From Island to Museum:
Narrating Puerto Rican Museum Object Itineraries

By

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Abstract

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In a current political moment characterized by widespread diaspora movements and tense debates about the boundaries of national identities, the Caribbean case-study of the American commonwealth of Puerto Rico stands at an intersection as both American and a 'cultural other.' The historical and ever-developing contemporary narratives on Puerto Rico have long been dominated by macro-scale discussions of state-level events. An intervention in orientation towards thinking with archival and object sources introduces new forms of narratives that contribute on-the-ground material perspectives through a museum anthropological framework.

As part of a larger research project on North American museum collecting in and representation of Puerto Rico between 1890-1990, the dissertation explores collection case-studies along varied object types and across different museums including national and university spaces. Tasked with the recovery, analysis, and interpretation of Puerto Rican collections in U.S. mainland museums, this comparative, multi-site object-based inquiry methodological approach works to redress a relative lack of Caribbean regional presence in existing museum anthropology and of museum as field-site historical analysis to cultural studies.

Diverse artifact groups – ranging in terms of material, time period, collector, and acquisition context – both evidence and trouble our ever-shifting understandings of the Commonwealth or unincorporated territory of Puerto Rico in the past and present as part of and set apart from the U.S. From miniature, rural-styled household objects commissioned by Spanish American officer wives to Pre-Columbian archaeological material entangled with growing U.S. economic dominance to contemporary carnival paraphernalia produced by craft-making island families and collected to document traditional practices by a local elite, Puerto Rican museum material indexes distinct microhistories within a complicated, evolving political narrative of U.S.-Puerto Rico relations. From local material experimentation in early tourist arts to unpublished archaeological notes written by a sugar plantation owner's son to an island-wide photograph collection of Puerto Rico created by a suffragette for a public lecture, museum records grant differential access to the multiple, intersecting and sometimes conflicting gazes of the usually unnamed object makers and named museum collectors whose object definitions have shaped the course of Caribbean history - its tropes and silences.

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Preface:

As an undergraduate Anthropology major at Harvard University, I enrolled in an independent seminar taught by a museum curator at the Peabody Museum of Archaeology & Ethnology. The goal of the class was to expose students to the inner workings of the museum and to give them an opportunity to curate a temporary exhibition case at the end of the semester. On the first day of class, I was asked about what collection I was interested in researching and ultimately curating. My first thought in answer was a question. Did the museum have any Puerto Rican objects?

What I would realize later is that I was searching for a sense of what has been termed by Stephen Greenblatt as *resonance* - to the objects and narratives on display in museums. My family is from Puerto Rico and I am the second generation to grow up stateside. I grew up in the Bronx and traveled to museums in Manhattan often. The two most frequented were the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the American Museum of Natural History. I remember well standing in the shadow of the Temple of Dendur counting all the graffiti signatures and walking past the many diorama environments of unmoving, staged animal bodies marveling at their glass eyes and all too real facial expressions.

Apart from what was then a permanent archaeological exhibition on the prehistory of the Caribbean at *El Museo del Barrio*, I don't recall ever viewing any large-scale museum representations of Puerto Rico as a child.

So, you might imagine my great surprise when my Harvard professor answered my question after checking the collections database and replied that there were over a thousand Puerto Rican objects at the Peabody Museum. Long story short: my one semester seminar turned into a research passion for the history of museum collecting that will occupy me for some time.

It was this curious juxtaposition that I continued to identify at different institutions - the relative public obscurity of Puerto Rican museum objects in exhibition alongside the presence of sizeable collections in remote storage annexes - that first motivated me to pursue the work that became my dissertation project and to begin with the following case-studies to make visible historical silences of representation.

Along the way, the complicated political and economic dynamic between the U.S. mainland and the Caribbean island has been thrust into the national spotlight with renewed discussion about the future of the relationship given an extended moment of precarity for the island that has only been exacerbated in the post-Hurricane Maria period.

When I think about my process of coming to this topic and to this work, I remember a passage from *The Catcher in the Rye* when fellow New Yorker, Holden Caulfield describes visiting a museum and how it never changes but that you do - in how you see and understand it.

I initially thought that this was an important story to tell for me.

I now realize that this is an important story for me to tell to you.

Introduction

Museum as Site

The study of the history of collecting interweaves multiple scales of histories that interconnect diverse peoples, places and objects across distinct moments in time. To begin to narrate such a layered history necessitates an appreciation of space and practice – the space of the museum as a physical destination for collection material and the practice of museum anthropology to recover and reconstruct collection itineraries through intercultural, interactive spaces of interpretation.

This introduction considers the field and practice of American museum anthropology and is divided into four main sections: a historical overview organized chronologically according to major, traditionally recognized periods (often associated with key anthropological figures and/or museum institutions), a sketch of the different understandings surrounding collections, a summary of anthropological object theory relating shifting definitions of material meaning and an outline of museum anthropological methodology with an emphasis on approaching museum collections through the analytical framework of collecting practice.

American Museum Anthropology: A History

Contextualizing the historical development of the field of American museum anthropology within the larger trajectory of anthropology and its observable shifts in orientation is a critical preface to any research employing museum methods to institutional case studies. Indeed, museums and universities were the critical sites of disciplinary growth in which anthropology "came to be recognized as a distinct scholarly undertaking during the late nineteenth century" (Parezo 1999, 275). Museum anthropologists "played a dominant role in the development of anthropological research, theory, and teaching" (Collier and Tschopik 1954, 772). The layered development of museum collections is "analogous to the processes of site formation" and similar to excavated material, institutionally-acquired objects "represent only a portion of the objects made and used by society" (Parezo 1987).

From 1880 to 1900, the period of evolutionism was defined by its "emphasis on classification and typologies and geographical distributions" (Sturtevant 1969, 622). In the case of archaeology, "the concept of archaeological ages as technological stages" can be traced back to earlier styles of object display with "the typological classification of archaeological artifacts in Cabinets of Curiosities" (Sturtevant 1969: 621). Typologies, borrowing methods from natural science fields like zoology and botany, have historically been a major trope in archaeological understandings of Caribbean materials from Jesse Walker Fewkes' object categories in *The Aborigines of Puerto Rico and Neighboring Islands* (1907) to Irving Rouse's mid-late 20th century circum-Caribbean ceramic classification system in works like *The Tainos: Rise and Decline of the People Who Greeted Columbus* (1993). Nevertheless, early collecting of archaeological and ethnographic material was increasingly accepted as an "essential" mode by which to understand the "non-material aspects of culture" through "documentation…in written form" and collecting became commonplace as a component of evolving anthropological practice (Parezo 1987, 4). This was perhaps best evidenced with the emergence of the Bureau of Ethnology (1879) under the directorship of John Wesley Powell and Smithsonian's U.S. National Museum (1846) which employed "natural science taxonomy" in its focus "on the contemporary daily life of Native Americans" and on "older items that illustrated the extent of progress of assimilated Indians" as the beginning of an effort "to reconstruct the past history of the different

races of man" (Parezo 1987, 9).

Until around 1900, the Smithsonian exerted a major presence in anthropology with a host of academic actors conducting research on indigenous language, mythology, and technology (Hinsley 1981). There was an underlining salvage collecting mentality in data retrieval which would also serve to inform the government's administrative policies towards a newly-conquered population that argued "the aboriginal cultures of the New World should be studied immediately, before the native way of life vanished forever" (Collier and Tschopik 1954, 770). The resulting Bureau paradigm - which would lead to an ethnological debate (and ultimately, another paradigm shift) between evolutionary and historic stances on the interpretation of the decorative arts of the American Indians - can be understood as "an accepted model or pattern which constrains scientific investigation into some specific part of nature" and is substantiated by "the sharing of the body of assumptions among a self-conscious community of investigators" (Thoresen 1977, 108). In direct contrast to the next period, "there was no university training in museums, so anthropological research was done by museum anthropologists, or by amateurs, or by some other mavericks whose university teaching responsibilities lay in other fields" (Sturtevant 1969, 622). Two of this project's institutional case-studies are based out of the Smithsonian (though in later years) and were acquired by non-traditional collector types, but they all - as Puerto Rican collections - reflect the tension of an American acquisitional context of direct military invasion or a subsequent colonial condition. In Chapter 4, local collector Teodoro Vidal Santoni co-opts a salvage anthropological stance - though he is not a trained anthropologist and is in fact, motivated by Puerto Rico nationalism.

From 1865 to 1900, museum history was characterized by the rise of university museums. The 1893 World's Columbian Exposition and the resulting Field Museum of Natural History marked the pinnacle of the period. This singular American display - on a grand scale accompanied by the founding of a formal collecting institution that created permanent display spaces - helped to usher in "a great period of development in the anthropological museums of the United States" with "an unprecedented program of collecting and research" which lead to "the crystallization of a growing interest, both public and professional" (Collier and Tschopik 1954, 770). Additionally, the influence of anthropologist Franz Boas's research style was undeniable given the "growing demand for accurate, detailed, monographic descriptions of native peoples" which in turn, promoted the establishment of "large-scale, planned, problem-oriented, team research" through museum-sponsored expeditions (Collier and Tschopik 1954, 771). A sample selection of university museum institutions founded during this period include but are not limited to Harvard's Peabody Museum of Archaeology & Ethnology (1866), the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (1889), and University of California, Berkeley's Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology (1901). The institutional case-study of the Samuel Kirkland Lothrop Collection at Harvard in chapter 3 offers an example of university collecting that defied the pattern of group acquisition that came to define the period.

More broadly, there was a widening schism observable - mostly after 1900 - "with the gradual increase of university teaching in anthropology" alongside "the growth of interests…beyond material culture" and "the simultaneous decline of museum anthropologists" (Sturtevant 1969, 624). In fact, as demonstrated in the case of the Penn Museum (which is largely emblematic of other university museum trajectories), their 1913 division between university and museum was the consequence of varied, interrelated factors including the professionalization of anthropology with funding opportunities possible from "*either* a museum *or* a university department" as well as the influence of Franz Boas (and his students) in pushing

academic anthropology towards "ethnographic and linguistic fieldwork" (Darnell 1970, 91-92).

The "Material-Cultural Turn" can be understood as advancing a "humanistic perspective" which describes "the desire to get past things to people" (Hicks and Beaudry 2010, 69). For example, processual archaeologist Lewis Binford formulated "three major functional sub-classes of material culture: technomic…socio-technic…and ideo-technic" that respectively reference material which enable humans to manage their physical environment, form or maintain group cohesion and have symbolic or ideological implications. Historically, a material culture focus originated during the early stages of the field of anthropology starting with "Western colonial and antiquarian collecting practices" and extending into the "Museum Period" (Hicks and Beaudry 2010: 30). More specifically though, material culture came to dominate anthropological terminology, in the place of technology, after the shift from "the emergence of evolutionary, diffusionist, and culture-historical models" to "the critique presented by structural-functionalist and early processualist approaches" (Hicks and Beaudry 2010, 30). There was a simultaneous transition in the contexts of collected research material being increasingly the result of fieldwork among living societies rather than from museum settings (Hicks and Beaudry 2010, 36). Hoskins (2006), Miller (1987) and Prown (1982) represent different examples of material culture studies which has been characterized as following three general organizing patterns: those with "a particular material domain…within specific cultural and historical contexts," those with a larger focus on "theorizing the significance, meaning and power of material forms in understanding the constitution of social relations" and those with "a plethora of material domains…within the ambit of particular archaeological and ethnographic case studies" (Tilley, Keane, Küchler, Rowlands, and Spyer 2006, 4)

From 1895 to 1905, museum history was largely framed at the American Museum of Natural History and by broader concept of the culture area. The period can be characterized by the individual museums becoming associated with specific geographic areas of study like the:

> the Peabody Museum in Harvard in Middle America and in the Southwest, the Field Museum in the Southwest, the Plains, and Old World, the American Museum of Natural History in the Plains, Mexico, and Peru, and the University of California in California in California and adjacent regions, and Peru (Collier and Tschopik 1954, 771).

One of the milestones of the period was tumultuous narrative around Boas' installation of the Northwest Coast Hall at the American Museum of Natural History with which he argued against previously dominant exhibition schemes of universalistic progressivism and evolutionary-orientations in favor of those of historical context that showcased that "the human mind is creative everywhere" (Jacknis 1985, 107).

From 1905 to 1930, there was a period of new trends in museum anthropology. There was identifiable "paradigm shift in the study of the tribal arts" with Boas' employment of a psychological approach - during his tenure at Columbia University - which addressed "issues of cultural change, the integration of culture, and the role of the individual" (Jacknis 1992, 135-136). More specifically, Boas took up an interest in inhabiting an artist's mind and with understanding tribal art through living indigenous groups' "explanations of cultural phenomena" (1992, 138). In addition, the period experienced a shift to non-American based collecting work that can be attributed in large part, to the influence of Boasian humanism towards anthropological subjects. Drawing on a 1909 case-study from the Field Museum, A.B. Lewis became the first American anthropologist to conduct comprehensive fieldwork in the Pacific

culminating in the largest regional field collection with representative material from throughout Melanesia. Reminiscent of earlier periods, Lewis was mainly interested in traditional material culture in contrast to newer material types from the growing curio market (Welsch 1999, 424).

Throughout the 1930s to 1940s, museum anthropology was in a period of transition. From a historical standpoint, this New Deal era entailed a notable change in American museum labor with the onset of workers from work-relief agencies like that of the Civil Works Administration as well as with exhibition assistance from the Works Progress Administration's Museum Extension Project (Redman 2011). Anthropological displays adopted new frameworks of primitivism and primitivist appropriation. The example of the Northwest Coast Indian Hall at the American Museum of Natural History demonstrates a now widely recognized exhibition space with unchanging (until recently) aesthetic that "became increasingly irrelevant to anthropology" after its first iteration by Boas as a "vitalizing influence among artists and the general public" helped "made it one of the city's leading attractions" (Jacknis 2004, 236).

Between the 1950s to the 1960s, museum anthropology experienced a period of revival. There was a greater preoccupation with making the museum more conducive to public engagement with "larger, longer-established institutions…seeking to redesign their exhibits to render them more instructive and more entertaining" (Ewers 1955, 1). The emphasis on the visual in exhibit planning was one way in which the museum took direction from other sectors namely, "the perfection of colored, talking motion pictures; of eye-arresting magazine advertising and store window display" (1955, 1). In other words, visitor experience became paramount to museum curators. More directly, there was a push for exhibit content to shift away from its history of "culture areas" towards centering of "the relevance of anthropological knowledge to some of the difficulties of the modern world" which would include "current research…by anthropologists on the museum staff" (Sturtevant 1969, 644). To put it another way, "when research on collections is infrequent and of low prestige museums seek other justifications for existence – popular exhibitions, general education – and the staff members" stop serving as "subject matter specialists" (1969, 634). This was reflective of a larger, then still growing disjuncture between museum collections "which represent a large investment over many years of time, thought, care, and money" with the current themes of anthropological scholarship particularly those of the subfield of cultural anthropology (1969, 625). Conversely, in archaeology, collections were continued to be valued as evidentiary sources particularly in the face of new development with the "rapid destruction of archaeological sites…in the construction of dams, highways, and industrial plants, the expansion of cities, and the increasing use of earth-moving machinery in agriculture" (1969, 629). With this, there were also sustained concerns over general issues of collection preservation and public accessibility (Ford 1977). To that end, in 1975, the Council for Museum Anthropology (CMA), a section of the American Anthropological Association, was formed with a commitment to research and with the stated formal objectives of:

> the setting of standards of documentation for ethnographic collections…enrichment of documentation of existing collections by additional fieldwork…the establishment of scientific conservation programs in all anthropology museums…the need for an inventory of anthropological research collections…[and] the increase in the teaching of course on primitive technology (Freed, Collier and Fenton 1977, 11).

From 1970s to the 1980s, anthropologists began to understand and approach material culture by moving away from the primacy of the academic distinction between "pre- or post-contact influence" within a larger "discourse of authenticity" and "culture-area theory, which focused on the social and environmental relationships of particular groups with their surroundings" (Peers 1999, 298). Rather, by employing object theory, object narratives replaced earlier deterministic assumptions with a new emphasis on the "shifting meanings" of objects through different categories across space (1999, 289). This change in object thinking opened anthropological scholarship to consider new types of assemblages and collecting contexts - including those previously deemed undesirable in the field such as that of tourist art in acculturated spaces (Graburn 1976). Museums became increasingly collaborative, discursive sites that both acknowledged asymmetrical power relations in the history of museums and in collecting as well as valued multivocality including that of indigenous voices in exhibit design and interpretation as evidenced by the case of the American Museum of Natural History's exhibit, *Chiefly Feasts: The Enduring Kwakiutl Potlatch,* centered on anthropologist Franz Boas' Kwakiutl collection (Jonaitis 1991).

From the 1980s and onward to the present-day, museum anthropology began to think through movement through itineraries rather in bounded sites as the current period acknowledges an increasingly globalized and transcultural world (Ames 1992) in which "contact approaches suppose not sociocultural wholes …brought into relationship but rather systems already constituted relationally, entering new relations through historical processes of displacement" (Clifford 1997, 7). In terms of a more equitable curatorial praxis, museums ideally now maintain a responsibility towards "source communities" to work towards "a much more two-way process" of collaboration away from "older sets of relationships" that were grounded in "colonized regions" with unequal power dynamics (Peers and Brown 2003, 1-2).

Museums & Collecting

Narrating the particular museum history around collecting is complex due to the "sheer quantity" of relevant literature conversely coupled with its "disconnects" which partly result from "divisions of labor" along "different professional tracks" (Starn 2005, 69). To explain, work on museum material has traditionally been segregated so that "historians had their archives and documents" while "the museum curators their objects and aura" (2005, 69). This dissonance was compounded by an interdisciplinary plethora of contributions from "art historians, social scientists, philosophers, cultural studies scholars, critics, and journalists" (2005, 70). Moreover, reduced to a "subaltern status" in relation to their loftier standing academic counterparts, museum personnel as "insiders" handled "budgets, security, staffing, storage, or plumbing" while outside scholars focused on research in which they were "free to treat museums as subjects and objects of higher criticism, political agendas, narratives about the past, and visions of the future" (2005, 69-70). Acknowledging then the positionality and orientation of the author as a museum anthropologist, this section will briefly relate the different conceptions of the broad categorical term of collecting focusing on its history and motivations.

To begin with, collecting predates the museum institution with the latter's attention to order and study. In fact, in Europe, "until the sixteenth century collecting had been the prerogative of princes, whose interest concentrated on objects that were both beautiful and precious, thus reinforcing their wealth and power" (Blom 2002, 17-18). Beyond these collections of "royal or temple collections" in which the "flow of treasured objects…to the crown or the church effectively precluded the people from collecting," alternative contexts - including that of

ancient Greece and Rome, Edo Japan and Ming China - saw the emergence of popular collecting and subsequent consumer markets to address the new demand (Belk 1995, 22). The practice of displaying objects for public consumption began on a small scale with the rise of the "cabinets of wonder and art, *Wunderkammern* and *Kunstkammern*" during the sixteenth and seventeenth century (Belk 1995, 30). Care was taken in these spaces to produce an "eye-pleasing symmetry of display" of the two central classifications of objects - *naturalia* and *artificialia* though collections also commonly included religious material and art (Belk 1995, 33). The eighteenth century, in turn, brought a change to how collections were viewed - moving from "an amusing and fashionable hobby" towards "increasingly specialized and nuanced categories" with elitist "connoisseurship" coexisting alongside the less discriminating public interest (Belk 1995, 38). In all, museum collecting practices are not solely affiliated with institutional histories in the West but rather can be better framed as a long-standing, cross-cultural practice (Kreps 2003).

Collecting has been situated through the three lenses of practice, poetics, and politics which respectively address collecting themes and resulting fields of study, the social contexts of collectors as well as collections, and concepts of representation as well as value (Pearce 1995). Focusing on practice, collecting can be characterized "as a set of things which people do, as an aspect of individual and social practice which is important in public and private life as a means of constructing the way in which we related to the material world and…build up our lives" (Pearce 1995, 4). Ranging from private collections including those of varied scholars - anthropologist or not - to founding museum collections, collections can be defined as "essentially composed of objects which bear an intrinsic relationship to each other in a sequential or representative sense, rather than each being valued for its own qualities" (Pearce 1995, 20).

From a psychological standpoint, objects have been posited as "objects of passion" as once they have been collected, and thereby possessed they are "divested of its function and made relative to a subject" so that their states of utility and possession are separate (Elsner and Cardinal 1994, 7). Blurring the lines of distinction and encouraging interchangeability between persons and things so that "persons can seem to take on the attributes of things and things can seem to act almost as persons"; agency is "not restricted to persons" (Hoskins 2006, 74). Agency is understood as "the ways in which they [objects] stimulate an emotional responses and are invested with some of the intentionality of their creators" which "actively constitute new social contexts, working as technologies…that can make religious change…or political allegiance visible as feature of people's behavior and domestic life" (2007, 75). The passion that accompanies object possession can be a frantic recreation, or an "impulse…[that] can only be satisfied by a string of objects, or by the repetition of the same object, or by the superimposition of all objects of desire" (Elsner and Cardinal 1994, 23). Other arguments have drastically ranged suggesting collecting as a consequence of "a biological imperative from human evolutionary heritage" which "rely on analogies to animal hoarding," of repressed sexual desire, of "love…missing…in infancy and childhood," of a positionality of a child or a male or as a response to the hard times of the Depression period (Tilley 2006, 538). From a historical standpoint, it might be argued that the first evidence for human collecting in prehistory "clearly pre-dates consumer culture" (Tilley 2006, 536). A division may be drawn between collecting and "ordinary consumption" as the former is centered around objects that are "non-identical" and have been "removed from ordinary use" in addition to having been selected "normally based on the contribution of an object to the bounded set of objects" (Tilley 2006, 535). "Collecting may be seen to be both the epitome and the antithesis of vulgar materialism" as it involves consuming but arguably of a certain kind that involves "keeping, preserving, and accumulating" rather than

"using up, devouring, or burning" (Tilley 2006, 534). Lastly, the emotional stakes of collecting assert that a collection is ultimately "priceless" to the collector and comes to be highly revered and even treasured as objects "are often regarded as the collector's children" (Tilley 206, 540).

Taking this concept of possession from the unit of the object to that of the collection, a collection "is mediated by classification and display in tension with accumulation and secrecy" (Stewart 1984, 163). Collections, unlike souvenirs, do not "displace" but rather employ the past to provide their "authenticity" which it is necessary because collections privilege "classification" over history and exist "beyond the realm of temporality" (1984, 151). In other words, "the point of the collection is forgetting" so it produces "a new context" for objects "within a world of attention and manipulation of context" (1984, 151-152). Objects in a collection are not just simply "organized according to time, space, or internal qualities" but rather their "qualities" reflect layers of meaning "between identity and difference" that vary in visibility (1984, 154). That said, a collection "is determined by…boundaries" of their given physical spaces - most often in a museum site - whether it be "the box, the cabinet, the cupboard, the seriality of shelves" and their associated "ornament, décor, and…decorum" (1984, 156). As a result, collections emerge as models "of control and containment" as categorization transforms "the infinite possibility of their collection" into the finite (1984, 159). The implication then is that collections exist as "removed from contexts of material production" and "the most abstract of all forms of consumption" because the collection is created "for the pleasure of the acquirer" (1984, 165). In sum, collections are a manner of worlding and exerting control over a given space in the sense of building "a paradigm of perfection" in contrast to the everyday experience (Elsner and Cardinal 1994, 8). This understanding of collections as a form of world-building draws from a poetic interplay of different object categories including miniatures; chapter 2 will analyze a Puerto Rican model house object for how it can be read both as a way to politically (mis)represent the island and as a materialization of silenced local agency.

Object Theory

The theoretical implications of object circulation through different categories of meaning and classification along their itineraries in route to the museum institution are many and variable. Museum collecting can be described as "a process of displacement, of changing cultural context and uses, and of the loss and gain of information" as objects are produced, used in their original context(s), collected in the field, stored and interpreted at the museum site (Parezo 1987, 5). From a relational perspective, the museum as an object destination then "is an aggregation of people and things that stretches beyond the immediate physical confines and involves a variety of events, negotiations, and technologies" (Gosden and Larson 2007, 1). How are objects to be conceived of *in* the space of the museum and activated *by* histories of collecting?

There has been an acknowledgement of objects as "things-in-motion" with retrievable narratives chronicling their "social lives" from production, exchange, distribution and consumption (Appadurai 1986). Object biographies or social lives - better conceptualized as a concept of foundational materiality - parallel the linear life sequences of humans to that of objects noting - "In doing the biography of a thing, one would ask questions similar to those one asks about people…What are the recognized 'ages' or periods in the thing's 'life,' and what are the cultural markers for them?" (Kopytoff 1986, 66-67). To put it another way, objects expand from being understood solely as "a stage setting to human action" into a relational perspective in which "people and objects gather time, movement and change…are constantly transformed, and these transformations of person and object are tied up with each other" (Gosden and Marshall

1999, 169). Taking the example of a museum label which catalogues a given "object's accession number, country, name, material, field collector, other owners, and source," an object social life-oriented label would incorporate "the history of ownership and use of such objects" to denote that objects are not "passive, inert material to which things happen and things are done" - as would be conversely implied by the processual archaeological concept of use-life (Gosden and Marshall 1999, 169-170).

Objects have been framed as having culturally-constructed meanings which may or may not be be shared between distinct cultures in contact zones so, that "regimes of value" are historically emergent - fluctuating across space and time (Kopytoff 1986). In realizing the fragility of value in which systems exist in perpetual states of creation and destruction, part of understanding why objects are valuable in a one context an opposed to another one is discerning that meaning is place-based and co-constituting (Thompson 1979). To put it another way, objects that might have been viewed as "cast-offs, disposable, outmoded, disregarded, unfashionable" can re-enter networks of circulation as the result of the interest of a collector as so that they "lose their utilitarian value…and gain another one…imbued with meaning and qualities of representation beyond their original station" (Blom 2002, 165). With this, there are limitations to the earlier biographical metaphor specifically in that there are whole classes of objects which do not technically die in the sense of being destroyed as alternatively they "can be taken apart or modified" and can also continue to be used in new contexts as with such examples as that of "heirlooms, regalia, ritual objects, or being transformed by their entry into curated spaces" (Joyce and Gillespie 2015, 17). In other words, object biographies assume "bodily integrity" as the sole standard by which to signify the "continuity of existence. Questionable already for humans, for things this breaks down entirely" (2015, 17).

People-thing relationships are "always a process and is never reducible to either its object or its subject form" so that what instead must be privileged in an analysis of "a dynamic relationship, never mere things" (Miller 1987, 11;18). In other words, humanity has previously been characterized "as the product of its capacity to transform the material world, in the mirror in which we see ourselves" but this view evidences a narrow "tendency to reduce all such concerns with materiality through a reification of ourselves, defined variously as the subject, as social relations or as society" (Miller 2005, 2-3). Shifting from material culture studies to materiality, there has been a call "to repudiate the privilege accorded to humanity" and work to address a "resolution to the problematic dualism between persons and things" (2005, 41). Materiality endeavors "to move beyond simplistic readings of things as functional or deeply symbolic" working instead "on the broader interpretive connotations around and beyond the objects on…interrelationships between sociality, temporality, spatiality"(Meskell 2009, 2). The dialectic of people of things" is not universally reductive in understandings material according to a "set of given conditions or practices common to all cultures and all times" (2009, 4).

Materiality thought has not stood without critique however. It has been argued in fact, that the concept of a "dialectic" reifies many of the problems of material culture studies which is "basically subscribing to the belief that people make things and things make people" as "things continue to come across as recipients of social intention" (Webmoor and Witmore 2008, 57-58). The primacy of the notion of the human impact on a material world continues to be challenged with the rejection of the "slippage from materials to materiality…that leads us to suppose that human beings, as they go in and out of doors, live alternately on the inside and the outside of a material word" (Ingold 2008, 7). Rather, it is asserted that we first recognize our lived immersion within the material and second that we come to appreciate material not through superimposed

conceptions of agency but rather through their inherent liveliness as "the active constituents of a world-in-formation. Whatever life is going on, they are relentlessly on the move" (2008, 11).

What begins to emerge from such claims is new materialism or "a series of movements" whose plurality of thought and multi-disciplinary engagement is well underlined by a range of names which include: "immanent naturalism, posthumanism, antihumanism, speculative realism, complexity theory, object-oriented metaphysics, a philosophy of becoming" (Connolly 2013, 399). In summation, New Materialism opposes classic ontological dualisms like "mind/body and self/world," promotes an emphasis on the concept of vitality, or "a notion of energy-matter complexes," asserts "speculative realism" which entails "concrete explorations of ethics, state politics, and global politics," maintains human subjects although with an increased focus on subjectivity and "*entanglements* with nonhuman processes," employs "classical pragmatism" alongside "creative thinking and experimental political intervention" and considers "a planetary dimension to the study of local, regional, and global politics" (2013, 399-402). With this, representation is called into question as "a Cartesian by-product…between 'internal' and 'external'" because it draws upon "two distinct and independent kinds of entities – representations and entities to be represented" (Barad 2003, 804; 806). Performativity or the study of "discursive practices" is proposed as an alternative to giving representation and language "more power in determining our ontologies than they deserve" (2003, 807). The concept of vitality has been framed as "thing-power" or the "virtue of its operating *in conjunction* with other things" with "an inclination to make connections and form network of relations with varying degrees of stability" (Bennett 2004, 354). "Agential realism" posits humans away from driving causality towards being "part of the world in its open-ended becoming" with matter "as ongoing historicity" (Barad 2003, 821). "Orientation" or a relation of physical, bodily proximity that necessitates particular material associations (therein influencing the nature of the material world in which one interacts with) has been used to understand how "subjects and objects materialize or come to take shape in the way that they do" (Ahmed 2010, 235-236). As such, we are "connected with what has gone before, in the very form of an active "re-collection…such that the "new" exists in relation to what is already gathered by consciousness" (2010, 238). For anthropology, this manifests in the form of "comparative engagements"- which whether at a field site with living people or in a laboratory with pot sherds - allows anthropologists to engage in both "taking on" culture and in being "transformed" by it (Alberti et al. 2011, 900). The rethinking also echoes an anthropological ethical concern related to the history of the discipline that certain "long-standing Western assumptions about the nature of subjects, objects, and the boundary between two have had disastrous consequences…to both our relationship to the environment and…with non-Western peoples" (2011, 898).

Museum as Method

Shifting now to methodology, museums stand as ideal sites of anthropological research because they "emerge through thousands of relationships" between "anthropological subjects, collectors, curators, lecturers, and administrators…and these experiences have always been mediated and transformed by the material world" (Gosden and Larson 2007, 5). The museum transcends the role of an inactive object depository to that of "a launching place for anthropological adventures into the past and, indeed, the future" (2007, 5). Systematic collections - that are "logical, comprehensive, and organized"- can be studied "based on objects themselves, the documentation of those objects, the history of circumstances which created the collection, or the subsequent importance…contributed in the development of knowledge" (Parezo 1987, 6). The history of

museums is entangled with the history of the anthropological field and with the development of its ways of knowing the diverse human experience. Museums were among the sites of the discipline's emergence and have housed generations of records including "oral history, textual, and video/film collections as well as numerous paper documents, all of which are as important as objects" (Wilson and Parezo 1995, 1).

"The fact that museum records are multipurpose, scattered, and continually active affects…scholars' knowledge about museum archives, their ability to utilize the materials, and the potential for sharing information" (1995, 4). Focusing specifically on object collections which are ideally comprised of "well documented specimens secured in the field from their makers by professional anthropologists who carefully recorded the date and location of manufacture as well as pertinent ethnographic data about the place of the object within the culture," it is vital to discern the differences in classification terminology that surround collection discourse (Greene 1992, 9). To explain, the curatorial identification of specimens can be termed either *documentation* from external information or history of acquisition or *attribution* from internal information or physical object examination (1992, 9). Yet, museum paper sources like catalogue records can conflate the interrelated in respects to their shared relationship to "object's life history," yet distinct terms of both documentation ("the point of collecting, the people who used the object") and attribution ("point of origin, the manufacture of the artifact, and is based on assumption of shared cultural traits") (1992, 10). To put it another way, the process of attribution can be said to rely on "the ideal type method" or "the creation of mental constructs of idealized specimen traits or constellations of traits associated with a particular cultural origin" - though this strategy is ineffective if the traits cannot be listed and independently evaluated with technical knowledge against source object assemblages (1992, 11). Some of the problematic issues that arise with the method of attribution are a disconnect between the "pre-existing categories" of attribution that are already well-represented in collections and the larger cultural realities of material (not yet collected) which can in turn, have "the effect of eliminating poorly recorded ethnic groups from the museum cataloguing system" (1992, 16).

Indeed, existing museum objects "that have survived for us to study are not the full range of objects that were created, nor are they a representative sub-sample" as particular categories of objects - due to different factors including but not limited to their material, size, age, and collecting popularity - are more likely to be acquired and remain in the historical record (Caple 2006, 19). This is important to acknowledge because objects have been equated to historical documents "as proof…as an incontrovertible reality" evidenced by "typology…shape, function, material, and decoration" and "as industrial history" in terms of "the industry that made the object" (2006, 11). Visual analysis of objects, with the naked eye or with the help of imaging techniques like stereo microscopy can aid in such a study of the production sequence, object itinerary, and current conservation state of an assemblage which in turn, can help establish or confirm an attribution of the cultural context through the description and identification of "basic materials of which the object is composed…marks of tools…marks associated with shipping, sale, purchase, or ownership…evidence of…alteration…[and] the extent and nature of wear, scratches, and cracking through use" (2006, 31).

This view of objects is derived from material culture studies or "a particular methodology based on the proposition that artifacts are primary data for the study of material culture" to be "used actively as evidence rather passively as illustrations" (Prown 1982,1). Terminology-wise, material culture is posited here as "the study" rather than "the evidence." There is a certain "hierarchal ordering" implicit throughout material culture studies wherein: "material is a word

we associate with base and pragmatic things" while "culture is a word we associate with "lofty, intellectual, abstract things" (1982, 2). Material culture has an "unrestricted" quantity as it includes any and all "objects made by man or modified by man" which has led to different classification systems (1982, 2-3). "Physical materials" or "methods of fabrication" are among the classic recording interests of material culture studies (1982, 2). One art historical classification system involves description through measurement and formal analysis, reflection of one's sensory, intellectual and emotional responses to objects and speculation on material hypotheses (1982, 7-10).

Archival research is a collaborative form of collection documentation that necessitated "anthropologists taking responsibility to protect for posterity the data…they have produced" and working together with "archivists who recognize the importance of anthropological records for the preservation of the world's cultural and intellectual heritage" (Parezo 1999, 275). Archival data is a widely diverse grouping of "very complicated record sets" including but not limited to "notebooks, site maps, survey forms, questionnaires, still photographs and slides" in addition to "administrative documents, secondary analytical records, reports to agencies and contractors" (1999, 283; 290). It is "always active data" not "to be relegated to history or treated only as a prior condition against which change may be measured" but has not traditionally been well-valued in the field of anthropology due to "feet-of-clay syndrome" (1999, 278; 282). To explain, there has been a disciplinary tendency to privilege "original fieldwork, that is, going to exotic places by oneself and finding something new to Anglo-Americans" resulting in museum collections seen "as second-hand data that belong to the original researcher even if that individual did not or never will use them" (Parezo 1987, 2). Moreover, as previously discussed, Boas' repudiation of museums led the field to become more of a "university-based discipline in teaching and research" which had salient consequences for museum practice (1987, 2).

Upon appreciating the historical implications and the contemporary potential of collections work, one of the most fundamental aspects of museum research is "collecting, organizing, and analyzing primary source materials" which practically entails "tracking down possible archival sources" and "the nuts-and-bolts of recording information" (Redman 2013, 1-2). This is a multi-step process which for many institutions, begins with a review of collection holdings on an institution online database before an in-person research visit which will "prepare you to ask targeted questions or requests to an archivist" and which will allow you to establish "realistic goals based on what you learn" (2013, 2). Searching archival collection databases first online and later throughout different paper sources - such as finding aids or library catalogs - necessitates the selection of "a series of themes, keywords, and names that summarize your research" and a willingness to search extensively with "various combinations of the terms" (2013, 6). The resulting identification of relevant archival materials - in terms of "call numbers, box numbers, specific names of collections, record groups, or control numbers" depending on the archive's specific method of organization will enable a ready material request upon arrival to a given collections visit (2013, 7). In fact, different institutions process archival materials variably "chronologically, by theme, or by name" (2013, 9). Additionally, "recording the exact results of what you found and what searches were unsuccessful" is a critical component of recording your process of engagement with a collection or archive across different institutions (2013, 8). Fieldnotes consist not only of "fieldnotes proper" but also of "a record of one's reactions" and "fieldnotes records" or data - that then give way to "headnotes" which "continue to evolve and change as they did during the time in the field" throughout the research process (Pinney 1990, 93; 100-101).

Compositionally, fieldnotes might be understood broadly as a range of material including "notes on readings, photocopied archival material, a ceramic dish, even the ethnographer her- or himself" (Pinney 1990, 95). Personal documentation via notes (hand-written or typed on a digital device) and photography is critical to recording material especially given the variable degree of archival and object digitalization in museums. Digital notes can be saved faster and "are easily searchable" but hold the risk of becoming "obsolete as soon as that particular type of medium becomes an outdated technology" (Redman 2013, 15-16). Ultimately, a combination of mediums with digital notes "typed in a basic word processor, and notes organized by basic file folders" alongside "hard copies of these documents…stored in multiple locations" is most favorable (2013, 16). The organization of any files should "cite where, exactly, the document was originally found in the archives" as well as a citation description so as to "allow you to retrace your own steps…in the future" (2013, 16). Cameras (and scanners) "allow you to rapidly copy a collection" in a variety of visual mediums but may not be permitted in the archive, and any photographic equipment settings must account for a range of lighting circumstances in collection areas (2013, 17).

More broadly speaking in respects to object itinerary narratives, the analysis of photographs constitutes a material engagement with the visual economy of object assemblages in both exploring photographic content as well as considering the larger cultural context in which a photograph was produced and consumed (Banks 2001; Edwards 2012). This larger context is important to acknowledge specifically considering anthropology's long historical as well as often highly politicized and racialized employment of photography as a source of ethnographic evidence (Bell et al. 2013; Pinney 2011).

Museum-based fieldwork can be unpredictable as the "constraints of time and resources often force researchers to budget too little time for archival research" and research can also be curtailed by "weather, illness, or other unexpected circumstances" (Redman 2013, 23). Alternative plans should be planned from "exploring finding aids in the same archive" to "transcribing notes…for future scholarship" to visiting "another nearby repository" (Redman 2013, 24). A major component of research trips is "the interactions between researchers and archivists" which requires that outside scholars extend "dignity and respect" in an "ethically proper approach" as well as follow "a basic set of protocols" of the given institution such as using gloves for handling photographs (2013, 25; 29). Critical to any equitable, productive exchange is the preparation of an elevator talk which can enable archivists to offer research suggestions and become more invested in your work in the service of building long-term working relationships (2013).

This introduction has presented a layered overview of museum anthropology from a historical, theoretical and methodological perspective. Contextualizing the various phases of the development of the field of museum anthropology and of the changing dynamics of historically-contingent, object-mediated relationships between people, places and institutions within the larger backdrop of the anthropological discipline gave way to a critical narration of the history of, the disciplinary engagement with, and the methods used to approach the history of collecting. The following institutional case-studies will draw on different contexts in the history of the field and of museums, evolving understandings of object definitions and relationships in respects to but not only with human actors and varied methods of museum anthropological practice.

Chapter 2:

Collecting the Puerto Rican Colony: Spanish-American War Material Encounters Between Officer-Wives and Puerto Ricans

Abstract
Within a current moment characterized by widespread diaspora and debate about national identities, the American commonwealth of Puerto Rico stands at an economically perilous, politically liminal classificatory intersection as both American and a "cultural other." This chapter presents an on-the-ground, collection-oriented intervention for documenting and interpreting the origins of the island's complex colonial relationship with the United States. Tacking between objects, texts, and photographs, the historical context of the Spanish-American War is explored through the case-study of the Puerto Rican Ethnological Collection at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History (NMNH). The NMNH's assemblage reveals previously unrecognized intercultural exchanges between officer-wife collectors (collectors who are the wives of military officers stationed in Puerto Rico) and local makers. The perspectives of these two differentially disenfranchised, yet agential, groups, which formed part of the ideological formation of Puerto Rico within a nationalist museum imaginary, simultaneously reconstruct and complicate Puerto Rican narratives.

An orientation toward thinking with and along Puerto Rican archival and object sources introduces micro-scale, materially-informed approaches to the Spanish-American War as the militarized catalyst for the territorial exchange of Puerto Rico from Spain to the U.S. in 1898. This chapter illuminates the little-known relationship of two distinct, yet interrelated groups who participated in the creation and institutional acquisition of the Puerto Rican NMNH Ethnological Collection. The position of American officer-wives as museum collectors (and political agents) is evidenced by a personal collection of visual and written sources, while the local angle of Puerto Rican makers and their intercultural exchanges with collectors is demonstrated by detailed material analysis. Collections-based research re-positions Puerto Rican collections within a historical narrative both layered (through multiple lines of evidence) and balanced (with consideration to both Puerto Rican and the American perspectives). This paper builds on visual research emphasizing racialized constructions of Puerto Rico following American occupation (Duany 2002; Lloréns 2014; Suárez-Findlay 2000) as well as on Caribbean collections research, more broadly (DaRos and Colten 2009; Mason 1899; Meléndez-Maíz 1999; Modest 2012; Rodríguez 1993; Schiappacasse Rubio 2002; Velasquez 2001).

An explicit employment of objects as evidentiary departure points for inhabiting such large-scale processes of national formulation reverberates throughout the staged process of history-making. This material survey revisits "the moment of fact creation (the making of sources)" and "the moment of fact assembly (the making of archives)" in order to critically contribute to "the moment of fact retrieval (the making of narratives); and the moment of retrospective significance" (Trouillot 1995, 26). Museum collection itineraries were underpinned by the contextual backdrops of nineteenth and twentieth century U.S. expansionist projects and the subsequent engagement of artifact assemblages in crafting cultural 'others' in national imaginaries.[i] For example, Smithsonian Institution publications such as the *Instructions to Collectors of Historical and Anthropological specimens (especially designed for collectors in the*

insular possessions of the United States), written by William Henry Holmes, head curator of the Department of Anthropology and Otis Tufton Mason, curator of the Division of Ethnology, acknowledges the primacy of the military in collecting practice:

> it is clear that the Army and the Navy, and the diplomatic service are the best quipped agencies of the Government for the gathering of historical materials, and at the present time, as a result of the occupation of remote and little known territory, they are also the agencies to which the country must largely look for addition to its anthropological treasures. (1902, 3)

In this way, Spanish-American War era Puerto Rico can be re-framed as a "contact zone" that "existed in the production and movement of objects" and was not solely defined by "damaging, unequal relations of power" but also by "cross-cultural borrowing and stimulation, of the reassignment of old meaning to new forms of material culture and ways of life" (Peers 1999, 291). Locating this paper within a museum site attests to the use of early ethnological collections in the public promotion of American imperialist ideologies as well as in materializing otherwise invisible local maker agency within these constraints.[ii]

Spanish-American War Officer-Wives as Museum Collectors

This first section highlights the under-recognized role of American women in the creation and promulgation of the U.S. imperialist agenda – particularly, in justifying its Puerto Rican military occupation and political intervention – after the Spanish-American War. Discussion will focus on the historical figure of Helen Hamilton Gardener who is but one example of a contingent of women museum actors associated with the U.S. military through family relation or marriage who recorded, appraised, and collected Puerto Rico via photographs, texts, and objects. These assemblages allow us to begin to envision new, alternative forms of intercultural encounters between American women and local interlocutors, in situations other than war relief and journalism.[iii] A shift toward recognizing these women as key agents in the Spanish-American War draws our critical attention to the varied ways in which the popular perceptions of military encounters arose through the public exhibition of and material discourse on 'the other.'

According to accession records, the Puerto Rican Ethnology Collection at the National Museum of Natural History (NMNH) is the product of at least nineteen identifiable collectors who seem to have either personally or with the aid of local intermediaries acquired rural objects. These museum agents can be loosely organized into three groups based on their profession and the nature of their collecting practices. The groups consist of field archaeologists concentrated on copious artifact collection and corresponding typology classification such as Jesse Walter Fewkes (1850-1930) and his resulting 1907 publication, *The Aborigines of Puerto Rico and Neighboring Islands*; individuals to whom collecting was a secondary aim to either scientific or missionary endeavors like Arthur B. Baker (1858-1930) of the National Zoological Park and his 1898 expedition with the U.S. Fish Commission, as well as military-affiliated persons whose collecting practice can also be understood as circumstantial yet with uniquely political undertones.

This third and largest group, both in terms of the number of collectors and objects donated, were either government agents who appear to have collected objects during military campaigns from U.S. bases during and after the Spanish-American War. These collectors were comprised of U.S. officers, like General Joseph Cabell Breckinridge, an Inspector General of the

Army (1888-1904), or more commonly, their female family members and more specifically, their wives (e.g. Mrs. Helen Hamilton Gardener, Mrs. John R. Garrison, Mrs. Julian James, Mrs. Cassie M. Myers, and Mrs. David B. Karrick) (Dyal 1996).[iv] In an example of a particularly well-connected woman with many military affiliations, Mrs. Julian James (1851-1922), also known as Mrs. Cassie Mason Myers, was the wife of 2nd Lieutenant Julian James of the U.S. Army, daughter of Colonel Theodorus Bailey Myers, and sister of Lieutenant Commander Theodorus Bailey Myers Mason of the U.S. Navy.[v] The link between military wives and sustained museum collecting is evidenced, for instance, by Julian James' proposed establishment of the Smithsonian's First Ladies Collection (formed of inaugural day gowns donated by first ladies, a tradition that began in 1912 and continues today).

Helen Hamilton Gardener (1853-1925), is an emblematic example, as wife to Colonel Selden Allen Day, of the largest group of Smithsonian museum agents in Puerto Rico during the post Spanish-American War period. Indeed, her collecting appears to have been directly prompted by her husband's retirement from active duty in 1902 (following service in Puerto Rico) after which they began a six-year cruise to twenty countries throughout the Caribbean, the Pacific, Asia, Africa and Europe (*The New York Times* 1925). Born Alice Chenoweth in a plantation near Winchester, Virginia as one of six children to parents, Reverend Alfred Griffith and Katherine Peale Chenoweth, she was a prolific author, suffragist, and civil servant (James 1971). As the most well-documented officer-wife, her museum presence in relation to Puerto Rico is materialized in one hundred and fifty-five stereographs, twenty-three lecture index cards, and fourteen ethnological objects at the National Museum of Natural History (NMNH).

Imagining Puerto Rico: Helen Hamilton Gardener's Stereograph and Lecture Card Collection

In approaching Gardener's collecting legacy, it seems apt to begin with an examination of the extensive amount of photographic material for which she has been most credited before considering and ultimately re-assembling her other sources. The content of Gardener's Puerto Rican stereographs has been previously noted as significantly contrasted to the largest stereograph publisher during this period, Underwood & Underwood – which like many companies partook in a major push to publicly illustrate the Spanish-American War. In a comparison of ninety-eight Underwood & Underwood images and one hundred and fifty-five Gardener images, clear subject patterns emerge with Gardener's diverse photographic rendering of Puerto Rico in respects to such groups as women, people of mixed race and people of upper class (Duany 2002). While the more commercially oriented Underwood & Underwood typically pictured Puerto Rico as an island of natural landscapes devoid of human presence, Gardener favored visiting bustling settings with multiple, intersecting population viewpoints that showcased a range of gender, ethnic, and class variety. These observable trends bear important implications about Gardener's capacity to demonstrate complex human and environment realities. Her advantaged social position, as well as her husband's prominent military role in a then budding American administration in Puerto Rico, enabled exclusive island mobility and access.

Gardener's apparent social consciousness in revealing the diversity of Puerto Rican people (and landscapes) is perhaps best framed through a recognition of her activism in Washington, D.C. on behalf of a federal woman suffrage amendment. Through magazine articles, short stories, and books promoting women's rights by stressing the value of intellectual equality and education, her reputation became:

> known as that of a strong and powerful writer, whose well-sharpened pen has probed the deepest problems of life and has set forth remedies for some of its greatest evils…as a fearless champion of the right, undaunted by the overwhelming strength with which the wrong has been entrenched by the blunders and crimes of the ages (*Washington Post* 1902).

Though the tone of this character description might appear superfluous, Gardener was a vigorous suffrage lobbyist in the years following her marriage in 1902, as feminist political circles recruited her appreciating the power and potential of her social circles in advocating for their cause. She partook in numerous political activities from organizing a parade to bring suffrage petitions to Congress in 1910, to convincing Congressmen to send their constituents pro-suffrage speeches in 1912, to being elected as the vice chair of the National American Women's Suffrage Association in 1917 (James 1971, 13). In 1920, Gardener was appointed by President Woodrow Wilson to serve as the Federal Civil Service Commissioner which was "the highest position ever occupied by any woman in the United States Government" and a post she held for five years. What influences Gardener may have brought to her interactions with and representations of Puerto Rico was a deep engagement with social activism in regard to U.S. women's suffrage as well as intimate ties to Washington, D.C.'s government circles.

The need for American women's political action paralleled the related, though not equal societal disfranchisement of the Puerto Rican people under an American government and military dominated by white men. While research on the collecting of American women in the context of Spanish-American War has been underdeveloped, other groups of women and the concept of women, broadly speaking, as partisan symbols have been more extensively explored. Puerto Rican women have been portrayed as photographic and textual subjects of fascination through American racialized descriptions of their physical appearances (Thompson 2010, 50-60) as well as major policy target population during the Americanization process of Puerto Rico following the Spanish-American War (Briggs 2002; Suárez Findlay 1999). More importantly, Puerto Rico, and Latin America were frequently depicted as feminine figures in late nineteenth and early twentieth century cartoons. In this way, women and new colonial subjects like Puerto Ricans were coupled as inferior. These caricatures reinforced popular discourse defending U.S. imperialism as necessary civilized, white male paternalism (Johnson 1980; Thompson 2010, 45-50). Given the historically contingent intersections of race, gender, class, and ethnicity during this period, the interjection of U.S. officer-wife collectors into existing discussions of the Spanish-American War visual imaginings and material treatment of the 'other' advances a nuanced, layered reading of lived experiences.

Figure 1: Selection of Helen Hamilton Gardener's lecture notes on Puerto Rico.
(Photo lot 98, Helen Hamilton Gardener Photograph Collection, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.)

P. R. 3

Island Discovered – Nov. 16. 1493

Col. Ponce de Leon – Aguadilla.

Little smaller than Conn.

Population same as C. – 1.000.000

White – 589.426

Colored – 363.817

108 miles by 37–43 wide.

P. R. Sugar. 10

Tons to acre – 35 – 70

Pure sugar – 10 to 15 %

Ten tons cane 1 sugar. to 1½

Guanica Central. Men – 600

Own land tributary – approximately don't know

Pounds in 24 hrs. Million

From planting to sugar 14 months;

Replant 3 yrs [illegible].

P. R. 6

Good Things

America Has Done.

P. R. Bad 27

Political Experimental Station

Drunkenness.

Bad Manners – Superiority.

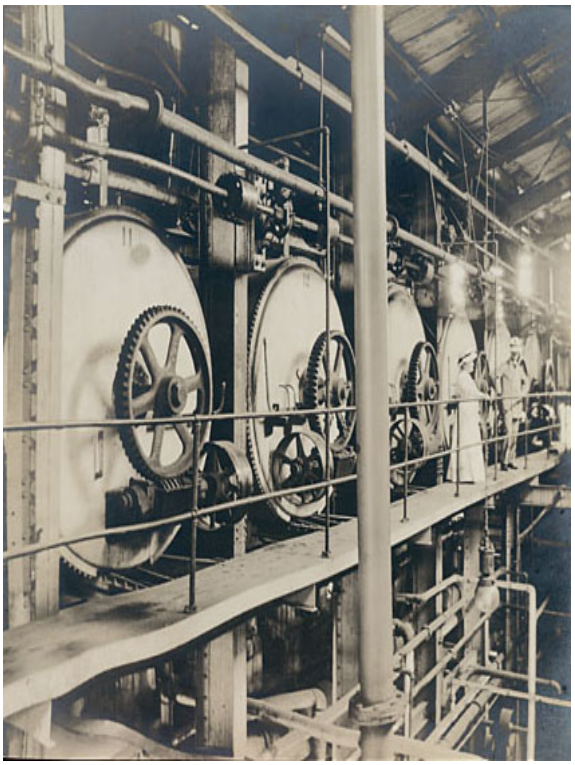
Teachers – "Independence."

Expect miracles, politically.

Gardener's Puerto Rican stereographs – however much representative – participated in the use of popular culture to promote U.S. exceptionalism during the Spanish-American War era (McCartney 2006, 165-173). This claim is evident in the content and the intention of her documentary records housed at the National Anthropological Archives. Her lecture card notes (Figure 1) establish Gardener's stereograph collection as a curated use of material culture for the purposes of an academic performance and the public exhibition of Puerto Rico. Each card has the designation "P.R" on the upper left corner indicating the island as one site within a vaster geographic project. This conclusion is supported by the correlation of the dates of Gardener's six-year world tour with her husband and her estate's later donation of objects from different countries to the NMNH (then the National Museum). The overall tone and diction of these cards reflect Gardener's identification of her work as public service. For instance, one card reads, "The Public certainly needs education in the direction of Porto Rican conditions." Her lecture on "Education" evaluates the social landscape (which includes historical remarks focusing on Spain and slavery, population demographics, infrastructure statistics, and economic data about major crops including sugar and coffee), and also consists of offensive evaluations of the local Puerto Ricans' character, whose "bad" traits are listed as "drunkenness," "bad manners," "superiority," and "independence."

Gardener's lecture series can be situated within a larger male-dominated repertoire of political speeches and sermons as well as published works that included "poems, songs, plays, and novels" (McCartney 2006). In addition to presenting the economic promise of existing agricultural economies through scenes of cattle, harvested fields, and processing factories, Gardener paints the U.S. as the incoming provider of progress and civilization. She included images underlining growing forms of transportation and communication, like that of the wireless telegraph aboard the S.S. Coamo steamship in 1909 (Figure 2). Transitioning from previous publicly backing of women's rights with, for instance, a lecture entitled "Sex in the Brain" at the 1888 International Council of Women, Gardener's later speaking events authorized her as a subject matter expert on Puerto Rico by employing her first-hand accounts of the island.[vi]

Figure 2: Selection of Helen Hamilton Gardener's stereographs of Puerto Rico.
(Photo lot 98, Helen Hamilton Gardener Photograph Collection, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.



Her informal cultural ambassador status is clear in stereographs as she inserts herself with her husband in military environments like forts and adjacent to weapons (Figure 3).[vii] The wide scope of Gardener's stereographic subjects assumes new sets of meaning when paired with the nationalist language of military rationale in the context of new American authority over Puerto Rico. Characteristic in part of upper-class status and foreign consumption (McCoy and Scarano 2009, 248-259), Helen Hamilton Gardener's stereographs and lecture records promulgated Spanish-American War era visions of Puerto Rico as a recently acquired and consumable territory. These imaginings of place are primarily one-way, biased perspectives of Puerto Ricans by incoming Americans, yet the ethnographic objects that Gardener and other officer-wives collected offer an untapped lens into the local maker side of this militarized collecting encounter. An alternative though complementary examination of Gardener's documentary collection – that acts in conversation with objects – addresses historical silences of intercultural encounter.

Figure 3: Helen Hamilton Gardener and husband on visits to Puerto Rico.
(Photo Lot 97 DOE South America: Puerto Rico: General: NM 90351 04344000, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution).

Re-Entangling the Histories of Puerto Rican Ethnological and American Officer Collections

Museum object narratives are relationally constructed, in part, by cataloguing systems that coalesce their histories of "engagements with otherness" with those of "documentation, authority and control" (Turner 2016, 102). Interestingly enough, there is a considerable institutional obscurity of the Spanish-American War context that gave rise to the NMNH's Puerto Rican Ethnology Collection. While all museum objects can in a sense be perceived as removed from their original context, the Puerto Rican objects in question seemingly underwent a more explicit cataloguing division from their chapter of U.S. history.

According to Smithsonian accession records, Spanish-American War affiliated material (including that gifted by officer-wives in the years succeeding the conflict) was designated to the

National Museum of American History (NMAH) while Puerto Rican ethnographic material collected from the same period was allotted to the NMNH. The earliest related officer accession example in 1899 from ethnologist Paul Beckwith was comprised of objects like U.S. regimental insignia (e.g. infantry, artillery, and navy), gun cartridges and a cannon wrench, a ship bolt, peso coins and lottery tickets. Museum classification would split Puerto Rican ethnographic objects (also acquired by Beckwith and in later years, officer-wives) from their militarized acquisition setting – that was signaled by material interfaces or the objects officers wore on a daily basis, used in combat, needed to travel, and exchanged with local people on the island.

Indeed, the claiming of Puerto Rico as a U.S. territory is symbolized by one NMAH object that was donated to the National Museum (USNM) by Helen Hamilton Gardener in 1925 – an American flag. Gardener's husband, Lieutenant Colonel Selden Allen Day, was a Civil War veteran who "commanded the first troops that entered Puerto Rico, and raised the first official flag that floated in the island" (*Washington Post* 1902). In a letter dated December 30, 1925 to Mr. Ravanel of the USNM's Division of History, the flag is described as "a regulation United States flag, 56 x 78 inches in size…originally owned by Major S.A. Day of the Fifth U.S. Artillery" – that has an attached inscribed card stating "This flag was the first of its kind ever raised over a public building in Porto Rico Customs House, Ponce, July 28, 1898". [viii] The American flag had a great political salience after the Spanish-American War as a physical "emblem" of the U.S.'s "rightful" presence in Puerto Rico – according to a speech by President William McKinley in 1900 validating military intervention and occupation as "duty":

> The flag of the Republic now floats over those islands as an emblem of rightful sovereignty. Will the Republic stay and dispense to their inhabitants the blessings of liberty, education and free institutions, or steal away, leaving them to anarchy or imperialism? The Americans question is between duty and desertion – the American verdict will be duty against desertion, for the Republic will be for duty against desertion, for the Republic against anarchy and imperialism
> (McCartney 2006, 271).

There is a certain degree of irony here given the nationalist rhetoric reminiscent of Gardener's lecture cards and the regarding of the U.S. flag as a sign of "the American verdict…against desertion" juxtaposed with the institutional fragmentation of Puerto Rican ethnographic material – physically from officer material and metaphorically from U.S. history.

The treatment of Puerto Rican collections at the Smithsonian Institution in the nineteenth century typifies a general museum tendency to define the Caribbean as natural as opposed to cultural (Modest 2012). While museum reasoning for the decontextualization from the Spanish-American War is not expounded upon in institutional documentation, what is clear is that after estate bequests to the USNM, the personal effects of American officer-wives (and their families) were sorted into the Division of History while most Puerto Rican material was sorted into the Division of Ethnology. Despite a major chronological gap between the 1910 and 1964 respective establishments of the NMNH and the NMAH, ethnology objects became NMNH collections and history objects became NMAH collections. The tangible merging of Puerto Rican objects with biological specimens did not only equate a shared location today at the NMNH but also a shared ledger-style cataloguing system that was originally developed for various animal and osteological specimen (Greene 2016, 149). Although the decisive end of the Spanish-American War formally transferred the island to the U.S., Puerto Rican objects, unlike officer material,

were ultimately not 'American' ones. The connotations of past Puerto Rican museum classification evoke contemporary debates on the island's status in relation to the U.S.

The visual and rhetorical propaganda of the Spanish-American War era draws customary yet simplified binary interpretations of Americans as either "humanitarian pragmatists" or "greedy racists" (McCartney 2006, 6). Figures like Helen Hamilton Gardener though provide examples of complex motives for officer-wives during this period as both social activists and political spokespeople. Through museum collecting and public speaking efforts rooted in travel experiences, women collectors empowered themselves to contribute to shaping imaginings of Puerto Rico in emerging museum institutions and in political thought. Pictorial and archival evidence of American women and Puerto Rican interaction mostly reveals the former's social privilege, collecting aesthetic, and agenda. In the next section's move from collections which abstractly signify Puerto Rico in image and text to those which are directly crafted on the island by its people, what will begin to emerge is a balanced look at the mutual, though not even, material interdependence between collectors and makers. The practical reality of this co-dependence for the American officer-wives is shown in one of Helen Hamilton Gardener's stereographs (Figure 4) of two unidentified, local Puerto Rican men – barefoot and wearing light clothing with wet pantlegs – in the process of carrying two women in long, heavy gowns from a small docked sailboat onto the nearby sandy island coast. While certainly a strikingly acute display of the unequal power differential of the colonial relationships which characterize early museum collecting, this scene foregrounds two under-studied, yet co-constructing human sides of the historical equation of the Spanish-American War.

Figure 4: Scene of local men carrying an American group from boat.
(Photo lot 98, Helen Hamilton Gardener Photograph Collection, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.)

Materializing Puerto Rico: Miniatures and Island Makers

While the previous section focused on the backgrounds, motivations, and implications of American – specifically Spanish-American War officer-wives – collectors, this section turns our attention towards objects and the people who produced them. Standing at fourteen inches tall with a thatched roof, royal palm walls, and eighteen miniatures inside, a painted wooden-framed model of a one-room country house, or a *bohío*, is one of the most fascinating artifacts in the Puerto Rican Ethnological Collection at the National Museum of Natural History (Figure 5). According to accession records, the model was purchased at a Puerto Rican miniatures store by officer-wife, Mrs. John R. Garrison of Washington following her husband's appointment as auditor of the island by President McKinley in 1900. It was donated to the USNM in 1912 and like most Puerto Rican ethnological material, came to be housed at the NMNH. What follows is an analysis of the model house and the ways in which it materially indexes a Puerto Rican perspective that, while previously marginalized, has been described in recent historiography as a valuable "from below" angle that counters American-centric narratives (Ayala and Bernabe 2007).

Figure 5: Puerto Rican house model.
(E272277, Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution.)

The material composition of the Puerto Rican model house or *bohío* offers a micro-historical stance from which we can discern usually inaccessible information about local makers and the social dynamics that shaped intercultural communication between Puerto Rican and Americans. To begin with, despite its size, the model house – with its four levels of complex

thatch roofing and use of a wooden frame covered by the bark layers of a royal palm - seems to be a faithful rendering of local construction techniques and materials. This observation is supported by visual comparisons to archival photos of Puerto Rican *bohios* from the same period (Figure 6). The model house is even raised above the ground like a typical *bohío* to protect its inhabitants against insects and flooding. This suggests not only that the maker was a specialist who understood the manufacturing process (and could replicate it in miniature), but also that she or he had access to the necessary island building materials.

Figure 6: Puerto Rican bohío or country house.
(National Anthropological Archives INV 1000210, Smithsonian Institution.)

Overall, Puerto Rican miniatures are rare in North American museums though its ethnological collections outside of the island are rarer still. Miniaturization has wider salience from its evocative, cross-cultural instances throughout human experience (Mack 2007) and theoretical ties to souvenir collecting as a method of "worlding" (Stewart 1993) to use in editorial cartoons from the Spanish-American War era depicting Puerto Rico as a child in association with an adult Uncle Sam figure (Johnson 1980). The historicized politics of miniaturization at the time of the model house's acquisition reflected American paternalistic rhetoric:

> The father who wishes his son to learn how to swim does not row him all-day upon the lake, but puts him into the water and the child's fear of drowning will stimulate to those exercises which lead to the art of swimming. Let Porto Rico have local self-government after the pattern by our Territories and she will gain by our blunders just as cities and States in our own glorious Republic are constantly learning (Luque de Sanchez 1980, 89).

Despite the derogatory inferences of miniaturization during this period, the model house provides unintentional ethnographic insights that transcend American caricatures of Puerto Rico. However, the model house was engendered to materialize American concepts of Puerto Rico, its production reveals under-examined scenes of intercultural commerce. It is clear that the local maker(s) adapted specific architectural elements for their intended audience, although it remains uncertain as to whether the object was commissioned principally for the museum collector, Mrs. Garrison, or was an object generally available for American (or perhaps, even earlier, Spanish) consumption. In speculating about how Mrs. Garrison would have engaged with collecting practice, we can return to Holmes and Mason's *Instructions to Collectors* which directly encouraged the acquisition of models for practical space reasons and cost concerns. They state an implicit quality preference for locally made goods as:

> the limitations of space in the National Museum have always to be considered. Large objects may be represented by models (house, 1/24, boats, 1/12), and these can be constructed by Museum experts if photographs, sketches, and notes are secured. It is not unusual, however, that native artisans are clever at making models on a small scale. (1902, 3-4)

Tacking between the model house and the stereographs of fellow U.S. officer wife, Helen Hamilton Gardener, we find strong evidence of the workmanship of the "native artisans" referenced above.

The physical backdrops of Gardener's images locate the sites that U.S. women collectors during this period may have been visiting in Puerto Rico. These include, but are limited to, agricultural fields, plantation mills, industrial schools, hospitals, and prisons. One such scene is the interior workroom of an industrial school in which young boys are seen executing various carpentry tasks related to the making of chairs and tables (Figure 7). In the background of the image, there is a suited male child who is distinguished from the others due to his clothing and upright stance looking forward in the direction of the camera. Behind him, there is a model house resting on a high table that appears identical to the model house under discussion with the exception of the placement and shape of its door (at the side as opposed to centered and rounded as opposed to rectangular). Additionally, in the left-hand corner of the image, there are two model house wooden frames hanging against the wall. In Gardener's evincing of the potential of the island workforce for her lecture spectators, this stereograph substantiates the presence of non-traditional maker communities that also consisted of male prisoners as basket makers (Figure 7). What Mrs. Garrison labels as a miniatures store in accession records may have been a non-pictured area of the school that sold samples of the children's work. If the industrial school was an established stop on the travel trajectories of officer-wives in Puerto Rico, we might expect that the school would have materials especially prepared for sale to the tourist crowd. The NMNH model house may be the result then of otherwise invisible child labor.

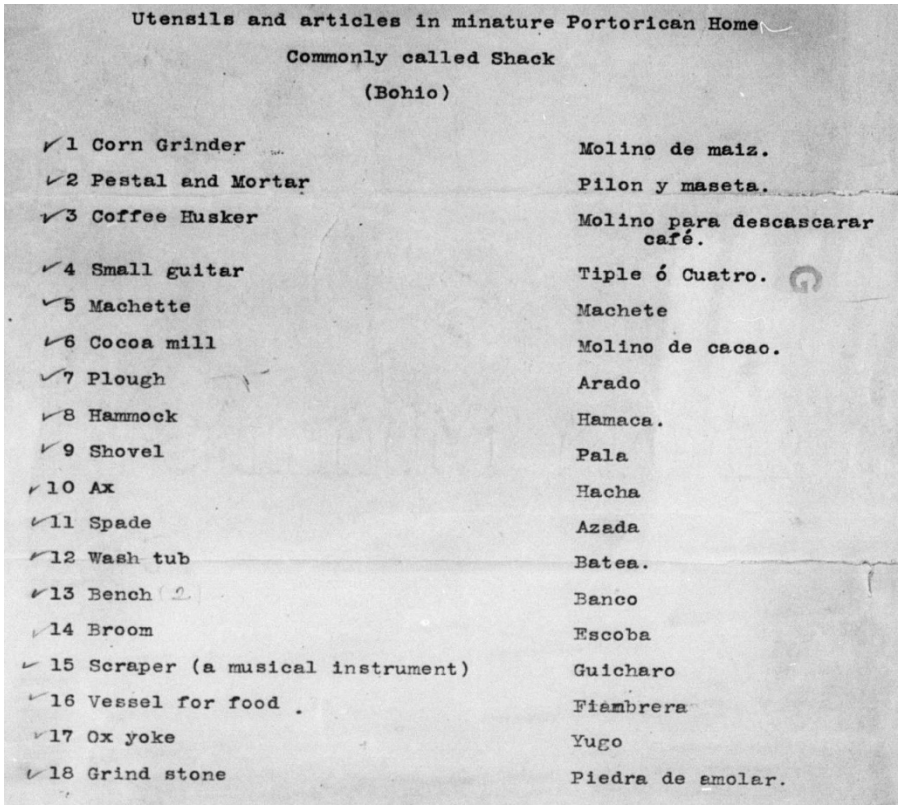
Figure 7: Non-traditional Puerto Rican maker communities.
(Photo lot 98, Helen Hamilton Gardener Photograph Collection, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.)

While there is not substantial documentation of officer-wife and Puerto Rican contact, there are indirect traces as well as precedents from earlier militarized U.S. presence on the island. Based on the claim that officer-wives may have followed similar visitor itineraries in Puerto Rico, the stereographs and lecture notes of the most materially prolific officer-wife Mrs. Gardener make clear that officer-wives were at the very least exposed to views of local people. These scenes included Puerto Ricans working in fields and participating in military parades, traveling with storage vessels in baskets and other well-dressed passengers (via pack animal, horse carriage, or train), as well as buying and selling goods from stores and outdoor market stalls. While Gardener's lecture notes do not include references, the level of detail points to more than a passing acquaintance with the island, even her mentioning the economic value of straw hats for export. Moreover, accession records associated with the model house include a bilingual inventory (Figure 8) of its miniature components that suggests some level of dialogue between local maker(s) and the collector, Mrs. Garrison. [ix] This invoice conformed to Smithsonian instructions that "each object should bear a collector's number and this should correspond with a number in the collector's notebook" (Holmes and Mason 1902, 6). The practice of Spanish-English translations followed earlier U.S. officers' field communication with Puerto Ricans through third party interpreters as well as handy published officer materials like the "Pamphlet, Spanish & English Vocabulary" (Picó 1987, 99).[x]

Scrutiny of the model house highlights technological decisions that were arguably made to accommodate the U.S. tourist gaze and fit museum convention. Mrs. Garrison's model house is aesthetically pleasing with painted yellow wall trimmings and a red base. Miniature household objects are posed in an almost museological fashion with a diversity of arrangements: either nailed to the floorboards, hung from the walls attached to a piece of rope cord, or freely placed inside the house (Figure 9). Some of these miniature objects (e.g. corn grinder, mortar and pestle, grind stone) are associated with cooking activities and seemingly substitute the side kitchen structure that is often visible in archival photographs of *bohios*. The NMNH's Puerto Rican Ethnology Collection also contains objects that are related to kitchen activities (e.g. miniature stove and boiling pots) and appear to materially reference the physical space of a *bohío*.[xi] This deduction is supported by accession records which remark, "Cooking is done by native outside of house. Send also a model of native stove." With this, there is a pattern of resemblance (e.g. agricultural tools, storage vessels, and musical instruments) between the objects in the model

house and in the remainder of the Puerto Rican NMNH Ethnology Collection. Together, they are emblematic of an American pastoral vision of the island during the Spanish-American War era.

Figure 8: "Utensils and articles in miniature Portorican Home…Commonly called Shack (Bohio)."(Accession 053560, Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution).



Utensils and articles in minature Portorican Home
Commonly called Shack
(Bohio)

1 Corn Grinder	Molino de maiz.
2 Pestal and Mortar	Pilon y maseta.
3 Coffee Husker	Molino para descascarar café.
4 Small guitar	Tiple ó Cuatro.
5 Machette	Machete
6 Cocoa mill	Molino de cacao.
7 Plough	Arado
8 Hammock	Hamaca.
9 Shovel	Pala
10 Ax	Hacha
11 Spade	Azada
12 Wash tub	Batea.
13 Bench	Banco
14 Broom	Escoba
15 Scraper (a musical instrument)	Guicharo
16 Vessel for food	Fiambrera
17 Ox yoke	Yugo
18 Grind stone	Piedra de amolar.

Local technological choices demonstrate not only the adaptation of Puerto Ricans to a new souvenir market of American consumers, but also a materially consistent NMNH Ethnology Collection that imagines the Caribbean island as a simple, static agricultural society. The very modelling of a traditional *bohío* – rather than later versions "made of native or imported wood…roofed with tin and having a simple gable or inclined roof" or the post-1900 American introduced architectural styles of "bungalow, neoclassic and later on 'Spanish' revival" – is noteworthy (Colom 2003, 9; 16). Originated by indigenous peoples and used on the island until around 1950, the *bohío* was linked to landless peasants, often called *jíbaros,* because it was "easily erectable, wholly biodegradable, and nearly free" (Colom 2003, 5). This exhibition of Puerto Rico reified Spanish-American War arguments for its acquisition and the subsequent museum partition from U.S. officer material. Without collector research which connects recorded figures like Helen Hamilton Gardener to the U.S. military and the American occupation of Puerto Rico, the island's NMNH ethnology assemblage, including but not limited to carved gourds (e.g. cups, bowls, and rattles), straw hats and bags, and plain earthenware pottery, stands as a detached selection of rural household objects.

Figure 9: Views of model house interior.
(E272277, Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution.)

In contrast to the range of social classes in Gardener's stereographs, Puerto Rican objects associated with urban upper classes, despite their material and maker, were housed by the nationality of their users in NMAH. For example, in a 1925 bequest to the USNM, officer-wife Mrs. Julian James donated such objects as "a native Porto Rican desk of Porto Rican mahogany grown on the plantation" and "crochet work made by Iona, a native Porto Rican."[xii] These NMAH objects testify to earlier 19th century episodes of intertwined U.S.-Puerto Rican political contact and material transactions as Julian James' father, Sidney Mason was the first American Consul to Puerto Rico under President Andrew Jackson. Moreover, material like that of her mother, Maria Dorado Mason's silk dresses, long ball gloves, and satin slippers, described in accession records as clothing for island "court functions," convey opulent Puerto Rican social worlds that prominent American women took part in even prior to the outbreak of the Spanish-American War.

Object analysis of the model house materializes signs of local agency. There is a sizeable measure of resourcefulness and flexibility in the selection of recycled raw materials used in the building of the model house (Figure 10). The house's legs are sewing thimbles. Its wooden base is a wall from a wooden crate. Miniature ceramics food vessels are represented by nuts with their tops chopped off. The stone in the miniature grind stone is a rounded whiteware pottery sherd. Thin sheets of tin were manipulated for door and window clasps as well as miniature metal implements. There is a miniature *güiro*, or gourd percussion instrument that has, instead of the parallel etched notches of its life-sized counterparts in the NMNH ethnology collection, darkly drawn pencil lines. There is also a miniature *tiple* or *cuatro* guitar which has a small, frayed red ribbon piece loosely tied around its neck that is an added elaboration absent from its counterparts in the NMNH ethnology collection. While these material choices may partly be a reflection of the economic circumstances of makers, they shed light on local emergent, likely improvised

creativity within what appears to be a nascent U.S. tourist market in Puerto Rico. This inventive (re)use of material and architectural experimentation – respectively also evident in late nineteenth century North American fur trade contexts and the Smithsonian's commissioning of Kiowa tipi models – suggests "positive and creative social relations" with women collectors that granted makers some degree of autonomy, however subtle, in developing networks of consumption with the U.S. (Marr 2015; Peers 1999, 264).

Figure 10: Details of model house miniature objects.
(E272277, Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution.)

Analysis of the model house reveals a range of manufacturing decisions made by the Puerto Rican maker(s): technical expertise, miniaturization and an ad hoc use of material. An implicit appreciation of local craftsmanship among women collectors is discernible in a final assessment of Gardener's stereographs that may gesture to standard officer-wife preferences. In her island survey, Gardener annotated the "details of coconut palm tree"—such as the display of

its cultivation in agricultural fields or in its finished forms on furniture—thereby uniting raw material and its functions in images with such descriptions as: "Sanseviera plant leaves and fiber, used in textile making." Her interest in material and process most strikingly came together in a stereograph titled, "Weaving 'Panama' Hats: Learning the Stitch," in which a seated Gardener is shown with magnifying glasses observing a young Puerto Rican woman weaving (Figure 11). Her recording of craft traditions is complemented by her collecting of two unmade straw hats which are catalogued in the NMNH – one of which may be the partially woven hat in the stereograph.[xiii]

Figure 11: Helen Hamilton Gardener observing hat weaving, and a straw hat in progress.
(Left: Photo lot 98, Helen Hamilton Gardener photograph collection, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.
Right: 329852, Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution.)

Thus, the model house and Puerto Rican Ethnological Collection at NMNH concurrently staged not only the collecting directives of emerging museum institutions and the resulting politicized representations of a rural, disadvantaged Puerto Rico but also new, co-producing empowering spaces for U.S. mainland women as collectors and Puerto Ricans as makers. Detailed material analysis complicates traditional characterizations of unnamed makers in anthropological collections and reorients Puerto Rican material within the militarized context of a relationship with the U.S. based on mainland extraction and island inventiveness.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the ways in which museum collections can be mobilized as data in historical research by considering how the circumstances of their acquisition and the material composition of their holdings together constitute layered representations that can range from

imagined to nuanced narration. My discussion focused on unraveling the Spanish-American War context of the Puerto Rican Ethnology Collection at the NMNH. Pictorial, text, and object records served as interpretive lenses for examining the institutionally silenced collecting encounters between U.S. officer-wife collectors and local Puerto Rican people. I found object acquisition (and especially later public interpretation) in early museum settings to be an agentive platform for disenfranchised American women like Helen Hamilton Gardener to utilize their personal travels and their husbands' military connections to access an otherwise unattainable political world. Conversely, an evaluation of object production foregrounded the oft-hidden roles of varied makers, particularly in terms of the ingenuity of their construction strategies in the face of written accounts that typically only center collector expectations and museum conventions.

The model house example epitomizes the fallacy of singularly understanding contact zone objects as tangible reifications of prejudiced representations. Although U.S. officer material is generally divided from its Puerto Rican ethnological counterparts through its housing in different museums with varying disciplinary foci, this chapter reunited collections in a revised, more inclusive history. Recontextualizing the model house within the larger collection of Puerto Rican images and objects at the NMNH and NMAH showcases the island's social complexity beyond that of the American mainland vision of Puerto Rico as an impoverished country subject.

Museum assemblages materialize both the large-scale driving forces of history and the often-overlooked specifics of particular contexts that comprise distinct institutional chapters of intercultural exchange. In future research, I plan to continue to explore and to elucidate the roots of the evolving U.S.–Puerto Rico dilemma through a multi-sited approach to the history of American museum collection in and representation of the island. In a national political climate where perceived "otherness" can equate with precarity, Puerto Rican objects, much like Puerto Rican people, have and continue to occupy an in-between status as part *of*, yet set apart *from*, the United States. Museum narratives have a responsibility, then, to the present to populate the past with a diversity of human experience, both its privilege and its marginalization, that evidences long-standing connections rather than walls between places, people, and objects.

Chapter 3:

From Puerto Rico to the Peabody: Puerto Ricans as Architects of the Samuel Kirkland Lothrop Collection

Abstract
In the years following Puerto Rico's transfer to the United States at the end of the 1898 Spanish-American War, the newly acquired Caribbean territory became an early site of great research interest for collectors and emerging U.S. museum institutions.

Archaeologist Samuel Kirkland Lothrop (1892-1965) working in association with Harvard's Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (PMAE) between 1915-1917 is one such case-study. Lothrop was the son of a prominent sugar plantation owner which provided him with a unique level of access to coastal midden deposits that were often only recognized after plowing as well as to local workers who likely served as labor in field excavations. Together with his life-long experience traveling the island, these affordances index not only Lothrop's privileged social positioning but also a broader historical chapter of U.S. mainland-Puerto Rico relations during which American businesses overran the local economy - transforming it into a dependent monoculture society.

Tacking between the resulting archaeological collection and related archival material, this paper reconstructs the layered island network of farmers, plantation workers, collectors and intellectuals that not only made Lothrop's acquisition of a Puerto Rican collection possible but also significantly framed his academic understandings of how such objects were representative of the island's pre-contact period. In this way, the paper endeavors to expand the typically narrow category of museum agents - beyond that of named collectors - to include and more importantly, to foreground the understudied, yet critical contributions of local actors to institutional collecting of and narrative traditions about the Caribbean.

Collector/ing in the Cane: Plantation as Field Site

Reinstating the plantation as field site[xiv] is a critical point of narrative departure in this institutional case-study because the early 20th century, U.S.-financed sugar plantation industry materially intersects with the identity of the collector, the practice of collecting and the multiple layers of subsequent local community erasure in the historical record that has implications for the role of university museums and more specifically, for the Harvard-Puerto Rico relationship that persist into present-day engagement and discourse.

The archaeological archive surrounding the Samuel Kirkland Lothrop Puerto Rican collection at Harvard's Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology - from his personal fieldwork documentation to the university museum's official records - obscures the collection's acquisition context. In itself, this is not a unique collection classification reality for museum institutions in general or Puerto Rican collections in particular as evidenced by the previous collections chapter with the separation of the Spanish-American War context from officer wife-attributed ethnological collections - both archivally and in physical housing locations. To the best extent of the author's knowledge of available primary sources and related secondary literature, there have only been two direct references to Lothrop's personal connection to the Puerto Rican sugar plantation industry and how it provided unique affordances in his role as a collector on the island. They are both secondary sources: a 1976 biographical memoir of Lothrop's disciplinary

contributions by Gordon Willey and a 1952 contribution to the archaeological publication series, *Scientific Survey of Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands* by Irving Rouse. These references are brief but very telling through nuanced readings.

Willey's singular biographical detail about Lothrop's father begins to unpack the layers of historical context that situate Harvard's Puerto Rican collection. On the first page in one sentence, Willey states in passing: "Young Samuel spent his childhood in Massachusetts and Puerto Rico, his father having sugar interests on that island at the turn of the century" (1976, 253). The sentence is part of a brief summary - confined to the first page of the memoir - of Lothrop's childhood which is otherwise framed in terms of his time at a private, boarding school in Groton, Massachusetts where it was said that he may have first become interested in the field of archaeology as the result of the influence of his friendship with a classmate named William Crocker whose father "was a collector of antiquities of all kinds" (1976, 253). This summary - indexing both Lothrop's deep family roots to Massachusetts and his privileged background as apparent by the nature of his schooling - is part of the Willey's lead-up to Lothrop's time at Harvard. Indeed, Harvard was key as the site of his formal training in archaeology both as an undergraduate and a graduate student. The allusion to an early acquaintance with a private collector and the resulting awareness of the acquisition of antiquities for domestic settings would foreshadow a type of named local networks that Lothrop would depend on as a collector in Puerto Rico. Lothrop was shaped by these experiences on plantations and with object collections.

Figure 12: Puerto Rican sugar plantation factory and field.
(Left: Photo Lot 97 DOE So Amer: Puerto Rico: General: NM 90351 04348800, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.
Right: Photo Lot 97 DOE So Amer: Puerto Rico: General: NM 90351 04340800, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.)

How can we begin to conceive of Lothrop's childhood in Puerto Rico? We might imagine that he grew familiar with the island's geography and regional place names as he traveled by horse, carriage and railroad. We might imagine that he grew to understand sugar cultivation from the human work in the fields to the mechanized labor of the factories as he witnessed the growing complexity of plantation life. We might imagine that he grew to know local people from those who worked with or for his father as well as children his own age as the plantation became less of an industrialized work site and more of a company town. More broadly speaking, his childhood can be posited within the historical chapter of U.S.-Puerto Rico relations that follows the establishment of U.S. military rule and start of tourist collecting trips by stateside women affiliated with the military and new administration. In the aftermath of the U.S. occupation of the island, American influence took on new economic forms and was increasingly materialized by the large-scale purchase of the island's farmland by corporations that in turn, constructed large sugar mills or *centrales* (Figure 12). Unlike in the neighboring Caribbean island of Cuba, the Puerto Rican sugar boom thus came under American not Spanish imperialism (1990, 207). These *centrales* provided raw materials for mainland sugar refineries which meant that in terms of their island impact, they "did little to nurture Puerto Rican entrepreneurs and island industries" (Rogoiński 1990, 86; 287). For example, "under American rule after 1898 sugar regularly constituted more than 50 per cent of the exports of Puerto Rico" while previous major exports like coffee and tobacco steadily declined with coffee becoming an import (Williams 1970, 439). Within the first half of the 20th century, Puerto Rican economy was transformed by the imposed dominance of one crop or as one writer described it: "sugar is everything and everything is sugar; it is the goddess that reigns over practically one-third of the private wealth" (1970, 442).

With this, the U.S. forever changed the Puerto Rican economy from that of a diverse, self-sustaining entity to that of a stateside-dependent monoculture. The reverberations of this shift continue to have a toll today as critical disaster relief aid from the American mainland - due to the island reliance on imports and the destruction of existing agricultural fields - was delayed after the 2017 landfall of Hurricane Maria. This major economic transition along with later national legislation - especially that of the 1920 Jones Act which mandated that all shipping between American coasts be conducted only by American boats - had significant limiting effects on Puerto Rico's inter-and intra- material relation capacity (Begley 2017). As a result, local grassroots groups currently seek to turn back to small-scale farming economies and indigenous crop variation as a strategy of economic sovereignty and of climate resilience (Adler 2018)

To elucidate the role of Lothrop's father and his sugar interests, broader historical literature on Caribbean history and Puerto Rican sugar plantations becomes necessary. Lothrop's father, William Sturgis Hooper Lothrop (1870-1905), was one of the co-founders of the Aguirre Sugar Company which was one of the most powerful American sugar corporations in early 20th century Puerto Rico. For reference, by the 1930s, 60% of Puerto Rico's total sugar production was monopolized by 4 major U.S.-controlled companies due to lucrative partnerships maintained between bank directors and oil refiners (Williams 1970, 430). The Aguirre Sugar Company was founded by Lothrop's father, Henry De Ford, Francis Dumaresq, and John Dandrige Henley Luce. Lothrop senior and Luce had received training in the foreign banking departments of the well-known Boston banking house of Kidder, Peabody and Company, while De Ford and Dumaresq were Boston sugar brokers. After 1898, they traveled to Puerto Rico to make their fortune and established a partnership through a banking firm, De Ford and Company. In its heyday, their resulting business "owned nearly 25,000 acres and leased a further 18,000," of arable land "owned 17 miles of railroad," to transport their goods and maintained "a

capitalization of over $3 ½ million in common stock, had assets of $19 ½ million, of which half was in plants and properties" (1970, 430; 435). What is clear from this historical data is that Lothrop's father had more than just sugar interests as he was in fact, an important American figure in promoting the rise of sugar production on the island with a corporate plantation business that was a leader in the economic sector and became substantially lucrative over time.

Figure 13: *Taíno*: *Native Heritage and Identity in the Caribbean* exhibit, National Museum of the American Indian, New York.
(Photo courtesy of author.)

In recollecting the context of Harvard's Puerto Rican collection, a historical moment of the American restructuring of the Puerto Rican economy emerges into view. Before turning to how the sugar industry and Lothrop's father converge with Lothrop and his collecting in the island, it is useful to reflect not only on what was changed and gained in this moment but also and perhaps, more importantly on what was lost. The above staged Underwood & Underwood stereograph of the Puerto Rican countryside in the early 1900s begins to address that question: in its content and its context (Figure 13). A family group and a dog are positioned in front of a home, a thatch roof and wooden-framed dwelling, commonly referred to as a *bohío*. As a museum anthropologist, the image is striking to me considering the broader repertoire of U.S. mainland representations of Puerto Rico during this period - in its centering of human actors rather than barren landscapes. I have previously presented in chapter 2 on how Puerto Rican ethnological object and archival collections are often dominated by a pastoral trope in service of U.S. interventionist arguments. As part of a second generation of stateside diaspora, the image is also striking to me as the physical landscape is immediately recognizable as the familiar interior mountainous backdrop of many family photographs of the island. The image context is layered. The stereograph was on exhibition in 2019 as part of: *Taíno: Native Heritage and Identity in the*

Caribbean at the National Museum of the American Indian in New York. Its label gestures to the image's background where the chimney of a sugar mill among other plantation infrastructure looms behind the foregrounded domestic scene and describes how the sugar industry displaced many rural Puerto Ricans. Indeed, the *colono* or the small cane farmer has been referred to as a "casualty of the American system of production" as corporations took hold of most of available acres and sugar profit with large-scale plantations (Williams 1970, 430). Economic pressures and new development were among the causes of my family's own migration to the city of San Juan and New York decades later. Displayed in an exhibit that complicates historical understandings and scholarly definitions of indigeneity, the stereograph indexes intrusions to community-based systems of knowledge and local practice. In terms of the Lothrop collection, the space of the sugar plantation - as will be outlined - was ultimately an academically generative one that was opportunistically benefitting from the advantages of its collector's social status, and yet, it is worth remembering that the industrial context that came to help establish the Puerto Rican archaeological holdings at Harvard simultaneously inspired a sustained process of erasure.

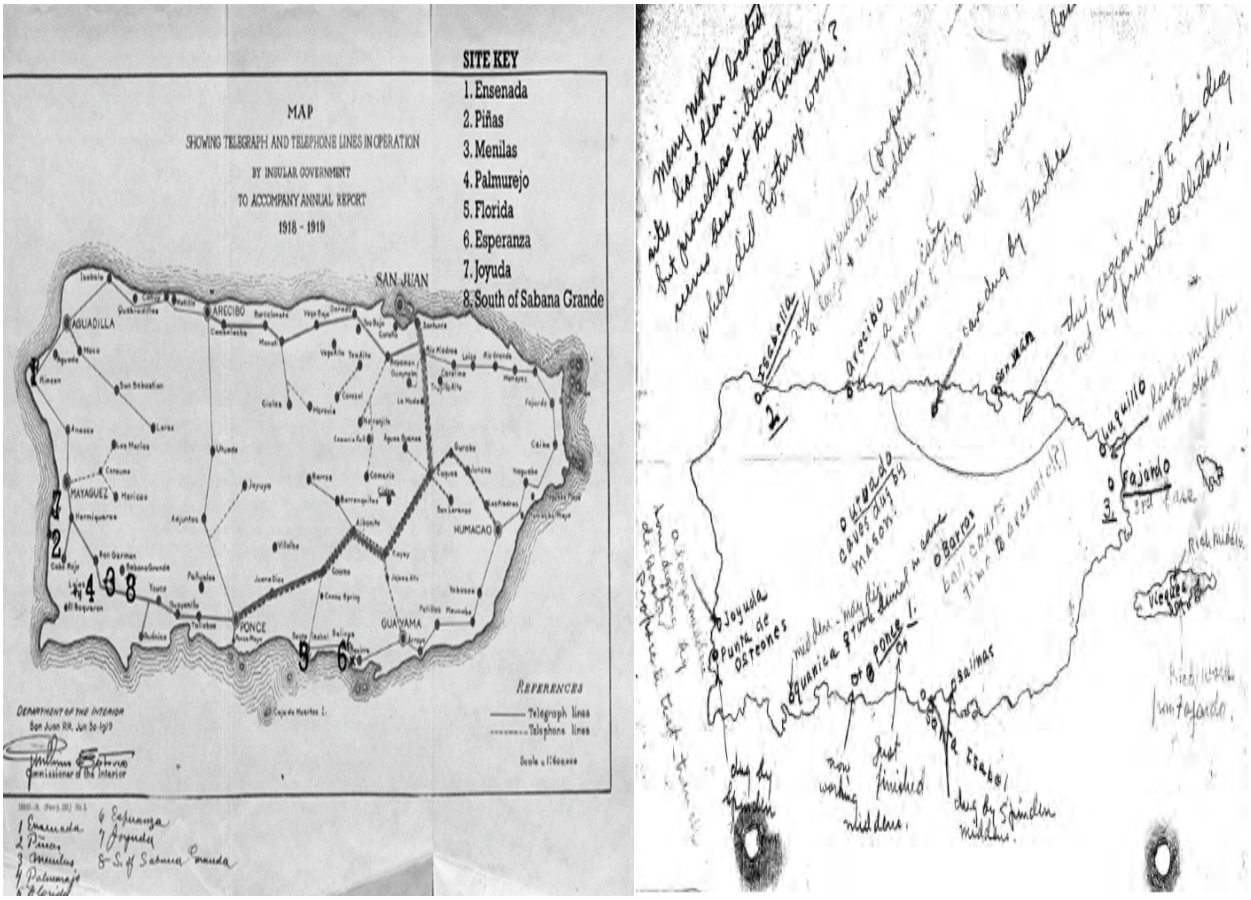
Networking Knowledge: The Unrecognized Collecting Role of Puerto Ricans

While Lothrop's Puerto Rican collection can be viewed as an assemblage of local unmaking given the historical context of economic extraction, the collecting practice - broadly conceived - was a process of local making and remaking with Puerto Ricans serving as vital, though often underrecognized, actors in institutional collecting of and narrative traditions about the Caribbean. What did Lothrop bring to his collecting in Puerto Rico and how did locals serve as the authors of the Puerto Rico he materially acquired? He brought an insider mode of visualizing the island that undoubtedly impacted how he approached the island for new, if underdeveloped archaeological study and for an acquisition campaign that would establish - with 949 out of the 1127 Puerto Rican objects - (and define to the present day) Harvard's academic representation of the island in a university museum setting. His way of seeing the island appears to be particularly individually-framed and organized around his personal strengths given his family connection to the island. This section will argue that Lothrop' lens was an ultimately local lens though evidenced by a critical analysis of different museum documentation from his archaeological archive and relevant secondary material. To explain, we can first consider a visual comparison of two early examples of archaeological mapping housed at Harvard's Peabody Museum and at the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) - respectively attributed to Lothrop and fellow museum archaeologist Froelich G. Rainey (1907-1992) (Figure 14).

Lothrop's map on the left was adapted for his specific purposes of demonstrating the probable locations of his excavation sites.[xv] The map is titled, "Map Showing Telegraph and Telephone Lines in Operation by Insular Government to Accompany Annual Report 1918-1919." In short, the map details the geographic range of his work which is based throughout the western and southern coasts of the island with excavation seemingly focused on eight sites in particular: *Ensenada, Pińas, Minillas, Palmurejo, Florida, Esperanza, Joyuda* and south of *Sabana Grande*.[xvi] In fact when compared against archival plantation plans, at least 2 of his excavation sites - referred to on the map simply as *Esperanza* and *Florida* - were actually individual *haciendas,* or farming properties of the Aguirre Sugar Company. Documentation suggests that Lothrop collected Puerto Rican archaeological material by excavation, survey and purchase between 1915-1917 so this map was adapted retroactively - perhaps for record-keeping in his archaeological archive. The allusion to telegraph lines is reminiscent of Gardener's archival photograph collection in chapter 2 which connected her in the same way this map (in its

content as well as in its context within official American government annuals) connects Lothrop to the U.S. administration on the island. While simplifying Lothrop's archaeological gaze to a colonial one is a premature, narrowing conclusion, there is an undeniable link between Puerto Rican plantation businesses and island infrastructure. The "key to this American concentration of production was the railway" as the U.S. occupation brought huge increases - in the first half of the 20th century - to the number of the miles of railroad with a jump from "200 miles" to "over 1,000" between 1899 and 1940 with "nearly two-thirds" of which were "owned outright by sugar plantations" (Williams 1970, 430). Sugar plantations were therefore dependent on U.S.-driven improvements to communication and transportation infrastructure for the organization of their business and the export of their product. Lothrop understood archaeological sites in the localized sense of a plantation setting and in their larger relationality to associated plantation apparatuses.

Figure 14: Examples of Early Archaeological Mapping of Puerto Rico.
(Left: Samuel Lothrop Collection, 996-20, Box 5, Folders 5.8, Harvard Peabody Museum Archives.
Right: The Papers of Froelich G. Rainey, 1907-1992, American Museum of Natural History, Division of Anthropology.)



Rainey's map on the right is considerably different in form and in content. The archival map is a photocopy of what appears to be a hand-drawn map of Puerto Rico with place name

inscriptions. These inscriptions have two types of associated information: the name of the archaeologists who have worked or who are working there and the nature of the archaeological site (e.g. caves, ball courts, middens). The greater level of detail in Rainey's map situates him as a scholar who is studying the island in a more long-term manner and building a history of archaeological work on the island - possibly for a literature review. This is supported by Rainey's wider archaeological archive which includes - amongst article re-prints and engravings - a series of letters between him and AMNH anthropologist Dr. Clark Wissler discussing the logistics of his excavation at the Puerto Rican site of *Barrio Canas* in terms of allocating research coasts, developing reliable local contacts and agreeing on an appropriate research design. His resulting 1940 dissertation was published in the New York Academy of Sciences' *Scientific Survey of Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands* entitled: "Porto Rican Archaeology." While Rainey's work represented one of the earliest examples of major systematic excavation on the island in the 1930s as part of the Yale Caribbean Anthropological Program, there is no clear surviving documentation to conclude that Lothrop had a same amount of time necessary to create a sophisticated plan of research or had received this level of academic advising. Indeed, later Caribbean archaeological scholarship based in museum institutions had the advantage of team-organized expeditions with experienced members of different expertise and with comparative typological material available. While the products of Lothrop's work were not as complete or formalized as those of Rainey, they were taken up in important ways by later scholarship which will be discussed in the next section. In the upper-left hand corner of the map, Rainey comments that there are many archaeological sites still to be located and inquires, "Where did Lothrop work?" Before we can answer the question of why Lothrop's research wasn't visible to other scholars, we can consider why Rainey was interested in Lothrop in terms of a site list through the identities of his interlocutors - if not other stateside scholars - given his standing as an early collector in Puerto Rico before the coalescence of the specialization of Caribbean archaeology.

While Lothrop's father had died on the island in the city of Ponce after an appendectomy about 10 years before his collecting on the island, Lothrop had grown up traveling between Boston and Puerto Rico and close looking at documentation would suggest that he maintained local relationships and leveraged the prominence of his father's business which had only grown after his death. Lothrop had culminated his first archaeological fieldwork in Pecos, New Mexico under the direction of Alfred V. Kidder for the Andover museum when he appears to have been hired by Harvard's Peabody Museum as an unofficial correspondent or associate (Willey 1976, 253).[xvii] He seems to have been commissioned to acquire a Puerto Rican collection. Lothrop was the ideal candidate to initiate Harvard's Puerto Rican archaeological holdings because of his pre-existing ties to the island. Lothrop's background would presumably have offered him a certain degree of affordances navigating the island such as Spanish language skills, practical experience with the local geography and personal links to the island's landed elite of his father's generation.

How can we reconstruct Lothrop's archaeological work in Puerto Rico? The written materials associated with the archaeological collection - specifically two unpublished manuscripts and field notes - are either incomplete or have been lost from the archive. Most of the related visual material depicts general landscape views of Spanish colonial architecture, harbors, beaches and mountains. Little is directly known about Lothrop's methodology and acquisition strategies as a result. However, Lothrop's single, most significant impact on Puerto Rican archaeology was the creation of the first comprehensive list of archaeological sites. Composed of 138 sites, the list is part of an unpublished manuscript entitled, "Archaeological Sites of Puerto Rico." The list has had an after-life - outside of the collection - in subsequent

archaeological scholarship as a guide for scholars considering areas for future investigation on the island. Yet, the site list can be alternatively read *not as* an academic end-product to be employed as a point of departure for more fieldwork on the island *but as* an archive - in itself - evidencing the historical silences behind its own construction and activating the historical record with scenes of local Puerto Rican agency.

Figure 15: Lothrop's excavation of an *Esperanza* site shell mound
(Peabody Number 2004.24.12243, Lothrop, Samuel K., 1892-1965, Collection of Negatives, 1915-1949.)

Lothrop's detailed site knowledge suggests a significant level of dialogue with agricultural communities, specifically plantation workers and farmers - either directly or through a chain of their superiors. Lothrop wouldn't have had to correspond with the museum about creating local relationships to facilitate his work as it seems apparent that he was able to draw on built-in, plantation-based networks that consolidated an American site of local industry. Lothrop would spatially frame sites in relation to plantation property lines. For example, at the site of *Salich, Esperanza*, shell heaps were described as lying on the western edge of the Central Aguirre Sugar Company property. At least one site in the case of *Indios, La Florida* was located near the workmen quarters area as a shell heap of 10 acres was located west of the pump on the Central Aguirre Sugar Company property. We might presume then that workers were aware or made aware of Lothrop's archaeological interest and brought sites as well as materials to his attention upon his visits to the plantation. It is possible - given the absence of much description of Lothrop's methods in the archaeological archive and a lack of obvious institutional support - then that plantation workers might have served as the labor in his excavations, especially those conducted on *hacienda* land. An image of faceless men working at Lothrop's excavation of the site of *Esperanza* supports this vision of his research, however privileged in its access, as small-scale in nature with a few regular participants (Figure 15). In Lothrop's fieldnotes, he also remarks that many archaeological sites were uncovered by farmers while plowing with many yielding new fields with each plow like that of the site known as *Palmurejo* on the plantation of

Chío Ramirez. In addition to making visible the persistence of local farmers in the age of American corporation, we have some indication of Lothrop's excavation methods in that he seems to have planned and recommended fieldwork around plowing as he remarks that the area of a shell heap at the site of *Ensenada* on the *finca* or farm of Isidoro Fusa that was not plowed would be fruitful to excavate. We can thus imagine Puerto Ricans present as archaeological interlocutors in building museum understandings of the island and contributing at all levels of work - amplifying the reach of one scholar acquiring independently on behalf of an institution. We can imagine Lothrop's formal documentation of sites in a site list based on Puerto Rican first-hand identification in plantation and independent farm settings. We can imagine Lothrop's recovery of archaeological material based on Puerto Rican labor in survey and in excavation.

Lothrop's local networks extended beyond rural-based communities whose experience with the land and its relationship to agricultural interventions often brought them into physical proximity of archaeological findings. He also acknowledges that his research draws from "published records of various workers, data obtained from local students, and personal observation."[xviii] This is an important quote to unpack because with it, Lothrop acknowledges contributions beyond that of site locations thereby making visible the additional role of Puerto Ricans in archaeological interpretation. Unlike the previous community of local contributors, there are a second community that emerge in the archaeological archive who are named (though not profiled in their relationality to Lothrop) intellectuals - which calls to attention the ways in which academics can be privileged social actors in the historical record. In the next chapter, the collector similarly takes care to not only name but also to provide biographies for the various Puerto Rican community partners that share different relationships with collected objects and play different roles in the acquisition process with a special attention given to local makers.

For Lothrop, the Puerto Rican intellectual community was both a source of archaeological materials as they were typically major private collectors in their own right as well as a source of object interpretation as they were also typically prolific writers on island history in developing local fields of study. One example of an influential Puerto Rican intellectual was Cayetano Coll y Toste (1850-1930) who was known as the official historian of Puerto Rico for his work compiling colonial documents related to the island from the Archive of the Indies in Seville. His works ranged in scale from island to regional history and in topic from colonial history to folk tradition including: "*El Boletín Histórico de Puerto Rico*" (The Historical Boletin of Puerto Rico), "*Crónicas de Arecibo*" (Chronicles of Arecibo) and "*Legendas y Tradiciones Puertorriqueñas*" (Puerto Rican Legends and Traditions). Coll y Toste sold or gifted objects from his collection to Harvard's Peabody Museum likely through Lothrop's networking. Another figure is Dr. Agustín Stahl (1842-1917) who is considered the first notable Puerto Rican natural scientist. He was one of the earliest scholars to develop an interest in the island's indigenous peoples beyond the Spanish chronicles and was responsible for a series of articles, between 1888-1890, entitled "Ethnological Studies on the Borinquen Indians." Stahl was reputed to have one of the largest private collections on the island, 800 of which were ceded to the American Museum of Natural History. The work of Coll y Toste and Stahl while pioneering for its time did not receive adequate support and funding during their lifetimes and later public awareness of their achievements has been limited because their publications were only available in Spanish and became rare over time. Their privileged standing locally rendered them as Lothrop's social and scholarly peers - highlighting the varied island positionalities that participated in Puerto Rican object itineraries and have been differentially represented. These figures are listed among Lothrop's references and contribute to institutional data but remain underexplored due to the

incomplete nature of his manuscripts. They are worth remembering however as predecessors to the thinking and collecting of North American archaeologists like Lothrop and of museums like but not limited to Harvard's Peabody Museum but also on their own merit alone. Close reading of field notes, photographs, and object catalogues thus helps to complicate prevailing views of anthropologists as solitary creators and disseminators of archaeological collecting and knowing.

Washing Away: Archaeological Legacies and Material Futures

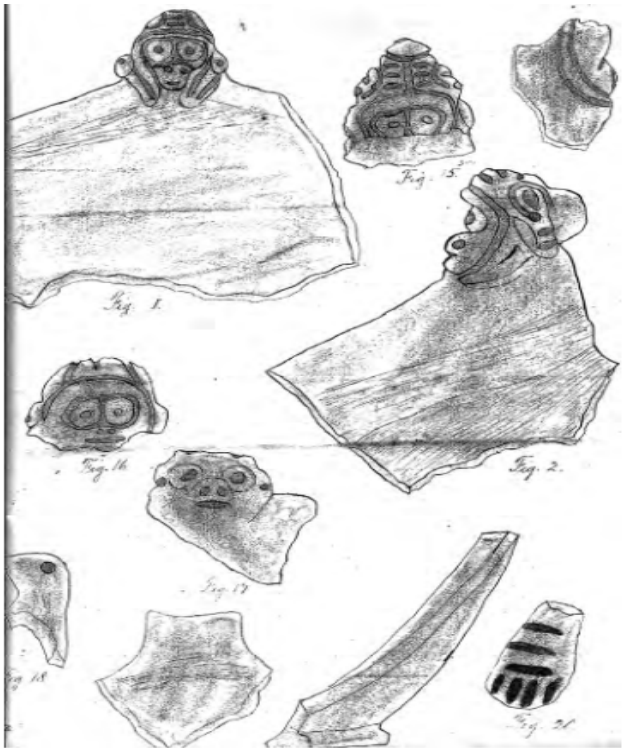
The relative obscurity of Lothrop's collecting in Puerto Rico not only washes away an object itinerary of museum acquisition during a defining economic moment of the island's historical relationship with the U.S. mainland but also the ways in which a unique collector type resurfaces local legacies of archaeological practice. What museum history forgets is a broader anthropological legacy of over a century of North American museum collecting in Puerto Rico. Puerto Rican objects have acted as material touchstones from decisive chapters of the U.S.-Puerto Rico relationship. Institutional case-studies represent distinct intercultural microhistories that together comprise an understudied trajectory of Puerto Rican object relations with the U.S. mainland - from the Spanish American War in 1898 (chapter 2) to the American agricultural land grab in the early 1900s (chapter 3) to the end of U.S. military rule on the island with the election of the first local governor, Luis Muñoz Marín, in 1948 (chapter 4).

Harvard's Puerto Rican collection has remained understudied for several reasons related to Lothrop's treatment of the material in the space of the museum given academic expectations of scholars and scholarship. First, Lothrop never formally published the findings of his archaeological excavations in the island as evident by the unpublished manuscripts in his archaeological archive. As Willey notes, the archaeological archive "houses a significant number of…unpublished notes, photographs, and site plans related to his work" (1976, 264). For example, there is evidence of planned collection analysis with Lothrop's explanatory attempt to differentiate ancient pottery types by form and site distribution through a chart, "Shell Heaps in the Distribution Table." There are limited publication exceptions that are brief in length and published later in reference to specific objects housed at the National Museum of the American Indian (Lothrop's later institutional post). In a chronologically-listed bibliography of Lothrop's publications, Willey recalls the three writings concerning Puerto Rico: "Two specimens from Porto Rico, Indian notes, 4:323-32.", "With R.W. Lothrop. The use of Plaster on Porto Rican stone carvings. Am. Anthropol., 28:728-30" and "A Porto Rican three-pointed stone. Indian Notes, 5:154-57" (1976, 266). Additionally, there has been an allusion to a completed island archaeological report that has never been recovered (Rouse 1952, 373). Indeed, the fragmentary nature of the archaeological archive is shown repeatedly including by a reference in the unpublished manuscript, "Minor Antiquities" to associated plates depicting the objects described in the work that are similarly lost. Second, Lothrop never taught or had any students to carry on the legacy of his work at Harvard despite the fact that he was noted as a rigorous documentary anthropologist whose body of scholarship was a substantive contribution to the development of New World archaeology (Willey 1976, 260-262). Third, directly following his time collecting in Puerto Rico, he joined the World War I war effort and served as a Second Lieutenant in the U.S. Army military intelligence for a year before returning to Harvard to conduct his graduate work on the ceramics of Nicaragua and Costa Rico between 1919 and 1921 (1976, 254). This research set him away from the island on the course of a long, well-established career in the regions of Central and South American Archaeology (1976, 255). The abandonment of Harvard's Puerto Rican material marginalized not only Lothrop's contributions but also those of local actors.

Following the unpacking of Lothrop's archaeological archive for evidence of marginalized local contributions, secondary archaeological scholarship - which differentially took up his work but not his local practice - remains unexcavated. Jesse Walter Fewkes (1850-1930) and Irving Rouse (1913-2006) are major figures in the history of the field of Puerto Rican archaeology and were respectively Lothrop's academic predecessor and successor.

Jesse Walter Fewkes is frequently cited as an academic reference in Lothrop's written archival material which corresponds to the former's seminal, early systematic island study, *The Aborigines of Puerto Rico and the Neighboring Islands.* If analysis were to solely focus on the relationality of the anthropologists, Lothrop's manuscript, "The Ethnology of Early Porto Ricans" - given the long monograph essay style and the holistic perspective illustrated by different sections on ancient culture - is nearly identical structurally and organizationally to Fewkes' work. Within the history of the field of anthropology, Lothrop can be situated here as largely following Fewkes' descriptive approach toward narrating culture. Indeed, the composition of Lothrop's object collection - with a large prevalence of anthropomorphic ceramic sherds in addition to shaped stone material in such forms as a three-pointer and a collar - follows the typological collecting patterns established by Fewkes in his categorizations of artifacts by type, descriptions of their forms and drawings of example specimen (Figure 16).

Figure 16: Puerto Rico archaeological material types.
(Left: Box 6, MS 4408:44, "Papers of Jesse Walter Fewkes," National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.
Right: Peabody Museum 19-21-50/C8967 – top left, 17-16-30/C7932- top center, 19-21-30/C8984-top right, 19-21-30/C8975– bottom left, 17-6-30/C7932 –bottom center.)



What is less obvious are the local acquisition networks which made Fewkes' work feasible. Fewkes' typological object categories originated from a range of archaeological material that in some cases, he was only able to observe for his sketches and in others, he was able to acquire on behalf of what would become the National Museum of Natural History (formerly the National Museum). In Fewkes' correspondence housed at the National Anthropological Archives, we find evidence of Puerto Ricans demonstrating that they are not only aware of Fewkes' work, but they are interested in supporting it - even providing a list of private collectors on the island. In fact, a review of his published illustrations reveals references to 6 private collections. Moreover, according to the Harvard's Peabody Museum ledger records, at least 2 of Fewkes' collecting intermediaries for site information and archaeological material - Gustavo Preston and Padre Nazario - were later employed by Lothrop. Together, these contextual details point not only to local collecting which pre-dated and helped curate North American museums but also a heightened archaeological literacy than what is typically ascribed to local communities. Descriptive academic interpretations that gave way to explanatory ones - alongside the professionalization of anthropology - were all predicated on existing local collecting practices that took on new forms with U.S. occupation with collectors more likely to be associated initially with the national administration and ultimately with emerging museums.

Conversely, Lothrop is frequently cited as an academic reference in Rouse's publications which laid the foundation of scholarship for the Yale Caribbean Anthropological Program. Rouse credits his community of academic predecessors stating that he is "indebted to…colleagues in the Porto Rican field for generously providing advice and information" (1952, 307). If analysis were to solely focus on the relationality of the anthropologists, he openly admits his access to and use of Lothrop's archaeological archive and object collection. In fact, Rouse credits Lothrop with providing him with all the "notes, charts, and photographs on the work" he had previously recorded on the island and for giving him "advice as to the best sites to investigate" (1952, 307). Lothrop's influence is felt throughout Rouse's work including in his foundational 1992 work, *The Tainos: Rise and Decline of the People who Greeted Columbus.* More explanatory in nature, Rouse employed artifact type distribution in larger theories of cultural change and migration patterns. On the basis of his comprehensive excavation projects throughout the island, Rouse proposed the existence of four chronological periods designated I, II, III, and IV and defined the criteria for the characteristics of various ceramic styles including *Cuevas, Ostiones, Santa Elena, Boca Chica, Capá,* and *Esperanza*. He includes Lothrop's observations - noting for example, that Lothrop recognized three pottery classes and their regional distributions: buff-ware on the south coast, brown ware throughout the island, and brown ware with a red slip on the west and south coasts (1952, 317). Additionally, Rouse summarizes Lothrop's underdeveloped, larger hypotheses on the nature of pottery distribution as varied "markedly from place to place," with the indigenous development of brown ware, a South American migratory wave allowing for early similarities in the buff-ware styles in the Greater Antilles, and the influence of Carib Indians reflected in the Lesser Antillean style of brown wares with red slips (1952, 322).

What is less obvious are the local acquisition networks that Rouse lacked in his collecting practice and how the detailed Puerto Rican community site knowledge imbedded in Lothrop's archaeological archive - accessible only through his privileged plantation positionality - comes to occupy institutional knowledge systems not only at Harvard but also at Yale. To explain, over a decade following Lothrop's research, Rouse concedes that despite many attempts to re-examine Lothrop's various coastal sites and replicate the findings, he found himself unable to gain the

owners' permission to excavate their properties due to their expressed concern that he might damage the crop yield (1952, 541-543). For his interpretations of archaeological sites on the southern and western coasts on the island, Rouse critically relied on Lothrop's archaeological collections to locate sites that he could personally excavate and to supplement his understandings of excavated material at Yale. Rouse's review of Lothrop's object collections included their quantification, type classification and formulation into style categories. This is evident in the case of the site of *Palmurejo* which Rouse summarizes as consisting of "seven *Cuevas* sherds, 178 *Ostiones,* three *Santa Elena*, and one *Capá*" along with other materials including "five fragments of griddles, two discoidal clay stamps, a spherical clay disk, a clay patty, part of a milling stone, two stone adzes"(Rouse 1952, 387). In cases like that of the site of *Ensenada*, Rouse studied Harvard's Peabody Museum material and concluded that it was contemporaneous with the nearby, more accessible site of *Calvache* based on the prevalence of pottery sherds associated with the *Ostiones* style with the lesser amount of examples of the *Cuevas, Santa Elena,* and *Capá* pottery styles (1952, 398). In all, Rouse's academic need to absorb Lothrop's Puerto Rican material legacy demonstrates not only the persistence of U.S.-run plantations in dominating control of the island's agricultural lands but also the persistence of the value of social standing built around these economic relationships - of which Rouse was an outsider. More importantly, it demonstrates how local knowledge was taken up in the space of museum - along with the more visible archaeological museum material – as institutional knowledge and transformed into academic discourse of interpretation and meaning.

Conclusion

In his field notes, Lothrop wrote of his concern about the effect of new development on shell heap sites and asserted the critical need for timely coastal excavation. Today, the coastal location of many archaeological sites - including those of Lothrop which remain on private agricultural lands - recalls the rising sea level precarity of the historical record post-Hurricane Maria (Ezcurra and Rivera-Collazo 2018; Rivera-Collazo 2019). [xix] Today, the plantation of the Lothrop's father, Central Aguirre, no longer stands as a material testament to the height of 20th century American sugar industry or as a privileged site of early archaeological interpretation in the development of Puerto Rican archaeology. Today, it is a site of historical commemoration - redefined as the Central Aguirre Historical District - with recognition from the World Monuments Fund and a site of infrastructural deterioration as a haunting reminder of state failure. In re-entangling the importance of place-specific arguments grounded in the active experiences of local people, material futures call for the re-framing of historically disenfranchised communities from their former identities as subjects of study to that of engaged, knowledgeable social actors who have always been capable of narrating their own stories (García-Quijano and Lloréns 2017; Lloréns 2017). Material futures also call for an academically reflective re-integration of museum and disciplinary histories with contemporary archaeological practice (Schiappacasse 2019). In the context of ongoing economic uncertainty and unprecedented stateside migration, the present moment is a powerful one of solidarity in remembering Puerto Rican architects of museum history as silenced collectors of objects, of place and of pasts.

Puerto Ricans were the architects of the Lothrop collection. Some of their names have been inscribed into the historical record - attributions in the archaeological archive and in institutional object catalog records. Many more though remain unknown but now not unrecognized and can be increasingly identified. They were the rural communities displaced by

the sugar industry that supported Lothrop's collecting practice. They were the plantation workers and the farmers who encountered archaeological material while plowing and shared their intimate understanding of field sites. They were the probable labor of excavation work. They were the intellectuals who were thinking critically about the island's past and acquiring their own collections before stateside museums. Narrating Puerto Rican museum object itineraries is to narrate their presence and to begin to center their diverse contributions to the disciplinary and institutional processes of knowledge production.

Given the disciplinary and institutional marginalization of the Caribbean, this case-study was an apt one for re-inscribing the local role(s) in the acquisition of the Puerto Rican archaeological collection at Harvard in broader histories of paradigm shifts and museum building. Reading museum records against the grain - to privilege community stakeholders - shows the potential in not only expanding the category of museum actor but also in recognizing that knowledge did not begin, nor can it only be disseminated in the space of the museum.

The material relationship between Harvard and Puerto Rico is not confined to a curated archaeological archive and object assemblage. The Lothrop collection can be framed as an event within a set of historical-contingent, environmental engagements between Puerto Rico and Harvard that have taken shape during the rise of the sugar industry in the island's plantation fields, to the collection's typological construction and archaeological interpretation across museum spaces to the present-day political implications of the U.S.-Puerto Rico relationship for the island's coastal disaster resilience in a time of climate change. These active engagements - like the recent student protest at the annual Harvard-Yale football game criticizing institutional endowment links to the island's debt crisis - boil to the surface bringing into sharp focus the entangled past legacies and ongoing present dynamics of material extraction (Myerberg 2019).

Chapter 4:

Preserving *Puertorriqueñidad:* Teodoro Vidal's Collecting Legacy at the Smithsonian

Abstract

The Caribbean island of Puerto Rico has been systematically collected by North American museums in varied contexts from the 1893 Chicago's World Fair to early 20th century scientific surveys and interisland archaeological expeditions to contemporary art auctions. Puerto Rican actors historically exist in institutional records as mostly unnamed object makers and intermediary figures in collecting encounters. This paper presents a collection case-study which - in *context and composition* - stands apart from its Puerto Rican museum collection counterparts through the creation of new spaces of documentation and interpretation.

In 1997, the National Museum of American History and the Smithsonian American Art Museum acquired the Teodoro Vidal Collection. The collection was, in part, a response to a call for more inclusive curatorial practices following a 1994 document by the Smithsonian Institution Task Force on Latino Issues entitled, "Willful Neglect: The Smithsonian Institution and U.S. Latinos." The collection itself is notable due to its unique attribution to a Puerto Rican collector and rare position as one of few Puerto Rican ethnological collections in North America. The collector's dual positionality as both a lifelong observer of island tradition and independent researcher of island history resulted in an unparalleled object type recovery ranging from colonial paintings and wooden saint figures to modern festival costumes and ex-votos.

Within a backdrop of a complex historical and ambiguous current relationship between Puerto Rico and the United States, the Vidal Collection represents an institutional space for alternative knowledge systems grounded in locally-informed material understandings of Puerto Rican museum representation.

Introduction

> Del cielo al mundo bajaste, encarnaste en María, el cielo tuvo alegría, el infierno grande horror. Aplaca, mi Díos, tu ira, tu justicia y tu rigor.
> [From heaven to earth you came, embodied in Maria, heaven was happy, hell's great horror. Calm my god, your anger, your justice, and your strength.] (Vidal 2008, 29).

The above quote is an example of an island literary tradition written in response *to* and for purposes of coping *with* recurring regional natural disaster phenomena such as hurricanes. It is included in a publication entitled, *Control de la Naturaleza: Mediante La Palabra en La Tradición Puertorriqueña [Control of Nature: Through the Puerto Rican Written Tradition],* by self-taught historian and folklorist Teodoro Vidal (1923-2016). This prayer - together with wooden *santo* or saint figures and prayer cards - constitutes a wider assemblage of Puerto Rican practice, originating in the Spanish colonial period, which is housed today between the National Museum of American History (NMAH) and the Smithsonian American Art Museum (SAAM).

The allegory of a hurricane is an apt one for understanding the larger acquisition context of the Vidal Collection to the Smithsonian Institution. The devastating 2017 landfall of Hurricane Maria in the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico has been characterized as an "unnatural disaster" given the gravity of its aftermath due to human factors apparent in the infrastructural

vestiges of American colonial policy and the contested nature of the federal relief response (Lalo 2018). Like Caribbean hurricanes past and present, the Vidal Collection indexes a historical, ongoing precarity of Puerto Rico with both natural (given the conditions of its geographic location) and political (given its power differential to the U.S. mainland) dimensions. The product of this distinct island collecting context was the Smithsonian's incorporation of an unprecedented Puerto Rican ethnographic collection by a named Puerto Rican collector with named local collaborators evidencing historically-based, actively practiced material traditions.

From *Aquí* to *Allá* [Here to There] or Puerto Rico to the Smithsonian: A Collection in Context

In socio-political context, the Vidal Collection entwined two defining moments respectively in Puerto Rico and at the Smithsonian Institution.

The start of Teodoro Vidal's collecting career – an appointment as military aide to the first elected governor, Luis Muñoz Marín and work to restore the capital's colonial fort known as *La Fortaleza* - coincided with a pivotal period of identity building for Puerto Rico. [xx] The 1950's was distinguished by a new commonwealth status after years of U.S. military rule as well as a national discourse around defining Puerto Rican culture. Through the efforts of new cultural policies and government agencies such as the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture, Puerto Rican identity became synonymous with "a traditional agrarian past with its customs and folklore... under the rubric of Hispanic tradition...in opposition to the American invader" (Dávila 1997, 5). This project of cultural nationalism was spearheaded by white creole elite like Vidal "who considered themselves the rightful representatives of the nation…in the face of the threat of cultural assimilation" (Lloréns 2014, 20). Vidal's inherited wealth, educational upbringing and proximity to government authority was consistent with this privileged status (Kaplan 2016; Velasquez 2016).[xxi] His object collection, including but not limited to colonial paintings and household objects to modern festival costumes and family relics, mirrored an understanding of *Puertorriqueñidad* drawn from material traditions in an earlier Spanish colonial era.

Five decades later, the Smithsonian Institution was confronted with its own introspective event. A 1994 report entitled "Willful Neglect: The Smithsonian Institution and U.S. Latinos" Smithsonian Secretary, Robert McCormick Adams established a Task Force on Latino Issues comprised of 15 Latino scholars and museum professionals. Their conclusions outlined a pervasive absence of Latino representation in the areas of "Governance," "Personnel," "Collections," "Programs," and "Budget." The task force concluded that the Smithsonian's

> pattern of willful neglect towards the estimated 25 million Latinos in the United States … perpetuates among the general population the inaccurate belief that Latinos contributed little to our country's development or culture, rather than reflecting the multicultural history and accomplishments of the United States.[xxii]

The report therein emphasized the responsibility of the Smithsonian as a large-scale cultural institution with global prominence to present the Latino experience as irrefutably American.[xxiii]

There is a degree of curatorial tension between a Puerto Rican collection stemming from a local elite preference for identifying with the preceding Spanish, as opposed to the American, colonial power, and the largest U.S. museum complex being called upon to be more inclusive in its narration of American history in respects to the Latino community. The environmental and socio-political vulnerability of the Vidal Collection bridged this tension. The environmental

realities of housing a sizeable collection, accumulated over the course of 5 decades, entailed a collection that had begun to overpopulate the space of his home and increasingly presented conservation concerns given the Caribbean tropical climate (Paoletti 1998).[xxiv] Despite his upper-class social positioning, Vidal unsuccessfully spent 11 years attempting to establish his own institution, the *Museo de Artes y Tradiciones Populares* de Puerto Rico [Museum of Art and Popular Traditions], and ultimately donated more than half of his collection, consisting of 3,500 objects, to the Smithsonian Institution amidst ample local press critique (Duany 2002; Serra Collazo 2017). Indeed, the perceived loss of cultural patrimony to the American mainland can be framed within a larger trajectory of U.S. imperialistic collecting in Puerto Rico starting from its transfer from a Spanish to an American territory after the Spanish-American War (Guzmán 2018). Yet, the Vidal Collection's acquisition context should also be viewed through the micro-historical lens of Vidal's cultivated network of collaborators like that of the late Marvette Pérez (1961-2013), the first curator of Latino History and Culture at the National Museum of American History, who first identified the collection on the island, began a multi-year dialogue with Vidal and ultimately directed the 1997 transfer.[xxv] Three years following *Willful Neglect,* the resulting Vidal Collection quantitively expanded what had been "small collections of objects transferred from Latin American anthropology collections in the 1960s and 1970s" at the NMAH and symbolically expanded the overall representation of "the scope of Latino history and experience" across two of its institutions, NMAH and SAAM (Velasquez 2001, 115; 120). [xxvi]

Collecting *Puertorriqueñidad:* The Vidal Collection in Content

As such, context gave rise to content. The Vidal Collection was formed through salvage collecting motivated by Puerto Rican nationalist sentiment but was acquired due to an advocated shift in U.S. mainland subjects of representation concurrent with a layered island vulnerability. Networks of long-term relationships with maker communities laid the foundation of the Vidal Collection which content-wise, can be described as markedly different from other Puerto Rican collections in North American museum institutions. Unlike many earlier collecting agents and curators, Vidal did not receive any formal anthropological training and had compiled his collection in consideration of a Puerto Rican, rather than U.S. mainland, audience. This is most apparent both in his widespread object donations to museums across the island including but not limited to the Luis Muñoz Marín Foundation and the Ponce Museum of Art as well as his many exhibitions on the island before and after his well-known donation to the Smithsonian (Serra Collazo 2017). [xxvii] Moreover, Puerto Rican ethnological or historical collections are all but absent in major North American institutions with a typical count of no more than 20 objects. The larger dominance of Caribbean archaeological material in museums erroneously suggests a distant past therein erasing later histories including those contexts characterized by imperialist collecting campaigns (Modest 2012; Guzmán 2018). In contrast, with a historical context stemming from the 17th to 20th century, the Vidal Collection is well-documented from Vidal's prolific career of over 50 publications (varying in topic from specific object types and artists to broader oral histories and performance traditions) to the associated paper archives housed at the Archives Center at the NMAH (including Vidal's personal papers) to the collector's descriptive notes attached to or inscribed onto the objects (both those on permanent display at NMAH and SAAM as well as the majority housed in storage at remote Maryland sites). In sum, the content of the Vidal Collection juxtaposed, however ironically, the collector's political ideology with the Smithsonian's resources – thus enabling the preservation of a historical collection in totality.

The first factor that impacted the content of the collection was Vidal, himself, and his orientation as an independent scholar and a local insider. Vidal's different positionalities place him at the intersection of a narrator and actor – both observing and living within his space of study (Figure 17). As a Puerto Rican collector, he inserted himself and family into the archive.[xxviii] The collection portraits of Vidal's upbringing and his family stand in stark contrast to the countless faceless identities of local contributors to Puerto Rican collections in North American museums. Family heirlooms symbolize intra-island circulation among families with the examples of a men's watch chain that Vidal's mother converted into a bracelet after her husband's death in 1935 to the earrings that were said to have been passed down from the infamous early 20th century pirate Roberto Cofresí to Vidal's grandmother, Doña Ynocencia Ramírez de Arellano.[xxix] Whether purposeful or not given a lack of explanation, Vidal's family as a collecting category corresponds to the unifying message of "la gran familia" or the great family concept of Puerto Rican cultural nationalism (Lloréns 2014, 21). While certainly denoting his collector privilege in consciously representing himself within an otherwise rare Puerto Rican historical collection in the U.S. mainland, Vidal's family heirlooms are housed alongside the other community object assemblages that materially trace island traditions of making, performance and exchange.

Figure 17: Photograph of Teodoro Vidal and unidentified woman making a Pava hat
(Box #2: Series 1A – Vidal Personal Photos, Folder 4, Teodoro Vidal Collection, 1592-1992, Archives Center, Accession Number 712, National Museum of American History.)

The next question of what stimulated Vidal's collecting focus is, in part, first addressed by re-uniting objects from his collection which are otherwise physically separated between NMAH and SAAM (Figure 18). On the left, we can see an early to mid-nineteenth century oil painting on canvas by an unidentified artist entitled, "Boy with a Parrot Toy." In it, a young male

child is depicted in a transparent white dressing gown with ruffles at the neckline and sleeves. He is holding a dark green, carved wooden parrot toy with a rectangular base. On the right, we can see a wooden parrot toy which was carved by maker, José Luís Peña in 1994. In many ways, the toy object mirrors the toy in the painting given its green color and carved features. The main difference between the toy object and the toy in the painting is the base. While the toy in the painting has a stand, which is actually a small bellows that makes a noise when squeezed, the toy object's rounded base with two wheels affords movement for play. With this, the representation of a toy and the toy object share not only a visual symmetry but a functional one. The comparison of these objects demonstrates how Vidal took material cues for object collecting in his present from Puerto Rico's representation in a Spanish colonial past. His objective here by collecting both the painting's image of a parrot toy and actual parrot toy objects was to evidence a general continuity of different types of material practice across medium and time on the island. In other words, the objects, usually quotidian in nature, act as a means of contextualizing his fine art collection.

Figure 18: *Niño con Cotorra de Juguete; Cotorra de Juguete*
(Left: *Niño con Cotorra de Juguete* (Boy with parrot toy), ca. 1830-1850, oil on canvas, Smithsonian American Art Museum (SAAM), Teodoro Vidal Collection, 1996.91.11.
Right: *Cotorra De Juguete* (parrot toy), Home and Community Life, National Museum of American History (NMAH), 1997.0097.0232.)

This is not an isolated or unintentional curatorial example of overlap. Accompanying Vidal's object collection on the shelves of the Museum Support Center in Suitland, Maryland, there is a photograph of a colonial painting depicting a woman wearing a highly ornamental

comb in her hair with text on the photograph's backside which reads, "Important: Comb this lady is wearing is almost exactly alike to one in the collection." Similarly, there are six domestic objects whose original collector labels indicate that they were acquired primarily because of their likenesses to objects in the 1893 painting entitled "El Velorio" or The Wake, by Francisco Oller, that portrays the crowded interior of a country home in Puerto Rico following a village wake.[xxx] Built upon relationships with private art collections in Europe and South America as well as with Puerto Rican makers from rural communities in the interior – both from which he acquired, Vidal grounded the idealism of portraiture with the physical reality of the material culture – both of which he understood as disappearing with growing American encroachment.[xxxi]

Through the systematic study of object types, Vidal salvaged Puerto Rican cultural traditions through the collection not only of objects but also of the materials and the techniques that produced them. His lifetime career aim in collecting was to narrate material trends in production, use, and circulation from the Spanish colonial period to the contemporary. Vidal's main acquisition style over weekends and vacations – purchases directly from island makers as well as from secondary sources such as local stores like pharmacies and private collections on the island and abroad – reflects this interest in an object's itinerary.[xxxii]

Figure 19: *Bejucos* (wood samples).
(Home and Community Life, National Museum of American History (NMAH)
(1997.0097.0366).

For example, when Vidal wrote about wooden *santo* figures, he interviewed named makers and differentiated communities of makers through their materials and manufacturing techniques over time**,** mapped island regions with highest *santo* concentrations**,** as well as researched their commodified and devotional uses (1979: 23). His emphasis on materials as a method of stylistically analyzing objects extended beyond *santos* to basketry with the collection example of 11 wood samples with identification tags glued to a board (Figure 19). These samples refer to different twig or reed material used in basketry making. That said Vidal's collection seems to be better understood as a series of assemblages rather than as a large arrangement of

different object types. To illustrate, across Vidal's object and associated archival collection, Puerto Rican folk religious practice is represented by completed *santos,* examples of the knives that were said to be used for carving them, *ex-votos* or *milagros* that were hung off of the wooden figure's arms or neck to indict the focus of the prayer (e.g. body part) and prayer cards related to specific patron saints or desires (e.g. win the lottery).[xxxiii]

Vital to such assemblages were makers. Vidal seems to have viewed makers as collaborators in the co-production of his collection and its public interpretation. He interviewed makers with field notebooks and recordings as well as acknowledged them in his publications with biographic information and collection photographs. Makers were also commonly inscribed onto their work, now housed at the Smithsonian, from hand-written attributions by Vidal to business card attachments to objects.[xxxiv] This practice diverges from other Puerto Rican collections in North America in which the roles of local actors in the acquisition process – as makers, intermediaries, and scholars and collectors in their own right - are often silenced in the archive and difficult to recover in later research.

Figure 20: Photograph of Juan Alindato and his family during the process of making masks. (Box 14, Series 7 – Photo Material General, Folder 1, Teodoro Vidal Collection, 1592-1992, Accession Number 712, Archives Center, National Museum of American History).

Vidal's examination of makers was not confined to rural-based *santeros* or *santo* makers but also included urban-based carnival mask makers from Ponce. One such maker, Juan Alindato apprenticed with his mother-in-law, Francisca Salvador and uniquely earned his living solely on mask-making as his pieces were exhibited in fairs and sold commercially (Figure 20). This photograph of him and his family decorating fully-formed papier-maché masks - with art supplies laid out over metal containers and a pair of bikes standing nearby in an unpaved shed – displays the multi-generational, ad hoc community nature of the practice. This photograph evidencing process can be framed within a wider assemblage of collection objects including

papier-maché molds used in mask construction, completed masks and festival costumes as well as photographs of carnival performance with dancing *vejigantes* or the folkloric characters that carnival performers embody when wearing their masks and costumes.[xxxv] Overall, in content, Vidal's collection reflects traditional anthropological collecting impulses to signify object types and process as well as more local insider tendencies to demonstrate continuity of Hispanic material traditions in Puerto Rico as well as a commitment to recognizing maker communities.

Conclusion

This chapter will end with a quote from Teodoro Vidal that was written in the cards given to those who attended his memorial services in January 2016. A portion of the quote reads:

> Mientrás más se conoce la cultura del país, más se quiere al país. Y mientrás más se quiere al país, mejor se le puede servir.
> [The more you understand the culture of a country, the more you will love the country. And the more you love the country, the better you will be able to be of service to it].[xxxvi]

In considering the uncertain future of Puerto Rico particularly in the current post-Hurricane Maria era, the author asserts the need for assembling, re-inscribing, and foregrounding its pasts - particularly those written by its people. Vidal's material and written documentation of practice was predicated on the strength of his networks - his knowledge of how to locate Puerto Rico in the archive and his relationships with communities of makers. As part of a larger comparative project on Puerto Rican collections housed across North American museum institutions, this paper endeavors to participate in the increasingly vital work of identifying and amplifying more inclusive, community-engaged histories of representation. Vidal's Collection at the Smithsonian stands as a resilient, if imperfect, material legacy of *Puertorriqueñidad* – contextualized by a history of vulnerability (both natural and politically imposed), yet defined by a new institutional recognition of alternative, insider-based narratives of local agency.

Conclusion

Collection in Recollection: Constructing the Caribbean

This project has been concerned with the history of North American collecting in and representation of the Caribbean commonwealth of Puerto Rico. To contextualize the latter half of that research question, we first move beyond the specific set of itineraries or entanglements of collectors, collections, institutions and histories implicated in the different case-studies towards the overarching representational tropes or master narratives that they participate in, promote, complicate and/or challenge. Following the order of the case-studies and the respective romances that they each engender, we consider the historical representation of the island across three tropes: Puerto Rico as a social issue, Puerto Rico as indigenous past and Puerto Rico as tradition.

To begin, the traditional geographical classificatory term, Caribbean has been aptly referred to as a "designation…the great powers' need to codify the world's territory to know it, to dominate it…to systematize the region's political, economic, social, and anthropological dynamics" (Benítez-Rojo 1996, 1). In other words, the designation is the external product of observation and categorization by "scientists, investors, and technologists" as "the new (dis)coverers – who come to apply the dogmas and methods that had served them well where they came from" (1996, 1). Resulting histories can be posited through the framework of Deleuze and Guattari's concept of "machines" in drawing relationships between (non)human actors, materials, and institutions (1996, 6). Machines - revolving around hierarchical systems of power and labor - then can be "naval," "military," "bureaucratic," "commercial," extractive," "political," "legal," and "religious" in nature (1996, 7). By grounding histories in multi-scalar, often inter-cultural relations of interaction and exchange rather than along bounded geographic conceptions of place, the Caribbean is spatially re-sketched as a "meta-archipelago" that "flows outwards past the limits of its own sea…on the outskirts of Bombay, near the…murmuring shores of Gambia, in a Cantonese tavern of circa 1850, at a Balinese temple" (1996, 4).

Recognizing the role of power is key to any narration of history. Indeed, "the ultimate mark of power may be its invisibility; the ultimate challenge, the exposition of its roots" (1995, xix.). To narrate history, there must be an understanding of the processes by which history is produced through "the uneven contribution of competing groups and individuals who have unequal access to the means for such production" (Trouillot 1995, xix). In other words, a link needs to form then between the "socio-historical process" with "our knowledge of that process" (1995, 3). To write history is to serve both simultaneously as a "narrator" and an "actor" in historical construction (1995, 2). To study history is to identity and analyze "traces" which vary in their expression as "some occurrences are noted from the start; others are not. Some are engraved in individual or collective bodies; others are not. Some leave physical markers; others do not" (1995, 29). The plurality of traces alongside the presence of silences in the historical record reflects the "processes, dynamics, and rhythms that show themselves within the marginal, the regional, the incoherent, the heterogeneous" realities of lived experiences in the past (Benítez-Rojo 1996, 3). Privileging the undersides of history accounts for the disproportionate ways in which history has been constructed while maintaining a commitment to representing diverse perspectives (Fischer 2004).

In approaching these complex histories of representation, there has been a call for "rereading the Caribbean" which follows an argument for contextualizing history and not uncritically taking up problematic conceptions by recognizing what varies between the questions

that drove people in the past and the questions that drive us today (Benítez-Rojo 1996, 1; Scott 2004). Given a long history of uneven power dynamics with external forces acting upon the Caribbean, such promotion of scholarly reflexivity and a constructivist orientation seems well-founded. Power has often been obscured in the past when "dominant or contending groups...reconcile ideological interests and conflicts by disguising them through...mystified tropes and discourses" (Edmondson 1999, 4).

The Caribbean has been repeatedly reduced to representational tropes in scholarship. In anthropological literature, the region is often drawn according to divisive language of absence that include but are not limited to "fragmentation,"" instability," "reciprocal isolation," and "lack of historiography and historical continuity" (Benítez-Rojo 1996, 1). There has been a growing, subsequent schism between "the Caribbean that has developed in scholarly discourse" and "the events of today" as the imagined former has been built around a romanticized and "idealized representation of Caribbean society" which consists of uniform "tropes and paradigms identified with an essential Caribbeanness (Edmondson 1999, 2-3). Such romances participate in the construction of the Caribbean as an imposed designation associated with a conflict of modernity "in the sense of that phase…associated with Western culture and progress...and the paradoxical nostalgia for the old or backward cultures that modernity is meant to erase" (1999, 4).

This recognized "lag between the subjects that preoccupied contemporary Caribbean society and the general turn of Caribbean literary theory" presents particular challenges to Caribbean scholars working to reconcile "the connection between...Caribbean origins and…professional selves" (1999, 1-2). In other words, they are working to reconcile the knowledge that they brought to the academy and the knowledge that they learned in the academy. This is made more complicated by the multiplicity of Caribbean identities in discerning "precisely *which* experience of Caribbean life speaks for that society? The immigrant from America who sends money back to the family at home? The family who receives money from the immigrant?" (1999, 5). This representational tension is in layered, changing experiences of place and diasporic belonging.

Puerto Rico as social issue:

In the first case-study, Gardener's object collection and supporting archival documentation materialize Puerto Rico as an island in stasis, a site of rural nostalgia. Rural-associated domestic objects - not exclusive to Puerto Rican design or use - can be contrasted with many images of progress in areas such as agricultural mechanization, communication and travel. Lecture notes situate the island as a space bursting with economic potential for the U.S. mainland but in need of intervention and aid from the U.S. mainland. The social activism of Gardener in relation to women's suffrage seems to overlap with a certain level of humanitarianism, however politically motivated, towards the local people of the island.

The Caribbean region and the gendered connection with social issues have a long legacy in scholarship. One example is a critical response to a seminal 1957 piece, "My Mother Who Fathered Me" which weaved new arguments about culturally specific gender norms through feminist scholarship aimed at "rethinking West Indian kinship, especially women's roles and statuses…beyond the domestic domain…in production and in politics" (Lazarus-Black 1995, 50). The emphasis centered on the understanding of "what patterns of behavior mean to people, on their own terms" concluding that women cannot "father children because gender hierarchy and kinship norms…value and determine differently what men and women do" (1995, 51). That said the original work had classified its gendered behavioral observations "as a social welfare

problem" owing largely to "male irresponsibility" in its official representations to the state in Parliament (1995: 56). Its observations were owed, in fact, to a normative ideal of "middle class marriage and the nuclear family" by the writer (1995, 50).

Like Gardener, "My Mother Who Fathered Me" is not unidimensional and only worthy of critique. Indeed, they both showcased the observable island diversity of social situations respectively in image and text. For example, "My Mother Who Fathered Me" has often been narrowly evaluated as "the title of the book, even more than its carefully argued contents seemed to take on iconic proportions resonating with poetic power throughout the ensuing discourse on social development" (1957, vii). Existing outside of the limits of traditional scholarship, they both offer nuance and challenge macro-level anthropological trends towards modelling, typologies, and genealogies to provide insight into the on-the-ground, lived realities however distant from that of the observing narrators, Lazarus-Black and Gardener.

Contemporary collecting has more explicitly sought out the visions of individuals and communities who have traditionally been the subjects of representations rather than the narrators. In anthropological scholarship, such a dynamic has been referred to as a "proof in the pudding "argument" which centers the local experiences of "those who participate in those processes and who are most affected by them" (Trouillot 1992, 24). To illustrate, the 2018 exhibition, *Down These Mean Streets: Community and Place in Urban Photography*, organized by the Smithsonian American Art Museum curator, E. Carmen Ramos at the Museo del Barrio in New York demonstrated the potent visual currency of presenting place imaginings based around insider intimacy of Latinx artists rather than that of observer detachment of an outsider with a political aim. Fond neighborhood memories merge with painful realizations about enduring legacies of economic disinvestment and policing. Surrounding visitor conversations on the photography survey oscillated from reminiscing about past fashions to commiserating about waiting for the bus to marveling on imaginative artistic place interventions. Positioned in a Puerto Rican community-built institution during a moment of hostile representations towards Latinx groups and inner cities, the exhibit exemplifies the capacity of an exhibit to give voice to community.

Puerto Rico as indigenous past:

In the second case-study, Lothrop's object collection and supporting archival documentation materialize Puerto Rico as a former site of indigeneity evidenced by the recovery and the attribution of the different artifact type groups that were coming to define this culture, archaeologically speaking. Archival manuscripts support how these objects were operating in the development of theoretical thinking about material change over time and migration patterns in the ancient past.

Nevertheless, there has been an "alleged absence" of an indigenous presence in the Caribbean in traditional scholarship based on "an absence of a historical presence of material relics" or more specifically, that of "monumental ruins" (Forte 2005, xi). As a result of the absence of such hallmark characteristics that denote ancient civilizations elsewhere in the Americas, there has been an overall reluctance to accept local communities - as opposed to groups of objects - as proxies or "enduring relics" for indigeneity (2005, 4). Archaeologically, the Caribbean has often been segregated as a separate cultural area from its neighboring continental areas of "Mesoamerica and the Intermediate area," "Amazonia," "central and north-eastern Venezuela," and "British Guiana" (Rodríguez Ramos 2010, 20). This fits into larger contentions about the larger effects of perceived absences in the Caribbean, namely that it has

been a marginalized area of study as "a preface to more important things" (Wilson 1973, xii).

In fact, regional historical accounts usually frame discussions of Caribbean indigenous communities through terms of grave finality like eradication and decimation - due mainly to disease and harsh Spanish colonial labor practices (Williams 1970; Rogoziński 1999). Except for mentions of notable historical figures, usually religious men, who spoke out about their living conditions and abuse by colonial officials, indigenous groups are commonly described alongside the natural environment and then in terms of a forced agricultural labor force that is ultimately replaced by African slave trade. They are typically not alluded to again which establishes a firm temporal cut between what would be understood as the Pre-Columbian period and the historical period with the arrival of the Europeans. There have been recent interventions however to nuance understanding of indigeneity in the Caribbean particularly in respects to transparency on the definitions and limits of vocabulary. For instance, the use of descriptor, Taíno has been distinguished as a term or a word that has taken on variable concepts in historiography as a geographically-bounded cultural grouping of people defined by different criteria, also known as a phenomenon or a suite of shared cultural traits (Curet 2014).

In the 2018 exhibit entitled *Taíno: Native Heritage and Identity in the Caribbean* at the National Museum of the American Indian in New York, Caribbean indigeneity was explained and complicated. An array of type objects traditionally attributed to Taíno archaeological culture - including elaborated ceramics, three-pointer stones and stone collars - were presented in display cases and as replicas available for visitor handling along with a video describing ongoing international field projects. Taíno communities were located in the Spanish-speaking Caribbean islands (with an emphasis on Puerto Rico, Cuba and the Dominican Republic) by map features and excerpts from European chronicler accounts. Historical and scholarly accounts of indigenous erasure during the colonial period were challenged with the graphic presentations of different cultural practices that have had lasting legacies that include but are not limited to language, housing structures (i.e. bohío), making traditions (e.g. hammocks) and plant use. That said it was also acknowledged that local processes of industrial development and subsequent housing displacement in the case of the sugar plantation industry also played a part in erasure. Moreover, contemporary Taíno phenomenon was extended to name and depict the various groups on the island and in the diaspora that identify as indigenous and affirm their ancestry in different ways.

Puerto Rico as tradition:

In the third case-study, Vidal's object collection and supporting archive documentation materializes Puerto Rican tradition with a departure point of the Spanish colonial period with a continuity into the present-day. Tradition was often characterized among the privileged elites in his period as opposed to that of the incoming American presence - who would come to institute many, major changes to the island in the areas of government, education, and infrastructure.

Indeed, the anthropological trope of salvage collecting citing a scholarly imperative to preserve vulnerable, disappearing native cultures in the face of western encroachment is not novel to Vidal's historical context or confined to the region of the Caribbean. In an ethnographic example from Haiti, this way of thinking and working is clear through statements such as "thus life in the valley of Mirebalais continues the course it has followed for the past two hundred years" (Herkovits 1937, 9). Methodological selection of fieldwork sites thus privileged the "greatest purity in the districts remote from this center of European contact" - away from the urban and more cosmopolitan city of Port-a-Prince - in order to evidence "an important body of direct African cultural retentions" in a community "small enough...to know it well" (1947, v).

Such notions of isolating cultural authenticity presumed the authority and expertise of the anthropologist as an arbiter of the real and culturally significant. To continue with the Haitian example, local women were emphasized as subjects of important study as "essential bearers of tradition" in the face of the deterioration of African social structures on the island (1947, 9). That said cultural transmission could also be layered in actualized performance in which people "retain inner meanings of traditionally sanctioned modes of behavior while adopting new outer institutional forms" through "mechanisms of re-adaptation and re-interpretation of custom" (1947, vi).

Vidal's collecting may have been partly in response to a perceived American incursion, but his museum donation was centrally in response to environmental preservation of tradition. Personally housing the collection in his home became unfeasible over time given the particular treatment and storage needs of many of the older colonial materials on canvas and wood.

The environment is growing in popularity as a theme in Caribbean anthropological scholarship. Increasingly works have taken up the earlier call for scholarship to keep pace with contemporary events in the region (Edmondson 1999). In recent years, the number, strength and the impact of natural disasters has magnified - making it clear that the islands of the region face immediate threat with climate change. Research has explored how natural disasters perpetuate legacies of colonial hierarchy and heighten uneven, pre-existing community access to resources (Sheller 2013). Environmental vulnerability is being strategically transformed into an extractive economic opportunity in new tourism models (Moore 2010). The definition of local citizenship has expanded with the pressure of new technocratic responsibilities (Vaughn 2012). In this way, scholars confirm that that "nature does not exist outside of culture" but rather that "ecological processes…are indifferent to, though certainly not independent of, the human story" (Deloughrey, Gosson, and Hadley 2005, 3). Landscapes hold both traces of painful historical processes "saturated by traumas of conquest" alongside traces of cultural continuity "as vital repositories of indigenous and African beliefs as assertions of rebellion" (2005, 2-3). In the wake of Hurricane Maria's ongoing consequences for Puerto Rico, the concept of "aftershocks" - from a vocabulary usually applied to detail earthquakes - has been proposed to re-conceive disaster beyond that of a singular event with contained effects to that of a historical condition of crisis with lingering effects that entangle environmental and human threats (Bonilla and LeBrón 2019).

Collectors in Recollection

To contextualize the history of collecting itineraries in Puerto Rico, this section summaries some of the central patterns that connect the collectors - Helen Hamilton Gardener, Samuel Kirkland Lothrop and Teodoro Vidal Santoni, and their three respective institutional case-studies - the National Museum of Natural History (Washington, D.C.), Harvard's Peabody Museum of Archaeology & Ethnology (Cambridge, Massachusetts); and the National Museum of American History with the Smithsonian American Art Museum (Washington, D.C) - outlined in the project. At first glance, these collectors might not seem to be any more different. They have different backgrounds and hold different value systems. They travel to Puerto Rico under different historical circumstances and for different aims. And yet, looks can be deceiving. They all hold different levels of social privilege in local networks which supports their development as collectors. They all will employ collecting as a method of scholarship. They all make the decision to donate their resulting collections to institutions for future engagement.

Collector Proximity to Political Administration and Economic Power:

Each of the collectors is united in their personal backgrounds by an intimate link to local authority. This authority takes on varied forms at various historical moments. For Gardener, her link was her husband - an officer who carried the distinction of being the first person to hoist the American flag over Puerto Rico and whose military retirement following his service in the island during the Spanish-American War sparked an international tour that set the scene for both her later photography and her object acquisition from the island. For Lothrop, his link was his father - a co-owner of one of the largest, most lucrative sugar plantation businesses in Puerto Rico in the early 20th century. As a recent graduate, Lothrop was made responsible for building the Harvard's anthropological holdings from the island and it can only be assumed that he was chosen due to his experiences growing up in Puerto Rico and the potential of his inherited economic network with the plantation landed elite. For Vidal, his link was his long-time friend, Luis Muñoz Marín - the first elected Puerto Rican governor after years of military rule following the territorial incorporation of the island to the United States preceding its eventual and present-day commonwealth status. After receiving his higher education stateside in the Northeast, Vidal returned home to work for Marín in the 1950's and his collecting began in a context of Puerto Rican identity-building amidst continued, growing U.S. presence on the island.

Links to different configurations of authority not only led Gardener, Lothrop and Vidal to Puerto Rico, but they offered unique island mobility and collecting access. For Gardener, this is most evident in her photography collection. While the atypical diversity of the people and places represented in her images (in comparison to commercial photography of the period) can be explained at least in part to her social activism, it also indexes her capacity to simultaneously exist and move through a range of social landscapes. As a result, she can capture the military scenes of the newly installed U.S. administration on the island and the lush lifestyles of high-society families in the capital of San Juan alongside the immense poverty and barren working conditions of communities in the countryside. Moreover, Gardener's photography collection presents a much-needed possible explanation for a model house of a country dwelling donated to the museum by another officer wife. Based on comparison between the model house and an image of children working in an industrial school, the model house was the result of child labor and that any of its unique features were commissioned by the buyer. Gardener's assemblages exist in a wider, under-researched canon of military women collecting. For Lothrop, this is most evident in the local collecting context of his archaeological collection. Close-looking at accession records and archival material demonstrates his significant dependence on local interlocutors to identify archaeological sites of interest and to bring him material. One of the key reasons why Lothrop's presence on the island would have been communicated to the Puerto Rican agricultural community - who often came across shell heaps while plowing - was due to his relationship with plantation owners. While Lothrop does not directly address his privileged standing with plantation owners, fellow archaeologist Irving Rouse of Yale University later notes that he was unable to continue excavations at Lothrop's sites for his own project because the same owners would not give him the permission that they had granted Lothrop to access the land for study. Moreover, Lothrop's acquisitions extend beyond excavations to purchases from local collectors. His manuscript materials also cite earlier work by Puerto Rican scholars on island history and culture. Together, it is apparent that Lothrop had access to the labor and archaeological site knowledge of local farmers, to the plantation property of the economic elite and to the existing scholarship of the island's intellectual community. For Vidal, this is most evident in a number of ways: his life-long ability to collect and to personally house his

acquisitions, to travel beyond Puerto Rico to pursue particular object types (i.e. colonial period paintings) and to have an institutional legacy of donating and exhibiting island material. Vidal was a member of a prominent Puerto Rican family but gained a higher public profile in the island administration. His collecting interest started with an initial access to the governor's colonial period house, furnishings and domestic objects due to his position. He would leverage his visibility in building regional networks of maker communities to collect and build the data for his writings. While Gardener had Washington political ties and Lothrop studied at Harvard, Vidal's Smithsonian gift is said to have its origins in a newspaper article about his collection.

Positionality as Scholar:

Museum collectors Gardener, Lothrop, and Vidal shared the positionality of scholars albeit to differential degrees and for varied purposes. With the singular exception of Samuel Kirkland Lothrop, the collecting agents were not formally trained in anthropology nor did they go onto pursuing museum careers. In their respective circles however, Gardener and Vidal were public figures who were understood to hold expertise and through the act of donating their collections to the Smithsonian, were able to activate the museum institution as a space of individual agency and national representation of Puerto Rico in perpetuity. For Lothrop, his collecting on behalf of Harvard's Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology only marked the beginning of a lifetime in academia and Puerto Rico is probably his least well-documented site of study. Despite this, they all understood their collecting practice in Puerto Rico through the lens of public education.

Helen Hamilton Gardener was a prolific writer and a prominent social activist. Her many publications concerned social issues with a specific focus on women's rights. In terms of both of her role as a collector and her contributions to the history of institutional collecting in Puerto Rico, documentation exists in the form of traces - mainly accession records and archival notes. One of the defining elements of such documentation is a series of her lecture notes that are today housed alongside her photography collection at the National Anthropological Archives. These lecture notes challenge a number of assumptions that might be made of a woman collector of her station and from her time period. Collecting might have been a secondary pursuit to leisure travel but it was not conducted without aim or structure. When considered alongside her photographs and in the broader framework of her global travel, the lecture notes indicate a certain level of background research (e.g. geography, population statistics, economy) to be supplemented by visual evidence and a political argumentation for U.S. intervention on the island through statements such as those of derogatory comments about the Puerto Rican character. The lecture notes order Gardener's collection of the Caribbean island beyond that of a purely acquisitional exercise to that of a scholarly practice indexed by ephemeral moments of public exhibition in which Gardener authorizes herself to have a voice about the conditions of Puerto Rico (as she experienced them) but also and more largely, on national politics and the future of the U.S.-Puerto Rico relationship. Moreover, the donation of her visual and object assemblages renders materials that may otherwise have been relegated to original display for similarly privileged audiences and for consumption in domestic contexts in private collections to the public sphere – physically on the National Mall and remotely in Smithsonian digital platforms.

Teodoro Vidal Santoni has often been narrowly referred to as an amateur historian in official biographies (including that of current museum label text) and yet, his writings on Puerto Rico, while self-published, are many and expansive. Unlike Gardener and Lothrop, Vidal only worked in and on the Caribbean island. Vidal was the only scholar of the three, for example, to

locate Puerto Rican collections transnationally which can be likened to some degree to Gardener's collecting of image across diverse island spaces and communities. This wider appreciation for a history of collecting that predated his own work and lead to island material being housed in Europe and Latin America promoted a wider geographic area of Vidal's acquisition efforts. The specialized focus allowed him to build a life-long Puerto Rican collecting practice that spanned object type and time period as well as island region and collecting context. Lothrop and Vidal shared an affinity for collecting object types, but for Vidal, such types were part of a larger material argument about tradition and the contemporary continuity of practice from the Spanish colonial period. That said, Vidal's publications are generally based around a specific material type or regional practice. One of the other aspects of Vidal's scholar positionality that sets him apart is that he not only had wanted to be an actor in museum spaces, but he had also wanted to design his own museum institution to house his collections and to be a space for public learning. However, he did not receive the necessary local support to make the institution a reality which lay among the reasons why he donated a substantial part of his total collection to the Smithsonian. In this way, for both Vidal and Gardener as independent, self-taught scholars not formally tied to an institution, there were limits to the agency afforded to them by museums as a space of interpretation and by collecting as a practice of pedagogy.

Samuel Kirkland Lothrop was a life-long archaeologist and museum agent. He would be considered more of a traditional scholar in contrast to the two former collectors. Documentation of Lothrop's research in Puerto Rico can be similarly compared to Gardener's with the concept of traces however. His personal connections to the island (given his father's sugar plantation interests) and short-term work (as his first independent archaeological campaign) remains largely unknown and under-studied. His collecting practice though is not as obscured in museum records as that of Gardener and Vidal. The surviving archival manuscripts - while incomplete and owing attribution mostly to his wife, Rachel - suggest an original plan to more rigorously analyze his object collections for public scholarship and to contextualize them within the existing archaeological canon as evidenced by the format of the manuscripts which can be likened to the earlier writings of archaeologist, Jesse Walter Fewkes. With this, his object acquisition strategies followed what was then becoming to be understood as the attribution of major ancient Caribbean archaeological artifact type groups. Additionally, his manuscript content - particularly that of a comprehensive list of known archaeological sites - might also indicate unfulfilled plans to continue to work on the island (after the leveraging of plantation networks and development of relationships with knowledgeable local informants) and at the very least, now stand an available project blueprint for future archaeologists looking to work in the region. While Lothrop's archaeological excavations and scholarship advanced beyond the Caribbean to Central and South America, his positionality as a scholar in relation to Puerto Rico was never formally disseminated in publication, by later university students or with institutional commemoration.

Project in Recollection: From Absence to Presence

This project was originally conceived of as an act of documentation, a historical undertaking to investigate what, if anything, existed in the way of Puerto Rican collections in North American museum institutions. Over the course of a multi-year institutional survey which resulted in the first roll-out of the three-case studies reviewed here (which have been or are in the process of being published as separate articles or book chapters), many conclusions became evident as the project evolved. First, upon preliminary close examination of object records and follow-up visits to collections as well as related archives, the research question quickly shifted from a

determination of absence towards an evaluation of the diversity of materials across medium and disciplinary classification. Second, to best represent this diversity, three case-studies were selected based on how the identities of the collectors and the content of their collections challenged notions of material absence. Third, case-studies were built around museums that narrated historical turning points in the island's relationship to the United States.

From there, certain trends emerged with these object itineraries. Puerto Rican collections existed in the oldest, major institutions. These collections were typically among some of the first institutional acquisitions. Indeed, the 1898 Spanish-American War coincides well with the founding period of many U.S. museums several decades earlier. In terms of quantity, archaeological material far outnumbers ethnological or historical material though the acquisition of contemporary art in recent years has grown significantly. On one hand, Samuel Kirkland Lothrop typifies archaeological collectors. He acquired along established object type categories and research on his collection was taken up in later university-based scholarship. On the other hand, Lothrop is distinguished from most other archaeologists who came to work in Puerto Rico usually as part of research teams; their fieldwork was more meticulously catalogued and was published with greater systematic contextualization in developing archaeological theories about pottery style and migration.

Similarly, Gardener and Vidal's collections disrupt the anticipated composition of Puerto Rican ethnological or historical collections in U.S. mainland museum - undoing typical cuts of material classification. To explain, such collections usually number at around 10 - 20 objects in total and are narrowly comprised of domestic objects (e.g. gourds, baskets and straw hats) with little to no associated documentation. While Gardener and the other military-affiliated women collectors did acquire many of the same object types, Gardener's adjoining visual archive complicates the representation of Puerto Rico as a purely rural landscape and peoples the historical record. Additionally, the collection of a model house - which has not been recovered at any other North American institution - potentially evidences a customized acquisition. Conversely, Vidal expands the temporal range of the Puerto Rican historical canon in museum spaces by beginning in the Spanish colonial period and ending with more recent folk-art material.

Vidal's collection is the most publicly accessible of the three collections in ongoing exhibition. The versatility of its composition has afforded its regular use in rotating exhibits at the National Museum of American History. Currently, for example, several Vidal's objects are on display - including musical instruments and religions *santo* or saint figures - in an exhibit entitled *Many Voices, One Nation* under the section, "Peopling the Expanding Nation, 1776-1900: Beyond the Continent." Vidal's collection is not only used in this way to nuance the telling of the American story with the case-study of the Caribbean commonwealth but also to index larger national processes of historical change. In the same exhibit, another object from Vidal's collection - a pair of metal shackles - is employed in the front facade at the exhibit entrance describing the segment of the American population that came by force, enslaved African people. Moreover, the portion of Vidal's collection that is housed in the Smithsonian American Art Museum is completely on display apart from a few objects in remote storage. There, Vidal's collection is located both in a permanent exhibition on *Early American Art* and in a visible storage area. Object meanings shift across these two spaces as the former is part of an array of New Spain material tied to Catholic spiritual practice and the latter is part of a section on the different regional manifestations of American folk art.

Remembering Histories in Uncertain Futures:

In reassembling and amplifying the institutional case-studies for this project, museum collectors were remembered and Puerto Rican collections were remembered. More broadly, though, histories were remembered. Those histories which remember how Puerto Rico was collected in university and national museum institutional contexts by individuals that participated in scholarship but who weren't always characterized as traditional scholars. Those histories which remember the different chapters of an entangled U.S. mainland-Puerto Rican island dynamic that remains under current debate. More specifically, those micro-histories that reconstruct every day, on-the-ground material exchanges between communities usually underrepresented in museum histories - particularly that of women and of local people. Remembering historical contributions that we have forgotten or failed to previously recognize in shifting our understandings *of what work is* to be valued and *of who is* to be valued is important. Their presence is remembered in these spaces as well as their contributions not only to the physical act of collecting but also in how those collections were to be classified and understood as museum objects. In this way, the diversity of expertise and perspective that gave way to the institutional knowledge which informs collections was remembered.

The future of this project is critical and timely. The case-studies powerfully intersect with the present. This project was conducted in a new, defining moment of stateside and island recollection - the recollection of a political and economic relationship that today remains liminal and unequal. This project was conducted as a category 5 hurricane, Hurricane Maria struck the island in 2017. It was a disaster that had a devastating human toll and revealed many colonial legacies enduring in the island's present-day vulnerabilities - in areas like economy and infrastructure. Such colonial legacies had their roots in the U.S. administration established by Gardener's husband after the Spanish-American War and the economic opportunity granted to U.S. mainland-based businessman like Lothrop's father. Such environmental vulnerability had echoed Teodoro Vidal's earlier struggle to personally house his collections on the island before his Smithsonian donation that allowed for permanent conservation care. This project was conducted in the subsequent torrent of disparaging political representations of Puerto Rico as corrupt and ungrateful together with comparably insufficient national funds and resources provided for the island's recovery. Visual portrayals, in media outlets, depicted Puerto Ricans as passive, helpless subjects to the whims of environmental and human forces (Lloréns 2018). Such representations had echoed Gardener's earlier characterizations of Puerto Ricans that implied specific expectations of behavior deemed necessary when receiving aid in a power differential where the island lays at a distinct disadvantage. The project was conducted during the island-wide protest movement in the summer of 2019 which saw the resignation of the Governor Ricardo Rosselló after a texting scandal that defied traditional Puerto Rican "core cultural values" in its mockery of multiple marginalized groups in a moment of collective trauma (García-Quijano and Lloréns 2019). Such universal concepts of a unified Puerto Rican society can be tied to historical periods of national-identity building like Governor Muñoz Marín's tenure at the start of Vidal's collecting career.

The future direction of this research is to continue to narrate Puerto Rican museum object itineraries across different collections, collectors, institutions and time periods. The narration will shift from disproving historical absence - through the unit of individual case-studies - to re-assembling and activating spaces and material across cuts *from* local knowledge, *for* artifact classification and *by* disciplinary interpretation. What emerges is an unfamiliar and undetermined Puerto Rico. Not the designation to be classified and modeled as a problem to be solved. Not the

site of romantic tropes to be reduced to as an unchanging place of absence - stalled after the colonial destruction of an indigenous heritage. Moving past outside representations towards lived landscapes of experience and meaning, Puerto Rico emerges as what it has always been but not always collected as – a site of continuous history and of adaptative tradition, a site of local privilege and of local marginalization. A site that is self-constituted and self-constituting. The Puerto Rico that has been acted *on* by history and that continues to bear the reverberations but that has also acted *with,* and against and alone. The Puerto Rico that has always been present.

Endnotes

[i] For iconographic and historical discussions of American editorial cartoon representations of cultural 'others,' see Johnson, John J. 1980. *Latin America in Caricature*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

[ii] For late twentieth-century Latin American examples of the intersections of American empire building and consumption practices particularly in the arena of tourism, see Merrill, Dennis. 2009. *Negotiating Paradise: U.S. Tourism and Empire in Twentieth-Century Latin America.* Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.

[iii] For more on the relationship between women and war relief services during the Spanish-American War, consult the Clara Barton papers, 1805-1958, MSS11973, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[iv] While the arguments put forth in this chapter are grounded in the evidenced example of Helen Hamilton Gardener as a collector and the larger implications of women as collectors during this period, the author also acknowledges the possibility that the American officers were collecting during their service on the Caribbean island and then donating the resulting object collections to the Smithsonian in their wives' names. Officer collecting on behalf of their wives has been recorded in earlier American war contexts. See Wood, Leonard. 2009. *Chasing Geronimo: The Journal of Leonard Wood, May-September 1886.* Lincoln and London, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

[v] A brief overview of Mrs. Cassie M. Myers' biographical information is included within the records of Accession Number 061914, Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution. Accessed on microfilm.

[vi] This lecture was part of a larger research project concerning discussion of brain size difference among men and women that led to a debate with A. Hammond, New York neurologist and previous United States Surgeon General. Gardener ultimately donated her brain to research upon her death. See James, Edward T. 1971. *Notable American Women: A Biographical Dictionary, Volume II: 1607-1950, G-O.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

[vii] Museum collecting seems to have represented an agential opportunity for women. As an example, we might reference the unrecognized roles of Phoebe Hearst and Zelia Nuttall in the development of the Hearst Museum of Anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley. See Jacknis, Ira. 2000. "A Museum Prehistory: Phoebe Hearst and the Founding of the Museum of Anthropology, 1891-1901" *Chronicle of the University of California*.

[viii] The term, "Porto Rico" was a common anglicized spelling of Puerto Rico by Americans until 1932. All Spanish-American War officer material (and U.S. military related material more generally) came to be housed at the National Museum of American History. The records that discuss two examples of this curatorial division of Spanish-American War material (including that of Col. Selden Allen Day's flag) between the National Museum of American History and the National Museum of Natural History are held within Accession 035201 and 89779, Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution. Accessed on microfilm.

[ix] The inventory list of miniature objects associated with the model house are located in Accession 053560, Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution. Accessed on microfilm.

[x] This pamphlet is listed as part of a U.S. officer collection in Accession 035201, Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution. Accessed on microfilm.

[xi] Examples of other Puerto Rican miniature objects include culinary models such as E201479 and E201480, Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution.

[xii] The object inventories and designations by museum division (e.g. Division of Home and Community; Division of Armed Forces History) of the Mrs. Julian James' collection is compiled in Accession 70138, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution.

[xiii] Gardener's stereographs of the island's raw materials and their products are NAA INV 04346800 and NAA INV 04355400, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution. Examples of objects in process include 329851 and 329852, Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution.

[xiv] The site of the Puerto Rican plantation and the island's working rural communities have the subjects of seminal anthropological works narrating U.S. economic change to the island through the ethnographic lens of life histories (Mintz 1974; Steward 1956).

[xv] The author has introduced a second adaptation of the original map seen here (top right) to render the original site key (in the bottom left) more visible to the reader.

[xvi] The names of the archaeological sites are spelled and described according to how they were identified in Lothrop's archaeological archive. Certain site names have changed or relocated with later excavation work. The State Historical Preservation Office (SHPO) in San Juan, Puerto Rico has numerical site classification numbers.

[xvii] The term, unofficial is used here because Lothrop's expeditions to Puerto Rico on behalf of Harvard's Peabody Museum are not formally recognized in institutional records of archaeological expeditions.

[xviii] Lothrop: 1, 996.20, Folder 5.9, Harvard Peabody Museum Archives.

[xix] This assessment is based primarily on the researcher's personal observations over the course of previous fieldwork conducted to ground truth the location of Lothrop's archaeological sites as well as to note their current state of preservation particularly considering the apparent rate of construction and development on the western and southern coasts of the island. The primary data compiled in this chapter has been adapted from the researcher's unpublished bachelor thesis project (Guzmán 2011). Any preservation claims alluded to in the chapter refer to pre-2017 Hurricane Maria conditions unless otherwise indicated.

[xx] Vidal's military aide position was announced by Puerto Rican newspapers. See Box 4, Series 2B – Vidal Family and Friends, Folder 3 – Photos: Gov. Luis Muñoz Marín with Teodoro Vidal, Teodoro Vidal Collection, Accession Number 712, Archives Center, National Museum of American History.

[xxi] Vidal's privileged status is evident by such documents as a newspaper clipping announcing his departure to the U.S. mainland to attend the Wharton School of Business at the University of Pennsylvania and his later personal correspondence as well as high society event attendance with international dignitaries. See Box 1, Series 1 – Personal Papers, 1942-1988, Folders 1 and 3, Teodoro Vidal Collection, Accession Number 712, Archives Center, National Museum of American History.

[xxii] For a copy of "Willful Neglect: The Smithsonian Institution and U.S. Latinos," see Accession Number 07-039, Box 1, Smithsonian: Latino Task Force, Smithsonian American Art Museum, Curatorial Office, Curatorial Records, 1990-2001, Smithsonian Institution Archives.

[xxiii] The subject of Latino representation at the Smithsonian Institution continues today to be a source of discussion. In June 2018, the UCLA Latino Policy and Politics Initiative launched a project entitled, "Invisible No More: Disparities in Latino Representation & Inclusion in Nation's Preeminent Art & Cultural Institution, Smithsonian Institution."

[xxiv] Beth Richwine, Debra Hashim and Ed Ryan, personal communication, September 2016.

[xxv] Over the course of her Smithsonian tenure between 1991 and her untimely passing in 2013, Marvette Pérez can be credited with major strides in Latino representation at the NMAH with the acquisition and exhibition of other major collections from Puerto Rican figures like Tito Puente and Celia Cruz as well as contributions to the Latino Music Oral History Project and the Latino GLBT History Project of D.C.

[xxvi] For a longer discussion of the exhibit layout and text panel content of the NMAH's exhibit on the Vidal Collection entitled, *Puerto Rico: A Collectors Vision/Puerto Rico: La Visión de un Coleccionista* (1997-2000). see Duany 2002.

[xxvii] For specific examples of Vidal's exhibitions beyond the Smithsonian, see Box 5, Series 1 – Personal Correspondence with Museum; Hartford, Connecticut, 1975, Folder 1, and Oversize Folders, 18.7, Series 4B Posters: Exhibition Posters Related with Teodoro Vidal Collection (1979, 1983, 1984), Teodoro Vidal Collection, Accession Number 712, Archives Center, National Museum of American History.

[xxviii] To some extent, Vidal's donation of his family material to the Smithsonian may have been a practical decision. He didn't have any children onto which to pass on his collection. The family material (largely paper documents and photographs) likely also presented conservation concerns. See Box 2, Series 1A – Vidal Personal Photos; Box 3, Series 2A – Family Papers and Photos; and Box 4, Series 2B – Vidal Family and Friends, Teodoro Vidal Collection, Accession Number 712, Archives Center, National Museum of American History.

[xxix] For additional examples of Vidal's family heirlooms, see 1997.0097.0942.001, 1997.0097.0944.009, and 1997.0097.1141, Home and Community Life, National Museum of American History.

[xxx] For further examples of objects collected for their resemblance to objects in the Oller painting entitled, "El Velorio," see 1997.0097.0887, 1997.0097.0954, 1997.0097.1008, 1997.0097.1031, 1997.0097.1201, 1997.0097.1225, Home and Community Life, National Museum of American History.

[xxxi] As evident from earlier anthropological manuscripts, the interior is often considered the heart of cultural authenticity in the Caribbean. Interior here is understood here to comprise the central mountainous region and coastal lowlands. For an estimated numerical breakdown of the Vidal collection by different metrics like object type and date of fabrication, see Duany 2002.

[xxxii] For examples of Vidal's acquisition methods, see Box 1, Series 1 – Personal Papers, 1942-1988, Folder 2 and Box 10, Series 5 – Religious Materials, Subseries C-D – Prints with Religious Images, Miscellaneous Materials, Folder 24, Teodoro Vidal Collection, Accession Number 712, Archives Center, National Museum of American History. Many collection objects also have written inscriptions with maker names and other contextual information.

[xxxiii] For examples of knives used to carve *santo* figures, see 1997.0097.0174.001, 1997.0097.0174.002, 1997.0097.0174.003, Home and Community Life, National Museum of American History.

[xxxiv] For examples of Vidal's maker attributions, see 1997.0097.0013 and 1997.0097.1134, Home and Community Life, National Museum of American History.

[xxxv] For examples of carnival-related material, see 1997.0097.0371.001-3 and 1997.0097.0029.001-3, Home and Community Life, National Museum of American History. See also Oversize Folders, 18.9, Series 7: Photos: Photos of Paper Masks / Ponce Carnival, Archives Center, National Museum of American History.

[xxxvi] For a copy of the memorial card, see Accession Number 1997.0097, Gift – Vidal, Cultural History, Community Life, Accession Memorandum and Object List, Acquisitions Program Office, National Museum of American History.

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