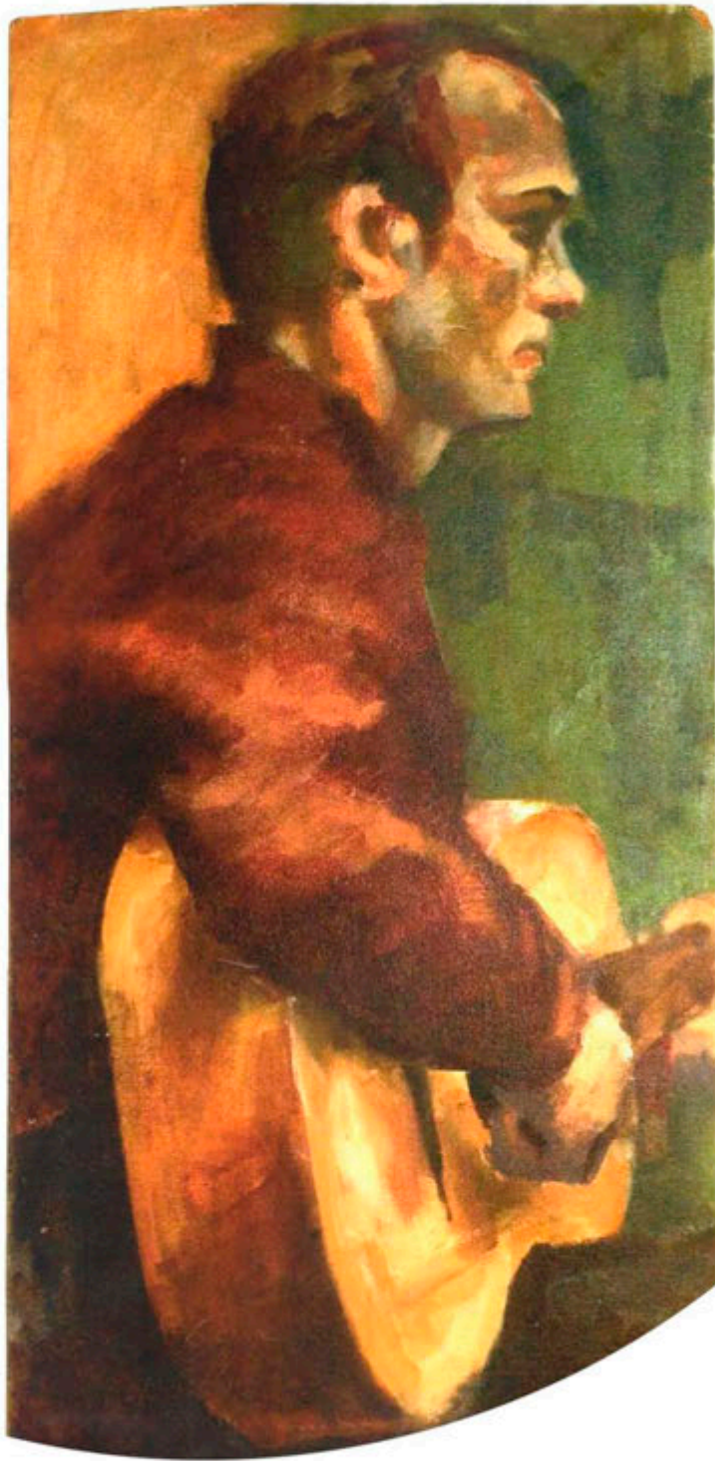


There Grows a Green Tree

papers in honor of
David A. Fredrickson



CARD 11



The Accidental Scholar: Notes on an Archaeologist's Career

Greg White

Dave Fredrickson was born in 1927 in Berkeley, California. The family “maintained a rural outlook,” raised chickens in town, and in summer sent the kids to a relative's ranch out in the valley where Dave learned to work a farm, irrigate, milk cows, and tickle pigs. He was a good worker, strong and disciplined, and had a sympathetic magic with farm animals. He performed well in school but was not inspired to choose a particular career. He distinguished himself as a wrestler, but mostly favored the many hours he listened to the radio trying country songs on the guitar. In 1945, when he was 16, Dave graduated from Redwood City High School, and after two quick semesters at U.C. Berkeley, accompanied a friend to a Navy Air Force recruiting office and on a lark took the test. Of course he had a first rate score, and was advanced to air combat training, though he never flew except in training because the war ended in 1945 while he was still stateside.

U.C. BERKELEY

He was among the youngest of the flood of G.I. Bill undergraduates at post-war U.C. Berkeley. College life did not immediately cure his academic languor. As always, he performed well. However, his own, uncertain career goals stood in contrast to the purposeful march of the older students all around him. He didn't take to biology, chemistry, geometry, languages; he loved art but lacked the eye, and cared some but not too much for history. Even the relative fascination he felt for psychology did not compensate for other things that didn't mesh. His most important sense of himself, his rural outlook, seemed out of place in most of what he studied. Anthropology was at least interesting:

I had never had an anthropology course and, as a matter of fact, I had no idea what anthropology was about. Nonetheless, in my Junior year I enrolled in three anthropology courses... “Chapters in Culture History,” taught by Robert Lowie; “Primitive Religion,” taught by David Mandelbaum; and “Archaeology of North

America,” taught by Robert Heizer...The most important thing that happened during the semester was Heizer's announcement in class that volunteers would be accepted for upcoming summer digging which the department was sponsoring—the first summer dig following World War II. [Fredrickson 1984a:33]

A FIVE-BY-FIVE-BY-FIVE BY FIVE

Dave's first field experience came in the summer of 1947, with digs at the Richards mound and Johnson mound in the Central Valley. The excavations were run by Heizer and attended by his clan of older students, such as Bennyhoff, Greengo, Meighan, Newman, and Riddell, most returning to promising careers as archaeologists after longer tours of duty. Meighan recalls the tenor of those times:

Nearly all of the men and quite a few of the women students were newly released from the military or government jobs connected with World War II. Most felt that they had lost a lot of time and were eager to get on with their lives, so there was a lot of dedication and student effort. A very large proportion (about 80% by my guess) of the students who sought out archaeology classes went on to take graduate degrees and become professional scholars. [Meighan, reminiscences:1]

Dave excelled at the work of archaeology, and Heizer was well pleased with Dave's digging ability. He could dig a five-by-five foot pit five feet deep in one day, all the while finding and handling features and artifacts in situ. Further, Heizer could not (or would not) discover artifacts in Dave's back dirt, a withering litmus test that some newcomers did not survive. At the end of the summer, he was honored with an invitation to join the group for Treganza's Topanga Canyon excavation.

Riddell recalls that “Dave was soon an archaeological 'regular' and to be counted on to join digs with enthusiasm” (Riddell, reminiscences:1).

Meighan notes:

Dave was a very popular and much recruited field worker, in part for his great personality as a colleague in the field, and in part because he was a “heavy digger” and got a lot of work done. We were expected to take large samples and use of a pick and shovel was not unknown to the student diggers of the time. [Meighan, reminiscences:1]

In archaeology, Dave found a pursuit that prized the very assets he prized in himself. As exemplified by Heizer and his students, creativity and elbow grease were each essential traits of a successful archaeologist, and Dave possessed these in great abundance. Further, in his new social setting, Dave was among the cadre of archaeologists forming the roots of California archaeology's Far West folk tradition. His new friends were Valley boys, too:

There is one thing which Dave shared with me during one of our rambling conversations that has always stuck with me. As both of us are rural people, we relate to rural things not everyone would understand or appreciate. He said that he equates a good life to a full irrigation canal. When the canal is full and there is plenty of water, all is right in the world. Since that time I always see Dave as a full ditch, all is right in the world wherever Dave is. [Riddell, reminiscences:5]

Dave's bearing and camp sense were at home in this company, and the field camp and subsequent social gatherings at Berkeley provided appreciative audiences suited to his music.

Dave settled on an anthropology major and psychology minor, and set about completing the requisite classes. He became one of Heizer's most prized students. Under Heizer, the Berkeley archaeology program was composed of a close-knit community of students. Meighan recalls that when he and Dave were Berkeley undergraduates:

the students largely trained each other through their own experiences and discussions in the field. Our mentor, Heizer, believed that students learned by doing, so there was a minimum of formal instruction and a maximum of field activity; what passed for field and laboratory classes was largely a matter of turning the students loose with a project. Today, those classes would be considered entirely inadequate for university teaching, but in fact it was not a

bad approach. At least we were doing archaeology rather than just talking about it; Dave and I had more experience in California archaeology by the time we got our B.A.s than a considerable number of Ph.D.s have today. [Meighan, reminiscences:1]

Through this period, and following his graduation in 1948, Dave worked in the museum and labs, listened and learned, and studied with renewed purpose. In the summers, he participated in field schools, weekend digs, and salvage investigations:

The environmental impact business hadn't started yet, so there was no money to speak of and field work was done out of intellectual curiosity and for the value of the training. Dave and I worked on one of the early river basin projects funded by the federal government, working on the Kings River one summer. Our pay was \$4.00 a day, out of which we paid for our food. [Meighan, reminiscences:1]

In spite of a poor grade point average, Heizer asked Dave to apply to the U.C. Berkeley graduate program. He was accepted, and spent several semesters in the program.

One summer, Dave worked at Trimmer Springs with Riddell, Fenenga, Bennyhoff, Meighan, and Leo Estel on salvage archaeology and “salvage ethnography.” His experience with a Native American family and conversations with Harold Driver had convinced him that his true calling was anthropology, and not archaeology. On return to the university for graduate studies in 1952, he aimed to redirect his graduate program, and with this in mind, enrolled in a tough graduate seminar taught by David Mandelbaum. At the first meeting, students were instructed to prepare seminar presentations describing their research interests or activities. In the flush of his summer of discovery, Dave boldly volunteered to be the first presenter. The subsequent class meeting, he delivered his carefully prepared offering which was summarily skewered and dismembered in a crushing blow to his confidence and career goals. He left class that day and did not return, walking away from Heizer, many of his archaeologist friends, and for a time, the field of archaeology itself.

TAXI DRIVER

His sudden flight from graduate studies a fait accompli, Dave's life turned to family, music, and work as a taxi driver, truck driver, and artist's model.

Throughout, he maintained residence in the city of Berkeley. He married Vera-Mae in 1954, and they raised three daughters. His departure from U.C. Berkeley corresponded with the rise of instrumental folk in American popular culture. By the mid 1950s he was an established folk artist and guitar teacher with many local and national accomplishments to his name. His days as a taxi driver included a stint as president of his union local. He was also for several years president of the local Model's Guild.

RAPPROCHEMENT

Dave and Vera-Mae had agreed that he would initially be the primary breadwinner, and would work ultimately to assist her in her goal of advancing beyond undergraduate studies (B.A., University of Minnesota 1950). When she reached this goal, the roles would reverse.

Between 1952 and 1958 he had no involvement in archaeology, but in 1959 events conspired setting the stage for Dave to make a peace with archaeology. His friend George Coles requested his assistance with a dig at the Brooks Island site in San Francisco Bay, and Dave ended up as field director, his first role as an archaeologist with any real responsibility. Also in 1959, Vera-Mae began graduate studies in anthropology at U.C. Berkeley, and was a bright and vibrant student. Her new academic role, involvement with the Lowie Museum of Anthropology (leading to a full time job in 1962), and participation in archaeological projects such as U.C. Berkeley's six-week dig at the Hultman site (CA-NAP-131), had quite an effect on Dave. By 1960, though he had kept a relative distance, strangely, his efforts in the workaday world had renewed his old attraction to archaeology; he knew that in archaeology his blue collar inclinations could be applied to loftier conceptual domains. However, Dave acknowledges that, if it had not been for Vera-Mae's involvement in graduate studies, he probably would not have returned to archaeology. In part, it was his renewed acquaintanceship with several old friends, in part, the Brooks Island experience and visits to CA-NAP-131, but mostly, it was his desire to “keep up” with Vera-Mae that led him back.

Dave had worked with Frances Riddell on a number of digs, such as the storied winter dig at Tommy Tucker Cave in 1951, and Riddell had contacted Dave over the years to make sure they remained friends. Riddell, State Archaeologist for California Beaches and Parks (one of the few state funded archaeological positions outside academia) had been able to centralize state sponsored salvage

under his domain. Riddell had projects throughout the state (Garfinkel 1982), and needed someone to run them who was capable of adhering to reasonable standards and deadlines. Riddell offered Dave a position with the “Central California Archaeological Foundation” (CCAF), a nonprofit contracting firm, and in 1961, Dave accepted.

THE DIGS

The CCAF job was one of those lovely, serendipitous junctures that seem to mark the passages of a life well lived. Though Dave's aptitude for hard work and fast digging no doubt helped him get the job, he was now well prepared for the organizational and interpersonal skills required of a project coordinator. However, where he really grew was in the job's most delicate and inventive angle, *the design and implementation of archaeological investigations*. With his return in the early 1960s, Dave brought to archaeology the skills he had developed as a leader, but more importantly, he found a calling and initiated his distinctive legacy as a brilliant methodologist. His landmark digs of 1961–1965 built one on the other a phylogeny of innovations forming the natural progenitors of California's modern methodological package.

Nearly all of his field work in the early to mid 1960s was done under contract between the CCAF and the California Department of Transportation (DOT).

The first of Dave's CCAF/DOT digs was in 1961, at the Houx site (CA-LAK-261), located in Excelsior Valley, just south of Lower Lake, Lake County. In comparison with his later work, the Houx dig was quite conventional in its application of the dominant sampling strategies of the day: axial trenches, five-by-five foot pits, troweling, shovel broadcast, and nonsystematic spot screening. However, as the dig progressed, Dave made discoveries which not only laid important foundation stones for regional prehistory but also influenced his understanding of the nature of archaeological deposits and sampling strategies.

As was the norm, he had initially set out to dig the site's rich midden, situated in a field on a terrace just above the Houx ranch house. However, the ranch owner requested that this part of the dig be delayed until some alfalfa growing on the midden could be cut and baled. Complying with this request, Dave directed his crew to an apparent low density deposit below the house (CA-LAK-261N). On opening this area, the crew found artifacts similar to those

encountered at the Borax Lake site (CA-LAK-36), and the Hultman site (CA-NAP-131). Later, excavation in the midden (CA-LAK-261S) revealed a Middle Horizon variant assemblage (aka, “Houx Pattern,” or “Houx Aspect”). Perhaps influenced by reports of Meighan's and Greengo's successes in southern California, Dave had his crew collect animal bones and charred seeds and nuts. His only unusual move was to invite a soils scientist to visit and study the Houx site, an interdisciplinary effort which produced very positive results. Rather than the passive medium which conventional archaeology taught Dave to expect, the pedologist identified a complex array of soils and sediments which were structurally complex on horizontal and vertical dimensions.

Dave was required to complete a report of the Houx investigation within one month of the conclusion of field work. This he did (Fredrickson 1961a), and though it was a very respectable effort, it was also incomplete in the sense that it lacked the detailed soils and faunal reports which would have made it a trend setter. The Houx site cultural assemblages were quite distinctive, a fact which was not fully realized for another decade or so, until enough digging had been done to give them a plausible context.

With his return to archaeology in 1961, Dave put the finishing touches on an analysis of the Hultman site, CA-NAP-131 (Fredrickson 1961b). His paper on this topic was effective in its challenge to certain of Heizer's and Meighan's interpretations of North Coast Ranges prehistory, and anticipated an important part of the cultural historical formula later offered in his dissertation.

Through the CCAF job, and as a favor to friends, Dave was occasionally asked to assemble a crew and assist others, for example, his excavations at the Oroville Dam site for Riddell and Olson (see Riddell, this volume). As a result of these activities, his reputation as hard digger grew again:

I had to go to the Patrick's Point site in Humboldt County to collect charcoal for dating...I was delighted to discover that Dave happened to have a few free days, and that indeed he could go, along with a friend of his, Pete Berg, and yet another person who volunteered at the last moment.

We drove up on Highway 101, and arrived at Patrick's Point in the early evening, put up a tent by lantern light, and went to sleep, worried

about the state of the weather. That night a tremendous rain storm came upon us—it looked as if the trip was going to be washed out, and the next morning was discouragingly drizzly and foggy. I remember it was Dave's good humor and drive, mainly, that pushed us down to the site. We found the old datum point, selected what we thought a favorable untouched area, and began digging, all the while expecting to be drowned out by the weather. I was amazed that Dave could move so much midden soil in so short a time. Around two o'clock we were about six feet in a respectable trench, going into an old unexcavated face of the mound. Despite intermittent rain, it was Dave who got down almost to the sterile bottom, and found an old fireplace. In the end, we took charcoal from several levels, and beat out the rain and early darkness—we did have time to backfill the trench before the night came. I realized that when we were finished that it was really Dave who sparkplugged the whole operation. [Elsasser, reminiscences:1]

The Houx site experience taught Dave to seek ways to overcome the limitations of the methodological status quo. The opportunity to take action came quickly and in a big way. In 1962, he was in the field for over six months directing excavations that produced findings which claimed his attention for years to come.

The 1962 field season opened in the early spring with excavation at sites around the “Hole in the Head” on Bodega Head, on the Sonoma County coast. These were salvage digs done at the proposed site of a nuclear power plant (an idea later laid to rest over earthquake concerns). The sites were Middle to Late Horizon deposits containing open coast intertidal species. Though a general North American trend toward microconstituent sampling can be tracked to this time, the Bodega dig was the first or among the first large-scale West Coast digs to use thorough screening of all excavated spoils.

This move was especially unusual in California, where the historic context was limited to the nascent ecological and site formation concerns expressed by Cook, Meighan, Greengo, and others. Systematic collection and analysis of the “residues of everyday living” did not arrive with a fully implementing theoretical agenda for another ten years. Dave, expressing his rationale in a number of reports from the period, had as his premise that excavation design should depend on the nature of the issues one was trying to address. His goals were quite practical in the

sense that he simply hoped to make accessible a greater part of the archaeological record. For example, he argued that to build chronology for hinterland regions, one must dig and interpret effectively the smaller or lower yield sites where prosaic refuse predominates. Temporally diagnostic artifacts were harder to find, and screening might help by:

increasing the artifact yield per unit volume excavated, especially in regard to small items, such as shell beads, which in Northern California often are the very ones with temporal significance. [Fredrickson 1965a:3]

Though we might also use screening to track the antiquity of significant industries, such as:

the emergence, of the coiling technique of basket making by recovery, not so much of complete awls, but of the extremely numerous small awl fragments which are a refuse byproduct of the manufacture of coiled basketry. [Fredrickson 1965a:3]

Finally, he was convinced that systematic screening was but a part of a larger methodological package, and that:

routine use should be made of midden analysis, or microanalysis as it has recently been called, not only with a view towards synchronic ecological interpretations, but diachronically toward discerning changing patterns of environmental utilization based on changes of refuse patterns, which might signify population movement, developing trade relations, or possibly climatic changes. [Fredrickson 1965a:3]

As the Bodega dig wound down, Dave began work at CA-CCO-30, his first in a long series of interior Contra Costa County investigations. The methods and methodology brought to bear on this dig were quite modern in character. Excavation units were arrayed at grid intervals in an arrangement designed to evaluate intrasite structure. All excavated soil was first passed through rocker screens and then the spoils were transferred to a specially constructed outfit on-site where they were further water screened (Fredrickson 1965b, 1968).

In narrating stories of this excavation, Dave is quick to mention that the water screens were designed and constructed specifically to cope with the sticky clays caused by non-stop late spring rains. The water screens, though adding another tier to the

process, effectively freed the shaker screen bottleneck, increasing excavation productivity. It was only in application that he began to realize the water screen's real potential. The water screens found more of everything, certainly, but further, there were whole kinds and categories of unheard-of materials newly revealed. Dave suspected that water screening, even when not entirely necessary, might be utterly advisable for clay and other soil types alike. However, in 1962, California archaeology still lacked the theoretical context necessary to make the move to uniform screening, much less water screening, and so, the idea took time to catch on.

As the CCO-30 work progressed, Dave took a small crew to Kings County for a DOT salvage dig at the Lemoore locality.

His final dig of 1962 was a model of thoughtful design and execution: CCO-308. The DOT/CCAF contract for work at CCO-30 was augmented to support work at CCO-308, located just to the southeast. The site was in the path of excavation for a new creek channel, and when Dave was called in, the channel had been cut 150 feet wide and ten feet deep, destroying much of the site. Though Dave established a good rapport with the construction team and received their assistance a number of times, construction continued unabated, and archaeological activities had to be designed so as to interfere as little as possible with the work of digging the channel. The investigation design had to cope with another logistical problem in handling the site's complex stratigraphy. The site had three distinct archaeological strata of varying thicknesses and depths at roughly 0–5 feet (CCO-308A), 8–13 feet (CCO-308B), and 15–18 feet below surface, with some material found up to 21 feet deep. Dave's solution was threefold: (1) sample what was available of open cut faces, salvaging features and burials; (2) excavate a controlled stratigraphic sample in a location adjoining the channel cut, and; (3) excavate what he called a "microanalysis unit" using the water screening techniques developed at CCO-30.

After studying the cutbanks, an area was chosen for the control sample where all three strata overlapped. The contractor provided the heavy equipment to open a trench 18x25 feet, six to seven feet deep, to the level of sterile soil separating components 308A and 308B. Beginning in the floor of this excavation, two trenches composed of contiguous 5x5-foot units were hand-dug to a maximum depth of 18 feet. A second mechanically excavated pit was dug for access to additional control samples of the deepest cultural stratum, 308C. The

microanalysis unit started as an approximately 10x3-foot block which was graduated down stepwise to avoid dangerous side walls, reaching a maximum depth of 18 feet.

The San Ramon Valley investigations yielded a number of immediate archaeological dividends. One of the first and most important was a jolt to regional taxonomy. Artifacts showed a clear early to middle "Middle Horizon" affiliation for the 308B component. In turn, CCO-308C was a puzzle. A number of the artifact styles suggested an affiliation with Middle Horizon Bay cultures, though many of the specific types, and such traits as the minimal use of bone tools, argued for an "Early Horizon" date. A subsequent radiocarbon assay on a small sample of charcoal from a 308C component burial matrix produced a date of 4450±400 years, demonstrating contemporaneity of "Middle Horizon" Bay Area and "Early Horizon" Central Valley cultures (Fredrickson 1966:140–149; see also Gerow this volume; Gerow with Force 1968). This finding initiated Dave's concern with the inadequacies of contemporary regional taxonomy; his labors on this topic eventuating in the elegant solutions offered in his dissertation and elsewhere (Fredrickson 1973a, 1974a, 1984b; see also Kowta, and Jones and Hayes, this volume).

In 1963, salvage work associated with a residential development rounded out the San Ramon sequence with a sample of late prehistoric artifacts and microconstituents from CCO-309 (Fredrickson 1965b). In 1964, Dave took crews to KRN-116, in Buena Vista Lake basin (Fredrickson 1964; Grossman and Fredrickson 1977). In 1965, he directed (with Peter Berg) excavations at MEN-584, on Cold Creek between Clear Lake and Ukiah (Soule 1977).

Given the development of his thinking about archaeological field methods, the surprisingly modern tone of MEN-584 field work may come as no surprise. However, like his early applications of soils science, water screening, and microconstituent analysis, the Cold Creek dig included a methodological innovation so unusual that for nearly 15 years it lacked the historical context necessary to bring about its widespread use. The Cold Creek dig was or was among the first northern California applications of the grid interval sampling methodology popularized in modern "STU/SGU" (Surface Transect Unit/Surface Grid Unit) excavation packages. A series of 1x2 m test units dug in 10 cm arbitrary levels was laid at regular grid intervals along an axial transect oriented to the impact corridor. A dark midden containing late

prehistoric "Shasta Complex" and "Clear Lake Complex" artifacts occurred on one end of the site, while a leached midden clay containing "Mendocino Complex" materials occurred elsewhere and partly beneath the late midden. Control samples, including microconstituent columns, were targeted in each of these component areas, and, for comparative purposes, another column was placed in a location which appeared to have been characterized by a relatively unmixed vertical sequence. Nearly all soils were screened using the water washing method.

BACK TO SCHOOL

Dave had considered returning to graduate school as early as 1960, corresponding with Vera-Mae's increased involvement in academia, and his own visits to NAP-131. Occasionally, Heizer talked to him about once again signing up for the U.C. Berkeley graduate program. Riddell notes:

After a long time of "finding" himself Dave did return to school. I am sure it was not an easy thing to do...for anyone in those days who wanted to get into archaeology it was a foregone conclusion he would have to place his body and soul in the hands of a very remarkable and mercurial professor, Bob Heizer. However, without getting into painful details Dave got his Ph.D. at U.C. Davis, in spite of Heizer, which is more than some of us can say. [Riddell, *reminiscences*:3]

Dave matriculated at U.C. Davis in 1965, obtained his M.A. degree in 1966, and after this short-lived residency, was offered and accepted a position teaching Anthropology courses at (then) Sonoma State College. During his stay at Davis, and during the early years at Sonoma, he worked to apply new concepts and synthesize the materials he had dug during the preceding 10 years.

Methodology

The San Ramon samples continued to yield important research dividends, most notably through Dave's emphasis on innovations anticipating modern site structure/formation and geoarchaeological research concerns, such as the delineation of complex soil profiles and a focus on depositional processes (witness the classic streamside developmental profile for CCO-308). His interest in the San Ramon site's depositional regime also led Dave to posit a very powerful but often overlooked notion regarding the relationship between mobility and widespread, low-profile deposits:

It is apparent that the two Contra Costa Middle Horizon components [CCO-308B and 308C] are remarkably large and if the entire site area of each period had been occupied at one time, the population would also have been much greater than the Late Horizon population...It seems more probable that the Middle Horizon sites were formed over a considerable period of time by a group whose village gradually drifted back and forth along a stream bank and/or by a group which returned periodically to a favored vicinity rather than to an established village. [Fredrickson 1974b:61]

Variation in component (i.e., "site") area has been shown to be a good indicator of the degree of residential mobility (holding constant the size of the site's "habitable landscape"). This factor has been found to covary with other earmarks of residential mobility, for instance those represented in tool kits and subsistence debris (see Hildebrandt and Hayes, White, this volume).

Dave's trend-setting microconstituent studies culminated in a paper presenting a thorough statistical analysis of change through time in bone, shell, and chipping refuse from the San Ramon sequence, published in the *UCLA Archaeological Survey Annual Report* (Fredrickson 1969). His arguments in this paper are crystal clear, and began with two pivotal premises: that the environment remained relatively constant through all three cultural periods, and that the amount and kind of habitation debris remained relatively constant for any given period. He further screened out variation related to sample size and reliability factors. Given that the premises were valid and his samples accurate, he argued, all other observed variation should relate to one of two broad classes of phenomena, subsequently identified in the San Ramon sequence: (1) prehistoric change related to direct factors such as change in population size or the duration or intensity of occupation (represented by relative change in density of constituents); or (2) indirect change, such as modifications in diet, trade patterns, technological innovation, or population movement. Few modern microconstituent studies are characterized by the careful inventory and display of results, nor the clarity of thought represented in this important paper.

Anthropological Archaeology

Dave's work in Contra Costa County also contributed to the analyses he presented in several published and unpublished papers dealing with social

change, particularly with respect to the evolution of exchange, wealth, and status relationships (e.g., Fredrickson 1971, 1974b). Combined, the site components offered an exceptionally clear and long chronological sequence marked by direct evidence of culture change measurable in a mosaic of site structure, artifacts, microconstituents, and human skeletal traits (e.g., Fredrickson 1966, 1968, 1969, 1971, 1974b; Brooks and Brooks, this volume). Consistent with contemporary thought, he examined mortuary patterns in light of implications derived from Fried's (1967) model of sociopolitical change, and Binford's (1962) model positing relationships between material culture and interaction spheres operating at various integrative levels in a society. However, his studies are unique because the unusually complete Contra Costa archaeological record allowed him to assess in detail the relationship between social change and techno-subsistence or other elements of culture change.

Though thirteen years had passed since his last, fateful seminar class, Dave still hoped to expand as an anthropologist, and often sought out the similarly inclined. Mildred Dickemann recalls:

at parties and other gatherings, I usually found myself chatting with Dave Fredrickson, whom I had only known casually in graduate school as a fellow who sat on the floor and played the guitar on social occasions. Now, it seemed, the two of us generally ended up in one corner of the room talking theory, anthropological theory, archaeological theory...Those conversations were a revelation for me; there was theory in archaeology, both interpretive socio-cultural and theoretical methodology! My undergraduate experiences had been with J. B. Griffin and Al Spaulding at Michigan. Griffin was a 19th century classifier, with all of the North American ceramic styles in his head, but an explanatory framework unchanged since the days of diffusionism. Spaulding was young and not yet intellectually independent. A stimulating course from him on archaeological methods had sparked my interest in an archaeological career, but a summer on a salvage project in Illinois, sorting shards for J. B., and not permitted, as a woman, to dig or live in the field cooled my enthusiasm. And now here was Dave talking to me of theories of culture growth, environmental variables, and statistical tests of archaeological methods! [Dickemann, reminiscences:1]

During his residence at U.C. Davis, Dave worked closely with the anthropologist Yehudi Cohen. In

discussions with Cohen, Dave fleshed out the theoretical model he has subsequently applied most effectively to studies of prehistoric exchange systems (e.g., Fredrickson 1973b), and which he continues to develop and amend to the present day.

The model, in summary, stipulates that by their very nature, all social systems are dependent on other systems. Cohen (1968, 1973) postulated that interaction between societies has a causal role in the development of social complexity. Every society, by virtue of living in contact with other societies, is characterized by two sets of processes: *inside culture* and *boundary culture*.

Inside culture corresponds to the traditional concept of culture, covered under the rubric lifeways. Boundary culture, on the other hand, is composed of individuals involved in the interaction between interdependent societies, and the processes they engage in, including the regulation, control, or administration and movement of goods and ideas between societies. While both inside and boundary culture have differential role relationships and statuses, the organization of social relations embodied in an adaptive unit's inside culture depends on the group's boundary culture relations.

Relations between societies are mediated by designated individuals, and these individuals carry out roles that tend to become specialized and differentiated from the roles of inside culture to the degree that resources outside of the group territory are important to the society (for subsistence or other needs). The model assumes that centrally administered exchange is more effective in maintaining and regulating an orderly flow of ideas and materials than exchange that is carried out on an ad hoc basis. Thus, once centrally administered exchange emerged, positive feedback tended to emphasize its importance over time as well as emphasizing the importance of the administrative roles. To the extent that boundary culture was important to the successful adaptation of a society, then boundary personnel, through their administrative function, tended to gain social influence and administrative power. Since roles of social influence and political power are frequently associated with wealth and status objects, archaeologists should be able to observe the parallel development of exchange systems and social differentiation based upon wealth.

From this perspective, hunter-gatherer complexity and dynamics can be understood in terms of more than the simple techno-environmental

matrix (mobility patterns, subsistence economy, and technology). Organization of the adaptive system also involves relationships with neighboring groups who control resources not available in the home territory through natural absence or exigencies such as local crop failure.

SONOMA STATE

In 1967, Sonoma State College was an unassuming arrangement of concrete bulkheads in search of an anthropology department. Dave assumed this task, and was soon seeking colleagues. Mildred Dickemann recalls:

I was looking for a job, having returned to the Bay Area from the Midwest. There was Dave, now the only anthropologist in the Sociology Department at Sonoma State, looking for a colleague with plans for the future. Did I want the job?...It was not long before Dave and I were sitting in my living room mapping out a curriculum for a department of anthropology. We shared a strong commitment to the four field approach, a conviction that our students, whatever their own area of specialization, should learn the necessity of integrating these separate pathways to understanding human nature: prehistory, human biology, sociocultural anthropology, and linguistics. The conviction informed both our curriculum and our hiring decisions. Later, it informed the Master's Program in CRM as well. With it, we shared a larger theoretical perspective emphasizing human environment interactions as central to our anthropological analyses.

We were on our way. As soon as funding and curriculum were approved, we hired our third anthropologist, David Peri, and fissioned off into a new Department, which I chaired for its first two years. [Dickemann, reminiscences:1]

By all accounts, the period between 1967 to 1971 was a special time. As shown in Tables 1 and 2, the B.A. graduates of the bloated classes of 1972 through 1975 were the undergraduates of 1967–1971, the “Boomers,” as they've come to be known. Dave describes lecturing to undergraduate seminars of 100 or more students. He mixed these with smaller seminars, often based around experimental themes and focusing on a group atmosphere. Richard Hughes recalls:

When I first met Dave—as an undergraduate student in his Psychological Anthropology class

Table 1: Sonoma State anthropology alumni, 1967-1992.

Year	BA ^a	MA ^b
1967	-	-
1968	-	-
1969	(3) ^c	-
1970	(4)	-
1971	28	-
1972	40	-
1973	73	-
1974	56	-
1975	35	-
1976	28	-
1977	27	4
1978	21	5
1979	(17)	6
1980	(12)	6
1981	21	7
1982	10	7
1983	9	7
1984	12	2
1985	12	4
1986	5	4
1987	8	4
1988	6	8
1989	5	5
1990	11	8
1991	11	12
1992	16	4

^a – B.A. graduates as listed in Anthropology Department files.

^b – M.A. entries, listing all those who stayed one or more semesters, including all still active.

^c – Data uncertain, figure in parentheses represents the “minimum number of individuals.”

in the Spring Semester, 1968, at Sonoma State College—the school and department were both very small. As a consequence, contact with instructors was (by today’s standards) frequent and unhurried with ample opportunity for extended discussion in both formal and informal settings. This allowed me tutelage and periods of personal contact with Dave that are probably unimaginable to his more recent students. [Hughes, reminiscences:1]

Marilyn Sisler also remembers these happy times, when, in 1967:

I had signed up for his “Introduction to Anthropology” class, and knew I would enjoy it, and I did. Dave was always well prepared; I wrote close to a dozen pages of notes during each class, and learned a lot. When the students

Table 2: SSU undergraduates specializing in archaeology, by year of graduation.

Date of Graduation	Name of Graduate
1969	Donna Brasslet.
1972	Sonia King (Tamez).
1973	James D. Allen, Richard E. Hughes, Ronald F. King, Teresa A. Miller, Lorraine Otero, Rhea R. Owens, Martha V. Proctor, Vesta Neuron, Kenneth Russell, Marilyn Sisler.
1974	Martha C. Heidinger, Thomas S. Kaufman, Thomas M. Origer, Neil C. Ramiller, John Rauschkolb, III, Nelson B. Thompson.
1975	John P. Armstrong, Gary Berg, Nancy L. French, Patricia L. Hall, Claudia J. Taylor.
1976	Nick Del Cioppo, Rae Eby-Burroughs, Jennie L. Goodrich, Leslie F. Lewis, Sherry L. Pierce, Barry Price, Robert A. Stillinger.
1977	Hanna M. Clayborn, Daniel M. Doherty, Amy Huberland, Roxie A. Lowe, Janis K. Offermann, John W. Parker, Leslie K.D. Rumph, Patrick N. Shank, Richard A. Stradford.
1978	Meredith L. Dreiss, Lynn Eisenman, John F. Hayes, John W. Milburn, Suzanne B. Stewart, Steven Earle Stoddard, Wendy Van Duzen.
1979	John H. Chapman, David C. Hunt, Rosie Molero, Chris D. Porter.
1980	Karen J. Davis, Lisa J. Heyes, Jannine Kramer-Nye, Kym Leggett, James W. McNabb, William Mulloy, Jan Rawlinson, Jason Stanley.
1981	Allan G. Bramlette, Lisa C. Hagel, Marjorie A. Henry, Sunshine Psota, Patricia J. Mikkelsen, Adrian Praetzellis, James P. Quinn, Deborah A. Rippey, Julia R. Toso.
1983	Nadine W.H. Thomas, Gregory G. White, Dorothy L. Wilson.
1984	David G. Bieling, Christian Gerike, Janet A. Keswick.
1985	Judith A. Towey, Kimberly J. Tremaine, Albert J. Villemaire, Barbara A. Wheeler.
1986	Carlys J. Gilbert, Brian F. Terhorst.
1987	Martha K. Jackson, Raymond R. Wilbur, III.
1988	Katherine M. Dowdall, Marilyn Illingsworth, William A. Spires.
1989	Royanne Lisk.
1990	Margaret M. Begley, Joelle C. Donahue, Jennifer Ferneau, Anmarie Medin, John C. Whatford.
1991	Eric Allison, Beverly A. Beck-Babbini, Thomas P. Martin, Jeffrey S. Rosenthal.
1992	Mark A. Gary, Thomas L. Stevens, Jr., William Stillman, Jeri L. Wylie.

jumped in with comments or questions, he always addressed us courteously as “Mr. Smith,” or “Ms. Jones.” Obviously, he was already well along on his developing theory of students as “prepeople”, and intended to give us the respect he considered our due. In later classes, he called us by our first names and we called him “Dave.” Equality of address went even further, in our eyes as well as his, to establish mutual respect as fellow searchers for anthropological insight. [Sisler, reminiscences:1]

In drifting away from traditional archaeological activities, Dave was a more creative and “anthropological” thinker, and could focus on his class and seminar work on his ultimate objective: a synthesis of psychological and anthropological thinking around themes related to the causal and consequential role of human emotions. His efforts in this regard reached their fruition when he and Vera-Mae taught classes as visiting lecturers in anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania in the spring of 1972. His archaeological involvement became more and more limited to “catch up,” specifically, rethinking the products of his 60s field work, and only occasionally involved new projects, and then, only when they related to student interests:

I enrolled in another of Dave’s classes in the Spring Semester, 1969, entitled “Archaeology and Society,” partly because I enjoyed the two previous courses I had taken from him and partly because this one satisfied a sociology breadth requirement. One of the things I remember most about this course is that it had a field component; most of us met all day Friday to excavate under Dave’s direction at a small, late prehistoric archaeological site (Son-455, the Gables site) not far from campus that was being affected by road realignment. Although I was not immediately smitten by the “romance of archaeology,” I do recall that as the semester passed I was looking forward more and more to the field sessions. [Hughes, reminiscences:1]

Dave's unique teaching style, already in place, was an interesting combination of his personal warmth and blue collar elements he had learned from Heizer and fellow graduate students at U.C. Berkeley. Riddell believes that:

In a sense, Heizer was a role model for Dave—not to be like him!...In this respect Dave has followed in the footsteps of excellent teachers such as Frank Fenenga, Adan Treganza, and Clarence Smith; men who were in a position for

Dave to use as proper role models. In my mind, I see Dave as the ideal teacher and I believe his students view him in the same light. [Riddell, reminiscences:1]

Perhaps the most important message Dave conveyed from his days at Berkeley was the feel of archaeology as a worthy labor. Hughes notes that Dave's field methods course had showed him:

that archaeology combined two of the things I found really enjoyable: purposeful physical labor and the world of ideas. Perhaps the main lesson I got from Dave’s “Archaeology and Society” class—and from him by example—was how archaeology combined these two dimensions. [Hughes, reminiscences:1]

Archaeology was evolving rapidly, and California archaeology was itself participating in the dialectics of the New Archaeology. Dave was involved with its practitioners, and he accepted their characterization of his role as a transitional figure, able to meld the old with the new.

As I look back now at my class notes from Archaeology and Society, although unbeknown to me at the time, it’s clear that Dave was teaching and incorporating in his own research the principles of the New Archaeology during a time when many archaeologists in California had either not heard of it or had already adopted a default reactionary posture. [Hughes, reminiscences:1]

By the end of the 1960s, California archaeology had blazed a somewhat different path in the New Archaeology; the new archaeologists advanced a different theoretical agenda, certainly, but also practised and promoted a very different vision of archaeology at work: for a time (and still so, in certain, unremedial contexts), archaeology became an ineffective labor of arcane and poorly prioritized detail. Dave's methodological innovations (e.g., site structure notions, water screening, and microconstituent analysis), though premised in his own, more traditional regard for practical applications, offered methods well suited to the new scene. However, because the New Archaeology lacked that important sense of practical applications, many of his most important innovations would lay dormant for another ten years.

California's New Archaeology was also a rich political tapestry of public and private concerns. The new cadre rejected the status quo: archaeology could

no longer meekly nibble the few crumbs permitted under the old regime; this new group was led by savvy movers and shakers seeking unprecedented niches for archaeology in the governmental process. The new group aimed to organize archaeologists and later, feeding primarily on the possibilities presented by the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA), to insert archaeology's interests into the governmental process ("compliance"). Dave was drawn into these efforts through his sense of social responsibility. One of his first moves in this regard was to serve on the committee to form the Society for California Archaeology, was the society's first (ad hoc) president, and was program chair for the society's first annual meeting in 1967.

In 1971 and 1972, at Dave's invitation, Thomas F. King served as a volunteer lecturer for the department of anthropology. King, born and raised in Petaluma, had built a statewide reputation, and in retrospect, perhaps epitomized California's particular breed of new archaeologist: he seemed to identify himself equally as an intelligent and creative theorist, and very adept player at the political game. During his stay, he encouraged Dave to get involved in CEQA-based archaeological activities, and asked that the two collaborate in creating a contracting arm of the department through an "archaeology lab." In Dave's recollection, the pivotal event was a meeting of the Sonoma County Board of Supervisors, which Dave attended as a favor to King. Though Dave was uncomfortable that he had been maneuvered to stand and speak before the group, in fact, when the county called back and requested that Dave handle archaeological work at the Geysers, it represented the birth of "the lab."

Tom King moved on, and things began to change. The graduating classes of '72 through '75 were the department's historic highs (Tables 1 and 2). Dave assumed responsibility for a "Regional Clearinghouse" (aka Information Center) at Sonoma State, and Dave's undergraduates and recent graduates from that period were ready and willing to take on CEQA projects. Ronald F. King held the position of Senior Staff Archaeologist, and ran projects ranging from moderate surveys to excavations, while other students served as technicians and handled small surveys. The account books from these first years of growth show that money from the field projects went to student income and expenses. Other entries show that Dave donated \$500.00 on a monthly or bimonthly basis, money which went to lab/clearinghouse operating expenses, including lumber for shelves, report covers,

and wages for student labor. The lab was a tiny room bursting with activity. The Mostin site excavations in 1973–1974, Thomas L. Jackson's Middle Eel Planning Unit survey in 1974, Dave's survey at Shelter Cove, Pamela Robert's Big Butte survey, and Ron King's excavations at Laytonville and Clear Lake in 1975 combined to set a pace that made the program whirl with action. Dave's positive relationship with the Sonoma State University administration and the financial arm of the university, the Academic Foundation, Inc., has played an important role in the long term success of the program.

The character of the campus shifted, and class loads shrank as the core of the boomer generation passed. A hard working group of undergraduates and graduates had committed their energies to the lab, but it was not until 1977, when the department sought and obtained graduate program status, that a suitable payoff existed, and people with a high level of experience might stay over the long term. That same year, Dave finalized the contract for cultural resources investigations at the Warm Springs dam site (see Basgall, this volume). Though the principals on this contract were all off-campus, for instance, the late Martin Baumhoff coordinated the prehistoric archaeology, Dave was the administrative leader, and the Foundation managed the contract.

This arrangement meant that Dave was regrettably distanced from the action, but the lab could enjoy some of the indirect benefits of administering such a large contract, not the least of which was sufficient funds to hire for the first time, a full time administrative aide. Dave offered Marilyn Sisler the job:

I quit my counseling agency job the next day and came to work at SSU on July 3, 1978. The first day I met Tom Origer and Scotty Thompson, closely followed by Mick Hayes, Mary and Adrian Praetzellis, Lynn Eisenman, Gloria Collins, Jay Flaherty and Roger Warner, Jim Benson, Nancy French, Rob Jackson and Janet Offerman, Lowell Damon, and so many others...I don't know if I can convey the excitement and fun of working on that project, but it was. So often people don't like their jobs, or approach their workday as something to be gotten through with as little effort as possible. The Warm Springs Cultural Resources Study was not like that. Big effort, big enthusiasm. The attitude was professional, but not taken too seriously.

Most of the archaeologists I know rev up slowly in the morning. I was often the first one in the Lab, at 8:00 a.m. The number of bodies and the noise level increased as the day went on and by noon, or shortly after, it was pretty close to a din. I remember the first time one of our consultants came in, at the height of the daily activity. His eyes bulged a bit, and, I suppose, ears rang, at all the racket going on around him and he asked "Do you really work in this atmosphere every day? How can anyone get anything done?" But it got done, and very well, too, with many volumes of reports to show for it. I quickly grew to enjoy the hectic, almost party feel to the Lab, the informality of it, the rubber band fights, Mick's radical posters. It was a wonderful time. [Sisler, reminiscences:1]

Dave continued to teach until his formal retirement in 1992, though each year the lab took up a larger share of his time on campus.

Figure 1 plots the development of the lab starting with the heady days of the late 70s to early 80s when the lab began its long standing pattern of attracting a succession of capable graduate students and nonstudent staff, many of whom have gone on to fill responsible positions in government, private practice, and academia.

By 1980, Dave had fully implemented his vision for redefinition of "the lab," converting it from a multifaceted organism of free-flowing personnel, to the centrally administered group of independent organizations that exist today. The *Anthropological Studies Center* (ASC) is presently composed of five separate entities: the *Cultural Resources Facility* (CRF), the *Northwest Information Center of the California Archaeological Inventory*, the *Archaeology Lab*, the *Ethnographic Lab*, and the *Interpretive and Outreach Services*. Each of these entities is staffed separately, generally maintains one full-time and several part-time positions, and each is characterized by a high rate of activity and excellent performance records.

Under Dave's leadership, the Cultural Resources Facility has been the ASC's mainstay, handling a regular flow of contracts for archaeological services (Table 3), with an annual contract income averaging around \$400,000.00 per year through the mid-1980s, and reaching peaks of over \$1,000,000.00 in each decade of operation to date. On average, around one-third of this amount is devoted to student wages, the remainder going to staff, administration, and other project-related accounts.

Reflecting Dave's encouragement and support, ASC participants have maintained a high level of involvement in professional activities, including consultation, internships, publications, and conferences (Table 4).

IN CLOSING

This biography has chosen a deliberate path, illustrating only particular aspects of Dave's career, showing how he got started, examining a selection from among his methodological and theoretical works, and offering a thumbnail sketch of the history and impact of the ASC. The Society for California Archaeology plans other forms of recognition for his accomplishments as an administrator, as exemplified by his contribution to the State Office of Historic Preservation and Information Center system, his role in crafting California's Statewide Plan, his trip to South Africa to promote cultural resource management, his early and consistent efforts toward Native American empowerment, his support of women's professional involvement in archaeology,

Table 3: *Cultural Resources Facility contracts/reports per fiscal year, 1977-1992¹.*

Fiscal Year	Small ^a	Mod/Lrg ^b
77-78	131	4
78-79	226	9
79-80	172	11
80-81	132	10
81-82	110	16
82-83	71	12
83-84	49	4
84-85	73	18
85-86	55	13
86-87	75	11
87-88	86	17
88-89	70	3
89-90	71	14
90-91	42	15
91-92	44	13

¹ – Excavation and survey contracts only, not included are contracts related to flagging, monitoring, consultation, research design preparation, obsidian studies, independent analyses (e.g., lithics, fauna), Archaeological Collections Facility, and non-CRF activities (Information Center, Interpretive and Outreach Services).

^a – Small contracts range from lot splits to uncomplicated surveys <500 acres; with report.

^b – Moderate to large contracts (\$5000.00 to \$1,000,000.00), test excavations, minor and major data recovery projects, with report.

Table 4: ASC students, staff, and faculty, papers delivered at professional meetings, 1 July 1981 through 1 April 1988.¹

cf ^a	n ^b	Meeting/Society
3	3	American Anthropological Association
4	1	American Institute of Architects
5	1	American Institute of Archaeology-North Coast Chapter
6	1	Anthropology Forum-Cal State Chico
7	1	Association of Environmental Professionals-SFBay Chapter
15	8	Association of North Bay Scientists
17	2	California Archaeological Inventory Workshop
25	8	California Committee for the Promotion of History
28	3	California Division of Forestry Training Session
29	1	California Folklore Society
32	3	California Historic Preservation Conference
34	2	California Riparian Systems Conference-UCD
35	1	Coll. of William & Mary-Grad. Program in Hist. Arch. Lecture Series
36	1	Cooper Ornithological Society-UCD
38	2	Ethnology at Home Conference-Cal State Sacramento
40	2	Great Basin Anthropological Conference
51	11	Hokan-Penutian Conference
53	2	Kroeber Anthropological Society
54	1	Local History Workshop-SRJC
56	2	Miwok Archaeological Preserve of Marin
61	5	North Coast Ranges Archaeological Workshop-UCD
65	4	Northern California Archaeology Symposium-Cal State Chico
71	6	Society for American Archaeology
87	16	Society for California Archaeology Northern Data Sharing Meeting
177	90	Society for California Archaeology
185	8	Society for Historical Archaeology
194	9	Southwestern Anthropological Association
195	1	State Historic Preservation Plan Workshop
196	1	State of Jefferson Annual Meeting
198	2	University of California Berkeley Brown Bag Lunch Lecture
199	1	Vernacular Architecture Conference
200	1	Virginia Landmarks Division-Colonial Williamsburg Foundation
201	1	Western Sonoma County Historical Society
206	6	Workshop on Archaeology-Round Valley Indian Community Center

Summary of Presenters:

58	faculty
82	graduate
51	staff
16	under-graduate

¹ - after Fredrickson (1987).^a - Cumulative frequency.^b - Number of papers.

his and Vera-Mae's pioneering efforts on behalf of public interpretation, and so on.

With respect to his theory and methodology, I have also touched on just a fraction of the material available to me. My goal here was to refrain from comment on those topics that form a part of his active interests, and which he continues today to propagate and address in a professional forum, for example, the obsidian studies, and the taxonomic framework which he advanced in his dissertation and elsewhere. He is obviously the better spokesperson, though the reader will find considerable and very able discussion of these and related topics in the present volume.

His students and associates recognize that Dave leads and teaches by withholding judgment,

providing encouragement, and thus offering, in equal parts, opportunity and example:

I was struck, repeatedly, with the feeling of unity that existed between the people who worked in the lab. We pulled together, there were goals commonly agreed on that we were all willing to work toward. It was exhilarating. A feeling of family. It was because of Dave. I remember marveling at the almost universal respect and love he generated in his students, and, I think, in most of the people who knew him. [Sisler, reminiscences:3]

As a student, I was often advised to study the careers of important thinkers, use my findings to clarify and differentiate schools of thought, and thereby make a

kind of conceptual “map” to find my own place in the world of ideas. This was sound advice, but did not otherwise explain the warm and felicitous kinship I felt toward those rare scholars who admitted that they had achieved something special by accident, not by design. They confirmed my sense that nobody is ever really quite “there” in terms of their own pattern; at any one time we are all coming from and moving to some incident or event. Dave argues, and on analysis of his “pattern,” is surely correct, that his accomplishments are products of accidents of fate. He had no grand design, and, in fact, at certain junctures, in 1952–1960, 1966, and 1971, he actually planned to move on to interests other than archaeology.

The accidents that seem to have moved him along, on the other hand, were not arbitrary windfalls, but came in response to his personality and professional ability. For an explanation, we need look no deeper than the thing that drew him in 1947: the work. For example, given the task of developing an Information Center (Clearinghouse) he worked with others to create the system's premier facility. In bringing this about it generated another set of responsibilities, which he has responded to in kind. Dave is a hard digger.

Finally, a study of his life shows that among his talents is an ability to remake himself, accept the end of one stage and move to the next, in each “life” holding to the same, principled definition of a good person. We wish him well.

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