Pioneers is devoted to personal reflections by students and colleagues on major figures in the study of the indigenous cultures of the region. These are not obituaries or memorials, but candid recollections that convey insight into the personalities of the pioneers, as well as the cultural context of anthropology during their lives. If you have suggestions for a pioneer, and names and contact information for those who may wish to prepare a recollection, please contact Steven Simms.

MEMORIES OF
EMMA LOU DAVIS (1905–1988)
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Emma Lou Davis was a polymath who brought an impressive array of accomplishments when she turned her attention to archaeology in mid-life. I did not know “Davey” (as her friends called her), but I have been regaled with stories of flamboyance that verge on the scandalous. I do know from Dr. Davis’s work that she was an open thinker, and I suspect it was the breadth and richness of her life that brought something out of the ordinary to the archaeology of the Desert West.

Davis was born in Indianapolis, Indiana, on November 26, 1905. She earned a Bachelor in Fine Arts degree from Vassar College in 1927, and for the next two decades pursued a career as an artist and designer. Soon after college she traveled to the Soviet Union and China, adventures in her early twenties that signaled an activism and an interest in socialist causes that persisted throughout her life. She returned to work at the Whitney Art Gallery and the Museum of Modern Art in New York City. Her bas relief sculpture, completed in 1938, adorns the Social Security building in Washington, D.C. During World War II she employed her talents as a designer, working at the Douglas Aircraft Company. She continued in the post-war years as a furniture designer in California, and as an art instructor at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

A move to New Mexico provided the context that awakened an interest in archaeology. She took courses at the University of New Mexico, and then enrolled in graduate school at the University of California, Los Angeles. Her Masters degree focused on the ethnography of the Kutzadika’a Paiute band of Mono Lake, California, which launched her into the world of Great Basin Native Americans. Her doctoral dissertation explored Mesa Verde migrations, suggesting that the connection she made with archaeology in New Mexico remained strong. She received her doctorate from UCLA in 1964 at the age of 58.

Even as she worked on her doctorate on Mesa Verde, the Great Basin was on her mind, as evidenced by her 1963 paper in American Antiquity, “The Desert Culture of the Western Great Basin: A Lifeway of Seasonal Transhumance.” She understood the Desert Culture as a conceptual abstraction, and employed the ethnographic analogy of the Mono Lake Paiute to draw a contrast with the discoveries of Folsom and Clovis points in Nevada and eastern California (Davis 1963).

Students of the Paleoindian period of the Desert West remember Davis for her pioneering work in Pleistocene archaeology, her efforts to press the temporal boundaries for the antiquity of a human presence in the region, and for her ability to see beyond the artifacts to regional scales of interpretation. She advocated and practiced archaeology as an interdisciplinary science. She threw her net broadly across her interests and her associations, forging a relationship with the Mojave avocational desert rats so important to really knowing the land (Campbell 2014).

Davis hit her stride with a steady stream of publications over the next two decades, resulting in over 70 monographs, papers, and reports. Some notable examples include a review of work on Mojave geoglyphs
in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* (Davis and Winslow 1965); her ethnography of the Mono Lake Paiute, published in the *University of Utah Anthropological Papers* (Davis 1965); “The Western Lithic Co-Tradition,” published in the *San Diego Museum Papers* (Davis et al. 1969); and “Associations of People and a Rancholabrean Fauna at China Lake, California” in *Early Man in North America from a Circum-Pacific Perspective* (Davis 1978a). She continued to write into the early 1980s, and most of her later material is in the cultural resource management literature on the Mojave Desert (see the Digital Archaeological Record, www.tdar.org).

Dr. Davis was curator of the Museum of Man in San Diego, California from 1966 to 1971. In 1975, she founded the Great Basin Foundation to further research into the temporally-deep record of the Mojave Desert, and to advocate for preservation of archaeological resources. Her interests were many, and her advocacy and support ranged from the San Diego Zoo, to Greenpeace, and to Amnesty International. “Never mean spirited, Emma Lou Davis was forever a frank and forthright individual who minced no words in pursuing truth” (Turnmire 1989:2), and she remained a fiercely independent woman whose career reflected the fact that she had been a feminist all of her life.

* * *

**THE LEGACY OF EMMA LOU DAVIS:**

A VIEW FROM THE BLEACHERS

Mark E. Basgall
California State University, Sacramento

I must first confess that I never really knew Emma Lou Davis personally. I met her at several archaeological conferences during my formative years, and surely heard about some of her social eccentricities and wild parties (though I was never able to attend one), but I got to know and appreciate her through her research. When first engaging the prehistory of the western Great Basin in the early 1980s, it was essential to read her writings about Mono Lake ethnography, her papers on the archaeology of the Mono County uplands, Panamint Valley, the central Mojave Desert, and (of course) her multi-year and many-faceted studies of the Paleoindian occupations at China Lake. These latter investigations had resulted in a recent monograph, *The Ancient Californians: Rancholabrean Hunters of the Mojave Lakes Country* (Davis 1978b), published by the Los Angeles County Museum. Based on extensive surface reconnaissance and some subsurface excavations in a number of locations along the Pleistocene Lake China shoreline, Davis offered a rich, robust, and often creative assessment of early prehistory in the Desert West. Many of the conclusions were quite speculative, sometimes downright outrageous, and this important study was widely ignored by the scientific establishment.

China Lake even today gets only “dutifully” mentioned as one of (by now) many Mojave Desert localities that have produced cultural remains attributable to the late Pleistocene/early Holocene interval, but few details are offered regarding the specifics of the assemblages themselves, and even fewer attempts are made to compare data from China Lake with those from other key early sites. There are probably many reasons for this oversight, not the least of which are related to the often controversial claims Emma Lou Davis made regarding the sites and artifacts—that at least some of the deposits were on the order of 40,000 years old, that the Clovis culture had first emerged in Indian Wells Valley, and that she had established a direct association between people and Pleistocene megafauna. Archaeologists of the day were largely skeptical of such assertions, believing that most or all of the accumulations represented lag deposits of uncertain but mixed temporal affinity that developed over the course of an extended erosional process. The China Lake monograph was also overlooked because of the idiosyncratic way Davis provided much of the information, making it difficult to compare it directly with studies presented in a more traditional manner.

That Davis and much of the mainstream archaeological community had a “failure to communicate” is exemplified by a personal exchange she had with C. Vance Haynes, one of the premier geoarchaeologists of the day, while she was in the midst of her fieldwork. Responding to an earlier correspondence, Haynes wrote:

*Dear Davey:*

*Your letter of November 6 is fabulous, but it’s obvious that our philosophical approaches are different. As I recall the situation, we called you over to see what I considered to be the midsection of a severely weathered Lake Mojave point of obsidian. Upon seeing it you said something on the order of, “Oh! That’s late.” Whereupon I said, “Well it may be nearly as old as the fluted points on China Lake.” When you*
said they were young, too, I realized you meant in relation to your pre- and proto-Clovis assemblages. That’s when I asked how you were going to convince me (I meant scientists as a whole) of a sequence without stratigraphic context. ... Well, Davey, I guess what I meant to ask was not how you were going to convince anyone, but what is the evidence for your preferred model? In the six years since I first visited your sites, I have heard your interpretation of “very early” pre-Clovis man, proto-Clovis, Western Fluted Co-Tradition, Lake China origin for Clovis, and now, that Clovis points are knives, not points. So I was expecting to see the evidence for these things. I did not. [Letter from C. Vance Haynes, University of Arizona, December 9, 1976].

Her response was as follows:

Dearest Vance:

You are my favorite Kumquat, spinner of a scientific fairy tale: The Clovis Conquest. Now, while we’re playing Scientific Cops and Robbers (Stuffshirts and Freaks), I agree that our philosophies are different. You’ll only accept a classic security—and “believe” the results. I work with degrees of probability—and don’t “believe” anything. My Game is the fun of the search. Our difference is THAT OUR HEADS & PYSCHE ARE IN DIFFERENT PLACES. Let’s say that you are a good Euclidean while I’m a non-Euclidean. My spaces are warped and my parallel lines meet on the horizon so they have to curve…. Let’s keep it that way. Do you realize how valuable to free thought oppositions are? They help keep the field alive and healthy. There are no proofs for such opposites, only degrees of resolution. Like Voltaire, “I disagree with everything you say and would defend with my life your right to say it.” I need you Vance. You need me, too, I’m the cat I know would defend with my life your right to say it.” I need you Vance. You need me, too, I’m the cat I know.

But this only illustrates part of the story. For if Emma Lou Davis was sometimes prone to making less than demonstrable or scientifically verifiable claims about the meaning of what she found, her methods were more than “sound.” She was no Kurtz. I discovered this firsthand when given an opportunity to revisit her work and collections from the so-called “Stake Areas” at China Lake (Basgall 2005). Although the many maps published in The Ancient Californians are somewhat stylized simplifications and do not allow one to track the location of particular artifacts or fossil exposures, when we found the original plane-table drawings in the Maturango Museum archives it was possible to do just that. The corners of her stake areas were marked with rebar datums, making it possible to re-inspect specific surfaces for cultural remains that were only recently exposed. All collected tools were given unique numbers that were carried through the mapping, cataloging, and curation phases. This allows today’s archaeologist to reassess detailed spatial relationships among and between different artifact classes, or to characterize the nuances of lithic material profiles and technological patterns. Beyond that, reanalysis of the spatial arrangements makes it manifestly clear that many of her artifact clusters represent intact activity areas with associational integrity. These were not the jumbled lag accumulations assumed by many researchers on the basis of data in the published record. Emma Lou Davis had, in fact, achieved much of what she intended to do—describe and document variability in Paleoindian assemblages in the China Lake basin. Such careful attention to understanding relationships between archaeology, landscape, and erosional surfaces was also to characterize her work in Panamint Valley and other places. She was even to pioneer the use of balloons to provide effective high-altitude overviews of sites, features, and landforms. And remember that these close controls were achieved without the laser-assisted total mapping stations and camera-mounted drones we have today.

Emma Lou Davis may not be remembered for her ideas about the antiquity and lifeways of early Americans, and most of the claimed associations between humans and megafauna at China Lake were not supported by later work (there are still a handful of possibilities), but she will surely be heralded for the sophistication brought to documenting archaeological remains in fragile, complex surface deposits throughout much of the desert. The extensive collections she made at China Lake and elsewhere will continue to have important research value into the distant future—archaeologists should pay more attention to them.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author expresses everlasting thanks to Carolyn Shepherd for the opportunity to revisit Emma Lou Davis’ work at China Lake, and to Elva Younkin for free, unfettered access to archives and collections then housed at the Maturango Museum in Ridgecrest.
LOOKING FOR THE PALEO-GROCERY STORE:
MY RECOLLECTIONS OF EMMA LOU DAVIS
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Mojave Desert Heritage and Cultural Association,
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The California deserts have natural laboratories like fluvial Pinto Wash and lacustrine lakes China, Panamint and Death Valley (Manly) where erosion exposes cultural materials in ancient deposits. Therefore these deserts should become a nationally supported field for investigations of our cultural antiquity and its one-to-one correlation with climatic change [Davis et al. 1980:10; emphasis in original].

I met Emma Lou Davis as a graduate student at San Diego State University in 1972. Of course, I was in awe. I had heard about her from several of my professors, including François Bordes, who indicated that I should seek knowledge from her as she was an intelligent character. I learned that she was not only a character but that she had character. She dressed wildly, spoke with exactness, and was prone to share her intellect through group participation and celebrations at her Point Loma, California home. There are three wonderful, unpublished documents that tell the story of her life (1905–1988) that anyone serious about knowing “Davey” should read: Davey’s unpublished Autobiography (1984); a second draft, The Angry Shaman (1984); and an oral history interview conducted by John McAleer from California State Parks (1982).

My first field visit with her was on a training archaeological survey in eastern San Diego County. The San Diego County Archaeological Society had arranged a training session which was to be thoroughly documented. All participants were given a field certificate for the eight hours they participated. Jay Hatley filled out the certificates and presented one to her. Davey laughed and laughed. Jay looked at her and asked what he had missed that was so humorous. She simply said, “I don’t need this piece of paper. I have thousands of hours of survey under my belt.” She handed back the certificate and suggested he save his paper.

I worked and talked with Davey off and on throughout my graduate studies about my interests in California archaeology and the peopling of the Americas. She provided the wisdom of an elder statesperson. My mentor and graduate advisor, Paul H. Ezell, was quick to point out that Davey was a bit unusual; she dressed ‘hippish’ and was very liberal in her social and political views, but extremely intelligent and financially well off. He generally shied away from her.

Her first career in art stimulated her thinking and creativity. She worked under the name of Emma Lu Davis for part of her career. She often told us, when speaking about her archaeological thoughts and theories, “Stick your neck out and let folks take a whack at it.”

I really got to know Davey when I was the District Archaeologist for the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) in the California Desert Conservation Area. As a part of the planning effort, Davis was contracted to inventory the public lands for sites over 5,000 years old. She focused her efforts on the Mojave Lakes Country, particularly in the Panamint Valley, Saline Valley, Lake Manix, and Palen Lake areas. She felt these were areas where some of the earliest human settlers made camp because of the natural resources which were present. She focused much of her efforts on ‘climatic’ change and intensely studied past environments. She was certain the lakes held the answers to the peopling of the continent and contained Upper Paleolithic remains.

The waters in the chain of lakes from Mono to Manley Lake and the dry lake beds in eastern San Bernardino, Riverside, and Imperial counties provided enough resources over 5,000 years ago that they were the focus of Paleo-Indian activities, and were what Davis referred to as “paleo-grocery stores.” These places were
once teeming with megafauna seeking food and water, and with people seeking the same. She focused much of her research and theories on the remains of ‘Early Man’ in the California Deserts (Reed 2014:97), on lands managed by the BLM, as well as conducting research at Lake China, where she was confident the remains of megafauna such as mammoth would be found in association with artifacts.

Her colleagues published a festschrift in her honor in 1985, touchingly dedicated as follows: “For Davey, with whom we have shared at many hearths the awe of mystery, the pleasure of inquiry, the fierce jaw of discovery, and peals of laughter at a good rowdy joke. This book is a celebration of the pleasure of inquiry in good company” (Blackburn 1985:iv). It focuses on the peopling of the Americas, and her creation of the Great Basin Foundation. Her research interests, her focus on older sites, and a willingness to step out of the box brought her admiration from her colleagues, while her sometimes acerbic personality could intimidate less experienced archaeologists.

I was lucky enough to spend time at many of the dry lake beds with her and invited her to visit early sites at Ft. Irwin, which she had previously been unable to access. At the time, the limited archaeology done there had been conducted by Malcolm Rogers from the San Diego Museum of Man during the 1930s, and Davey was familiar with his site records when she worked for the Museum. Later, volunteers from the Archaeological Survey Association of Southern California worked with Dee Simpson from the San Bernardino County Museum to excavate and document several sites. Davey enjoyed working with volunteers. It was one of the highlights of her career.

When the Army was required to conduct cultural resource inventories, I invited Davey to visit some of the sites. The Heritage Conservation and Recreation Services (HCRS) agency administered the contracts, but Davey was hired through Cornerstone Research to offer advice, a situation she cherished. I remember a day at Drinkwater Lake when a representative of HCRS showed up in the field wearing a big white floppy hat and a thin, long, white skirt that the breeze ferociously caught. Davey, always dressed in field clothing, had a ‘field day’ with the ‘office’ person, explaining proper field etiquette to her. She did not mince her words.

She experimented with recordation methods, and in addition to the usual pedestrian survey, used low and slow flying aircraft, such as Harry Casey’s 1940s Piper Cub and Slim Winslow’s Ercoupe (Casey 2014; Winslow 1984) for photography, as well as hot air balloons, which were very unstable in the high desert winds. She was an early user of USGS topographic quads for quicker access to remote locations. She also borrowed Paul Ezell’s famed photographic bipod to get a camera 20 feet above ground figures in north Panamint Valley, only to watch it come crashing down in the erratic winds.

Her art background allowed her to document the complex rock alignments—for which she coined the term ‘geoglyphs’—scattered throughout the Mojave Desert. Her theory for the construction and placement of the ground figures was that they were religious in purpose, constructed during a time in which the lakes were drying and significant loss of important resources was occurring. The builders were working within their religious system to influence appropriate powers to return to better times, to replenish the shrinking lakes, and to restore their associated resources, which Davey termed ‘paleogrocery stores’ (Davis and Raven 1986).

During the early 1980s, she worked with Jay von Werlhof and Harry Casey (von Werlhof 1987) to document very large geoglyphs in northern Panamint Valley and western Lake Manley, which she interpreted as representing snakes and birds. Later work in southern Panamint Valley by Julie Burcell (2007), inspired by Davis, found—instead of massive geoglyphs—ground figures which were much more delicate, made from smaller rocks, and which might have been representations of the surrounding landscape. Burcell paid tribute to Davey, someone she never had the opportunity to meet, with this statement:

This study supports the work of Emma Lou Davis and Jay von Werlhof, who observed an association between stream channels and ground figure sites in northern Panamint Valley. At this point, climate change models with solid supporting data appear to be the best avenue for exploring what we see in the archaeological record. Archaeologists should promote multidisciplinary investigations in Panamint Valley which include studies of alluvial fan development, fan chronologies, and lake level stands. This data would allow for further exploration of the concept that the ground figures are a religious response to changing weather patterns... and could prove to be an important testing ground for microlamination sequencing [Burcell 2007:v].
Davey did not mind being involved in archaeological controversy. She saw microlamination and rock varnish analysis as geological opportunities to push the envelope of science. She was a supporter of earlier than Clovis and believed that the Calico site was associated with Lake Manix—making it 15,000 to 20,000 years old. When she heard professionals suggesting that the site might represent an American Middle Paleolithic-era site, over 100,000 years old, her response, with a big grin, echoed that of François Bordes: “That is a definite maybe, maybe.”

Davey would have enjoyed the Paleoamerican Odyssey Conference held in Santa Fe, New Mexico in 2013. It seemed as though everyone who was doing significant work in the peopling of the Americas and examining pre-Clovis sites was there, and was presenting significant research. Davey would have indeed approved of the conference, and would definitely have commented on paper after paper. A surprising note though is that of the 31 published papers (Graf et al. 2013), none referenced her work. That would have disappointed her. I am sure she would not have wanted to have thought that she was forgotten.

NOTE

1 Although Blackburn is erroneously cited as the editor of the volume in most sources, the book was actually edited and assembled by Clark W. Brott and the staff of the Great Basin Foundation, who should properly receive full credit and recognition (Thomas Blackburn, personal communication 2017).

* * *

LUNCH WITH DAVEY, THE ORIGINAL FEMINIST ARCHAEOLOGIST

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I had lunch in Ridgecrest with Davey, as Emma Lou Davis insisted on being called, on her birthday. We went to the local K-Mart lunch counter, her favorite restaurant, in celebration. Many younger readers may only know lunch counters from movies about the civil rights movement, but they were common at stores even outside of the deep south, including in California. The K-Mart versions were known for their daily ‘Blue-Plate Special.’ On that particular day, this was Salisbury steak with mashed potatoes and brown gravy. Davey and I both ordered it, and it was as bad as it sounds.

I never knew why K-Mart called their daily specials ‘Blue Plates.’ The plates certainly weren’t blue. But what came out of Davey’s mouth shortly after we ordered very definitely was. Forgetting that K-Mart didn’t serve alcohol, she cussed out the waitress because she couldn’t get a beer. Then she cussed out the DMV because they had recently made her take a driving test to renew her license, which she had failed. And then she cussed out her (unnamed) lover, who that year had given her syphilis. This was in 1980. It was her seventy-fifth birthday, and we were there to talk about early sites in the China Lake Basin.

If Davey was predictable, she was predictable in the sense that she always did the unexpected. Sometimes her unpredictability was outrageous, amusing, and unforgettable, like her K-Mart birthday lunch. “The only way to treat convention is to be calmly outrageous,” as she prefaced her autobiography. But sometimes her unpredictability had a deeper, if not profound significance. This was especially true with respect to her research, where in a number of ways she made visionary contributions to California archaeology. One of these, widely overlooked, was feminist archaeology. She practiced an archaeology that did not simply highlight the place of women during Paleoindian times (the “add women and stir” approach), when the rest of the profession characterized that period entirely in terms of big-game (i.e., male) hunting—though, in the 1970s, even this was a radical break from mainstream thought. It instead was an archaeology developed from and fully reflecting a woman’s perspective (Hays-Gilpin and Whitley 1998:349). More than an archaeology of women’s roles in the past, it was the past reconstructed on the basis of a woman’s values, sensibilities, and intuitions. And this was entirely new, different, and unexpected.

As Davey wrote in the preface to her 1978 monograph, The Ancient Californians: Rancholabrean Hunters of the Mojave Lakes Country:

This is a very female book. Hopefully, it contributes a different voice, different attitudes and values from male traditions of archaeological writing in which, somehow, the actors become lost in the gimmicks and stage props. The carefulness is the same. There may be more devotion to detail (women have always been good at remembering where things should be
put on shelves!). But the focus has been on the people, their diversity, their energy and inventiveness…. This is not a book about full-time Elephant Hunters (a male myth, not substantiated by our information). It is about the people of the marsh… [Davis 1978b:xiii].

In an ideal world, Davey’s monograph would have had an immediate theoretical impact. But archaeology wasn’t quite ready for feminist research in 1978. Archaeological gender studies really only emerged a half-decade later, starting with the publication of Meg Conkey and Janet Spector’s widely-read 1984 article, “Archaeology and the Study of Gender.” Even then, archaeology wasn’t prepared for a true woman’s perspective on the research agenda—an approach that only gained acceptance with Spector’s 1993 monograph, What This Awl Means: Feminist Archaeology at a Wahpeton Dakota Village. But Spector was at least aware of Davey’s work (it is cited in the 1984 Conkey and Spector article), and Davey’s intellectual influence, if not being the inspiration for Spector’s monograph, seems likely.

Davey’s feminist archaeology was then self-invented, or perhaps better, self-inspired. It failed to have the theoretical impact that it warranted partly because of the simple fact that it was too far ahead of the intellectual curve. But it also failed to have an impact in part because it presented no hard theoretical or methodological pose. Instead of intellectual antecedents in the sense of building on earlier work, or programmatic statements about how research should be conducted, its origins lay in Davey’s life experiences, lifestyle, and personal philosophy. She likely thought her “female” approach (“feminist” and “gender” didn’t appear in her writings) sui generis—unique to her—and she had no real agenda about promoting it beyond her own studies. She was right on the point of origins, but wrong about its implications for future archaeological research, as the subsequent development of feminist archaeology has shown.

The conclusion about origins becomes clear through a reading of her unpublished autobiography (a copy of which Russ Kaldenberg, its official keeper, has kindly shared with me). Finished in 1984, she entitled it The Angry Shaman. It narrates perhaps the most adventurous life that I have ever encountered. Among other incidents, she lived in Moscow and helped build its subway during Stalin’s Great Purge, subsequently traveling overland to and living in Peking during the Second Sino-Japanese War, which included the Rape of Nanking. Despite the fact that she was born in 1905, when women’s roles were highly constrained by convention if not law, she lived her life fully on her own terms, unaffected by social norms or societal expectations. Davey was a feminist a half-century before the term was coined (or, at least, she was one of the “first-wave feminists,” as they were subsequently labeled). Poignantly, some of her feminist motivations may have stemmed from an unhappy childhood and an abusive father. As she states in her autobiography, “I can remember a time when I had no resentment of men” (which, as she makes clear, was only when she was very young). Though men played a large role in her life, as her autobiography illustrates, they were side-shows to the main themes, all of which were grounded in her own fierce independence.

Davey was a uniquely interesting and inspirational person; small in stature, but always larger than life. Her archaeological work, conducted in her 60s and 70s, was groundbreaking, even if not as widely acclaimed as perhaps it should be. But it was just a small component of a wild, richly textured, and adventurous life. That her autobiography has not been (and never will be) published is unfortunate, but in light of the events at our K-Mart birthday lunch, entirely predictable. It is far too blue to be printed.

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