Draft
Chapter 6

Camps, Campus, and Control

For
The Archaeology of the Contemporary American Experience

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Military bases and college campuses may represent opposite poles on the contemporary ideological spectrum, but they share many similarities. Both enjoy traditions of shaping young people in body and mind and seek to constantly balance between traditional practices and the important role of memory and their role in promoting and developing cutting edge technology, techniques, and practices. In this situation the form of the military camp and the campus are always being pulled in two directions: in some cases toward preserving the past and in others toward pushing forward into the future. Contradictory instincts toward preservation, obsolesce, and adaption shape attitudes toward the material culture of camps and the campus and often shape the narratives dutifully prepared in formal institutional histories and reports.

The formality and structure of the military camp and the campus also have provided a broad canvas for satire. The 1960s and 1970s brought us Gomer Pyle, USMC, and Quniton McHale in their eponymous TV series, the hapless Sargent Schultz and Colonel Klink from Hogan's Heroes and the unforgettable cast of *M.A.S.H.* The playful juxtaposition of the formal order of military life and the irreverent and silly antics of soldiers offered an ironic reprieve from the seriousness of the growing military-industrial complex in the post war United States. Campus comedies likewise embrace the tension between institutional formality of campus life and the rambunctious behavior of college students with National Lampoon's *Animal House* setting a standard by which all campus comedies will be judged (see Lewis 2010 for a brief survey of campus comedies relevant to archaeology). Both contexts reveal the assumption that outward order of the camp and the campus is not what it seems below the surface and the archaeology of the military facilities and college campuses has tended to confirm that more happens in these spaces than formal written accounts document, even if it stops short of the comedic hijinks portrayed. In general, this tension between the stable and dynamic spaces of the military and the campus and between rules and revelry reflect the ironic modes of critique central to the core of modern project.

Camps, Campus, and Control

The archaeology of military spaces contributed in significant ways to the origins of the archaeology of the contemporary world. As early as the 1990s, archaeologists became aware of the ephemeral nature of installations associated with World War II in Europe. As these installation passed the 50-year threshold for eligibility as heritage, archaeologists began to consider criteria that would allow them to determine their eligibility for national landmark status. The scale of World War II sites, which included entire theater of the war such as the North Atlantic or the South Pacific, their diversity, the often irregular, hasty, or lost documentation associated with their construction, and their tendency to be repurposed or destroyed made identifying, locating, and evaluating these sites challenging (Schofield 2002). It also prompted a series of wide-ranging discussions that occurred at series of academic conference and across a range of publications that sought to explore the potential of military sites as both places of heritage and memory as well as to add to our understanding of the war itself (e.g. Schofield, Johnson and Beck 2002; Schofield 2005; Schofield 2009; Moshenka 2012). While most of this work has focused on the UK and Europe, a number of projects have sought to document some of the home front work particularly as it related to Japanese internment (e.g. Skiles and Clark 2009, Farrell and Burton 2001, 2019), prisoner of war camps (Thomas 2011) and matters related to the development of the atomic bomb (McGehee et al. 2003; Schiffer 2013, 145-148).

These considerations coincided with the end of the Cold War and such dramatic public events as the demolition of the Berlin Wall and the complicated conversations related to the preservation of this monument (Dolff-Bonekämper 2002; McWilliams 2013: 45-65; Hanson 2016). At the turn of the 21st century, archaeologists began to recognize that Cold War military installations exist in large numbers, but also had some distinctive characteristics that speak to larger late-20th and early 21st century phenomenon on a global scale. Taking inspiration from the work of Paul Virilio, for example, archaeologists have increasingly viewed the post-War and Cold War period as a time when the potential for nuclear conflict not only shaped the extent and character of military installations, but also non-military architecture, objects, and material culture as well. Virilio's iconic *Bunker Archaeology* (1975) argued that the World War II concrete bunkers and towers erected along the French coast by the Nazis were already becoming irrelevant in the context of aerial bombardment of German cities. Instead, they served to define the territory that could function as a new Nazi state defined as much by the speed at which its parts could communicate with one another as traditional definitions of culture or territoriality. The persistence of these bunkers into peacetime anticipated Virilio's arguments for "pure war" (1983) in which the militarized state intersects with all aspect of life. In this way, Virilio's ideas echo those of Manuel DeLanda who argued in his *War*

in the Age of Intelligent Machines (1991) that military technologies especially the rise of logistics have shaped contemporary economic, political, and social life.

This understanding of the post war and Cold War period has, of course, informed how we understand life and work of universities in the U.S. The post-war growth of American colleges emerged partly on the back of the GI Bill which provided returning soldiers from World War II, the Korean, Vietnam, and the two Gulf Wars as well as veteran who have served during the time between these conflicts with credits toward a college education. University research funded through federal agencies like the National Science Foundation and NASA combined with private sector resources to support the growth of both the US economy, but also national defense portfolio. In fact, these two systems were deeply intertwined as the Cold War increasingly became a war centered as much on national economies as a war based on nuclear weapons and deterrents. More explicitly, college campuses embraced concrete modernist and even Brutalist architecture that reflected the influence of efficiently produced and durable concrete structure on military bases and civil sites. The interest efficient delivery of university education, which continues to shape political and education policies today, traces the convergence of military and civilian concerns for logistics that emerged in the post-war period. In short, the influence of the Cold War was particularly strong on college campuses which justifies the combination of military bases and college campuses in this chapter.

The Archaeology of Military Bases and Protest Sites

The archaeology of the military bases in the late 20th and early 21st century offers a distinctive perspective on both the archaeology of the contemporary world and the place of Cold War and post-Cold War military installations as representative of broader trends in American material culture. As the previous chapter noted, the growing trend to hardened and fortified borders and walls often incorporated aspect of military architecture. This not only involved the liberal use of poured concrete structures evoking the dystopian figures of Brutalist architecture as well as clear references to the large-scale mid-century military architecture but also sometimes included the literal reuse of Vietnam era military structures like metal helicopter landing pads. The growing visibility of borders and walls represents just one way in which military architecture has come to the fore in 21st century American society and echoes Virilio's attitudes toward the visibility of World War II installations in Europe through which military values, attitudes, and forms increasingly entered all aspects of European life. The growing visibility of military priorities into the public consciousness is perhaps nowhere more obvious than in the late-20th century "space race" which paralleled Cold War competition in science and technology and the development

of rockets for space flight as well as the delivery of ballistic missiles (Gorman 2019). In the 21st century, military technologies touch upon nearly every aspect of daily from the use of military GPS technology to the such diverse expressions as nuclear power, the militarization of police forces, and even the internet itself.

From an archaeological perspective, then, the significance of military installations and research sites extend well beyond the military sphere. Indeed, many of the challenges associated with documenting and preserving significant structures on military installations speak to issues common to such work in a range of contexts in post-war and 21st century America. John Schofield, for example, noted that military installation frequently consist of the "teeth" and the "tail" (Schofield 2009, 29). The teeth are structures that often serve specific military purposes such as fortifications or missile silos which tend to resist repurposing on account of their specialized design and often massive and hardened forms. As a result, these structures tend to persist in the landscape even after they no longer serve their intended function. The so-called "Nekoma Pyramid" or the Stanley R. Mickelson Safeguard Complex, for example, in Cavalier County, North Dakota was part of an abortive nuclear missile tracking system constructed in the early 1970s and abandoned after only 4 months of use. Until its sale to a local Hudderite colony in 2013, the site has stood empty and unused on the Northern prairie for nearly 40 years (Hanson 2016, 61-62; Hubbs 1992). A similar fate awaits the various ICBM sites scattered across the Midwest, for example, as well as specialized research facilities and nuclear testing sites across the American West. The tail, in contrast, includes buildings of less specialized designs that could be easily repurposed over their lifetimes in ways that make understanding their original functions and subsequent history difficult. Schofield notes that guidelines established in the 1990s in the U.K encouraged "sympathetic reuse" for buildings associated with the "tail" (Schofield 2009, 29).

Both the neglect of military sites and their repurposing present challenge associated with the preservation and documentation of military sites, but also speak to the contrasting aspect of their contemporary character. Modern, post-war architecture, for example, often privileged the adaptability of design which allowed buildings to be easily reconfigured for new purposes. At the same time, the use of reinforced concrete, steel, and more specialized, synthetic materials present new challenges for maintenance and restoration work as well which are then compounded by the often massive scale of late 20th military sites. Caitlyn DeSilvey's study of the closed military facility at Orford Ness in the U.K. emphasized the way in which the decay of the reinforced concrete structures interacted with the natural surroundings to create a landscape sufficiently distinctive that when the National Trust acquired the property as a wildlife preserve, they decided to allow the military structures to continue to decay

(DeSilvey 2014). This decision, however, has recently been met with some ambivalence from heritage authorities who have become interested in the site as part of the UK's military heritage (DeSilvey 2014, 87). As another example, Todd Hanson documents the challenges associated with preserving The Trestle, a massive entirely wooden structure designed to test weapons that used Electromagnetic Pulses to disrupt electronics located at Kirkland Air Force Base near Albuquerque, New Mexico. Because the structure is entirely made of wood, preservation costs would be prohibitive despite the unique character of the structure. The Trestle went out of use in 1991 and now will deteriorate in the New Mexico desert.

The vast scale of mid and late 20th century military sites likewise offers a challenge to archaeologists seeking to document and preserve them (Schofield 2005, 24). The Nevada Test Site, for example, saw close to 2000 tests of nuclear devices from its opening in 1951 to implementation of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty in 1992. The site extends over 1360 square miles in southern Nevada and contains a wide range of landscapes, monuments, and artifacts associated with the development of the United State's nuclear deterrent. As a number of commentators have noted, for most of the 20th century, the NTS represented a major front in the Cold War where the US demonstrated their continued commitment to nuclear weapons and peace through strength. Efforts to document key areas of the site have revealed not only the development and use of this important installation over time, but a wide range of post-depositional processes that have shaped the assemblage present across this massive installation. Archaeological work at Fenchman Flat, an area of almost 100 square miles which saw nuclear tests throughout the 1950s and 1960s, revealed an area with 157 buildings and structures, most of which were eligible for the National Register of Historic Places (Beck 2002; Hanson 2011; Johnson et al. 2000). The most unusual of the sites recorded in this area were the wide range of features erected to test the effects of nuclear devices on typical American homes, businesses, and and landscapes. The installation of temporary forests, the construction of realistic suburban dwellings, various forms of bomb shelters and, in one instance, the depositing of a massive metal safe in the blast area served to test the ability of various structures to endure a blast. In many cases, the remains of these features continue to stand on Frenchman Flat as enduring reminders of this site's role as an active front in a Cold War arms race. The presence of ersatz civilian structures in specific military surroundings offers an inverted image of Paul Virilio's concept of "Total War" which traced the spread of bunkers, walls, and installations throughout Europe and North America (Virilio 2008, 18). They offer an eerie parallel to the rise of Cold War suburbs which emerged in the vicinity of the CIA headquarters at Langley and the Pentagon in Northern

Virginia and housed many of the men and women responsible for maintaining American political and military strength (Friedman 2013).

The work at the Nevada Test Site also included the documentation of Camp Desert Rock which functioned to house soldiers and officers associated with the nuclear tests in the 1950s. The study the camp revealed how the space was adapted to accommodate changing functions over the its short, 6-year history (Edwards 1997; Hanson 2016, 87-94). Moreover, the changes documented by Edwards during her survey of the site showed how the archaeological study of military installations, even from the relatively recent past, could reveal changes that escaped notice even in the copious archival records of the modern military (Hanson 2016, 91-92). The development of purpose-built communities to house American soldier's stationed in the United State's myriad of foreign military bases frequently followed templates established by post-War suburbs that housed military leadership at the Pentagon or members of the intelligence community who shape American policies (Friedman 2013; Gillem 2007). Alice Gorman's recent work (2019) on the archaeology of space noted the unique settlement of Woomera village in the South Australia which served the scientists, technicians, and their families who worked at the Woomera rocket range. The range remained an important Cold War research site from its founding in the late 1940s through the early 1970s when the UK and their European allies shuttered the Europa missile program. In the 21st century, the Australian government used the remote desert location as the site for a migrant detention center (Gorman 2019, 98) making explicit the complex legacies of post-War nationalism.

For more recent or contemporary sites, the absent or incomplete nature of archival documents reflects secretive nature of US military operations. Archaeologists, however, have found ways to document secret or "black sites" using publicly available satellite imagery. Adrian Meyers' use of Google Earth to map the development Camp X-Ray and Camp Delta and attendant facilities at the US installations at Guantánamo Bay in Cuba (Meyers 2010). This work, which relied entirely on Google Earth imagery, documented the rapid increase in building associated with the secret detention facilities between 2003 and 2008. Meyers's revealed the speed with which the war on terror escalated and traced the expansion of the Guantánamo installations. Many of the first structures at the various detention camps were portable units imported from off the site which were later replaced by more permanent concrete style prison buildings. By tracing these changes in architecture at the site, Meyers was able to see the growth in capacity at the various camps and understand the increase in inmates either realized or anticipated at the site. This served to make visible the secret workings of US military installations and also to preserve a record of change at the sites to compare in the future to declassified archival material.

The use of archaeological methods as a medium for protesting military

activities by making them visible extends to work documenting protest sites that developed alongside Cold War military installation. For example, work to document the Peace Camp site outside the main gate the the NTS demonstrated the extent and character of protests against nuclear testing, the eviction of the Western Shoshone from their traditional land, and the environmental impact of military activities on the fragile desert ecology (Beck et al. 2007; Beck et al. 2011; Hanson 2016, 100-105). Ironically, the camp's iterative organization parallel, in some ways, the adaptable character of the various Guantánamo Bay camps or the development of Camp Desert Rock. If the early versions of the camp were largely ad hoc and aside for some fire rings and tent pads small and loosely organized. Subsequent iterations of the camp reveal greater organization and formality with neatly delineated spaces for activities ranging from sleeping, cooking, meditation, art, and the sanitary needs of the protestors. Unlike the hierarchical organization of Camp Desert Rock where VIP visitors and officers had increasing creature comforts, the Peace Camps appears to have remained egalitarian in organization. Similar work at protester and activist camps such as the series of camps that emerged as a response to the installation of cruise missiles at the Greenham Common Airbase in the UK (Schofield and Anderton 2000; Schofield, Beck, and Drollinger 2008) or the annual gathering of activists and artists at the site of Burning Man in the Nevada desert (White 2020).

The Archaeology of the College Campuses

Christopher Tilley and Kate Cameron-Daum in their study of the activity of the Royal Marines in the East Devon Pebblebed heathlands noted that the unique landscape fo the pebblebed heathlands served the rigorous training undertaken by the Royal Marine Commandos in this landscape (2017). This landscape plays a key role in shaping the body of the soldiers as they endure grueling weeks of training activities set against human and natural features in this distinctive environment. From copses of trees and hills to paths, foxholes, and water features cut into the hard pebbly ground of the heath, the experience of training in this unforgiving terrain contributed to the sense of camaraderie among Royal Marines as well as their tactical abilities (Tilley and Cameron-Daum 2017, 84-123). Like the Nevada Test Site and the Woomera rocket range in South Australia, sites such as the East Devon heathlands formed part of the sprawling battlefield of the Cold War and in same cases to the 21st-century "War on Terror."

The Cold War, however, did not play out only in military training and testing sites. American college and university campuses likewise contributed to the shaping of generations of citizens who contributed to the larger scientific, political, and cultural project that reinforced and critiqued the Cold War rivalry between totalizing views of democracy and capitalism and those of communism.

As Laurie Wilkie's brilliant study of the fraternity Zeta Psi on the University of California's Berkeley campus has shown, fraternity life played a key role in shaping the white, male, upper class identities of the fraternity's brotherhood (Wilkie 2010). Through a careful and creative reading of material culture, architecture, and documentary sources, Wilkie traced the role that Zeta Psi fraternity played in shaping the identity of its brotherhood and reflecting and amplifying the larger social situation of American university life and culture in the late-19th and early-20th century. Her excavations of the two generations of Zeta Psi fraternity houses that had become the property of the University of California in the 1950s demonstrated the potential for archaeological work to reveal a nuanced and deeply human image of fraternity life that navigates a complex middle ground between the dystopian visions of fraternity life present in the mass media and the utopia aspirations of their founders (Wilkie 2010, 7-8).

The history of excavations on campus largely follow the development of historical archaeology with work at Harvard (Stubbs et al. 2010) and the University of South Carolina (South 2010) beginning in the 1970s. While the focus of campus excavations have varied, many of projects have sought to reveal more about student and private life on campus. The results of such field work invariably complicate the relationship between often-pious official histories of the campus community and evidence for the lived experience of student and faculty life (Lewis 2010). Like archaeological work associated with military bases, records preserved in official documents and correspondence tell only part of the story. For example, Dutton's discovery of bullet casings dating to the end of the 19th and early 20th century in excavations on Brown University's campus suggest that students did not take contemporary on campus gun bans serious at that time (Dutton 2019, 307). Similarly, work at the former Zeta Psi house produced a significant number of alcohol bottles from the era of probation indicating that the residents of that house continued to consume alcohol despite the legal ban (Wilkie 2010, 195-199). These kinds of the disjunctures between official policies and rules and practices are ubiquitous in historical archaeology. In general, attention to the archaeology of the contemporary university and college campus's has focused on the past. This is consistent with the often conservative attitudes toward campus life and the physical fabric common at American universities. The emphasis on tradition as a way to create memories shared across generations of students creates an environment where archaeology would complement the larger mission of the university in preserving and presenting its own past and image of persistence.

The desire to create an affordable and accessible field school played a key role in the excavations and artifact analysis associated with campus archaeology. Wilkie's work at the Zeta Psi fraternity house, for example, involved students as has the generation of students who have cut their teeth on various excavations at

Harvard (Stubbs et al. 2010) and Brown (Dutton et al. 2019). The awareness of accessibility and inclusivity in field represents an important trend in the discipline (Skowronek and Lewis 2010). On campus field schools not only offer more inclusive opportunities for students, but also provide good opportunities for outreach to the campus community whose support is often vital to the sustainability of programs (Klein et al. 2018).

Despite the roots in historical archaeology, few projects have focused more narrowly on the archaeology of contemporary campus life. In the early 1980s, Wilk and Schiffer, for example, proposed a class that used the material culture of the University of Arizona as the basis for studying and documenting archaeological formation process, stratigraphy, survey, and hypothesis building as well as a more acute understanding of modern material culture (Wilk and Schiffer 1981). They started by introducing students to evidence for wear patterns, architectural stratigraphy, and discard patterns across campus on a material culture tour. Students were encouraged to develop hypotheses for these patterns and eventually document them on their own. More recently, Stacey Lynn Camp's "Campus Trash Project" at the University of Idaho integrated some of the lesson of William Rathje's garbology project with contemporary environmental and conservation concerns on the university campus (Camp 2010). Like most campus archaeology projects, part of the goal of Camp's work was to train students in methods of intensive archaeological documentation. By documenting the distribution of trash across campus, the discard practices associated with regular events like tailgating, and the impact of trash on ecologically sensitive landscapes, Camp's project sought also to inform policy decisions and propose better ways to manage discard on campus. In a similar project G. Logan Miller developed an archaeological methods class designed to documented the distribution of cigarette butts on the Illinois State campus (Miller 2017). The decision to document cigarette butts, in a time when many campuses are going smoke free and many see smoking to be in decline, served to demonstrate that archaeology can challenge the "hegemonic narrative" found in the documentary records. Miller and his students were able to show the cigarette butts were most often recovered in high-traffic areas, but also that most cigarette butts were over a month old and likely moved from their original location of discard. This attentiveness to site formation, time, and distribution created a context that would allow for more refined analysis of his dataset. Their simple conclusion that smoking continues to occur at measurable levels on and around campus contributes to the larger trend in campus archaeology that seeks to complicate traditional narratives of campus life.

Timothy Webmoor and his colleagues studied Building 500 on Stanford University's campus prior during a phase of abandonment prior to its repurposing as the Stanford Archaeology Center. Their work applied a wide

range of experimental techniques that sought to capture the complicated interplay between materials and objects associated with this building. From the start, they recognized in Building 500 a common kind of building on university campuses. It was neither a ruin of the kind that has attracted photographers to places like Detroit in pursuit of "ruin porn," nor was it a building in continued, active use. The indeterminate state of the building, perhaps evocative of the process of revaluation described by Michael Thompson in his "rubbish theory," obscures its status as a ruin as it undergoes continuous transformation into new, useful, forms. The constant regeneration of buildings across university campuses reflects the practical realities of these fixed investments and finds a parallel with the processes that encourage the refitting of buildings that make up the "tail" of military sites. Moreover, it produces "transitory ruins" that preserve signs of abandonment, ruination, reuse, and adaptation that challenge conventional archaeological practices and emphasize the ontologically blurriness of ruins as a category. For Webmoor and his team, this encouraged holistic practices of documentation that challenged archaeology's traditional commitment to metrology and the dividing the whole into parts as a means of complete documentation. Instead, Webmoor employed overlapping practices of documentation that included both conventional practices such as photography and textual description as well as a range of video techniques, audio recordings, maps, illustration, and list making designed to represent the messiness and complexity of this building. For Webmoor, these approaches reflected an interest in understanding the materiality of the building as not simply a passive object awaiting documentation, but as an active participant in the archaeological process. The fluid responsiveness to the ruins themselves produced methods of documentation that emphasized a care for objects and their role in creating our shared world.

The application of these techniques to a building on a university campus may be more than an exercise in convenience. While Webmoor stresses the proximity of ruins in our daily lives, campus architecture represents a distinctly dynamic assemblage of buildings and experiences. Not only are campus buildings regularly adapted and repurposed to serve the needs of a changing group of students and faculty, but, perhaps paradoxically, they represent the material backdrop for students during a key transitional time in their social lives. This sense of attachment is manifest in the fondness of Zeta Psi members for their former house on campus and their concern that the new house has compromised the sense of brotherhood among more recent fraternity members (Wilkie 2010). Despite the significance of architecture to the experience of campus life, buildings are also continuously falling in and out of ruin and abandonment as they are repurposed to serve different functions and to maintain pace with the changing expectations of research, learning, and student life.

Case Study: The Archaeology of Wesley College at the University of North Dakota

In 2018 and 2020, I worked with a small team of students to document two buildings on the campus of the University of North Dakota. Our work was very much informed by Timothy Webmoor and his teams approach to Building 500 on Stanford's campus, but also embraced many of the pedagogical goals articulated in the work of Wilk and Schiffer and others. The work in 2018 focused on a pair of buildings associated with an institution called Wesley College which after being a partner with the University of North Dakota for nearly 50 years was purchased by UND in the 1960s. Students enrolled at Wesley College would take classes at UND and receive their degree from that institution while taking classes in music and religion at Wesley. The two buildings were originally a men's and women's dormitory and also included space for classrooms, recital halls, a chapel and administrative offices for Wesley College. After UND purchased the college, the buildings underwent significant renovations and served as psychology laboratories, faculty and staff offices, the home of the honors program and classrooms before being demolished in 2018 as part of a wider effort to reduce the campus footprint.

By the time our team gained access to the building, it was formally abandoned by its previous occupants and the classrooms, laboratories, and offices were no longer in use or accessible to the public. At the same time, the building remained cluttered with objects that were either too large to easily remove, outdated, disposable, or otherwise unsuitable for repurposing elsewhere on campus. We encouraged the students to pay as much attention to the material left behind as part of the buildings' recent abandonment as the earlier transformation of the structures and traces remaining of their original use. The students embraced the tension between the more recent assemblage of abandoned objects - from obsolete computers to mid-century office furniture, hard-used classroom furnishings, and depreciated window airconditioners and laboratory technology - and traces of the early-20th uses of the buildings from the partly obscured proscenium arch of the original recital hall to the corner sinks remaining in offices and student names etched in windows and bricks that preserve the original function of the building as a dormitory. Following Webmoor's lead we documented many of the rooms with video and photography and prepared "Latour Litanies" of objects left behind in offices and labs. We also worked with a member of the music department to record the sound of the recital hall, which while compromised by later architectural interventions, preserved an "echo" of its former acoustics. As part of that program, we recorded a final concert in the recital hall with a small live audience situated amid the discarded classroom furnishings. The acoustic signature of the

building became part of another work that combined music, video, and performance as a way to situate the abandonment and demolition of these buildings as part of a larger critique of higher education in the US and on our campus. Finally, upon discovering that one of the buildings was a memorial to a soldier who died during World War I, we organized an public ceremony designed to recognize the memory of this individual as well as the demolition of this building nearly 100 years after the end of hostilities.

The combination of multimodal documentation practices and performance located the near contemporary use of this building amid a long tradition of adaptation and reuse. This not only complicated idea of abandonment and ruin on a university campus, but also revealed a range of strategies, practices, and temporalities that produced the assemblage left behind by the last occupants of the building. The prevalence of outdated technology, for example, suggested strategies designed to maintain obsolete and near-obsolete computers for certain kinds of technical uses. This may well have reflected the ebb and flow of resources acquired through research grants which allowed for the large scale updating of technology, but then encouraged the reuse and maintenance of this technology well beyond its typical use-life. We also encountered how architectural adaptation to early 20th century buildings transformed elaborate spaces designed to communicate masculine values and refinement into less distinctive, practical spaces. The formal living room of the male dormitory, Sayre Hall, featured coffered ceilings, wood panelling, mosaic tile floors, a fireplace, and large windows and French doors recreating the ambience of urban, male-only, early-century social clubs. The addition of a drop ceiling, wall-to-wall carpeting, modern doors, and wall plaster overwrote the prestige communicated through the earlier space and created a room well-suited, in its final phases, as a computer room for campus technology services. The more functional arrangement of the room made it essentially interchangeable with any number of similarly functional spaces on campus and susceptible to being demolished in an effort to reduce the practical footprint of campus buildings.