SE	4SE.17	1	Plate	Possible Plate
4SE	4SE.17	2	Plate	White Earthen Ware
4SE	4SE.18	1	Hook	Tunic Hook
4SE	4SE.19	1	Can	Tin Can
4SE	4SE.20	1	Pry Bar	Iron Pry Bar

Compound	Lot No.	Sublot	Object Name	Short Description
4SE	4SE.20	2	Iron Ring	Iron Ring With Opening
4SE	4SE.21	1	Button	Iron Button
4SE	4SE.22	1	Button	4 Hole U.S. Army Button
4SE	4SE.23	1	Tape Measure	Metal Strapping Modified Into A Tape Measure
4SE	4SE.24	1	Pyrex	Possible Pyrex
4SE	4SE.25	1	Rubber Heel	Partial Rubber Shoe/Boot Heel
4SE	4SE.26	1	Modified Tin Can Lid	Modified Tin Can - Folded And Flattened
4SE	4SE.27	1	Ferrous Circle	Ferrous Circle
4SE	4SE.28	1	Drawing Ink Bottle	Higgins Drawing Ink Bottle
4SE	4SE.29	1	Modified Tin Can Lid	Modified Tin Can Lid With Stars Cut Out
4SE	4SE.30	1	Button	4 Hole Button
4SE	4SE.31	1	Toothpaste Tube	Toothpaste Tube
4SE	4SE.31	2	Toothpaste Tube	Toothpaste Tube
4SE	4SE.31	3	Toothpaste Tube	Toothpaste Tube
4SE	4SE.31	4	Toothpaste Cap	Toothpaste Cap With Lpco
4SE	4SE.31	5	Toothpaste Cap	Toothpaste Cap
4SE	4SE.31	6	Toothpaste Cap	Toothpaste Cap
4SE	4SE.31	7	Toothpaste Cap	Toothpaste Cap - Partial
4SE	4SE.32	1	Button	Shell Button
4SE	4SE.33	1	Star with Clasp	Iron Star With Clasp
4SE	4SE.34	1	Button	Shell Button With Two Holes
4SE	4SE.35	1	Star with Clasp	Iron Star With Clasp
4SE	4SE.36	1	Glass Bottle	Complete Glass Bottle With Metal Closure
4SE	4SE.37	1	Jar	Pond'S Cold Cream Jar
4SE	4SE.38	1	Glass Bottle	Complete Glass Bottle With Metal Lid
4SE	4SE.39	1	Bottle	Glass Bottle Without Closure
4SE	4SE.40	1	Bottle	Small Glass Bottle
4SE	4SE.41	1	Plastic Rings	Plastic Or Vegetable Ivory Button/Hardware
4SE	4SE.42	1	Bottle Base Fragment	Lepage's Bottle Base Fragment
4SE	4SE.43	1	Scissors	Grooming Scissors
4SE	4SE.44	1	Comb	Yellow Celluloid Plastic Comb Fragments
4SE	4SE.45	1	Safety Razor	Safety Razor
AMON	AMON.1	1	Bottle	Complete Brown Bottle
AMON	AMON.2	1	Bottle	7UP Bottle

Compound	Lot No.	Sublot	Object Name	Short Description
AMON	AMON.3	1	Coin	1942 Mercury Dime
AMOS	AMOS.1	1	Ferrule	Wood Pencil Eraser
AMOS	AMOS.2	1	Iron Tag	Iron Tag
AMOS	AMOS.3	1	UID Plastic	Possible Cap Or Lid
AMOS	AMOS.4	1	Bowl Sherds	Hotelware Bowl Sherds
AMOS	AMOS.4	2	Plate Sherds	Plate Sherds
AMOS	AMOS.5	1	Sardine Can	Sardine Can With Key
AMOS	AMOS.6	1	Toothpaste Tube	Possible Toothpaste Tube
AMOS	AMOS.7	1	Brush handle	Brush Handle Made Of Early Plastic Or Bakelite

APPENDIX B

Feature No.	Dimensions	Description
1	8'2.4" x 18'10"	Two Semi-Circle East Entryway Garden, Lined With Sandstone and Basalt Cobble. Each Semi-Circle Contains a Basalt Boulder. The East Semi-Circle Contains the Remains of a Shrub. Associated With Building 1284, Officers' Club.
2	7'4.6" x 18'	Two Semi-Circle Center Entryway Garden, Lined With Sandstone and Basalt Cobble. Bricks Present on the Surface. Associated With Building 1284, Officers' Club.
3	9'10" x 19'8"	Two Semi-Circle West Entryway Garden, Lined With Sandstone and Basalt Cobble. Associated With Building 1284, Officers' Club.
7	13'1.2" x 9'10"	Southeast Entryway Garden Squared off by the Walkway. Lined With Sandstone and Basalt Cobble. Basalt Boulder in the Southwest Corner, and Remains of a Shrub in the Southeast Corner. Chinese Elm is Present Along the Northern Border. Associated With Building 1283, Officers' Barrack.
8	30' x 19' x 36'	Garden Formed by the Intersection of Walkways East of Building 1248, Mess Hall. Walkways Lined by Basalt and Sandstone Cobble for a Triangle. Iris Was Growing at the Time of Survey
12	20'3.6" x 10'6"	Center-east Entryway Garden, Lined by the Walkway's Basalt and Sandstone Cobble. A Ring of Basalt Boulders are Present. Sunflowers Were Growing Within the Feature at the Time of Survey. Associated With Building 1283, Officers' Barrack.
13	9' x 24'7.2"	Center Entryway Garden, Lined by the Walkway's Basalt and Sandstone Cobble. Associated With Building 1283, Officers' Barrack.

Feature No.	Dimensions	Description
14	20'x5'	Center-west Entryway Garden, Lined by the Walkway's Basalt and Sandstone Cobble. Bricks Were Visible on the Surface and Iris was Growing at the Time of Survey. Associated With Building 1283, Officers' Barrack.
15	9'10" x 8'2.4"	West Entryway Garden, Semi-Circle Lined With Basalt and Sandstone Cobble. Associated With Building 1283, Officers' Barrack.
16	13'1.4" x 15'9"	Southern Entryway Garden to Building 1270, Officers' Barrack. One of the More Ornate Gardens of the Survey. Contains Geometric Designs Made With Basalt, Sandstone, and Concrete.
17	9'10" x 16'4.8"	South-Central Entryway Garden to Building 1270, Officers' Barrack. Ornate Garden With Basalt, Sandstone, and Concrete. Iris Was Growing at the Time of Survey.
18	8.5' x 11'9.7"	Common T-Shaped Garden in Front of Building 1269, Officers' Barrack, East of the Walkway Behind Barrack 1270, Officers' Barrack.
20	37'6" x 17'2.6"	The Largest POW-made Feature That Was Detected During Survey. Located West of Building 588, Barrack, and South of Building 589, Lavatory, This Large Double Rectangular Feature is Lined With Sandstone Cobble and Boulder. A Rock Circle at the Center is Approximately 5.7 Feet (1.75 Meters). A Stone Slab Extension That Resembles a Patio is off of the Southern Border. No Vegetation Was Present During Survey.
21	103'4.2" x 26'3"	Sandstone Enclosure Around the Entire Barrack, Building 564. No Vegetation or Hardscaping Present During Survey
22	8'2.4" x 19'8.4"	Semi-Circular Rock Enclosure at the North End of Barrack, Building 588. Lined With Concrete and Sandstone. Iris Was Present During Survey.

Feature No.	Dimensions	Description
23		Possible Garden Feature Framed by the Walkway Near Building 568, Storehouse and Administration
24	32'9.6" x 6'7"	Lined With Sandstone and Interrupted by a Wing of Building 562, Shop - General Purpose, Approximately 1/3 of the Building is North of the Wing, and 2/3 are South. A Basalt Boulder is Present in the Southwest Portion of the Northern Section. Felled Tree Debris is Associated With the Southern Portion of the Garden.
25		Large Feature With Purposely Placed Cobbles in an Elaborate Pattern.
26		Diamond Shaped Features in American Compound
27		Chinese Elms Outside the German Officers' Theater
28		Garden Lining the Walkway east of Barrack Building 1242. Chinese Elm Still Present
29		Large Geometric Shaped Garden Lined With Sandstone North of Lavatory, Building 1244
30		Large Garden to the North of Building 588 Lined With Concrete and Sandstone. Contained Iris at the Start of Survey

APPENDIX C

Functional Classes

Activities	**Domestic**	**Gardening**	**Institutional**	**Personal**	**Structural**
					Asphalt Roll
Writing	Cleaning	Plant Containers	Sewer	Hygiene	Roofing
Toys	Food Remains	Watering	Mess Hall	Clothing	Hardware
Religious	Food Preparation	Hardscaping	Hospital	Grooming	Concrete
	Food		Farm	Personal	
Political	Consumption	Plant Remains	Machinery	Adornment	Window Glass
Crafts	Food Storage	Soil	Administration	Luggage	Brick
Games	Health	Tools	Confinement	Other Personal	Electricity
	Household	Decorative			
Entertainment	Decoration	Elements	Transportation		Lumber
			Other		Other Building
Collecting	Furniture	Other Gardening	Institutional		Materials
	Heating/				
Alcohol	Lighting	Fencing			Fastener
Tobacco	Other Domestic				Ceramic
Sewing	Food Container				
Other					
Activities					

Functional Categories

APPENDIX D

Compound 4 Artifacts By Functional Class And Category

Class	Category	Object Name	FA	Lot No.	Sublot
Activities	Crafts	Bottle	250	4SE.39	1
Activities	Crafts	Can Lid	248		
Activities	Crafts	Drawing Ink Bottle	196	4SE.28	1
Activities	Crafts	Glass Bottle	238	4SE.36	1
Activities	Crafts	Glue Bottle	7	4SE.7	1
Activities	Crafts	Knife	45	4SE.9	1
Activities	Crafts	Modified Tin Can Lid	197	4SE.29	1
Activities	Crafts	Screw And Hook	64		
Activities	Crafts	Tape Measure	167	4SE.23	1
Activities	Crafts	Tin Can	193		
Activities	Other Activities	3 Ring Binder Clip	134		
Activities	Other Activities	Bottle	125	4SE.14	1
Activities	Other Activities	Can	256		
Activities	Other Activities	Can	268		
Activities	Other Activities	Can Lid	248		
Activities	Other Activities	Can With Holes	258		
Activities	Other Activities	Cup	36		
Activities	Other Activities	Figurine	1	4SE.1	1
Activities	Other Activities	Knife	45	4SE.9	1
Activities	Other Activities	Modified Tin Can Lid	153	4SE.26	1
Activities	Other Activities	Nail And Wire	67		
Activities	Other Activities	Pipe	200		
Activities	Other Activities	Pitch Fork	65		
Activities	Other Activities	Plate	39	4SE.17	1
Activities	Other Activities	Plate	39	4SE.17	2
Activities	Other Activities	Pry Bar	126	4SE.20	1
Activities	Other Activities	Shotgun Shell	212		
Activities	Other Activities	Tin Can	193		
Activities	Other Activities	Wire	44		
Activities	Other Activities	Wire	202		
Activities	Writing	Bottle Base Fragment	273	4SE.42	1
Activities	Writing	Glass Bottle	238	4SE.36	1
Domestic	Food Consumption	Body Sherd	169		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Body Sherd	177		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Bottle	50		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Bottle	63		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Bottle	72		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Bottle Base	157		

Class	Category	Object Name	FA	Lot No.	Sublot
Domestic	Food Consumption	Bottle Fragment	269		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Can	217		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Cap, Bottle	199		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Ceramic	66		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Ceramic Sherd	136		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Coca-Cola Bottle	142		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Cup	36		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Cup Sherd	113		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Cup, Coffee	247		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Earthenware Sherd	187		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Earthenware Sherds	178		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Earthenware Sherds	188		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Earthenware Sherds	189		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Flatware	28	4SE.12	1
Domestic	Food Consumption	Glass Bottle	249	4SE.38	1
Domestic	Food Consumption	Glass Bottle Base	164		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Glass Bottle Fragment	146		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Glass Bottle Fragment	147		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Glass Dish Fragment	131		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Glass Fragment	158		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Glass Fragment	260		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Handle, Cup	107		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Jug Fragments	224		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Plate	39	4SE.17	1
Domestic	Food Consumption	Plate	39	4SE.17	2
Domestic	Food Consumption	Plate	95		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Plate	96		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Rim Sherd	168		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Rim Sherd	175		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Rim Sherd	205		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Sherd	106		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Sherd	127		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Sherd	173		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Sherds	213		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Sherds	237		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Spoon	11	4SE.11	1
Domestic	Food Consumption	Tableware	76		
Domestic	Food Container	Bottle	16		
Domestic	Food Container	Bottle	18		
Domestic	Food Container	Bottle - Neck/Lip	105		
Domestic	Food Container	Bottle Base	157		
Domestic	Food Container	Bottle Fragment	269		
Domestic	Food Container	Can	51		

Class	Category	Object Name	FA	Lot No.	Sublot
Domestic	Food Container	Can	92		
Domestic	Food Container	Can	93		
Domestic	Food Container	Can	94		
Domestic	Food Container	Can	98		
Domestic	Food Container	Can	119	4SE.19	1
Domestic	Food Container	Can	152		
Domestic	Food Container	Can	217		
Domestic	Food Container	Can	243		
Domestic	Food Container	Can	256		
Domestic	Food Container	Can	268		
Domestic	Food Container	Can Lid	133		
Domestic	Food Container	Can Lid	135		
Domestic	Food Container	Can Lid	220		
Domestic	Food Container	Can Lid	248		
Domestic	Food Container	Can Lid	255		
Domestic	Food Container	Can With Holes	258		
Domestic	Food Container	Can, Food-Storage	31		
Domestic	Food Container	Can, Tin	81		
Domestic	Food Container	Can, Tin	88		
Domestic	Food Container	Can, Watering	85		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	13		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	14		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	15		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	20		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	21		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	23		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	24		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	25		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	27		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	102		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	112		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	115		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	116		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	118		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	149		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	150		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	155		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	156		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	162		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	199		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	208		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	214		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	221		

Class	Category	Object Name	FA	Lot No.	Sublot
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	225		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	236		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	251		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	262		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	270		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	272		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle (2)	22		
Domestic	Food Container	Coca-Cola Bottle	142		
Domestic	Food Container	Coffee Can	228		
Domestic	Food Container	Glass Bottle	249	4SE.38	1
Domestic	Food Container	Glass Bottle Base	164		
Domestic	Food Container	Glass Bottle Fragment	146		
Domestic	Food Container	Glass Bottle Fragment	147		
Domestic	Food Container	Glass Dish Fragment	131		
Domestic	Food Container	Glass Fragment	158		
Domestic	Food Container	Glass Fragment	260		
Domestic	Food Container	Jar	2	4SE.2	1
Domestic	Food Container	Jar	70		
Domestic	Food Container	Jar Lid - Metal	101		
Domestic	Food Container	Jar Lid - Metal	111		
Domestic	Food Container	Jar Lid - Metal	117		
Domestic	Food Container	Jar Lid - Metal	124		
Domestic	Food Container	Jar Lid - Metal	274		
Domestic	Food Container	Jug	42		
Domestic	Food Container	Jug	43		
Domestic	Food Container	Jug	46		
Domestic	Food Container	Jug	47		
Domestic	Food Container	Jug	48		
Domestic	Food Container	Jug	61		
Domestic	Food Container	Jug	79		
Domestic	Food Container	Jug Fragments	224		
Domestic	Food Container	Knife	45	4SE.9	1
Domestic	Food Container	Lid	38		
Domestic	Food Container	Lid	227		
Domestic	Food Container	Lid	244		
Domestic	Food Container	Lid	246		
Domestic	Food Container	Lid, Tin Can	74		
Domestic	Food Container	Metal Lid	195		
Domestic	Food Container	Modified Tin Can Lid	153	4SE.26	1
Domestic	Food Container	Modified Tin Can Lid	197	4SE.29	1
Domestic	Food Container	Tableware	76		
Domestic	Food Container	Tin Can	60		
Domestic	Food Container	Tin Can	62		

Class	Category	Object Name	FA	Lot No.	Sublot
Domestic	Food Container	Tin Can	75		
Domestic	Food Container	Tin Can	165		
Domestic	Food Container	Tin Can	170		
Domestic	Food Container	Tin Can	174		
Domestic	Food Container	Tin Can	186		
Domestic	Food Container	Tin Can	190		
Domestic	Food Container	Tin Can	193		
Domestic	Food Container	Tin Can	216		
Domestic	Food Container	Tin Can Lid	57		
Domestic	Food Container	Tin Can Lid	183		
Domestic	Food Container	Tin, Pie	10	4SE.10	1
Domestic	Food Preparation	Bowl	160		
Domestic	Food Preparation	Fire-King Shard	192		
Domestic	Food Preparation	Tin Can Lid	122	4SE.15	1
Domestic	Food Preparation	Tin, Pie	10	4SE.10	1
Domestic	Food Storage	Jar Lid - Metal	101		
Domestic	Food Storage	Jar Lid - Metal	111		
Domestic	Food Storage	Jar Lid - Metal	124		
Domestic	Food Storage	Jar Lid - Metal	274		
Domestic	Food Storage	Jug	42		
Domestic	Food Storage	Jug	43		
Domestic	Food Storage	Jug	46		
Domestic	Food Storage	Jug	47		
Domestic	Food Storage	Jug	48		
Domestic	Food Storage	Jug	61		
Domestic	Food Storage	Lid	244		
Domestic	Food Storage	Lid	246		
Domestic	Health	Bottle	8	4SE.8	1
Domestic	Health	Bottle	264	4SE.40	1
Domestic	Health	Bottle Base Fragment	267		
Domestic	Health	Cap	207		
Domestic	Health	Cap	209		
Domestic	Health	Glass Bottle Fragment	140		
Domestic	Health	Jar	239	4SE.37	1
Domestic	Health	Milk Glass Sherd	114		
Domestic	Health	Toothpaste Cap	203	4SE.31	4
Domestic	Health	Toothpaste Cap	203	4SE.31	5
Domestic	Health	Toothpaste Cap	203	4SE.31	6
Domestic	Health	Toothpaste Cap	203	4SE.31	7
Domestic	Health	Toothpaste Tube	123	4SE.16	1
Domestic	Health	Toothpaste Tube	123	4SE.16	2
Domestic	Health	Toothpaste Tube	203	4SE.31	1
Domestic	Health	Toothpaste Tube	203	4SE.31	2

Class	Category	Object Name	FA	Lot No.	Sublot
Domestic	Health	Toothpaste Tube	203	4SE.31	3
Domestic	Health	Tube - Toothpaste	121		
Domestic	Heating/Lighting	Stove	77		
Domestic	Household Decoration	Figurine	1	4SE.1	1
Domestic	Other Domestic	Hanger, Clothes	89	4SE.13	1
Domestic	Other Domestic	Hanger, Clothes	97		
Domestic	Other Domestic	Hanger, Clothes	215		
Domestic	Other Domestic	Hanger, Clothes	254		
Domestic	Other Domestic	Nail And Wire	67		
Domestic	Other Domestic	Wire Hanger	263		
Gardening	Decorative Elements	Screw And Hook	64		
Gardening	Fencing	Screw And Hook	64		
Gardening	Plant Containers	Pot Sherd	171		
Gardening	Plant Containers	Redware Sherds	139		
Gardening	Tools	Pitch Fork	65		
Gardening	Watering	Can, Watering	85		
Indefinite		Barrel Hoop	32		
Indefinite		Barrel Hoop	33		
Indefinite		Barrel Hoop	34		
Indefinite		Barrel Hoop	78		
Indefinite		Barrel Hoop	84		
Indefinite		Barrel Hoop	161		
Indefinite		Barrel Hoop	234		
Indefinite		Barrel Hoop	242		
Indefinite		Barrel Lid	166		
Indefinite		Bottle Base Fragment	181		
Indefinite		Bottle Fragment	104		
Indefinite		Bottle Glass Fragment	141		
Indefinite		Bottle Glass Fragment	154		
Indefinite		Bottle Glass Fragments	182		
Indefinite		Bottle Glass Shard	143		
Indefinite		Bottle Lip	211		
Indefinite		Fastener	159		
Indefinite		Ferrous Circle	194	4SE.27	1
Indefinite		Glass Body Shard	144		
Indefinite		Glass Bottle Sherd	145		
Indefinite		Glass Fragment	148		
Indefinite		Glass Fragment	180		
Indefinite		Glass Fragment	185		
Indefinite		Glass Fragment	235		
Indefinite		Glass Fragment	253		

Class	Category	Object Name	FA	Lot No.	Sublot
Indefinite		Glass Fragment	257		
Indefinite		Glass Fragment	266		
Indefinite		Glass Fragments	184		
Indefinite		Glass Shards	138		
Indefinite		Handle	91		
Indefinite		Iron Ring	126	4SE.20	2
Indefinite		Jar	5	4SE.5	1
Indefinite		Jar	12		
Indefinite		Jar Fragment	206		
Indefinite		Metal Fragment	82		
Indefinite		Metal Fragment	130		
Indefinite		Metal Fragment	265		
Indefinite		Metal Sheet	261		
Indefinite		Metal Strap	241		
Indefinite		Metal Strapping	231		
Indefinite		Milk Glass Fragment	163		
Indefinite		Milk Glass Shard	172		
Indefinite		Milk Glass Shards	132		
Indefinite		Milk Glass Shards	176		
Indefinite		Milk Glass Sherd	17		
Indefinite		Modified Lid	179		
Indefinite		Plastic Fragment	219		
Indefinite		Plastic Rings	271	4SE.41	1
Indefinite		Pry Bar	126	4SE.20	1
Indefinite		Rim Fragment	191		
Indefinite		Sheet	80		
Indefinite		Spring	226		
Indefinite		Star With Clasp	229	4SE.33	1
Indefinite		Star With Clasp	233	4SE.35	1
Indefinite		Strapping	90		
Indefinite		Tin Can Lid	122	4SE.15	1
Indefinite		Tube	201		
Indefinite		UID Bottle/Vessel Glass	19		
Indefinite		UID Bottle/Vessel Glass	26		
Indefinite		UID Clear Bottle/Vessel F	68		
Indefinite		UID Metal	99		
Indefinite		UID Milk Glass Sherd	30		
Indefinite		UID Milk Glass Sherd	58		
Indefinite		UID Milk Glass Sherd	59		
Indefinite		UID Milk Glass Sherd	108		
Indefinite		UID Milk Glass Sherd	109		
Indefinite		UID Milk Glass Sherd	110		
Indefinite		UID Milk Glass Vessel	37		

Class	Category	Object Name	FA	Lot No.	Sublot
Indefinite		UID Milk Glass Vessel/Jar	29		
Indefinite		UID Millk Glass Vessel	35		
Indefinite		Wire	41		
Indefinite		Wire	44		
Indefinite		Wire	69		
Indefinite		Wire	100		
Indefinite		Wire	103		
Indefinite		Wire	120		
Indefinite		Wire	129		
Indefinite		Wire	202		
Indefinite		Wire	210		
Indefinite		Wire	223		
Indefinite		Wire	245		
Indefinite		Wire	252		
Indefinite		Wire And Nail	240		
Indefinite		Wire Mesh	218		
Institutional	Administration	3 Ring Binder Clip	134		
Institutional	Confinement	Guy Wire	259		
Institutional	Mess Hall	Bowl	52		
Institutional	Mess Hall	Bowl	56		
Institutional	Mess Hall	Bowl	160		
Institutional	Mess Hall	Bowl, Mixing	54		
Institutional	Mess Hall	Can, Tin	81		
Institutional	Mess Hall	Jar	55	4SE.24	1
Institutional	Mess Hall	Jug	48		
Institutional	Mess Hall	Lid, Tin Can	74		
Institutional	Mess Hall	Sherd	73		
Institutional	Mess Hall	Spoon	11	4SE.11	1
Institutional	Mess Hall	Tin Can	60		
Institutional	Mess Hall	Tin Can	75		
Institutional	Mess Hall	Tin Can Lid	57		
Institutional	Mess Hall	Tin, Pie	10	4SE.10	1
Institutional	Other Institutional	Button	49	4SE.22	1
Institutional	Other Institutional	Insulator	83		
Institutional	Other Institutional	Insulator	222		
Institutional	Other Institutional	Insulator Fragment	232		
Institutional	Other Institutional	Tape Measure	167	4SE.23	1
Institutional	Other Institutional	Tunic Belt Hook	40	4SE.18	1
Institutional	Other Institutional	Wire	120		
Institutional	Transportation	Can	275		
Personal	Clothing	Button	3	4SE.3	1
Personal	Clothing	Button	4	4SE.4	1
Personal	Clothing	Button	49	4SE.22	1

Class	Category	Object Name	FA	Lot No.	Sublot
Personal	Clothing	Button	137	4SE.21	1
Personal	Clothing	Button	198	4SE.30	1
Personal	Clothing	Button	230	4SE.34	1
Personal	Clothing	Hanger, Clothes	89	4SE.13	1
Personal	Clothing	Hanger, Clothes	97		
Personal	Clothing	Hanger, Clothes	215		
Personal	Clothing	Hanger, Clothes	254		
Personal	Clothing	Rubber Sole	151	4SE.25	1
Personal	Clothing	Tunic Belt Hook	40	4SE.18	1
Personal	Clothing	Wire Hanger	263		
Personal	Grooming	Bottle	8	4SE.8	1
Personal	Grooming	Bottle	86		
Personal	Grooming	Bottle	264	4SE.40	1
Personal	Grooming	Bottle Base Fragment	267		
Personal	Grooming	Comb	6	4SE.6	1
Personal	Grooming	Comb	9	4SE.44	1
Personal	Grooming	Glass Bottle Fragment	140		
Personal	Grooming	Jar	239	4SE.37	1
Personal	Grooming	Milk Glass Sherd	114		
Personal	Grooming	Safety Razor		4SE.45	1
Personal	Grooming	Scissors	487	4SE.43	1
Personal	Hygiene	Bottle	86		
Personal	Hygiene	Cap	207		
Personal	Hygiene	Cap	209		
Personal	Hygiene	Glass Bottle Fragment	140		
Personal	Hygiene	Toothpaste Cap	203	4SE.31	4
Personal	Hygiene	Toothpaste Cap	203	4SE.31	5
Personal	Hygiene	Toothpaste Cap	203	4SE.31	6
Personal	Hygiene	Toothpaste Cap	203	4SE.31	7
Personal	Hygiene	Toothpaste Tube	123	4SE.16	1
Personal	Hygiene	Toothpaste Tube	123	4SE.16	2
Personal	Hygiene	Toothpaste Tube	203	4SE.31	1
Personal	Hygiene	Toothpaste Tube	203	4SE.31	2
Personal	Hygiene	Toothpaste Tube	203	4SE.31	3
Personal	Hygiene	Tube - Toothpaste	121		
Personal	Other Personal	Bottle	125	4SE.14	1
Personal	Other Personal	Spoon	11	4SE.11	
Personal	Personal Adornment	Button	204	4SE.32	1
Personal	Personal Adornment	Button	230	4SE.34	1
Structural	Concrete	Footing	87		
Structural	Electricity	Insulator	83		

Class	Category	Object Name	FA	Lot No.	Sublot
Structural	Fastener	Cable	71		
Structural	Fastener	Clamp	128		
Structural	Fastener	Nail And Wire	67		
Structural	Other Building Materials	Pipe	53		
Structural	Other Building Materials	Pipe	200		
Structural	Other Building Materials	Wire	120		
Structural	Other Building Materials	Wire Mesh	218		

APPENDIX E

Compound 1 Artifacts By Functional Class And Category

Class	Category	Object Name	FA	Lot No.	Sublot
Activities	Collecting	Tax Token	359	1SE.6	1
Activities	Crafts	Can	422		
Activities	Crafts	Can Saw	405	1SE.19	1
Activities	Crafts	Jar Lid - Metal	372		
Activities	Crafts	Knife Blade	369		
Activities	Crafts	Metal Fragment	346		
Activities	Games	Ball, Golf	449		
Activities	Games	Ball, Golf	460		
Activities	Games	Marble	415	1SE.21	1
Activities	Other Activities	Can	422		
Activities	Other Activities	Jar Lid - Metal	372		
Activities	Other Activities	Knife Blade	369		
Activities	Other Activities	Metal Fragment	346		
Activities	Sewing	Pin, Safety	456		
Activities	Writing	Bottle	418		
Activities	Writing	Jar, Ink	423	1SE.22	1
Domestic	Food Consumption	Bottle	358	1SE.5	1
Domestic	Food Consumption	Bottle	367	1SE.8	1
Domestic	Food Consumption	Bottle	444		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Bottle Fragment	379		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Bottle, 7UP	437	1SE.30	1
Domestic	Food Consumption	Bottle, Circle A	436	1SE.29	1
Domestic	Food Consumption	Bottle, Coca-Cola	424	1SE.23	1
Domestic	Food Consumption	Bottle, Coca-Cola	435	1SE.28	1
Domestic	Food Consumption	Bottle, Coca-Cola	452		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Bowl	453	1SE.34	1
Domestic	Food Consumption	Can	407		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Can	459		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Mug	443		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Opener, Bottle	465	1SE.36	1
Domestic	Food Consumption	Spoon	396	1SE.17	1
Domestic	Food Container	Bottle	358	1SE.5	1
Domestic	Food Container	Bottle	367	1SE.8	1
Domestic	Food Container	Bottle	444		
Domestic	Food Container	Bottle Fragment	379		
Domestic	Food Container	Bottle, 7UP	437	1SE.30	1
Domestic	Food Container	Bottle, Circle A	436	1SE.29	1
Domestic	Food Container	Bottle, Coca-Cola	424	1SE.23	1

Class	Category	Object Name	FA	Lot No.	Sublot
Domestic	Food Container	Bottle, Coca-Cola	435	1SE.28	1
Domestic	Food Container	Bottle, Coca-Cola	452		
Domestic	Food Container	Can	368		
Domestic	Food Container	Can	376		
Domestic	Food Container	Can	404		
Domestic	Food Container	Can	407		
Domestic	Food Container	Can	421		
Domestic	Food Container	Can	422		
Domestic	Food Container	Can	459		
Domestic	Food Container	Can Lid	345		
Domestic	Food Container	Can Lid	354		
Domestic	Food Container	Can Lid	463		
Domestic	Food Container	Can Lid	471		
Domestic	Food Container	Can Lid	472		
Domestic	Food Container	Can Lid	474		
Domestic	Food Container	Can Lid	479		
Domestic	Food Container	Can Saw	405	1SE.19	1
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	350		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	355		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	356		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	357		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	360		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	363		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	371		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	378		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	383		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	384		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	388		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	403		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	408		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	411		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	412		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	413		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	420		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	427		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	440		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	447		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	451		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	455		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	461		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	464		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	473		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	478		

Class	Category	Object Name	FA	Lot No.	Sublot
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	484		
Domestic	Food Container	Caps, Bottle	387		
Domestic	Food Container	Jar	366		
Domestic	Food Container	Jar	409		
Domestic	Food Container	Jar	432		
Domestic	Food Container	Jar	482		
Domestic	Food Container	Jar Base	399		
Domestic	Food Container	Jar Lid - Metal	372		
Domestic	Food Container	Jug	419		
Domestic	Food Container	Jug	429		
Domestic	Food Container	Jug	433		
Domestic	Food Container	Jug	434		
Domestic	Food Container	Jug	438		
Domestic	Food Container	Jug	457		
Domestic	Food Container	Jug	458		
Domestic	Food Container	Jug	475		
Domestic	Food Container	Jug Lip	450		
Domestic	Food Container	Lid	374		
Domestic	Food Container	Lip Fragment	442		
Domestic	Food Container	Milk Bottle	402		
Domestic	Food Preparation	Bowl	453	1SE.34	1
Domestic	Food Storage	Jar	366		
Domestic	Food Storage	Jar	409		
Domestic	Food Storage	Jar	432		
Domestic	Food Storage	Jar	482		
Domestic	Food Storage	Jar Base	399		
Domestic	Food Storage	Jar Lid - Metal	372		
Domestic	Food Storage	Jar Lid - Metal	477		
Domestic	Food Storage	Jug	419		
Domestic	Food Storage	Jug	429		
Domestic	Food Storage	Jug	433		
Domestic	Food Storage	Jug	434		
Domestic	Food Storage	Jug	438		
Domestic	Food Storage	Jug	457		
Domestic	Food Storage	Jug	458		
Domestic	Food Storage	Jug	475		
Domestic	Food Storage	Jug Lip	450		
Domestic	Food Storage	Lid	374		
Domestic	Food Storage	Lip Fragment	442		
Domestic	Health	Bottle	342	1SE.1	1
Domestic	Health	Bottle	343	1SE.2	1
Domestic	Health	Bottle	481	1SE.39	1
Domestic	Health	Jar	468		

Class	Category	Object Name	FA	Lot No.	Sublot
Domestic	Other Domestic	Hanger, Clothes	380		
Domestic	Other Domestic	Hanger, Clothes	385		
Gardening	Plant Containers	Pot, Flower	446		
Gardening	Watering	Can	422		
Indefinite		Bottle	351		
Indefinite		Bottle	398		
Indefinite		Bottle	410	1SE.20	1
Indefinite		Bottle	469		
Indefinite		Bottle	476		
Indefinite		Bottle Finish	364		
Indefinite		Bottle Lip	375		
Indefinite		Fastener	467		
Indefinite		Hoop, Barrel	370		
Indefinite		Jar Fragments	483		
Indefinite		Jug Base	377		
Indefinite		Melted Glass	347		
Indefinite		Metal Fragment	416		
Indefinite		Milk Glass Fragment	414		
Indefinite		Solarized Glass	348		
Indefinite		Star With Clasp	381		
Indefinite		Star With Clasp	395		
Indefinite		Strap With Notches	397		
Indefinite		Tag	373	1SE.9	1
Indefinite		Tag	382	1SE.10	2
Indefinite		Tag	382	1SE.10	3
Indefinite		Tag	382	1SE.10	4
Indefinite		Template	382	1SE.10	1
Indefinite		UID Metal	362		
Indefinite		Wire	344		
Indefinite		Wire	462		
Institutional	Administration	Clipboard Clip	448		
Institutional	Administration	Paper Fastener	490	1SE.43	1
Institutional	Administration	Tax Token	359	1SE.6	1
Institutional	Mess Hall	Bowl	453	1SE.34	1
Institutional	Other Institutional	Boot Heel	439	1SE.31	1
Institutional	Other Institutional	Boot Heel Plate	441	1SE.32	1
Institutional	Other Institutional	Buckle	361	1SE.7	1
Institutional	Other Institutional	Buckle	445	1SE.33	1
Institutional	Other Institutional	Button	386	1SE.11	1
Institutional	Other Institutional	Button	454	1SE.35	1
Institutional	Other Institutional	Cast Iron Fragment	428		
Institutional	Other Institutional	Stopper	401	1SE.18	1
Institutional	Other Institutional	Tunic Belt Hook	349		

Class	Category	Object Name	FA	Lot No.	Sublot
Institutional	Other Institutional	Wire Mesh	400		
Personal	Clothing	Boot Heel	439	1SE.31	1
Personal	Clothing	Boot Heel Plate	441	1SE.32	1
Personal	Clothing	Bottle	489	1SE.42	1
Personal	Clothing	Buckle	361	1SE.7	1
Personal	Clothing	Buckle	445	1SE.33	1
Personal	Clothing	Button	353	1SE.4	1
Personal	Clothing	Button	391	1SE.13	1
Personal	Clothing	Button	392	1SE.14	1
Personal	Clothing	Button	425	1SE.24	1
Personal	Clothing	Button	426	1SE.25	1
Personal	Clothing	Button	430	1SE.26	1
Personal	Clothing	Button	431	1SE.27	1
Personal	Clothing	Button	454	1SE.35	1
Personal	Clothing	Button Fragment	390	1SE.12	1
Personal	Clothing	Hanger, Clothes	380		
Personal	Clothing	Hanger, Clothes	385		
Personal	Clothing	Pin, Safety	456		
Personal	Clothing	Shoe Polish Tin	485	1SE.40	1
Personal	Clothing	Tunic Belt Hook	349		
Personal	Grooming	Bottle	342	1SE.1	1
Personal	Grooming	Bottle	352	1SE.3	1
Personal	Grooming	Comb	393	1SE.15	1
Personal	Grooming	Comb	470		
Personal	Grooming	Glass Fragments	365		
Personal	Grooming	Jar	468		
Personal	Grooming	Scissors	394	1SE.16	1
Personal	Grooming	Scissors	466	1SE.37	1
Personal	Hygiene	Bottle	343	1SE.2	1
Personal	Hygiene	Bottle	352	1SE.3	1
Personal	Hygiene	Glass Fragments	365		
Personal	Other Personal	Buckle	445	1SE.33	1
Personal	Other Personal	Button	386	1SE.11	1
Personal	Other Personal	Button	425	1SE.24	1
Personal	Other Personal	Button	426	1SE.25	1
Personal	Other Personal	Button	430	1SE.26	1
Personal	Other Personal	Button	431	1SE.27	1
Personal	Other Personal	Button Fragment	390	1SE.12	1
Personal	Personal Adornment	Button	391	1SE.13	1
Personal	Personal Adornment	Button	392	1SE.14	1
Personal	Personal Adornment	Button	425	1SE.24	1
Personal	Personal Adornment	Button	426	1SE.25	1
Personal	Personal Adornment	Button	430	1SE.26	1

Class	Category	Object Name	FA	Lot No.	Sublot
Personal	Personal Adornment	Button	431	1SE.27	1
Personal	Personal Adornment	Button	454	1SE.35	1
Structural	Electricity	Electrical Outlet	488	1SE.41	1
Structural	Fastener	Wire Tied To Nail	389		
Structural	Hardware	Hinge	417		
Structural	Other Building Materials	Key Hole Plate	480	1SE.38	1
Structural	Other Building Materials	Screen Mesh	406		

APPENDIX F

Class	Category	Object Name	FA	Lot No.	Sublot
Activities	Alcohol	Bottle Fragments	291		
Activities	Alcohol	Bottle Fragments	311		
Activities	Alcohol	Can	295		
Activities	Other Activities	Can	295		
Activities	Writing	Ferrule	288	AMOS.1	1
Domestic	Food Consumption	7up Bottle	333	AMON.2	1
Domestic	Food Consumption	Bowl	326		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Bowl Sherds	310	AMOS.4	1
Domestic	Food Consumption	Can	295		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Ceramic Sherds	301		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Glass Fragment	285		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Plate Sherds	310	AMOS.4	2
Domestic	Food Consumption	Plate Sherds	313		
Domestic	Food Consumption	Sardine Can	317	AMOS.5	1
Domestic	Food Container	7up Bottle	333	AMON.2	1
Domestic	Food Container	Bottle Fragment	296		
Domestic	Food Container	Can	279		
Domestic	Food Container	Can	283		
Domestic	Food Container	Can	284		
Domestic	Food Container	Can	295		
Domestic	Food Container	Can	305		
Domestic	Food Container	Can	312		
Domestic	Food Container	Can	320		
Domestic	Food Container	Can Lid	337		
Domestic	Food Container	Can Lid	280		
Domestic	Food Container	Can Lid	289		
Domestic	Food Container	Can Lid	290		
Domestic	Food Container	Can Lid - Metal	341		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	339		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	340		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	277		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	298		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	315		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	316		
Domestic	Food Container	Cap, Bottle	322		
Domestic	Food Container	Carafe	286		
Domestic	Food Container	Glass Fragment	285		
Domestic	Food Container	Jar Lid - Metal	306		
Domestic	Food Container	Jug Handle	293		
Domestic	Food Container	Sardine Can	317	AMOS.5	1

Class	Category	Object Name	FA	Lot No.	Sublot
Domestic	Food Preparation	Bowl	326		
Domestic	Food Preparation	Bowl Sherds	310	AMOS.4	1
Domestic	Food Preparation	Pie Tin	336		
Domestic	Food Storage	Carafe	286		
Domestic	Food Storage	Jar Lid - Metal	306		
Domestic	Food Storage	Lid	308		
Domestic	Health	Toothpaste Tube	324	AMOS.6	1
Domestic	Other Domestic	Hanger, Clothes	338		
Domestic	Other Domestic	Hanger, Clothes	309		
Domestic	Other Domestic	Roller Shade Bracket	321		
Gardening	Plant Containers	Red Earthenware Sherds	318		
Indefinite		Bottle	325	AMON.1	1
Indefinite		Bottle	327		
Indefinite		Bottle	332		
Indefinite		Bottle	334		
Indefinite		Bottle	335		
Indefinite		Bottle	323		
Indefinite		Bottle Base	287		
Indefinite		Bottle Base Fragment	276		
Indefinite		Bottle Fragment	281		
Indefinite		Bottle Fragment	282		
Indefinite		Bottle Fragment	299		
Indefinite		Bottle Fragment	300		
Indefinite		Bottle Fragments	319		
Indefinite		Bucket	292		
Indefinite		Can	294		
Indefinite		Cap	302	AMOS.3	1
Indefinite		Cap	307		
Indefinite		Glass Fragment	331		
Indefinite		Iron Tag	297	AMOS.2	
Indefinite		Metal Fragment	278		
Indefinite		Metal Fragment	304		
Indefinite		Red Glass Fragments	328		
Institutional	Administration	Paper Clip	303		
Institutional	Other Institutional	Cast Iron Fragment	330		
Institutional	Other Institutional	Mercury Dime	486	AMON.3	1
Personal	Clothing	Hanger, Clothes	338		
Personal	Clothing	Hanger, Clothes	309		
Personal	Grooming	Brush Handle	314	AMOS.7	
Personal	Hygiene	Toothpaste Tube	324	AMOS.6	1

Class	Category	Object Name	FA	Lot No.	Sublot
Structural	Other Building Materials	Draft Regulator	329		