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The Archaeology of a "Destroyed" Site: Surface Survey and Historical Documents at the Civilian Conservation Corps Camp, Bandelier National Monument, New Mexico

Monica L. Smith

ABSTRACT

Archaeological records and historical documents provide complementary data for the understanding of temporary laborers' quarters related to large-scale construction projects. In this work, documents are used to evaluate data from an archaeological surface survey of a large 1930s era work camp of the Civilian Conservation Corps in northern New Mexico. The camp, occupied for seven years, was bulldozed immediately after its occupants left. Despite this drastic step, surface remains are still visible, and the site was recorded in 1990 and 1991 as part of a long-term survey project at Bandelier National Monument. Artifacts, rubble, and altered vegetation patterns constitute the known archaeological remains of the site and form the basis for the identification of activity areas. Historic maps and photographs complement artifact analysis and vegetation studies to illustrate the camp's configurations.

Introduction

The archaeology of temporary shelter seeks to reconstruct cultural activities from the barest of physical remains. Temporary shelter can be the mark of socioeconomic marginality when constructed by migrant workers, refugees, and others who cannot retain permanent accommoda-Such shelter also marks the presence of tions. short-term employment in which laborers take up a specific task, often away from areas of permanent housing, and are lodged in accommodations that are not designed to withstand years of use. In many parts of rural North America, these temporary accommodations include camps related to the construction of large-scale public works such as dams (Rogge et al. 1995), as well as camps related to forestry (Franzen 1992), mining (Sherman and Sherman 1975; Teague and Shenk 1977; Knapp and Piggott 1997; McGuire, Duke, and Saitta 1998), military activity (Staski 1990, Crass and Wallsmith 1992; McBride 1994; Winter 1994), and housing for prisoners of war (Bailey 1971; Szasz and Nagatani 1996).

The challenge of interpreting these ephemeral archaeological remains is often increased by the active process of site dismantling and reuse associated with later occupation. When both historical and archaeological data are available for a camp, inferences drawn from archaeological remains can be compared with written documents, providing models that can be used in the interpretation of sites that lack an historical tradition. In this paper, investigations of the Civilian Conservation Corps camp at Bandelier National Monument in New Mexico permits the affirmation of archaeological integrity at a site that has sustained significant damage and dismantling.

The Civilian Conservation Corps

In 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt established a program known as the Emergency Conservation Work, later known as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) (Salmond 1967; Paige This nationwide relief program was 1985). designed to provide income and family support to otherwise unemployed young men during the Depression (no women were admitted into the CCC). Enrollees lived in camps as a group, and were employed in soil conservation and disaster relief, as well as numerous tasks related to reforestation and parks including fire-fighting and insect control, trail-construction, and the development of recreational facilities. By 1942 when the program was terminated in the face of increasing wartime labor demands, over two million men had been enrolled in the CCC, making it one of the most extensive and successful of the Depression-era social relief programs (Paige 1985; Rudeen 1991).

The camps of the CCC were numerous, with a total of 2,514 camps by 1935 (Tweton 1988:102). Although some CCC groups were housed in previously-existing structures such as public buildings and college campuses, the majority of camps were built by the enrollees themselves and consisted of a standardized complement of buildings including barracks, a mess hall, administration buildings and, often, a schoolhouse and hospital (Salmond 1967:136). Some of these CCC camps were subsequently modified for use as recreational or educational facilities; others were abandoned to deteriorate naturally or were purposefully bulldozed and removed (Egan 1986; Stepenoff 1988). Today the CCC is primarily remembered for two reasons: the program's success in instilling education, work-discipline, and a sense of environmental duty in millions of young men; and the tangible recreational facilities that the enrollees constructed in state and federal parks (Egan 1983; Jackson 1988a, 1988b).

The CCC at Bandelier National Monument

Bandelier National Monument, located in northwestern New Mexico, was established in 1916 to protect the archaeological remains of the prehistoric Rio Grande Anasazi (Powers 1988; Rothman 1988). In 1932, the jurisdiction of the 26,000-acre (105,000 hectare) monument was transferred from the United States Forest Service to the National Park Service (NPS), resulting in a change of management philosophy (Rothman 1988). The mandate of the National Park Service included accessibility as a major goal of park development, and parks and monuments acquired by the NPS were to be actively modified for public use. This management philosophy was developed at the same time that the economic revitalization programs of the Depression were being formulated, and the CCC was one of the main programs through which parks and monuments were developed (Stepenoff 1988). By 1937, about one-quarter of the CCC's enrollment of 600,000 individuals was allocated to the NPS nationwide (Paige 1985:21).

At Bandelier, the two national trends of a desire for public access and the development of Depression-era labor relief were manifested in a construction program that provided the principal infrastructure for public visitation. During the course of the CCC construction projects, the Monument was invested with a complete physical plant, suitable for a small city: visitor facilities, administrative offices, a new lodge, employee residences, picnic and camp grounds, maintenance area, utility systems, oil house, underground gasoline and oil storage tanks, modern electrical and sewage systems, a power house, a refuse burner, septic tanks, and 30,000

gallons of water storage potential (Rothman 1988:78). The set of permanent buildings constructed in the valley floor of Frijoles Canyon continues to be the center of administration and public activity at the monument. As the only NPS construction to be conceived, designed, and executed as an integral whole, the architectural group earned the distinction of placement on the National Register of Historic Places in 1987 (Harrison et al. 1984; Rothman 1988).

This sustained building program was made possible by the large labor force provided by the CCC. Up to 200 men at a time were housed in the construction camp, located in Frijoles Canyon directly north of the work site of the permanent buildings. The CCC camp, occupied from 1933 to 1939 as the residence for construction workers in a then-remote wilderness area, was large and substantial as revealed in photographs of large army-style barracks with foundations of unshaped blocks of local volcanic tuff (Figure 1). Contrary to the permanent buildings listed above, this camp was intended to be temporary. In 1939 when the CCC housing was moved out of the canyon, the camp buildings were dismantled and the foundations bulldozed. This effacement was, like the rest of the CCC project, carefully executed: "Although the buildings were gone, the leveling that was done when the camp was constructed took considerable time to naturalize to the high standards of park service landscape architects-making the area look as if [it] had been untouched" (Harrison et al. 1984:63).

The site of the CCC camp remains unmarked by any permanent commemorative or interpretive display; nor was the survey crew aware of its exact location in Frijoles Canyon prior to the commencement of the survey process. As seen below, the conscious effort of erasure was not wholly successful in eliminating the camp site, of which a palimpsest remains on the landscape.

Survey Methods

From 1987 to 1991, a five-year archaeological inventory survey was undertaken at Bandelier National Monument under the auspices of the National Park Service as part of an ongoing project to document cultural resources and provide research data (Powers 1988; Powers and Orcutt). Sites were located and recovered by a



FIGURE 1. Late 1930s photograph of the CCC camp, Bandelier National Monument, New Mexico. (Photo courtesy of Bandelier National Monument, National Park Service, Catalog No. 14020.)

process of intensive field-walking, performed by a team of 4-6 persons walking 10-15 m (33-50 ft.) apart. For the purposes of the survey, an archaeological site was defined as any pre-1960 locus of human activity in the form of structures or features, and/or areas with an artifact density greater than 1 artifact per 5 m^2 . The cut-off date for historic period materials is consistent with other regional surveys in the American Southwest that incorporate both historic and prehistoric materials (Powers 1988).

Most of the 2000 sites documented by the survey date from the Coalition and Classic Anasazi periods (A.D. 1150-1550), but the survey also recorded the use of the monument area during the historic period that followed. Frijoles Canyon was a particularly attractive zone for both prehistoric and historic settlement because of the permanent water source located there. While there was relatively little occupation immediately after the arrival of the Spanish, by the middle of the 19th century there was a resurgence of human activity, with people primarily engaged in sheepherding, farming, and ranching (Smith 1993). Evidence of these activities survives throughout the canyon in the form of isolated building foundations, numerous roadbeds and ditches, intermittent fence lines, and an orchard.

In the area north of the current administrative unit in Frijoles Canyon and upslope from Frijoles Creek and the modern visitors' pathway, the presence of a concentration of historic artifacts including glass and metal, along with chunks of concrete, indicated historic usage according to the pre-1960 criterion. The area was mapped as site number LA 77728 and tentatively identified as the location of the CCC camp; the surface artifacts recovered were analyzed on-site in 1990 and 1991.

Surface Remains

Large-scale human activity during the occupation of LA 77728 was indicated both by conditions of altered landscape and by the presence of surface artifacts. Construction and structural debris consisted of low berms of disturbed earth, often with resultant rubble mounds. Twenty piles of unshaped tuff blocks were recorded (Figure 2), along with chunks of broken concrete, asphalt, and concentrations of nails. Other building materials included porcelain fragments, wire, and granite tile fragments. Domestic refuse was represented by a variety of can and bottle fragments, including two unbroken bottles. In addition, categories of miscellaneous objects such as a harmonica plate, pieces of a pocket watch, a metal pedal from a vehicle, hinges, tubing, metal clips, and wire were located on the site, indicating a long-term and multipurpose use of the area (Table 1).

During the recording of the site, the assumption was made that the majority of the artifacts presently on the ground surface dated from the last major occupation of the site. Though any of these artifacts may have been added to the surface after the CCC camp occupation period, the Park Service's intent of returning the area to a natural state would have precluded its use as a general dumping ground, so that the only objects

TABLE 1 ARTIFACTS RECORDED AT LA 77728

Item	Frequency
Ceramic fragment from sink or toilet	1+
Ceramic pipe fragment, thickness 1/2 in.	1
Ceramic tube, white, exterior 9/16 in., interior 5/16 in	n. 1
Porcelain plate fragments, white	4
Porcelain spout, 6" x 1/4 in.	1
Rubber sink stopper, white, 1 1/8 in. diameter	1
Rubber, red-orange, weathered, 2 in. circular	1
Stoneware, glazed, green/yellow/black	1
Glass items	
amber, bottle fragment	2
clear, "Importer's Brand Vodka"	1
clear, bottle fragment, unknown contents	. 25
clear, bottle with aluminum lid "National Distillers"	' 1
clear, milk bottle	1
clear, perfume bottle	1
clear, window fragment	25
cobalt blue, unknown form	3
emerald green, bottle	3
emerald green, unknown form	1
light green, bottle fragments, Coca Cola	2
purple, bottle fragments	2
white, globe light fragment	8
white, light bulb tragment	1
white, unknown form	1
Metal items	2
bottle cap	2
box, square, ninged, 1 3/4 x 1 3/8 x 5/16 in.	1
button, label U.S. Army, with two stars, $5/8$ in.	1
can, 2 s/4 x 4 s/4 m, beer	1
can, $5 \times 1/4$ in $A = 1/4$ in A i	1
call, 5 $1/4 \times 4 1/4$ III., Finice Albert cigars	3
can, $3 \times 4 = 3/4$ iii., plain top	2
can, 5 1/2 x ? in., Nero an-purpose creater	1
$can, 6.1/2 \times 0.1/2$ in "Prestone Antifraeze"	1
can, unknown contents	2
clin aluminum $1 \frac{1}{4} \times 2 \frac{3}{4}$ in	1
clip, snow boots/base clamp $1.11/16 \times 3/4 \times 1.1/16$	in 1
fragment oval cut from larger scrap $4.1/4 \times 6$ in	11. 1
hacksaw blade $10.1/4 \times 1/2$ in	1
harmonica plate $\frac{1}{1/8} \times \frac{1}{1/8} \times \frac{1}{32}$ in	1
hinges	2
lid 7 1/4 in diameter not machine-made	1
lid, square $2 \frac{1}{4} \times 1$ foot 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in	1
lid, with riveted handle 1 x 16 in diameter	1
lid, with triangular notches $1/4 \times 13/4$ in	1
lid $1/4 \times 3 1/4$ in raised print "W615 178 1925"	1
nail embedded in "Bulldog" white ceramic insulate	ء 1 nr
nail, enfocaded in Bundog winte cerainte insulate	207+
nedal $5 \frac{1}{4} \times 3 \times 1 \frac{1}{4}$ in	2071
nocket watch fragment	2
razor blade	2
rod rusted $1/4 \times 24 1/2$ in	1
scrap	2
screw. flat head, 2 1/2 in.	1
tubing, rusted, $1 \frac{1}{2} \times 4 \frac{1}{4}$ in	1
washer	2
wire	2
wire bucket handle, $1/8 \times 13 1/4$ in.	1
TOTAL NUMBER OF ITEMS RECORDED	339

which may have been added would have been those of careless visitors. Site dating based on diagnostic attributes of historic artifacts confirms that the site has received minimal quantities of post-occupational refuse. The glass artifacts yield a date range from 1880 to the present; metal artifacts, as assessed primarily through the diagnostic aspects of metal cans, yield a date range of 1925-1955. Only one object appears to have been embossed with a date of manufacture, a metal lid (possibly an old iron stove cover) with "1925," which provides a *terminus post quem* for discard.

The types and distribution of vegetation at LA 77728 constituted further evidence of large-scale human activity. The canyon bottom, with elevations ranging from 5,900-6,200 ft., (1,800-1,890 m) is generally populated by riparian deciduous and evergreen trees, of which the dominant species is the ponderosa pine (*Pinus ponderosa*) with an understory of gramma grass (*Bouteloua gracilis*). The northern portion of the site was consistent with this pattern and studded with ponderosa pine trees some up to 12 in. (30 cm) in diameter. The dominant understory species was gramma grass, with some occurrence of false tarragon (*Artemesia dracunculus*, a weedy



FIGURE 2. Map of LA 77728, August 1991. (Redrawn from T. Van Zandt field map.)

plant), and snakeweed (*Gutierrezia sarothirae*, also a weedy type).

By contrast, the southern portion of the site was 90%-100% covered with four-wing saltbush (Atroplex canescens), a plant adapted to diverse climatic and soil conditions which is occasionally found on archaeological sites in the Bandelier area (Yarnell 1965). This plant does not usually occur in a riparian habitat, but prefers welldrained soil; its presence on other archaeological sites on the adjacent mesa tops is largely due to surface and subsurface architectural remains that result in a well-drained soil condition. In general, distinctive vegetation on archaeological sites in the Bandelier area results from a combination of three major factors: favorable soil, introduction by non-human sources, and introduction by humans (Yarnell 1965). The striking difference in vegetation between the northern and southern portions of the site probably resulted from favorable intrasite microenvironments for species introduced by both human and non-human agents.

Site Analysis

In general, an analysis of the distributions of artifacts and debris is possible under the assumption that "human beings usually produce ordered spatial environments for themselves" (Fletcher 1984:221). A second assumption is that even substantial amounts of earth-moving activities will not completely obliterate initial depositional patterns; for example, plow-zone studies in Europe have been able to compensate for the effects of large machinery on the distribution of surface remains (Ammerman and Feldman 1978; Steinberg 1996). At LA 77728, the majority of rubble, and the largest single concentrations of rubble, are in the southern two-thirds of the site, an area that also contains the majority of domestic refuse. This differential distribution correlates with the vegetation shift noted above.

The artifact distribution on the site includes a further qualitative difference, as utilitarian objects (bottles, nails, and other glass and metal fragments) were distributed on the southern portion of the site, and special-purpose objects and features (polished granite fragments, roadbed) on the north. The nature of the special-purpose items in the northern portion imply differential access to goods with elite associations: the roadbed indicates a use of vehicles during a time when it was unlikely for regular CCC enrollees to have been able to afford automobiles (Hill [1990:28] notes that in other CCC installations, the enrollees who did own vehicles were not permitted to have them at camp). The highquality building materials indicates differential access to such materials. Finally, the area of these "elite" markers was located at the north end of the site, the CCC quarters furthest removed from the noisy construction area of the permanent buildings.

Activity-area research based on differential distributions of artifact types has been performed for other historic sites of limited occupation. At the 18th-century British defensive site of Fort Watson, South Carolina, broad-scale patterns were discernable from the distributions of different ceramic vessel forms (Ferguson 1977). Fort Watson had a limited and well-defined period of occupation (December 1780-April 1781); however, the confirmation of activity area usage at Fort Watson is based solely on archaeological evidence, since no plan or map of the fort has ever been found. Archaeological evidence at other types of temporary camps suggest that distribution patterns at sites can indicate social as well as functional differences in camp activities. At the Civil War site of Camp Nelson in Kentucky, the archaeologist analyzing the material remains of the Headquarters Complex concluded that the presence of officers was probably responsible for the higher quality of meat cuts, greater variety of clothes buttons, and presence of fancy table glassware in that area (McBride 1994).

In the present study, available historical documents from the CCC camp project enable the confirmation of inferences drawn from archaeological remains. Frijoles Canyon was the locus of intensive human activity in the 1930s and 1940s, thus, maps of the canyon bottom were made in preparation for, and during, the construction of the permanent buildings. The camp buildings of the CCC were included on these maps, often drawn with dotted lines indicating their temporary nature. While the permanent buildings were always labeled with the role for which they were intended (e.g., "museum," "administration"), only in one case were the camp buildings individually labeled according to function (Figure 3). This key document enabled confirmation of the broad differential use-patterns detected by the survey. Most striking was the indication that the northern portion of LA 77728 did serve an elite function, as it was the location of the camp headquarters.

The vegetative indications of differential site usage were also confirmed with historical documents. Contemporary photographs of the CCC camp show that the substantial foundations of the long barracks were comprised of irregular tuff blocks, some of which probably remained on the site area after bulldozing, resulting in a better-drained soil which later attracted the saltbush plant. Photographs also reveal that there were no trees interspersed between the buildings, as the survey crew initially deduced; the presence of these trees must therefore have resulted from deliberate planting after the buildings in that location were dismantled. While the currently large size of the trees suggests longevity, it is possible, given the favorable canyon-bottom location, for Pinus ponderosa trees to reach their current trunk diameter of 12 in. (30 cm) in about 50 years (Craig Allen 1993, pers. comm.). At the same time, the presence of so much subsurface debris in the southern portion of the site (where the barracks were located) probably made tree-planting difficult, and may have been the major factor in locating planted trees on the northern portion of the site, where there was a lower building density. This suggests that, when working with recently abandoned sites, the possibility of rapid tree growth and intentional transplant should be taken into account. Table 2 provides a summary of the archaeological inferences and subsequent comparisons to historical documents.

The Problem of the "Unique" Artifact

Both survey and excavation of sites occasionally produce singular items recovered as "unique" or "out-of-place" finds. Such finds may be the product of sampling fraction, naturally-occurring or culturally-produced site formation processes, curation by later site occupants, or misrecording. The difficulty in analyzing one-of-a-kind objects usually places them in an anecdotal role; however, they can be used to substantiate interpretations of site function and intrasite variability, and in some cases may provide the only



FIGURE 3. Map of CCC camp, October 1935. (File NM/BAN-4978, Sheet 27, Bandelier National Monument Archives.)

data for certain aspects of site interpretation. In the case of the CCC camp, the roadbed feature was a singular one, and fragments of the granite slabs few, yet they provided further indication that the portion of the site in which they were located had special-purpose functions.

Another unique find among the surface materials was a metal clothes button embossed with the words "U.S. Army." Because the area of the site has been walked over by casual visitors who leave the prescribed pathway, one could not be absolutely certain that the button was contemporaneous with the occupation of the camp. Here was a situation where only the availability of written documents could support an inference that the button was associated with site occupation, as the CCC was managed through a coalition of existing agencies: "Enrollees signed up through the Department of Labor, were moved, fed and housed by the Army, and sent to work for the Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture" (Harrison et al. 1984:22; Paige 1985). The Army's role extended beyond logistics, since camp commanders were reserve officers who supervised the enrollees and coordinated their activities with

the park superintendent; the Army also supplied assistants such as a part-time medical doctor, dentist, and chaplain as well as an educational officer (Paige 1985:66). Without the presence of documents that indicate the role of the Army in an otherwise civilian enterprise, the recovery of the button at Bandelier might have been reduced to that of an anecdotal find; yet it was the only artifact which directly indicated the role of the military in the construction efforts.

Low-frequency or "unique" artifacts can also support inferences of site usage when single exemplars are grouped into classes based on shared attributes. This process is similar to the process of multiple simultaneous classification, in which large data sets can be divided into subsets based on the selection of particular attributes shared by otherwise disparate objects (Aldenderfer 1987; Rogers 1990). At LA 77728, the presence of objects of a personal nature (harmonica plate, pocket watch), along with fragments of plumbing fixtures (white porcelain, sink stopper), and other general domestic refuse, support the idea of a full-service living quarters where diverse daily tasks were carried out. Again, the historical documentation supports this inference in confirming the CCC camp as a year-round residential facility (Rothman 1988).

Although the CCC camp site at Bandelier was well-documented through photographs and maps, not all aspects of camp life were detailed in

TABLE 2 COMPARISON OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL INFERENCES AT LA 77728 WITH CCC HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

Archaeological Data Indicate	Documents Show As
Site was locus of large-scale human activity	correct
Placement of buildings revealed by current layout of trees	incorrect
Differential activity areas and settlement patterns based on artifact densities	correct
Differential activity areas based on vegetation patterns	correct
Dates of occupation=1880-present (median date=1935)	1933-1939

the historical record. The presence of beer and hard liquor, as evidenced by bottles and cans recovered at LA 77728, is one aspect of CCC camp life that is generally downplayed in official administrative histories. As for other vices, the archaeological data at Bandelier are relatively silent. The overwhelming majority of artifacts at the CCC camp site are gender-neutral; only the lone perfume bottle serves as an indicator of contact with women. This stands as a contrast to other historically male-dominated locales, such as mining and logging camps, in which the presence of women and children is often surmised from the recovery of gender-specific artifacts (Franzen 1992; McBride 1994).

Discussion and Conclusions

The complementary use of historical and archaeological evidence at LA 77728 serves as an important example of the archaeological reconstruction of the activities of temporary or marginal groups. The archaeology of workers' quarters and the organization of labor has received considerable attention in the past decade, resulting in a more comprehensive understanding of the spatial and social aspects of labor relations (Beaudry 1989; Howson 1990; Franzen 1992; Lucas and Shackel 1994; McGuire, Duke and Saitta 1998). Temporary habitations, no less than suburbs and tenements, have contributed to the economic and social landscape of modern North America, although archaeological investigation of these sites is still in its infancy (Rogge et al. 1995:15).

Archaeological surface survey is a cost-effective means of assessing site function, especially for large sites and sites with little stratigraphic depth. Survey as a viable method for the assessment of archaeological remains has been repeatedly evaluated by testing the results of survey with subsequent excavation (Redman and Watson 1970; Tolstoy and Fish 1975; Whallon 1979; Ammerman 1985; Terranato and Ammerman 1996). While survey has been shown to be a comprehensive means of evaluating archaeological sites, conclusions can be strengthened through the addition of complementary data obtained through excavation or remote sensing. Historical data, in the form of maps, photographs, drawings, probate inventories, and memoirs also serve in this corrective capacity.

The maps and archaeological evidence of the CCC camp at Bandelier illustrate how laborers' camps are adapted to meet conditions of terrain and the tasks to be accomplished. The CCC camps were standardized in terms of the types of buildings provided, but the resultant configuration of individual camps varied greatly (Salmond 1967). The camp at Bandelier is linear in its design, taking advantage of the narrow strip of land that slopes gently towards the creek at the bottom of the canyon. The layout of the camp also changed over time, as the permanent structures gradually expanded to fill more of the canyon bottom and the southern portion of Barracks No. 2 (originally a U-shaped building like Barracks No. 4) had to be partially dismantled in the course of construction (Harrison et al. 1984). The flexibility of camp layouts has been noted with reference to other types of temporary shelter, for example the camps of the Civil War in which the demands of terrain meant that army regulations could not always be followed (Winter 1994). In most cases of temporary housing, efficiency and attention to the task at hand override considerations about the appearance of the workers' living quarters.

The survey and documentation of LA 77728 provide evidence that "destroyed" sites can retain a level of archaeological integrity and enhance our understanding of temporary laborers' quarters, even for historical time periods when documents are available (Jurney 1993:36-41; Haecker 1997). Based on the experience of comparing the historical and archaeological information for this site, two conclusions can be made about the archaeological record of temporary habitations:

1. Short-term occupations of multi-purpose type (e.g. camps) can be detected in the archaeological record, even when these occupations are designed to be temporary and/or their remains are deliberately effaced;

2. Low-frequency artifacts can be used to support inferences about site usage, whether as single exemplars or grouped into similar-usage types. This is especially true for temporary sites, where occupants are likely to remove all of their belongings and singular finds may be the only representation of some types of activities.

The creation of permanent structures, especially in remote locations, implies the presence of a labor force and well-organized logistical support. The goal of the finished product, however, often includes the concealment of both the construction process and the relationship between transient builders and permanent buildings. In some cases, such as the CCC camp at Bandelier, the temporary aspect of the workers' quarters was further emphasized by attempts to dismantle and disguise their remains. The presence of workers' quarters becomes redundant after the completion of permanent structures, and may be regarded as ugly or distracting from the "real" construction which then appears to have been placed in the landscape without visible human effort. Nonetheless, even the most determined attempts to efface such remains will leave an archaeological trace.

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