

Published in

Dorothy L. Pond (2014) *If Women Have Courage ... Among Shepherds, Sheiks, and Scientists in Algeria*. Africa Magna Verlag. ISBN: 978-3-937248-41-7

## Afterword

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Reading this memoir has been, for us, an absorbing experience because 45 years after the Ponds were there, we were doing research in the same area, under roughly similar circumstances, on the same archaeological problems. In addition, we have been working with published and unpublished documents, data and collections from the 1930 excavations at Site 12 for over 30 years (Jackes and Lubell 2014) and this memoir provides us with another perspective. We can recognize some of the background but also see great differences. As a way of illustrating this, we will make a few comments on our own experiences, but we note that because this memoir was written as a series of recollections for family rather than as an alternative record of the 1930 field research, some context is needed and we hope to provide that as well.

In 1972, 1973, 1976, and 1978, we surveyed and excavated Capsian *escargotières* in the area of Cheria, a market town about 50 km southwest of Tebessa and thus about 100km south of where the 1930 research took place. We were working primarily in and around the Telidjene Basin some 15 km south of Cheria (Lubell *et al.* 1976; Jackes and Lubell 2008) where there were a great many sites already known (Grébénart 1976). We lived in Cheria, either in housing provided by the municipality (1972, 1973) or in a rented house (1976, 1978). We hired a few local people to help us both with excavation and some household duties, but not on the scale of the Ponds. Our teams included graduate and undergraduate students from Algeria, Britain, Canada and the United States, along with professional colleagues from Algeria, Belgium, Canada, France and the United States. The maximum number was in 1978, when there were 14 of us, plus a cook seconded very temporarily from the *Centre de Recherches Anthropologiques, Préhistoriques et Ethnographiques* in Algiers, all living in a house in Cheria. With one exception, an undergraduate who had to be repatriated, the foreign students all had prior training and some were already familiar with North African prehistory, so we were not faced with Pond's need to give preliminary instruction.

The situation in Algeria in the 1970s was also very different from the 1930s. The country had been through a calamitous war, the infrastructure was not in very good condition, and the local people who were largely Berber (as was the case in 1930) were attempting to emerge from the colonial milieu which had been so advantageous for the Ponds. In fact, so far as we can judge from this memoir, the situation for the 1930 group was in several ways better than ours in the 1970s.

For one, the Ponds had established cordial relationships with the Bernard family, and this provided them with a mentor who knew the local men and spoke Arabic fluently (the workmen spoke both Arabic and Shawiya according to one of the students, Sol Tax from the University of Wisconsin, who was very interested in local matters). The choice of which students to take into the field, especially into isolated situations, is a difficult one. Pond restricted his choice to men, which caused some dissatisfaction amongst several women students as is made clear in the film *Reliving the Past* (Tarabulski and Teicher 1986). However, this avoided some of the obvious pitfalls of small isolated groups of young people. Pond had established reliable sources of good food, a most important feature for excavators. The students were well-fed, with adequate and varied diets, in a setting where they could relax by playing baseball and card games and listening to records. They were taken on excursions to survey for sites, to visit local Roman ruins, and on a trip to the Sahara. They could walk into Berriche or go by car to Aïn Beïda and Canrobert. There were dances and tennis parties with local French girls. While there were problems with vehicles, to be expected, the students were impressed by the camp equipment as new and extremely good. One of the Beloit students, Edgar Roberts, wrote in his diary: “.....we hit the camp. It’s about perfect. Green canvas tents with heavy cloth floors, Coleman lamps & stoves, all new cooking equipment, new canvas beds, & everything to make the life here as near like home as possible.” Tax was also impressed. He wrote “We are well equipped: the tents are floored, and we are supplied with good army cots, table, chairs, an excellent gasoline lantern, and a good gasoline cook-stove.” He was also impressed by the coffee, which he said “...is good, and American style.”

For another, while our relationships with the two shepherds, Layesh Rahal and his cousin Lazhar Bougherara, who lived in the Telidjene Basin and became our valued field companions, were very friendly – apparently more so than the Ponds with their local assistants – our interactions with officials and people in Cheria were more distant than we intuit from Dorothy’s description. Our relationships with the townspeople were more involved because we were living amongst them: a group of non-local women and men inhabiting a single house in a quite densely packed town (we were at one point told there were 30,000 inhabitants although that seemed, and still seems, an exaggeration). We had no claim to a colonial superior status and we were certainly not isolated from the local population in a very well equipped tent camp. For us, camping near the sites was not an option. It would have been insecure, there was no well nearby, and we would have been too distant from either Cheria or Tebessa to have easily supplied a field camp.

The women in our group could not comfortably walk around the town. Cheria was fairly conservative although the mayor, who was a Hadj, took an interest in local history and even prehistory. The only women to be seen were elderly and when some of the women from our team visited the wife and daughters of the local teacher, they discovered that the one son of the family, a 12 year old boy, had the job of doing all the shopping and other outside tasks for the women. The women saw only the sky above a tiny courtyard.

The men in our group could certainly not take off to a local bar or dance. While hostility towards foreigners was sometimes a problem, especially for the women, we accepted this, and we also understood that this particular town had suffered grievously during the war with the French. Our isolation, combined with the fact that our food mostly consisted of lentils, mutton and tough chickens led to some problems. The special treats we had brought with us from England and France had to be strictly rationed.

At the site, we were constantly visited by local men and boys, and occasionally we went visiting. We once went to a wedding in a tiny hamlet far beyond the site, the women inside, the men in the courtyard. A deathly ill tiny baby was brought to us for help. We could do nothing – nor for a boy brought by his father to the site, his finger slashed through to the bone, now healed over but non-functioning.

Our experiences in general, then, may have been more difficult to deal with than those of the Ponds. The relationships among our varied international excavation crew members were certainly complex: our group consisted of older and younger men and women, both foreigners and people from Algiers, and expertise and opinions were very diverse. During our final (1978) field season, we used a method of excavation that required extensive recording in three dimensions in an attempt to deal with the extraordinarily complex stratigraphy of a rockshelter. This proved too much, not only for our Algerian colleagues and students, but for one or two of the North American students.

To a certain extent we had two teams in 1978 – not socially, but academically – and it is possible that the fact that there were two parallel teams working at Site 12 in 1930 led to difficulties. Although there is no publication on Jenks' work beyond a note in *Science* (Anonymous 1930), records available at the University of Minnesota suggest that his approach was different. In broad terms, determined by equipment, both teams worked in the way which had been established at Mechta el-Arbi (Pond *et al.* 1928: 17-23) where there was a calcite crust that did not occur at Site 12. This involved the use of large picks and shovels to bring down sediment for sieving. Pond was aware that this was not the system used in France, but felt that this alternative was necessary "to obtain the little evidence which the wholesale digging here used produced." He wanted to open trenches at a number of sites and for this reason asked Collie to allow him to take a large team. As described by Voight (1930), the plan was that "...the students will each have personal charge of two Arab workmen and will work the various sites and shell heaps independently, moving on to another as soon as one has been worked." They were given 10-12 days training for this in a Site 12 trench.

Jenks' approach was very different: only one trench on one site was excavated from 8<sup>th</sup> March to 24<sup>th</sup> May. Jenks had a site supervisor, Lloyd Wilford, a man with whom he had spent the past two summers in the American southwest where their work included the excavation of hundreds of skeletons at the important Mimbres Galaz site. Wilford was himself assisted by Ralph Brown, and both kept detailed diaries and field notes which, together with photographs, provide us with a great

deal of information about the Minnesota trench. Wilford also assisted the Beloit students working in the neighboring training trench.

Even the more focused work in the Minnesota trench would not be acceptable today, although it allowed observations on, for example, the distribution of ochre (contra Pond *et al.* 1938: 107). In fact, our work at Ain Misteheyia in the 1970s, also an open-air escargotière, would be regarded as old fashioned. The external datum reference, the one meter squares and five centimeter levels would not stand up against the three-dimensional digital coordination of today. But the suggestion that Mechta el-Arbi produced “little evidence” (Pond *et al.* 1928: 23) is very questionable in comparison with the 73,000 pieces of flint (tools and debitage) and 30,000 pieces of animal bone within 19.1 cubic meters of deposit (Lubell *et al.* 1982-3) excavated at Ain Misteheyia.

Ninety percent of the flint excavated in 1930 was discarded after examination (Pond 1931: 47), but the work of tabulation (to which Dorothy contributed, Chomingwen Pond, pers. comm.) contained in Appendix IV (Pond *et al.* 1938) records all classified material from Pond’s Site 12 trenches, apparently both the collection sent to Algiers as well as that taken to Beloit. Excluding debitage, the count of lithics in Trench 1 is 1800 tools. The amount of sediment excavated from Trench 1 cannot be precisely calculated because the width was not consistent, the trench was not completely dug out to its full length of 19.5 meters, and no final profiles were drawn, but the volume of deposit removed from Trench 1 must have been around 100 cubic meters.

The Appendix IV tabulation for Trench 2 demonstrates that, with debitage excluded, 1776 tools were classified and density can be calculated because it was reported that 71 cubic meters of deposit were excavated from Trench 2 (Pond *et al.* 1938: 127). The density of tools was significantly higher in Trench 2 than in Trench 1. The difference may well reflect the fact that Trench 2 was not used as a training trench for the Beloit undergraduates: the upright screens used at the site required particularly close attention.

The Logan collection of Site 12 lithics comprises 17,662 pieces from all three trenches (W. Green, pers. comm.) and Peter Sheppard (1987) analyzed 1369 pieces from Trench 2 for his comparative study of Capsian lithic technology.

The Minnesota lithic collection has not been studied. Although 6000 lithic pieces was the published figure (Anon. 1930: 622), the collection consists of at least 23,000 flints (Anon. 2012). Based on Wilford’s detailed sections, we can estimate that the *in situ* deposit excavated from that trench totaled 72.3 cubic meters, although a greater area was exposed. Since half the material had, by agreement, to be deposited at the Bardo Museum in Algiers, there can be no doubt that the site was very rich.

Despite questions about excavation techniques, the idea that all flints, faunal and human bone should be examined, and that even snails provide vital information, was an important component of prehistoric archaeology. One of us has been on sites where fauna was initially ignored and has known of archaeologists who regarded burials as no more than a nuisance.

The Minnesota team was able to benefit from the excellent facilities at Camp Logan, but they were a separate entity. Jenks had his own funding and he paid for Wilford and Brown (the student members of the Beloit team paid their own travel expenses). The arrangements for supplies were separate and Jenks started his film on the expedition with footage of Constantine, which he titled "Our provisioning base." For this reason, the Jenks took two trips to Constantine, each time just as supplies were running very low so that a delayed return, because Jenks had an eye infection and could not drive safely, caused some anxiety. The Minnesota team was also fortunate to be able to employ Larbi, recommended by M. Bernard, as a cook and general helper: he was paid by the Minneapolis group from 1<sup>st</sup> March to 25<sup>th</sup> May.

Dorothy implies that Larbi had little work to do, but in fact he was constantly with the Minneapolis group, travelling around with them on surveys, on their Sunday outings, and on their trip to the Sahara. In this context, Dorothy writes about an argument between Larbi and another man who shared a tent with him. Based on Wilford's diary this was not a unique event, but the situation was resolved. We know from the records kept by Wilford that the other man was Mazous Hanich who worked for them for only one month.

Larbi was teaching Arabic to Brown and he accompanied the older students when they walked in to Berriche for evenings off. He obviously got on with the Minnesota group extremely well and invited them to meet his family several times, each time providing them with meals. Mrs. Jenks gave a member of the family medicine, and she spent time alone with his womenfolk when Jenks and Wilford went off with Larbi, and also with the women in his wife's family. She was saddened, according to Wilford, by the lack of freedom for the local women.

Larbi remained in camp with Wilford and Brown the one time the Jenks went away by themselves for some days. They went to Algiers to participate in the *Cinquième Congrès International d'Archéologie* (14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> April 1930) where Jenks gave a paper on Mimbres ceramics (Leschi 1930). By a strange coincidence, other papers given in the prehistoric session of this congress were presented by Mendes Correia, a Portuguese archaeologist, and by Serpa Pinto, his site supervisor, Wilford's equivalent. They were just initiating an excavation into a Portuguese shell midden with burials of the same period as Site 12. This site was studied from 1930 on, though not for long by Serpa Pinto, tragically dead from typhoid within a couple of years. We have been working on the records from this site in the same way as for the records from Site 12 and can compare the more controlled techniques used in Europe on the same type of site.

The Jenks returned immediately after the congress to Aïn Berriche, via Constantine for supplies, while other participants went on field trips in the vicinity of Tebessa and Constantine. It was at the end of these field trips that Count Begouen, who had been at the congress, visited Site 12 where the trenches had been prepared for his visit. The Count could use the Jenks' tent since they had taken their team on the trip to the Sahara.

While it was Wilford who recorded payments to the men, Mrs. Jenks was involved in the planning and paying for the provisioning of their group, including trips to Ain Beida and Canrobert: Wilford notes that she went over the accounts with him. She did not spend time at the excavation, although Dr. Jenks was frequently at both the Minnesota and the Beloit trenches, according to the available students' diaries and letters. Mrs. Jenks participated in all the trips to search for new sites and both the Jenks sometimes went with Pond and his students "scouting *escargotières*," as Wilford calls this activity. On one occasion, the Jenks and the Ponds, with Chomingwen, set off together so that Jenks could show Pond a cave he had visited. Mrs. Jenks stayed with Chomingwen while the others climbed up to examine the stone tools on the cave floor: she must have got on well with Chomingwen and sent a postcard to her from Algiers signed "Auntie Maud" (Chomingwen Pond pers. comm. based on Dorothy's letters). Indeed, Chomingwen was quite a favourite. She is mentioned in students' diaries as "cute," and in fact Tax mentions her twice. His later description of her as "cute and intelligent" is notable, considering that small children on archaeological excavations can come to be regarded as a nuisance.

It is hardly to be expected that Dorothy would have been involved in the excavation work. While the student diaries and letters make clear that major work around the camp was done by Small, Dobson, and Komici, Dorothy had her own responsibilities and the work of keeping up with the correspondence. Pond is mentioned in the diaries as helping with classifying stone tools – his major interest was lithics (Pond 1930; Shea 1992; Sheppard 1992) – but although Dorothy says that Alonzo did all the work of checking the students' collection of flints, in fact there is evidence that she was also involved. An interesting comment comes from Tax who said that Mrs. Pond "seems to know the flints" and Pond (1938: 10) wrote that the students' "sorting and classification was checked and verified twice, first by Mrs. Pond and again by the writer." Roberts in his diary entry for 9<sup>th</sup> April wrote "In the p.m. Mr. & Mrs. Pond both came over to complete our stuff from #12. We are to set the classifications, with their help, for the entire bunch. Pretty hard work all afternoon..."

The students who worked with Pond were a disparate group. Tax saw them as falling into two groupings: those with training and a serious interest in anthropology and archaeology, and others who had no training and were there for the adventure. The first group was of men generally not from Beloit who had been recruited by Collie through his contacts at other universities. Brown and Wilford were seen by the other students as "both graduate students of considerable field experience" (Voight 1930b), and Greenlee, who was already married, had spent the previous summer working in the American Southwest at an interesting excavation which included women archaeologists (Preucel and Chesson 1994). Their eventual careers characterize the more mature students: Ralph Brown, John Gillin, Charles Nash, Lauriston Sharp, Sol Tax and Lloyd Wilford all went on to careers in anthropology or archaeology. But other students were not all without academic interests. For example, Daniel Reidel left Beloit, but graduated from Ohio State in 1933 and completed

an MA in Sociology at Northwestern in 1942; Robert Voight was interested in archaeology and went on to graduate school but dropped out after a year because, as he said in *Reliving the Past*, there would be no employment opportunities; Virgil Moen became a lawyer.

Whereas our colleagues and students were not involved in food preparation and chores, the Beloit students had to cook for themselves, one of each pair of tent mates taking a one week stint of cooking in turn. Sol Tax recorded that his first Sunday was spent in “a domestic quarrel over the division of labor” with his tent mate Robert Greenlee. This was resolved by Tax taking on all the cooking (he claimed to be “recognized as by far the best culinary artist in the camp”). Greenlee did all the other chores that Tax regarded as unpleasant. Kenneth Williams’ diary records that at the beginning they could not work their stove: they had three hours for lunch and needed every moment of it, since “everything went wrong with the meal.” A letter from Williams to his younger sister says that he was the cook for his tent and this “takes a lot of time.” He details the food and the work he has to do around the tent, but he records that the students pay “the Arabs” to wash their clothes on Sundays. Tax noted in a letter dated 20<sup>th</sup> March, that each student eventually had a servant, working at the trenches and around the tents. The main Beloit group (the Ponds, Waite, Small, and Dobson) also had a cook – this was Komici.

Although Larbi generally cooked for the Jenks, Wilford twice records chicken dinners made for them by Mrs. Jenks as “truly delicious.” In fact, Brown and Wilford also did quite a lot of their own chores, week by week, preparing coffee in the morning and cooking, but sometimes eating dinners made by Larbi.

While some of the students may have found cooking difficult, others enjoyed it. Roberts especially was proud of his cooking and recorded his menus, including a meal he made for the Ponds on one of the occasions when beef was available, a Sunday. To quote his diary:

“The dinner menu was this:

Cream of Tomato Soup -  
Roast Beef a la Logan -  
Alimentaires Salad -  
Mashed Potatoes -  
Buttered Beets -  
Date Torte -  
Hot Chocolate –

Some job! I did it alone & succeeded. It tasted pretty good though.  
We messed our entire tent around to arrange for the guests.”

Roberts also has an opinion (1<sup>st</sup> April) on the matter of the pig: “We’ve got a whole pig on our hands. It’s doomed though, it can’t be kept in this weather. However it tastes good for a change from mutton.” Roberts became ill on 3<sup>rd</sup> April which perhaps explains his comment: “More pork for dinner, today, with macaroni & cheese. I’ll be satisfied with mutton after this.” Tax had words to say about the



pig, too, because he had been invited out by a local man, and had invited him in return, to be presented with the social embarrassment of pork on the menu for a Muslim.

Tax provides us with some detail on food – the choice of menu for the meal he planned to give the Ponds one Sunday, his method of preparing a chicken using a Jewish recipe, the fact that they are to have beef “god knows where they found it in this country, but generally we live on mutton. We have begun to kill our own sheep (the camp has, I mean) as a matter of economy. Of course the Arab ‘slaves’ do it – and skin them and cut them up. The skins are dressed, and so far the Ponds have the two that have been obtained thus far.....When there is nothing else around – between meats – we eat fresh vegetables, which are numerous, and eggs. Of course we have a lot of staples, rice and such, and potatoes, which we can always use.”

While Roberts enjoyed the challenge of cooking, he was not very happy. He records being homesick and not getting on well with other team members. He was very young and upon his return home was interviewed by the *Milwaukee Sentinel* for 21<sup>st</sup> June under the headline NO MORE ARCHAEOLOGY. He was not interested in the work and says in *Reliving the Past* that Pond accepted him as an expedition member because he was an Eagle Scout. He must, however, have remembered his time in Algeria with pleasure, since he attended the commemorative conference for Pond at Beloit 1985. At one point he got very behind in his work and, as recorded above, both Alonzo and Dorothy helped him to catch up with his sorting of flints. He was not alone. He records another group working in the “training trench” as being so far behind “they can hardly see their way out.” In *Reliving the Past* Pond recalled of one student: “I finally discovered the notes and collections were really fouled up.” The student was told to “salvage as much as he could.”

Yet even Roberts could be thrilled by the idea of what he was experiencing, writing “Dr. Jenks showed me some ‘Mousterian’ work pieces today. They’re highly interesting & date back about 60,000 years!” Tax, too, was enthusiastic: “it’s great; I’m feeling tip-top, and my spirits are high. The whole thing is most interesting, and I should learn a lot of archaeology.” And another time, after mentioning a problem in the camp: “but.....it is an experience worth having.” His high point was “a most interesting piece: a human radius fashioned into a flint-flaker. It... was a perfect specimen. Dr. Jenks said it was most remarkable, because he had never seen a human bone used for a tool...Pond was enthusiastic, too, but he said Dr. Collie had recently uncovered a human femur used as a bone flaker, also.” Pond remembered in *Reliving the Past* that Gillin told him that actually handling the stone tools and classifying them was worth more than hearing about them in lectures.

Dorothy does not write about the Jenks – they were, after all, very much older. But some background will provide context. Jenks had for years been developing an interest in archaeology, had often been in Europe, and planned further work in Algeria (a plan which could not be realized, so he continued excavating in the United States for some years). After the work at Site 12, the Jenks set off for a month’s



exploration for sites, and then went on to Europe to work at the famous site of La Quina. Jenks (1869-1953) was an important anthropologist at the time, but some of his opinions, unacceptable today, have to be judged within their historical context (Soderstrom 2004). He was clearly more interested in field work and teaching than in administration, given that he turned down the offer of the directorship of the Bureau of Ethnology (Johnson 1992: 47).

Maud Huntley Jenks graduated with a BA from University of Wisconsin in 1898, married in 1901 and – against the wishes of her parents – went with Jenks to the Philippines. It was just a few years after the Spanish had been expelled from the Philippines, and yet the Jenks went to live in a highland village for many months. After her death in June 1950, her letters and diaries were of sufficient interest to be published (Jenks 1951), and they are commented on (Roma-Sianturi 2007) as displaying an unusual feature: Maud Jenks was not simply acting in a domestic role, she was participating in her husband's research. That research produced a detailed monograph (Jenks 1905), magnificently illustrated with about 150 photographs, many of them taken by Jenks. Jenks was a keen photographer and took still and movie cameras with him to Algeria, making a delightful movie. Details of Maud's later life are not available, beyond the fact that she had a son, born in the Philippines in 1905, who died in 1918, no doubt a victim of the Spanish flu which raged through Minneapolis and St. Paul late that year (Ott *et al.* 2007).

Maud's letters are lively and fascinating, illustrated with beautiful photographs. She spent months living a difficult journey of several days from any other American women, on one occasion by herself when Jenks went off on an expedition with head hunters. It is clear that Maud liked and admired the people they lived amongst, the Igorots, and did not mind the fact that her living space was at all times shared with many Igorot visitors.

The Jenks had several seasons experience of large excavations in New Mexico. Jenks and Wilford's work in 1929 digging the Mimbres site (Anyon and LeBlanc 1984) was done together with five students, supervising local workmen. It is no wonder that Pond several times brought his students across to the Minnesota trench to note the techniques used.

Dorothy's memoir, together with the surviving diaries and letters of the students, provides an interesting background to this early attempt to take North American students on an overseas excavation. Both Alonzo Pond and Albert Jenks were experienced in overseas work. Pond had excavated and explored in France and Mongolia as well as North Africa. Jenks had years of experience as one of the first Americans with a PhD in anthropology, had worked overseas and in North American anthropology and archaeology.

It was not, in the strict sense, a field school. Pond certainly did not see it as such, and while some of the students from other universities received academic credit for their participation, none of those from Beloit did. Wilford and Brown had extensive field experience already, and in 1929 Greenlee was on the Tecolote Project in New

Mexico run by A.V. Kidder (Preucel and Chesson 1994). Following the Algerian work, Greenlee, Gillin, and Tax all went on to the 1930 summer field school of the American School of Prehistoric Research in France directed by George Grant MacCurdy to which Pond had gone on a scholarship in 1921 (Bricker 2002). Jenks also had connections with the ASPR.

The “connections” are interesting but beyond the scope of this short contribution. Clearly, the concept of field training was not exclusive to Beloit, but the fact that this season was as successful as it was is certainly due to the careful preparations of Alonzo and Dorothy Pond. They had established relationships with the Bernards of Medfoun Experimental Farm and with individuals in Canrobert. They had done preliminary work on Capsian *escargotières* in the region and they chose a good location for a major excavation at Aïn Berriche (Site 12). The camp was established near a well, close to a main road, a few kilometers from Berriche and not many more from Aïn Beïda.

One of us has previously assessed the significance of Alonzo Pond’s archaeological research (Lubell 1992) and there is no need to repeat that here, other than to reiterate that it was in many ways ahead of its time, although by today’s standards the excavation methods as described (Pond *et al.* 1928 and 1938) would not be thought appropriate. Other papers by Sheppard, Johnson, and Shea in that same 1992 volume provide further details.

Sheppard (1987: 54) was able to use Site 12 material for his study of Capsian lithics, examining the Beloit sample deriving from the more controlled work done in Trench 2 by the advanced students (Tax, Greenlee, Gillin, and Sharp). It was his opinion that the technique used allowed even small microliths to be collected, so that the sample is usable and relatively unbiased by the techniques. The work at Aïn Berriche, and above all the publication on the lithics, bone tools, and fauna (Pond *et al.* 1938), was an important contribution, providing the impetus for our work in Algeria in the 1970s and beyond.

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