

**Theodoor de Booy:
Caribbean Expeditions and Collections at the National Museum of the American
Indian**

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Like many other regions throughout the world, the colonial experience in the Caribbean included the arrival of North American and European archaeologists representing museums, universities, or scientific academies. The objects, specimens, and archival documentation gathered during their research were taken back to their countries of origin and today form part of major collections in museums throughout the world. Theodoor de Booy of the Museum of the American Indian was one these early foreign scholars working in the Caribbean. He collected thousands of objects and created a large photographic collection from his 13 archaeological and one ethnographic expeditions throughout the region between 1911 and 1918. Considering the breadth of his work, de Booy could easily be considered the leading specialist of Caribbean archaeology of his time. Unfortunately, despite his successful career, his role in Caribbean archaeology and the quality of the collections he obtained are greatly underestimated by scholars working in the region. This paper discusses the nature of de Booy's travels and research throughout the Caribbean, from Cuba and Jamaica to Venezuela, and characterizes the collections, now held by the National Museum of the American Indian. The projects, collections, and publications are assessed within the context of the period, and his impact on the archaeology of the region is discussed.

Como muchas otras regiones del mundo, la experiencia colonial en el Caribe incluyó la llegada de arqueólogos norteamericanos y europeos que representaban museos, universidades o academias científicas. Los objetos, especímenes y documentación de archivo reunidos durante sus investigaciones fueron transportados a los países de los investigadores y actualmente forman parte de importantes colecciones de museos alrededor del todo el mundo. Theodoor de Booy, del Museo del Indígena Americano, fue uno de los primeros investigadores extranjeros que trabajaron en el Caribe. Coleccionó miles de objetos y creó una gran colección fotográfica de sus 13 expediciones arqueológicas y una etnográfica a través de toda la región entre 1911 y 1918. Teniendo en cuenta la amplitud de su trabajo, de Booy podría fácilmente ser considerado el principal especialista de la arqueología caribeña de su tiempo. Desafortunadamente, a pesar de su exitosa carrera, su papel en la arqueología caribeña y la calidad de las colecciones que obtuvo son muy subestimados por los estudiosos que trabajan en la región. Este artículo analiza la naturaleza de los viajes e investigaciones de De Booy a lo largo del Caribe, desde Cuba y Jamaica hasta Venezuela, y caracteriza las colecciones que hoy día se encuentran en los depósitos del Museo Nacional del Indígena Americano. Los proyectos, colecciones y publicaciones son evaluados en el contexto del período y se discute el impacto de De Booy en la arqueología de la región.

Comme beaucoup d'autres régions du monde, l'expérience coloniale dans les Caraïbes a vu l'arrivée d'archéologues nord-américains et européens représentant des musées, des universités ou des académies scientifiques. Les objets, spécimens et documents d'archives recueillis au cours de leurs recherches ont été ramenés dans leur pays d'origine et font aujourd'hui partie des principales collections des musées du monde entier. Theodoor de Booy du Musée des Amérindiens était l'un de ces premiers érudits étrangers travaillant dans les Caraïbes. Entre 1911 et 1918, il collectionne des milliers d'objets et crée une grande collection photographique à partir de ses 13 expéditions archéologiques et d'une expédition ethnographique à travers la région. Compte tenu de l'ampleur de son œuvre, de Booy pourrait facilement être considéré comme le principal spécialiste de l'archéologie caribéenne de son époque.

Malheureusement, malgré sa carrière couronnée de succès, son rôle dans l'archéologie caribéenne et la qualité des collections qu'il a obtenues sont largement sous-estimés par les chercheurs travaillant dans la région. Cet article traite de la nature des voyages et des recherches de M. de Booy dans les Caraïbes, de Cuba et de la Jamaïque au Venezuela, tout en caractérisant les collections aujourd'hui détenues par le National Museum of the American Indian. Les projets, collections et publications sont évalués dans le contexte de l'époque et l'impact de De Booy sur l'archéologie de la région est discuté.



Figure 1. Theodoor de Booy in the Dominican Republic in 1916 (National Museum of the American Indian [Neg. N04834]).

Introduction

Anthropology, archaeology, and museology are relatively young disciplines and it is clear that they were formed against a colonial background. Their perspective at that time was the study of the “other” or the exotic, which often was framed within the concept of natural history or the history of nature; it involved the non-civilized or acculturated world. This approach required sending expeditions to collect information and materials for study and exhibition to the

public. Like many other regions throughout the world, the Caribbean experienced this colonial endeavor that included the arrival of foreign archaeologists, mostly from the United States and Europe, representing museums, universities, or scientific academies as part of what has been called “imperial science.” The objects, specimens, and archival documentation gathered during their research were taken to their countries

of origin and today form part of major collections throughout the world.

Theodoor de Booy of the Museum of the American Indian (MAI) in New York city was one of these foreign scholars working in the Caribbean early in the 20th century. He collected thousands of objects and created a large photographic collection from at least 14 expeditions between 1911 and 1918. These collections are now housed at the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution in Washington D.C. The primary purposes of the essay are to present the scope, range and limitations of both the objects and archival collections and to provide a view of their potential for future research.

Considering the breadth of his work, de Booy could easily be considered one of the leading and most prolific specialists of Caribbean archaeology of his time. Unfortunately, despite his successful career, his role in Caribbean archaeology and the quality of the collections he obtained are greatly underestimated and underused by scholars working in the region. This paper discusses the nature of de Booy's travels and research throughout the region, from Cuba and Jamaica to Trinidad and Venezuela, and characterizes the collections he obtained in these endeavors. De Booy's projects, collections, and publications are assessed below within the context of the period, and his impact on the archaeology of the region is discussed. In order to contextualize de Booy's work, we start with a general history of the institution that supported him followed by his biography.

From MAI to NMAI (based on McMullen 2009)

In 1897 George G. Heye, an engineer by training, conceived the collections now in the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) when he purchased a Navajo (today Diné) hide shirt. This event was to

become the catalyst for Heye's intense interest in Indian cultures (especially material culture) and his eagerness, passion, or *idée fixe* on collecting both ethnographic and archaeological native objects. His collection continued to grow and by 1903 he was already purchasing large archaeological collections. By this time, Heye began building a professional staff for what was known informally as the "Heye Museum," sending out expeditions that involved not only purchasing objects, but also undertaking archaeological and ethnographic field research. By 1916, the collection had grown to 58,000 objects and he officially registered the Museum of the American Indian (MAI), Heye Foundation. When the museum opened its doors to the public in 1922, it included ancient and ethnographic exhibits on North and South American and Caribbean indigenous cultures. Throughout the rest of Heye's life the collections continued to grow. By the time of his death in 1957, it is estimated that the collections reached about 700,000 objects.

The museum struggled in the face of overwhelming financial difficulties in the late 1970s and 1980s. In 1989 the U.S. Congress passed the NMAI Act, which provided the funds to purchase the MAI and transfer it to the Smithsonian Institution as the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI).

Heye's collection program in the Caribbean began with Frank D. Utley's expedition to Puerto Rico in 1904-1905 to purchase objects from local collectors. In 1907, Rev. Thomas Huckerby became a collector for the MAI in the Lesser Antilles. De Booy joined these efforts in 1912 when he began conducting archaeological expeditions to various parts of the Caribbean and Venezuela. Mark Harrington, mostly a North Americanist, led expeditions in 1915 and in 1919 to Cuba, where he excavated a

large number of sites. Most, if not all, of these expeditions also included purchasing collections and accepting donations.

In addition to contributing thousands of objects to the collections, these expeditions generated archaeological information and photographic records, much of which is still useful to archaeologists today. Although only two published reports by Huckerby on petroglyphs from Grenada and St. Vincent are available, de Booy and Harrington published the results of most of their work. Other professional archaeologists such as Marshall Saville, Jesse W. Fewkes, and Samuel K. Lothrop conducted minor MAI-sponsored expeditions to the region and donated some objects. Further additions to the collections were made by purchases or donations of objects provided by American, European, and local Caribbean collectors or art brokers.

Today, NMAI's insular Caribbean collections include over 9,000 catalog records representing over 43,000 objects, most of which were obtained between 1905 and 1985. Of these objects, over 99% are archaeological in nature, arguably representing one of the largest Caribbean-wide archaeological collections in the world. Despite this substantial quantity, the entirety of the Caribbean is not represented equally, as some islands are not represented and some are better represented than others.

De Booy: Archaeologist, Ethnographer, Geographer, and Spy

Theodoor de Booy (**Fig. 1**) was born in 1882 in Hellevoetsluis, Netherlands. Little is known about his life before migrating to the U.S. According to some documents, he obtained a high school diploma and a college degree in general science from the Royal Navy Institute of Holland (National Archives, Washington [NA], RG 59 General Records of the

Department of State, Applications and Recommendations for Appointment to the Consular and Diplomatic Service, 1910; NMAI Archives Box 58; Saville 1919: 182). He was fluent in Dutch, English, German, and French (NA, Applications 1910) and possibly he was able to at least read Spanish judging from the references in his reports. De Booy migrated to the United States in 1906 and, for at least three years, he lived in Minneapolis where he was employed by the Switch and Signal Company as a railroad signal engineer. He married Elizabeth Hamilton Smith in 1909 and moved to Kentucky with his wife's family. They had two children, Mary Hobson and George. In 1910, he described his profession as "agriculturalist" (agronomist, farmer?) in a naturalization form (National Archives at Atlanta, Declarations of Intention for Citizenship, compiled 1906 - 1976), while in other occasions he listed his trade as geographer (NA, World War I Selective Service System Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918) or ethnographer, as well (NA, Records of the US Customs Service, RG36; NAI Number: 2655153; Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1787-2004; Record Group Number: 85I). He became a U.S. citizen in 1916.

De Booy began his career in archaeology in the Turks and Caicos in 1911, publishing his results the following year in *American Anthropologist* (de Booy 1912). That same year George G. Heye hired him as a field explorer for MAI's West Indies research program. Between this time and his resignation in March 1918, de Booy led at least 13 MAI archaeological expeditions to the region (Table 1) where he conducted site reconnaissance or excavations in many islands. In addition to conducting fieldwork, he also purchased or obtained donations of objects from local collectors.

Table 1. De Booy's Expeditions and Research Projects in the Caribbean Region.

Approx. Dates	Location	Type of Work	Photos	Cat. Nos./ No. of Objects	References
1911	Turks and Caicos	Reconnaissance and excavations	2	103/378	de Booy 1912
Jun-Dec 1912	Bahamas	Reconnaissance and excavations	3	18/23	de Booy 1913a
Jan-Mar 1913	Jamaica	Reconnaissance and excavations	6	149/645	de Booy 1913b
Jul-Oct 1913*	Dominican Republic	Reconnaissance and excavations	53	255/682	de Booy 1915
Apr-May 1914	Dominican Republic	Reconnaissance and excavations	15 (check cave images)	142/759	de Booy 1915
Feb. and Oct-Nov 1914	Cuba	Reconnaissance	100	89/722	Harrington 1921: Chap IX
Feb-Apr 1915	Margarita Island, Venezuela	Reconnaissance and excavations	75	161/787	de Booy 1916a, 1916b
May-Sept 1915	Trinidad	Reconnaissance and excavations	27	151/2331	de Booy 1918d
May-Aug 1916	Dominican Republic	Excavations	85	178/1218	de Booy 1919a
1916	Puerto Rico	Reconnaissance and excavations	71	75/847	Not Published
1916	Martinique	Reconnaissance	16 (none archaeological)	3/8	Not Published
Oct 1916-Feb 1917	Danish West Indies (Virgin Islands)	Reconnaissance and excavations	224	348/2669	de Booy 1917c, 1919b
May-July 1918	Perijá Mnts., Venezuela	Ethnographic	11	E116/207 A2/5	de Booy 1918b, 1918c

*This number includes a few objects de Booy may have obtained during a stop in the Turks and Caicos.

Interestingly, sometime before the summer of 1917, de Booy was recruited by the U.S. Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI) as an “agent in foreign lands” (Browman 2011; Browman and Williams 2013: 346; Harris and Sadler 2003: 372). He formed part of a WWI program using American archaeologists and anthropologists as naval officers to conduct espionage in Latin America under the guise of conducting field research. Many well-known archaeologists of that period were assigned to different countries/regions of Central and South America to collect information on many aspects, including the presence of groups, agents, or government officials with pro-German sentiments, possible assistance being given to German ships, and the presence of U-boat bases. In the case of de Booy, he was given the code number 142 and was assigned to Cuba. According to a passport application, apparently he traveled to this island in that capacity at least once in June of 1917 (NA, U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925, Roll # 370, Volume# 0370). Here he reported his profession as archaeologist, but it is not clear if he visited the island in that capacity as a cover. However, in an ONI list of agents dated December 1917, de Booy’s record is labeled as “closed” (NA, R38 ONI, Plan of Intelligence Service Office Through Commercial Firms, 1917).

In addition to his fascination with archaeology, de Booy was interested in history, folk traditions, and cultural and physical geography. Sections in many of his archaeological publications dedicated to some of these topics attest to this, as do a number of articles published in a variety of venues ranging from newspapers (e.g., de Booy 1917a, 1918a, 1918b, 1918c) to specialized journals like the *Geographical Review*, *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, *Scientific Monthly*, and *Scientific*

American (e.g., de Booy 1916 a, 1917b, 1918e, 1918f; see bibliography in Saville 1919).

For reasons that are not yet clear, de Booy resigned from MAI in March 1918. Some documents in NMAI archives mention a letter from de Booy dated December 29, 1917 petitioning a leave with pay for six months to lead an ethnographic expedition to the Venezuelan and Colombian Guajiras. In return, de Booy agreed to donate “all ethnographic and archaeological specimens collected by the expedition” (National Museum of the American Indian Archive Center [NMAIAC], Museum of the American Indian/Heye Foundation records, Minutes of the Board of Trustees’ Meetings, February 5, 1918). The Board of Directors authorized Heye to grant the leave in February 1918, and Heye informed de Booy of the board decision and the conditions for his leave in a letter dated March 2. On March 6, however, de Booy presented his immediate resignation (NMAIAC, Museum of the American Indian/Heye Foundation records, Box 213, Folder 6).

In April of the same year, de Booy approached the Penn Museum (PM) in Philadelphia with a similar proposal for an expedition to Venezuela. In a letter dated April 1918 to George B. Gordon, director of the latter museum, Heye explains that de Booy was asked to resign because “He [de Booy] has felt that he should be limited to the particular field [the Caribbean Region] in which he has done his work, and objected to being sent elsewhere” and it was “impossible for us [MAI] to do anything in the West Indies for an indefinite period...” (Penn Museum, Administrative Records, American Curatorial Section, Box 27 folder 14; brackets added). Eventually, de Booy was temporarily hired as a curator by the PM and headed the ethnographic expedition to the Sierra de Perijá in Venezuela to research the Motilone Indians from May to

August 1918. The expedition was funded with a grant from the American Geographical Society and with the support of the PM (de Booy 1918g). Interestingly, in his draft registration card dated September 1918 (after his return from Venezuela), de Booy described himself as a geographer working for the State Department, but the address of his employment was the same as the offices of the American Geographical Society. It is highly possible that the Society hired him to work in President Wilson's famous "Inquiry" to collect geographic information on a number of countries and colonies as part of his preparation to participate in the Paris Convention that ended World War I.

De Booy died of influenza at his home on February 18, 1919.

It is clear from this cursory biography of de Booy's life and work that he was a very responsible, active, dedicated, and prolific researcher. According to Saville (1919: 183-184), he made a point of always preparing "reports immediately after each expedition." In terms of his scholarly contributions, much of his work can be considered seminal. A number of his field projects, for example, were the first archaeological studies conducted on some of the islands (e.g., Virgin Islands [de Booy 1917c, 1919b]) or regions (e.g., eastern Dominican Republic [de Booy 1915]). Also, he was well acquainted with the archaeological literature of the region and was much familiarized with the early chronicles available at that time. With the help of specialists from other sciences, de Booy was probably one of the earliest, if not the first, to conduct some form of archaeometry in the region (see summaries of his projects below). Furthermore, the scope of his research program--which included all of the Greater and some of the Lesser Antilles, the continental island of Margarita, and Venezuela--was never

surpassed by any other early archaeologist in the region. Although several foreign archaeologists had already worked in the Caribbean prior to de Booy, it is clear that, with the possible exception of Fewkes, he could be considered the primary collector in the archaeology of the Caribbean of his time.

That said, however, the quality and depth of some of de Booy's early publications were not up to par with those of his contemporaries. Many of his initial publications tended to be somewhat unsophisticated and amateurish. In some instances, his publications tended to be short, even when he had spent a relatively long time on an expedition, and his interpretations were inconsequential or relatively simplistic, even for his time. As Heye described it in the letter to director Gordon mentioned above: "...he knows more about collecting than he does about archaeological problems." As time went on, however, de Booy's reports improved considerably and became more professional as described below. Considering the broad and diverse scope of his projects and the number and quality of the archaeological and photographic collections, his work is not only a valuable resource for researchers, students, and others, but also a legacy that contributed to shaping the archaeology of the region. De Booy's contribution continues today as some researchers (e.g., Ostapkowicz et al. 2012a; Rouse 1942, 1952) have used and still use his collections and work to advance our knowledge of the ancient past of the Caribbean.

De Booy's Work: Expeditions, Objects, and Photographs

Unfortunately, despite the large number of de Booy's published works, none of his field notes have been found in the archives of MAI. The amount and the level of detail in his publications suggest the

existence of, at minimum, a journal, and possibly other documentation. Apparently, de Booy's field notes, photographs, and some objects were in his possession at his house at the time of his death. Records indicate that MAI purchased or accepted as donation a considerable number of de Booy's photographs and some objects from his wife Mary. However, it is clear that these sets are incomplete, since several photographs published in his reports were not included in those transactions and no reference to any field notes is mentioned. Nonetheless, despite the incompleteness of the archival materials, the body of photographic resources, combined with the object collections, the catalog cards, and his publications are a formidable resource of useful information for researchers.

The following sections include a summary and assessment of each one of de Booy's archaeological (non-ethnographic) expeditions with the intent of gaining a better understanding of the evolution and trajectory of his work, career, and his legacy to Caribbean archaeology. Most of the discussion that follows is in chronological order. The only exceptions are his expeditions to Santo Domingo, today Dominican Republic, which he visited three times between 1913 and 1914 (de Booy 1915, 1919a). These are discussed together to avoid repetition. Table 1 lists these expeditions and provides summarized information about the collections and photographs available in NMAI's archives. It is important to repeat here that not all the objects in the collections are the product of de Booy's excavations, since the collections may include objects purchased or accepted as donations from local collectors, farmers, or others. However, in many instances the catalog cards make this distinction.

Although, as shown below, de Booy's publications evolved through time, in many ways, most of them follow a similar

organizational pattern. With few exceptions, most of them tended to begin with a background discussion that included the natural, geographical, and geological settings, a description of the native people based on ethnohistorical sources, ethnographic information from modern lowland South American groups for analogy purposes, and an account of the early European colonization and its impact on the indigenous population. Early on in his career, de Booy provided little detail or no information at all about his excavations. Most of the time, the information was restricted to the location of the site (i.e., island, a region of an island, or the general locality) and the objects obtained. Little, if anything, is said about the size of the excavation units, their context, or the process of collection. However, as time went on, the reports began to include more details, additional sections, and, in some cases, the use of new analytical techniques. For example, details tended to increase concerning the exact location and dimensions of the units, stratigraphy, description of vertebrate and invertebrate fauna, and description of the immediate landscape surrounding the sites. Frequently, de Booy recruited the help of specialists on malacology, mammals, and water chemistry from other institutions such as the American Museum of Natural History and the National Museum (today Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History). As de Booy gained more experience, the discussion in his publications became more complete and sophisticated, especially in the description of objects, as well as in the use of the comparative method by associating objects and assemblages from different islands.

Turks and Caicos (de Booy 1912, 1918h)

De Booy's first experience in archaeological work was his trip to the Turks and Caicos Islands in 1911. None of

the above biographical and archival information provided any indication on how a signal engineer living in Kentucky became interested in this field. At the time of this expedition he was yet not working for the MAI and it is unknown who funded this work. Even more mysterious is why he started his career in the Turks and Caicos.

The published report (de Booy 1912) is organized by the various islands he visited within Turks and Caicos, including Providenciales, the Ambergris Cays (Ambergris and Little Ambergris Cays)¹, and North, Grand (today Middle), and East Caicos. He was able to find archaeological evidence on all of these islands with the exception of the Ambergris Cays. A total of ten sites were investigated: two of them open-air settlements (or “mound sites” as he called them) and the rest in caves.² Most of

the information included consists of short and simple descriptions of these sites and their artifacts. The report ends abruptly with the description of the work on East Caicos and the objects collected. It does not include a discussion section, much less a conclusion segment. Although not recovered at that time by him, de Booy also shows the famous stone pendant (de Booy 1912: Pl. VI) (**Fig. 2a**). The object, which probably was owned by John S. Cameron, was acquired eventually by the MAI, probably in 1912, but the details of the accession are not available, yet. Eventually, de Booy sold, donated, or deposited most of the materials from this expedition in MAI, although a few pieces can also be found at the Smithsonian’s National Museum of Natural History.



Figure 2. A: Anthropomorphic stone pendant from Kew, North Caicos (National Museum of the American Indian Cat. No. 03220); B: monolithic stone axe from Juba Point, Providenciales Island (National Museum of the American Indian Cat. No. 031913).

De Booy's collection from the Turks and Caicos consists mostly of pottery (N= 327 individual pieces). Although a thorough analysis has not been conducted, it seems that the majority of these belong to the Meillacan Ostionoid series, Chican Ostionoid series, and Palmetto ware (**Fig. 3**). Moreover, the collection contains at least 26 stone artifacts made of non-local igneous rocks, including a monolithic axe (Fig. 2b) and the famous anthropomorphic pendant mentioned above. He also collected a large wooden mortar, but considering that de

Booy did not mention it in his report, it is possible that this is an ethnographic object and not an archaeological one. Only two field photographs are available in NMAI's archives for this expedition, and only one of them is published in the report. The publication, however, includes an additional field photograph not present in NMAI's archives. Moreover, his publication in *Geographical Review* (de Booy 1918a) describing the geography of these islands contains five additional photographs not present in NMAI's archives.



Figure 3. Examples of pottery from the Turks and Caicos recovered by de Booy (National Museum of the American Indian, Cat. Nos.: A: 032211.001, Jacksonville, East Caicos or Providenciales (?); B: 032204; Chalk Sound, Providenciales Island; C: 031964, Pumpkin Bluff, North Caicos; D: 031965, West Harbor Bluff, Providenciales Island).

Bahamas (de Booy 1913a)

De Booy's first official expedition as MAI curator was for six months in the Bahamas (de Booy 1913a). Unfortunately, he did not publish a report on this work. Instead, he prepared a short publication describing three "noteworthy" objects he collected: two made of wood and one of stone. The first one is the now well-known paddle (Fig. 4a) found by de Booy himself in a cave on Mores Island. This object was studied by Ostapkowicz and colleagues (2012a: Table 1) who identified the wood as mahogany (*Swietenia* sp.) and radiocarbon-

dated it to cal. AD 1436-1616 (2-sigmas). The second was a gift from Dr. F. A. Holmes, a dujo or stool (Fig. 4b) found in a small cave on Acklins Island. Ostapkowicz et al. (2012a: Table 1) identified the wood as *Cordia* sp. and obtained a date of cal. A.D. 1437-1618 (2-sigmas). The third object is a broken axe (axe-god) carved with a human figure on one of its faces (Fig. 4c), found in the bushes on the coast of Betsy Bay on Mayaguana Island. As in the case of the previous publication, the report ends abruptly with the description of the latter artifact and without a concluding section.

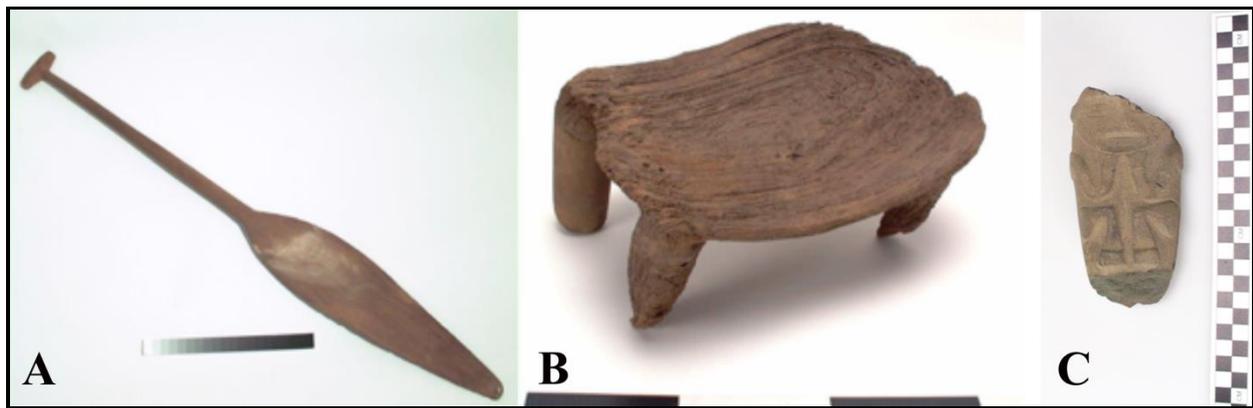


Figure 4. Paddle found by de Booy in Mores Island, Bahamas (National Museum of the American Indian, Cat. No. 032574); B: duho or stool from Spring Point, Acklins Island, Bahamas (National Museum of the American Indian, Cat. No. 032575); C: carved stone axe or axe-god from Mayaguana Island (National Museum of the American Indian, Cat. No. 032228).

Altogether, the collection for these islands consists of only 22 objects, none of them ceramics. Of these, there are 18 made of igneous stones, mostly axes, one shell celt, a human head made of coral, and the two wooden objects mentioned above. Islands represented in the collections include Mayaguana, Mores, Aklins, Crooked, Ragged, Great Inagua, St. Georges, New Providence, Little Abaco, Eleuthera, and Eastern Plana Cay. To this day, it is difficult to explain or understand why de Booy

collected so few objects during an expedition that lasted from June to December and that visited at least ten islands. The lack of pottery is staggering, considering that de Booy's collection from the Turks and Caicos, islands belonging to the same geographic Bahamian (Lucayan) archipelago, produced considerable numbers of ceramics.

Considering that most of the items are complete objects and unique or uncommon, it is possible that many of them

were acquired from local collectors through donations or purchases. This may suggest that the expedition consisted of obtaining existing collections instead of fieldwork, a common practice of museums at that time. Only three photographs of coastal landscapes exist in the archives of NMAI: two of Mayaguana Island and one of Acklins Island, the first two taken from the ocean. None of them were included in the publication.

Jamaica (de Booy 1913b)

From January to March of 1913, de Booy visited Jamaica and was "...enabled to excavate some of the typical aboriginal

kitchen-middens found in various parts of the islands" (de Booy 1913b: 425). He published the report later that same year. Apparently, he concentrated his efforts on the site of Retreat (see Allworth-Jones 2008: 138-140), a hill-top site with at least 16 middens surrounding a supposed "artificially leveled central area" (de Booy 1913b: 427). At the time of de Booy's excavations the site had already been investigated by Miss Moulton Barrett and Dr. J. F. Duerden (1897). In his publication, de Booy discusses the excavations at the site, which, at first hand, seem to have concentrated solely on mounds no. 1 to 4 (**Fig. 5**).



Figure 5. Photographs of de Booy excavations at Retreat, Jamaica (National Museum of the American Indian [Neg. No.: A: N04876; B: N04875]).

This publication shows a great improvement compared to his previous writings in terms of the level of professionalism, quality of the writing, and detail of the information. These improvements include:

- mentioning specifically the purpose of some of the excavations (to obtain materials and to determine the location of the huts),

- describing and identifying in the map the location and dimensions of the excavation units, and providing photographs of some of the trenches,
- discussing in detail the internal organization of the site, its stratigraphy, its strategic location, settlement patterns, and the

- surrounding landscape--all this accompanied by sketches,
- discussing the potential natural transformation processes to explain the differences in the physical properties of the pottery between middens,
 - providing a detailed (for his time) description of the “diagnostic” pottery, and comparing it with his material from Turks and Caicos and those excavated by Fewkes in Puerto Rico and Cuba, and concluding “...that the Jamaica pottery should not be included in the culture-type of that of Porto Rico, Hayti, Cuba, and the Bahamas, but that it belongs in a class by itself” (de Booy 1913b: 433),³
 - describing the faunal assemblage and identifying species of land and marine invertebrates and at least one fish species.

Furthermore, the number of objects brought to the museum was triple the number he provided from Turks and Caicos.

As in his previous publications, however, he ends the article abruptly with a two-sentence paragraph describing only the stone and shell artifacts and in very broad strokes. Nonetheless, this improvement seems to suggest that he was trained or mentored by a more experienced archaeologist from MAI or from other institutions in the New York area (e.g., the American Museum of Natural History or Columbia University) or, perhaps, someone with more experience accompanied him in the field.

While de Booy published only his excavations on mounds 1 through 4 (out of

16 mounds) at the site of Retreat, documents and inventory⁴ associated with this collection present a view of a much broader excavation program. First, in addition to the excavations in the report, inventory lists include materials excavated from mounds 5, 6, and 7, suggesting that his publication was a partial report. Moreover, the lists also indicate that he excavated a cave in Rio Bueno (not necessarily the open-air site with the same name mentioned by Allsworth-Jones [2005: 94]) and the site of Moneague. However, considering the relatively low number of artifacts from these sites in NMAI’s collections (see below) compared to the collections from Retreat, it is highly possible that he only conducted reconnaissance in these two sites. The expedition also purchased or accepted donations of large numbers of objects from all the sites mentioned above and other localities including Retreat, Orange Valley, Dry Harbour, Cedar Valley, Salt River, Ocho Rios, York, and from the country of Costa Rica. The discussion that follows concentrates exclusively on the collections excavated by de Booy and not from purchases or donations.

Understandably, the majority of objects are from the site of Retreat, where de Booy spent most of his efforts and time in Jamaica. The collections for this site include 68 catalog numbers and 252 objects (Figs. 6-7). Thanks to the detailed information included in the shipping inventory, the catalog of these objects is organized mostly by midden number and the exact date when they were excavated. The objects consist mostly of pottery, but a few stone tools and samples of unmodified shells are also present.



Figure 6. Examples of pottery recovered by de Booy at the site of Retreat (National Museum of the American Indian, Cat. Nos.: A: 033183; B: 033190; C: 033196; D: 033221).



Figure 7. Examples of stone (A and B) and shell (C and D) objects recovered by de Booy at the site of Retreat, Jamaica (National Museum of the American Indian, Cat. Nos.: A: 033278; B: 033275; C: 033225; D: 033238).

The collections excavated in Moneague consist of only 17 objects distributed in 11 catalog numbers (see Fig. 8A and B): 4 stone artifacts and 13 ceramic fragments. The collections from Río Bueno include 204 objects in 7 catalog numbers:

202 ceramic fragments (Fig. 8C and D), one whole ceramic vessel, and one stone celt. In addition to these objects, de Boy seems to have purchased or accepted objects from local collectors (Fig. 9).



Figure 8. Examples of ceramic objects recovered by de Booy at the sites of Moneague (A and B) and Río Bueno (C and D), Jamaica (National Museum of the American Indian, Cat. Nos.: A: 033246; B: 033241; C: 035254; D: 046081).

With regards to field images, de Booy included only two photographs in his published report, both showing stratigraphic profiles. NMAI's archives have only six photographs from this expedition and while one of them shows a profile, none of the published images are present. Three of the other archived photos are of the excavation process and the last two are “country

scenes.”

In conclusion, even though de Booy's publication of his work in Jamaica was not as thorough and extensive in terms of its scope, the level of competence and adequacy of the descriptions and interpretations of the excavations at Retreat were of a much higher quality than in his previous work.

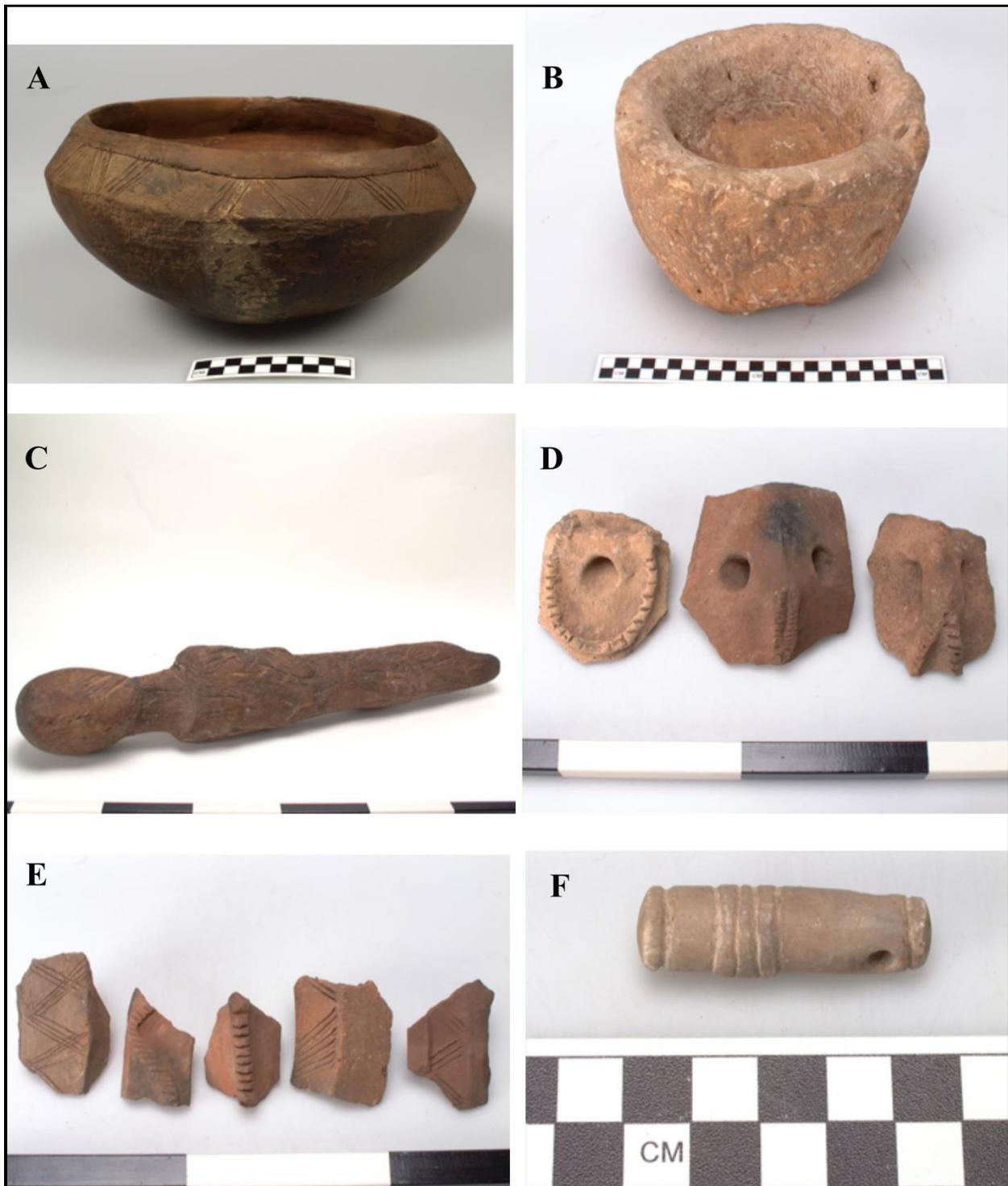


Figure 9. Examples of objects obtained by de Booy from sites other than Retreat, Moneague, and Rio Bueno. (National Museum of the American Indian, Cat. Nos.: A: ceramic vessel, 033290, Bratt's Hill District; B: 033302, stone mortar, Brownstown; C: 033300, wooden pestle, Cedar Valley; D: 033297, ceramic adornos, Clarendon Parish; E: 033295, decorated pottery, Clarendon Parish; F: 033273, stone pendant, Orange Valley).

Dominican Republic (de Booy 1915, 1919a)

As mentioned before, de Booy visited Dominican Republic at least three times: in 1913, 1914, and 1916. As in previous expeditions, he conducted fieldwork, but also obtained other objects through donations or purchases from local individuals. Here, the first two expeditions are discussed together since they took place in the same regions and were reported in the same publication (de Booy 1915).

Saona Island, Salado (Cape Macao) and Cape Engaño (de Booy 1915). The 1913 expedition began at the Island of Saona off the southeastern coast of Hispaniola and lasted for 16 days. The expedition suffered from mosquitoes and sand flies, lack of potable water, and heat. During this time, de

Booy surveyed the eastern side of Saona, close to the only sandy beach where boats are able to land and are protected (Fig. 10A). Despite his efforts to find a habitation site during those 16 days, he only found a shell deposit, where he conducted “extensive excavations” (de Booy 1915:78), without finding any obvious artifact. He also found ceramic concentrations at the bottom of inland cliffs and in front of cave entrances. These results led de Booy to conclude that no strong evidence of a significant indigenous occupation existed in the eastern side of Saona. Materials in NMAI collected by de Booy include 21 catalog numbers and 174 objects (Fig. 11), most of them pottery, along with a few stone tools, one clay sample, and 21 photographs.

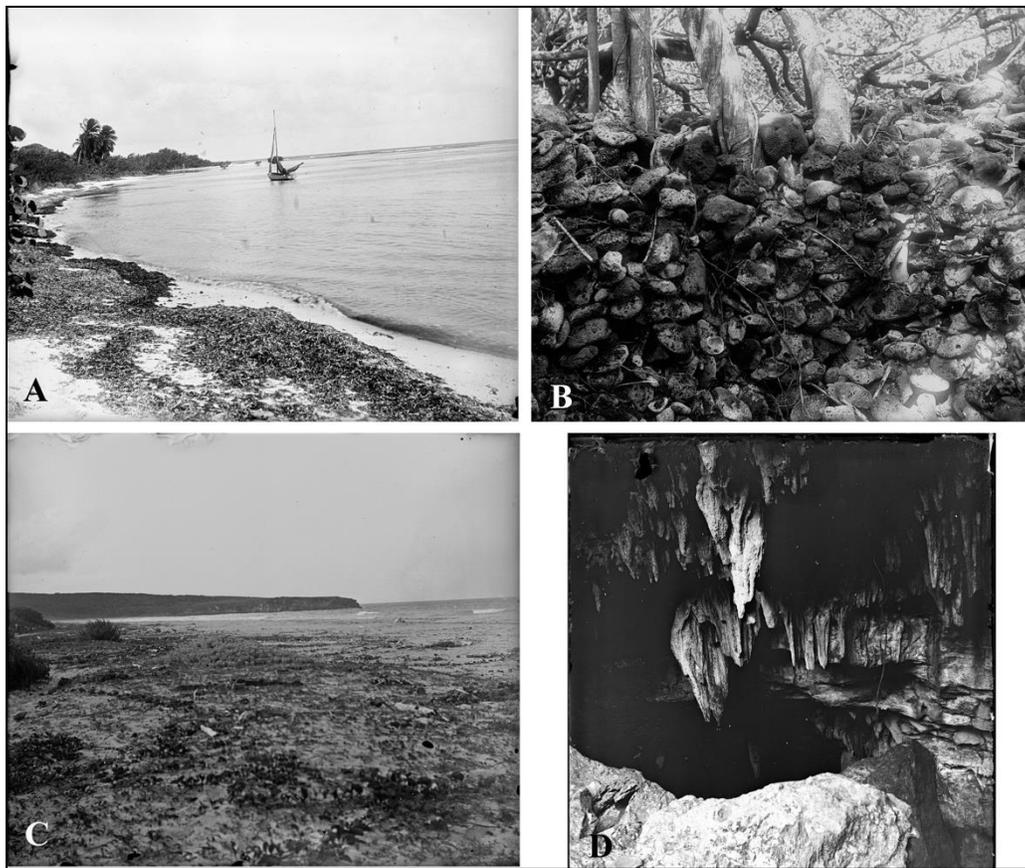


Figure 10. Photographs of Saona and Macao taken by de Booy (National Museum of the American Indian Cat. Nos. A: N05065, south beach of the island; B: N05062 shell heap, Saona; C: N05028 Cape Macao; D: 05038, cave interior, Macao).



Figure 11. Examples of objects obtained by de Booy on the island of Saona (National Museum of the American Indian, Cat. Nos.: A: 034138, stone celt; B: 036319, ceramic handle (?); C: 034128, decorated sherd; D: 034137, stone axes).

From Saona Island, de Booy traveled to the northeast of the main island via the village of Bayajibe and the town of Higüey to arrive at Salado in the Cape Macao region. Here, he concentrated his efforts on surveying and collecting objects (Fig. 12) from open-air surfaces, cave floors, and the bottom of subterranean lakes, as well as conducting “excavations at various sites” (de Booy 1915:86). He re-visited this latter

area in April of 1914 to continue surveying the caves and expanded his search to caves further south, in the area around the Peñon de la Vieja Rufiña near Cape Engaño, south of Macao. Most of the objects collected were fragments of ceramic bottles, for which these archaeological regions are famous, and ceramic stamps. Moreover, de Booy obtained several objects from private collectors (Fig. 13).



Figure 12. Examples of objects obtained by de Booy in the Salado region, Dominican Republic (National Museum of the American Indian, Cat. Nos.: A: 033921, ceramic bottle; B: 033922, ceramic bottle; C: 033929, fragment of ceramic bottle; D: 034137, ceramic bottle; E: 033981, stone axe; F: 033935; ceramic bottle).

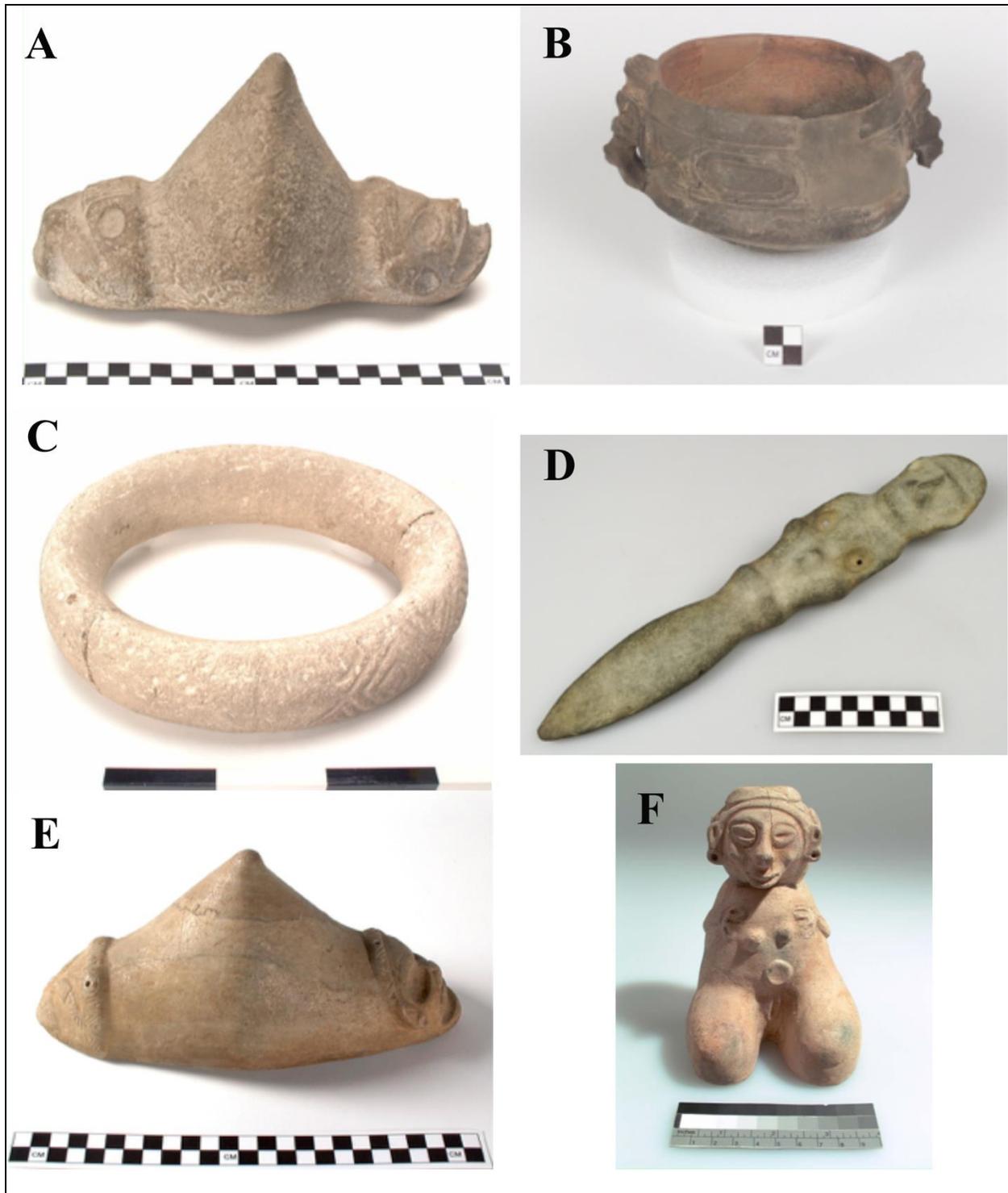


Figure 13. Examples of objects obtained by de Booy from local collectors from Dominican Republic (National Museum of the American Indian, Cat. Nos.: A: 033941, stone three-pointer, San Pedro de Macorís; B: 036459, ceramic vessel, Altagracia; C: 036322, stone-collar, El Seibo; D: 036372, stone staff or “dagger,” Santo Domingo; E: 033941, stone three-pointer, San Pedro Macorís; F: 033931, ceramic effigy bottle, Santo Domingo).

Although the publication provides some details of the methodology used by de Booy, it does not report as much information as in the case of Jamaica. For Saona, he describes the “extensive excavations,” but does not discuss unit sizes or the stratigraphy. He only presents some sketches of the location of the few archaeological deposits in relation to the inland cliffs and caves. In the case of his work at the caves around Capes Macao and Engaño, he only mentions the strategy of surveying them and collecting objects, focusing mostly on bottoms of cave lakes and on areas between boulders fallen from the cave ceiling. No detail of any kind concerning the excavations (location, size, depth, etc.) is included. Since the caves did not seem to have been inhabited, de Booy tried unsuccessfully to find a nearby, permanent, open-air site in the Salado area. The rest of the report, however, concentrates on describing the ceramic bottles and stamps he found in the caves. Interestingly enough, de Booy had the water of one of the subterranean “lakes” chemically analyzed and included the results in this publication (de Booy 1915: 88). This is perhaps one of the earliest, if not the earliest, example of “archaeometry” work in the region.

Altogether, the collections obtained by de Booy’s from these regions include:

- 172 catalog numbers and 261 objects specifically from the Salado area, and 40 photographs of the Higuey/Salado/Macao region,

- 31 catalog numbers and 185 objects for Cape Engaño.

No photographs of this last locality are present in the collections. At least 25 photographs of the fieldwork on Saona are present in our collections, as well as 21 of his explorations of the caves. The rest, about 22 photos, are not related to the archaeological work. All images included in

the 1915 report are present in NMAI’s photograph archives.

Unfortunately, while the objects are catalogued according to the region of origin, no records exist detailing which of the objects were obtained from surface collections and which from excavations. The great majority of the pottery belongs to the Boca Chica style of the Chican Ostionoid subseries of Hispaniola, although some Ostionan Ostionoid may be present.

Ingenio Cristóbal Colón, San Pedro de Macorís (de Booy 1919a).

De Booy returned to Dominican Republic in 1916, a few days after the landing of U.S. forces that began the occupation of this country, which lasted until 1924. It is not clear, however, if by this time he had been already recruited by the Office of Naval Intelligence and was also acting as a U.S. government agent. The archaeological goal of this expedition was to excavate “a large shellheap on the Cristobal Colon sugar plantation” that was reported to him during his previous trip to the island by the administrator of the estate, E. Despaigne. The plantation is located on the Higuamo River on the south-central coast of Dominican Republic.

During his stay at the estate, he investigated several mounds; all but two were relatively small and had been impacted by agricultural practices. The two exceptions were the largest mounds, one located under and impacted by the construction of the administrator’s house and the other an intact mound near the stables. Both of them were of the “same character..., that is, a combined burial-ground and kitchen midden” (de Booy 1915:114). It is in the latter mound that he decided to concentrate his work, since it had not been cultivated or heavily constructed upon. Interestingly, de Booy mentions that all these mounds were relatively near the river and near natural springs (Fig. 14).



Figure 14. Photographs of Ingenio San Cristóbal and de Booy's excavations; a: view of the Ingenio from the river Higuamo; B: view of the excavations; C: view of the excavations; D: bird-eye view of de Booy's excavation (National Museum of the American Indian Cat. Nos. A: N04319; B: N04846; C: N04853; D: N04861).

The mound near the stables was relatively large, about 188 x 80 ft. (57 x 24 m), and was located on a bluff facing a mangrove area and the river. Two units were excavated in the mound. The initial, smaller unit was located on the northern edge of the mound and, based on the plan provided, it measured about 40 x 15 ft. (12 x 4.6 m). Although at least three burials (two of them with pottery) were found, this unit was abandoned because of the shallowness of the deposit. The second unit was much larger with dimensions of 63 feet square (de Booy 1915: 116) or 19 x 19 m. Three general strata were identified by de Booy in this

location, and twenty burials were unearthed, all of them in the deepest layer.

About half of the report consisted of a description of the midden contents, mostly of the faunal remains and burials. Once again, de Booy collected samples of marine and terrestrial invertebrates, birds, and fish and sent them to specialists at the American Museum of Natural History and the U.S. National Museum (today National Museum of Natural History) for their identification. Although the samples probably are not representative, it is remarkable that by that time de Booy considered it important to identify these species. The burials included

both children and adults, and all of them were secondary or bundle-burials, as de Booy called them. Two-thirds of the burials had at least one ceramic vessel, on many occasions upside-down over the remains. In addition to these, the excavation produced a large number of artifacts including pieces of pottery, complete or partially complete pottery vessels, axes, other ground stones, and at least two shell bowls. Also of interest is a large charcoal sample collected for further study.

In some ways, this report is more detailed and complete than the previous ones. Although to a point it is similar to the one on his expedition to Jamaica, it also has some positive differences. In terms of field work, de Booy not only described and sketched the excavation units on a map, but he also included detailed descriptions and interpretations of the stratigraphy that allowed him to reconstruct the sequence of events or history of the mound. Analytically,

the discussion of the “content of the middens” is more elaborate and detailed mainly because of the inclusion of the identification of fish, invertebrate, and bird species and the description of the burials and funerary offerings.

The collections at NMAI for this expedition include 135 catalog numbers and 1126 objects (Fig. 15-16). However, some of these objects may not have been the product of the excavations, but from purchases or donations. Almost all of the pottery seems to belong to the Chican Ostionoid subseries, which in Hispaniola is commonly dated from AD 800 to 1500 (Rouse 1992). The collections also include at least 33 photographs of the excavations at Ingenio Cristóbal Colón. In addition, about 80 other photographs from the Dominican Republic are archived at NMAI, but at the moment they cannot be associated with any particular expedition.



Figure 15. Examples of stone axes (A and B; scales 1 cm/square) and ground stones (C and D; scales 10 cm/square) obtained by de Booy at Ingenio San Cristóbal. (National Museum of the American Indian, Cat. Nos.: A: 072016; B: 058348; C: 058351; D: 058350).

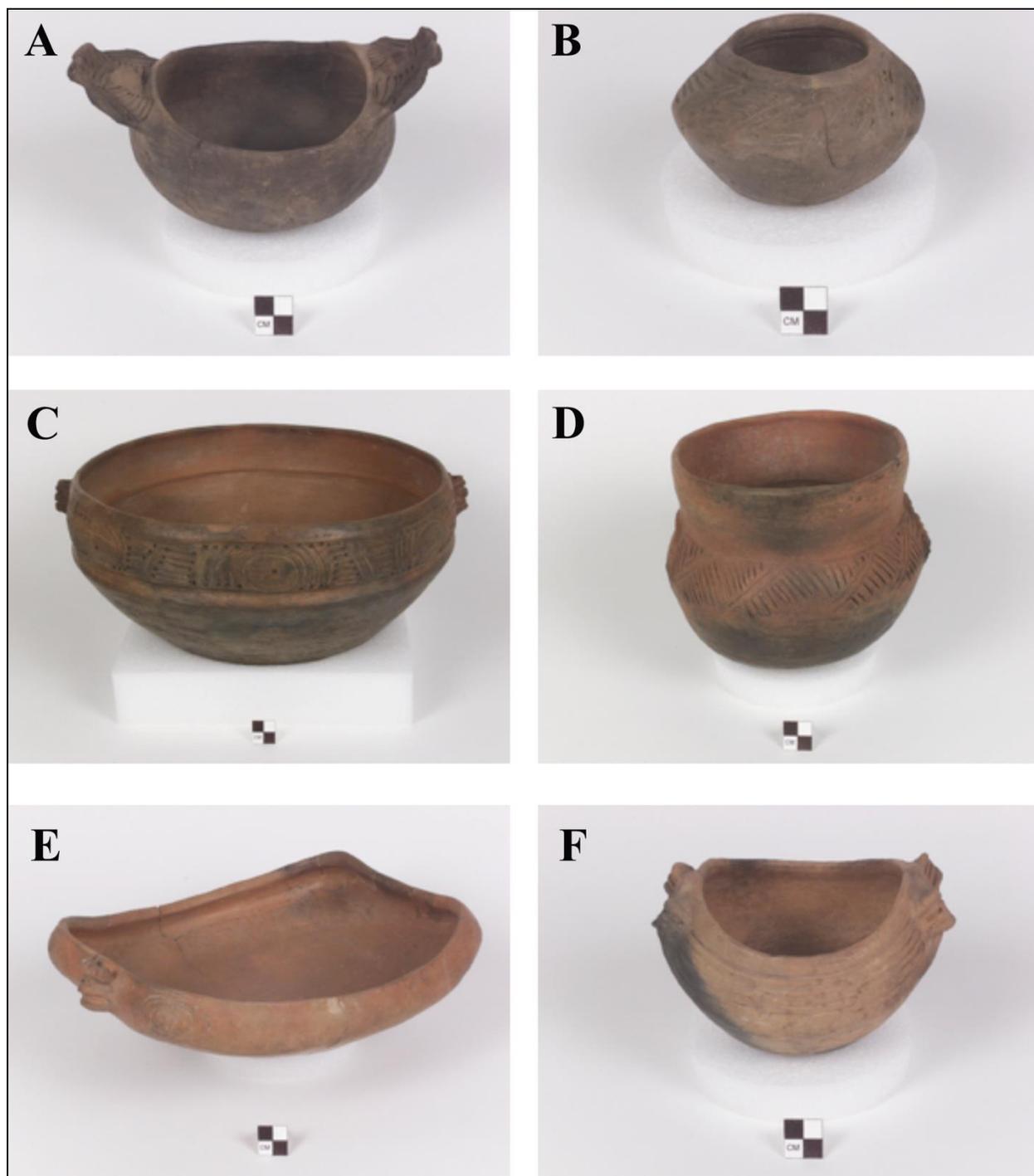


Figure 16. Examples of ceramic vessels obtained by de Booy in Ingenio San Cristóbal (National Museum of the American Indian, Cat. Nos.: A: 056599; B: 057139; C: 053750; D: 058289; E: 059303; F: 058290).

Cuba 1914 (Harrington 1921)

De Booy made his first visit to Cuba in 1913 in a stop-over on his way to the Dominican Republic. During his stay he met with Dr. Luis Montané of the University of La Habana, who provided him with information on the archaeological region in the eastern part of the island. De Booy returned two more times to investigate that region. The first one was in February 1914 and the second one in October and November of 1914. According to a report de Booy prepared years later, it "...was not the object of this [expedition] trip to carry on extensive archaeological excavations or to make a systematic exploration of the numerous caves with which this region abounds..." rather "...the nature of the work being more of a reconnaissance to determine the best localities for future operations..." (NMAIAC, Mus. American Indian/Heye Foundation records, Box 191, Folder 69). Those "future operations" were later led by Harrington (1921).⁵

De Booy never published the report or any other archaeological information on his expedition to Cuba. To complicate matters, only the first three pages of his unpublished manuscript mentioned in the previous paragraph have been found in NMAI's archives, and none of them provide details on the archaeological work or its results. Fortunately, Harrington deemed "...appropriate to incorporate [in his 1921 publication] ...an account of the work done by the late Theodoor de Booy..." (1921:230ff) and transcribed in his book selected sections that provide information on his archaeological activities. The discussion that follows is based on these accounts.

While de Booy's work during his two trips to the region of Gran Tierra de Maya in eastern Cuba consisted of exploring and investigating locations, he also conducted some excavations at two sites. In the first one, Finca Caridad, he concentrated

his efforts on one of the few mounds not impacted by modern agricultural practices on the property. Here he excavated a trench 12 ft. (3.7 m.) wide and about 15-20 ft. (4.6-6.1 m.) long and was able to identify four distinct strata. As in the case of Dominican Republic, this report includes a list of shell species present in the deposit and an interpretation of the strategies used by the ancient population to collect them. Using the information obtained from the trench and additional shovel-pits throughout the rest of the mound, de Booy was able to identify spatial patterns in the disposal of ashes and shells by the natives. The ashes concentrated in a section along the southern end of the mound, while shells were spread-out on the eastern and southern slopes. The northern side had considerably lower concentrations of remains, leading de Booy to conclude that the house was located on the top of the mound and that that section had served as access to the structure and workspace. The report includes a plan map of the mound showing the location of the trench and the concentration of ashes and shells, as well as a stratigraphic profile of the trench with a description of each stratum.

The report indicates that considerably more work was conducted at the site without providing any details beyond stating that no trench was excavated in other deposits and that the stratigraphy of those deposits was similar to the one already discussed above. The collections at NMAI for this site consist of 27 catalog numbers and 536 items. Most of the objects comprise plain-ware pottery, but the collections also include a few decorated sherds, a fragment of a stone axe, a stone bead, two small stone balls, and two pendants (Fig. 17A and B), one in the shape of the head of a parrot made of mother-of-pearl (Fig. 17C; Harrington 1921: Fig. 63). All the decorated and diagnostic pottery belongs to the Chican Ostionoid subseries.

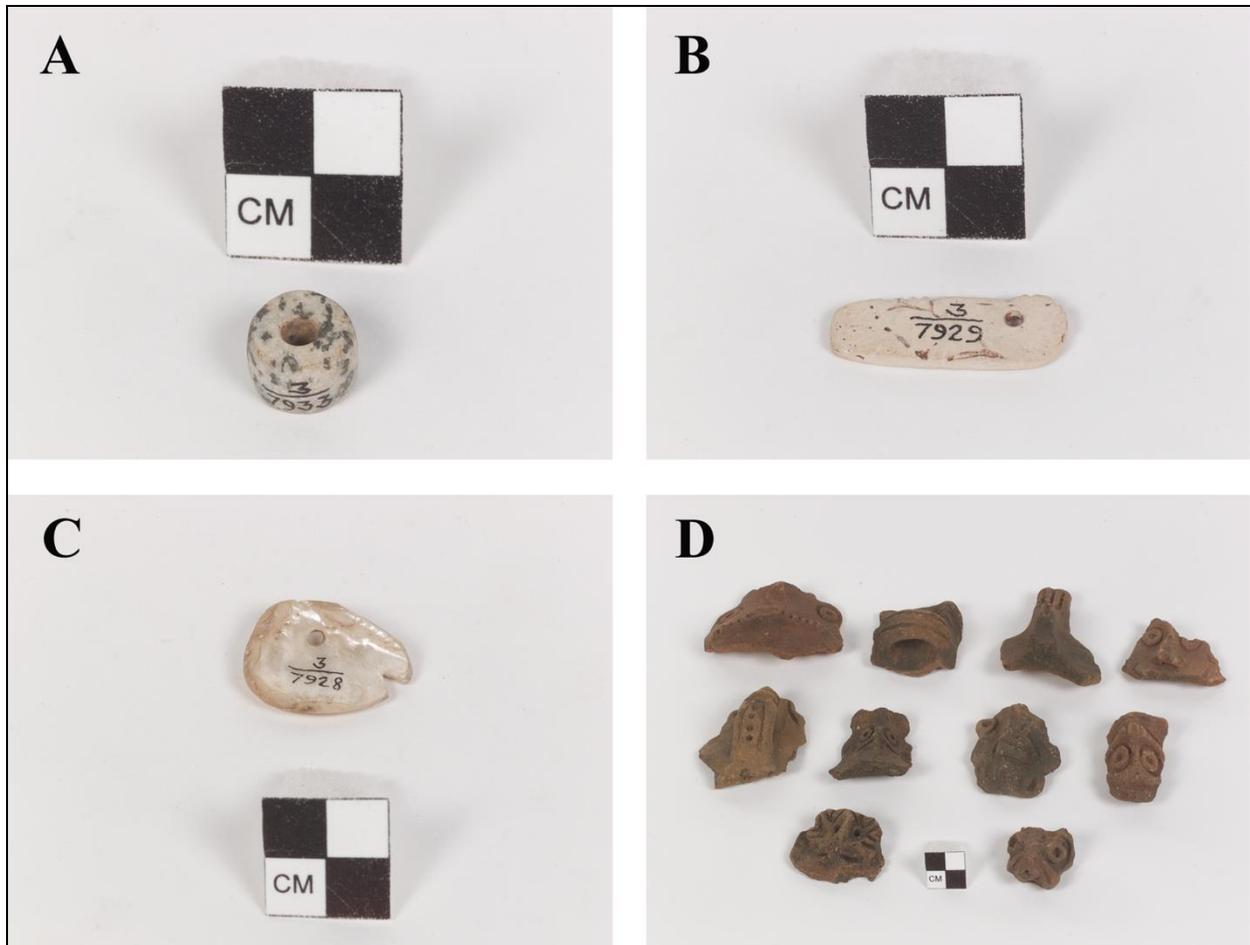


Figure 17. Examples of objects obtained by de Booy at Finca Caridad, Cuba (National Museum of the American Indian, Cat. Nos.: A: 037933, stone bead; B: 037929, shell bead; C: 037928; D: 040673, ceramic sherds.

The second site is known as Finca Sitges. Excavations were conducted here, as well, but the number, location, and dimensions of the units are not detailed. However, the lower number of objects from this site in the collection suggests a less extensive approach compared to the work at Finca Caridad. De Booy does mention that this site was more difficult to excavate because all of the mounds had been impacted by agriculture, but, with the exception of the presence of a layer of cobbles, their stratigraphic sequences were

similar to the ones found in Finca Caridad. No plans of the mounds or excavations were included. The collection from this site in NMAI include only 94 pieces of pottery and one *Oliva* sp. bead distributed in 12 records (Fig. 18).

Altogether, 100 photos related to de Booy's expeditions to Cuba are present in NMAI's archives, but only four pictures on the archaeological work. However, in a non-archaeological publication (de Booy 1917e), de Booy included seven photographs that are not present in NMAI's archives.

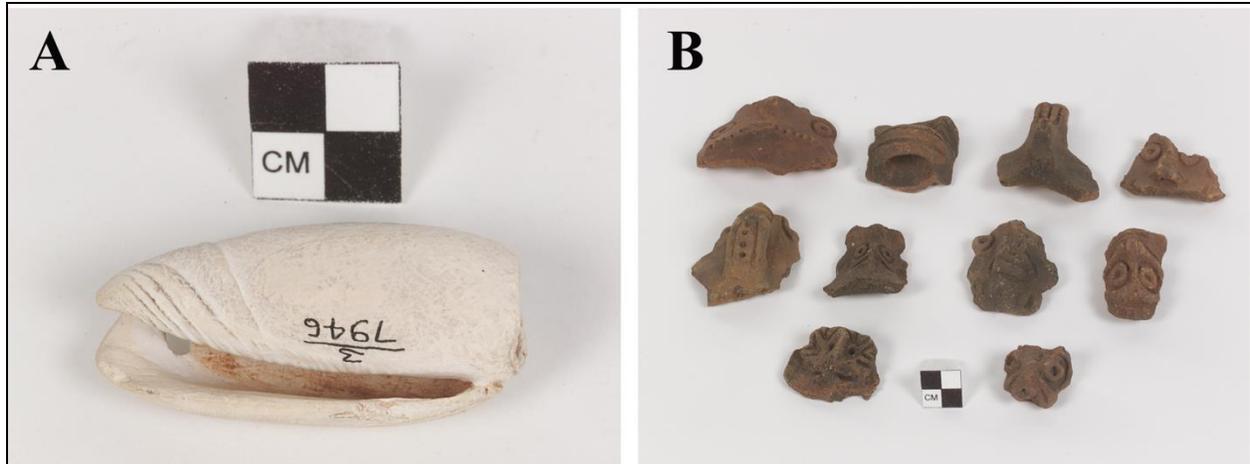


Figure 18. Examples of objects obtained by de Booy at Finca Sitges, Cuba (National Museum of the American Indian, Cat. Nos.: A: 037946; B: 037944).

In general terms this report is similar to the ones discussed for Dominican Republic. However, here he continues incorporating a comparative discussion into his analysis. For example, he dedicates a section to comparing the Cuban kitchen-middens with the ones in Jamaica, concluding that they are similar in content and organization but that the strata were thinner or shallower in the former case than in the latter. He concludes that the Cuban middens were occupied for a shorter time. A second discussion focuses on the predominance of shallow ceramic vessels in these two sites compared with the deposits he had investigated from other islands. Finally, de Booy points out the similarity of the Cuban material (i.e., ceramic decoration and stone figures) and material from the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico.

Margarita Island (de Booy 1916)

Margarita Island, an island that belongs to and is off the coast of Venezuela, was surveyed and investigated by de Booy (1916) from February to April 1915 with the

purpose "...of studying the cultural remains of its former aboriginal inhabitants" (de Booy 1916: 1) (Fig. 19). After surveying multiple areas throughout the island and interviewing informants in diverse localities, de Booy's finds consisted mostly of a few surface materials or scatters. He found the only site with clear, formal deposits along the Rio Viejo, in a locality called Giri-gire, which is about 2.5 miles from the coast. The site is composed of three midden clusters. Although he calls this site the "Giri-gire shell-middens" in the publication, the catalog cards refer to it with the name of the nearby modern community, San Jose de Paraguachi. The rest of the objects from the island that were collected, purchased, or accepted as donations also came mostly from surface finds. Other archaeological features reported by de Booy are non-natural depressions in the southern part of the island, a very arid area (see Fig. 19d). According to local informants, these were dug in pre-Contact times by native groups to collect and preserve rainwater.



Figure 19. Photographs of Margarita Island; A: shell deposit on seashore between Porlamar and Pampatar; B: “village site”; C: “pre-Columbian village site”; D: two of de Booy’s field assistants, “M. and Pedro Kaoba in artificial depression on village site” (National Museum of the American Indian Cat. Nos. A: N04092; B: N04122; C: N04104; D: N04126).

The collections at NMAI for this expedition consist of 161 catalog numbers and 787 objects, most of which are pottery (Fig. 20) and stone tools, although some worked and unworked shells and a few faunal remains are also present. Two whole and one partial ceramic vessels were collected, all of them relatively small. The first is, a small drinking vessel with one handle (Fig 20d), the second is a jar in the form of a foot (possibly another drinking

vessel; Fig. 20c), and the third is an incomplete shallow, open bowl with geometric incisions in the interior (Fig. 20b). Stone artifacts (Fig. 21) include a good number of axes of different shapes, but also several unusual specimens that de Booy called double-point stones (Fig. 21d) and a bifacial projectile point (Fig. 21c). Some of the shell artifacts seem to have been axes or hoe blades made of *Lobatus gigas* (Queen conch). The unworked shells and faunal

remains belong to a variety of taxa whose species were identified and included in the publication (de Booy 1916: 15-16). Most of the pottery is plainware and not easy to classify. Nonetheless, a few Saladoid pottery sherds are present (Fig. 21A), as well as ceramics that have not been assigned to a

particular cultural category. The archival collections also include 75 photographs, but only ten of them are archaeological in nature. However, four photographs included in a non-archaeological publication (de Booy 1916a) are not in NMAI's archives.

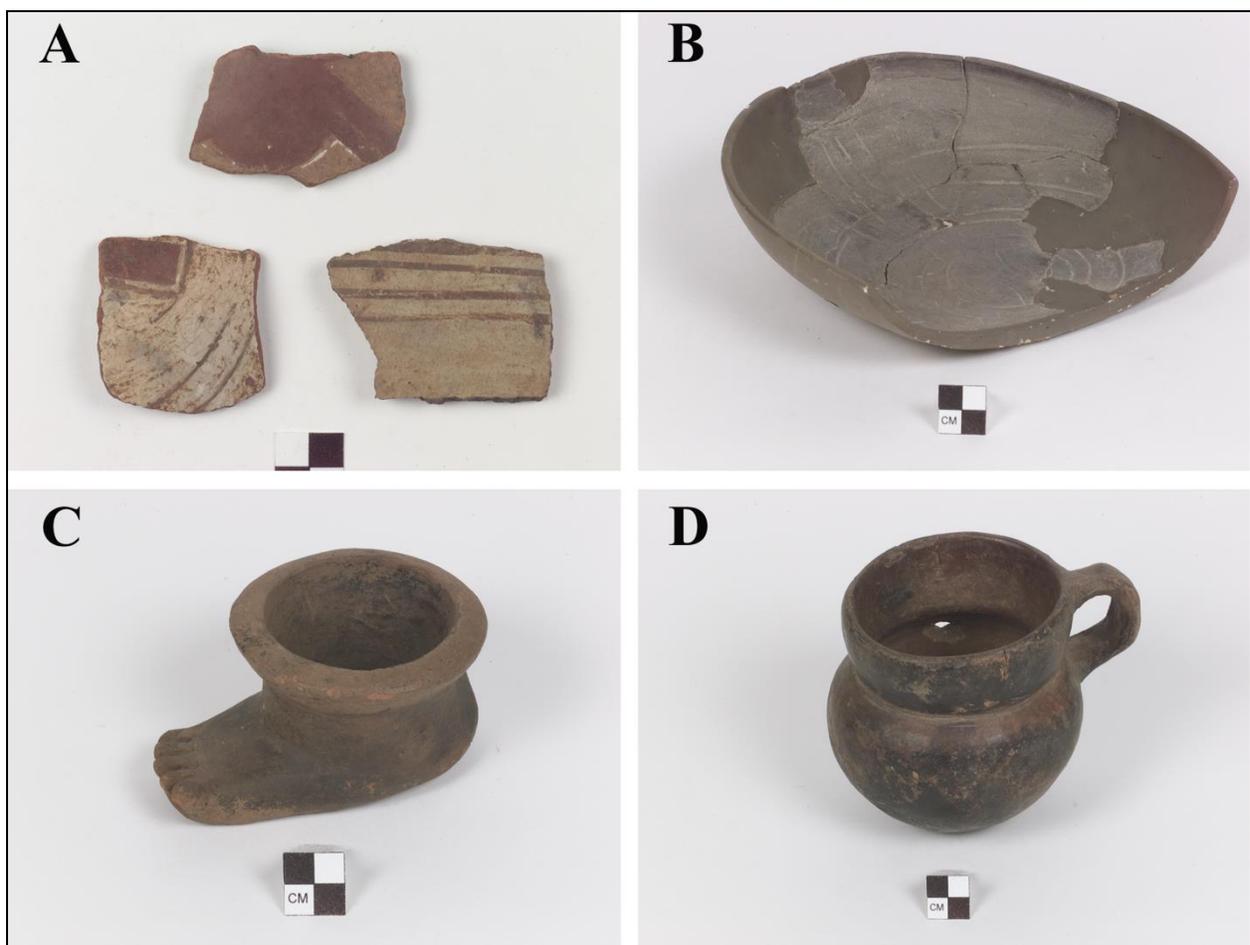


Figure 20. Examples of ceramics obtained by de Booy at Isla Margarita. (National Museum of the American Indian, Cat. Nos.: A: 043257; B: 043269; C: 043266; D: 043282).



Figure 21. Examples of stone shell artifacts obtained by de Booy at Isla Margarita. (National Museum of the American Indian, Cat. Nos.: A: 043204, stone axe; B: 043242, shell celts; C: 043326, stone projectile point; D: 043218, unknown stone objects).

The report provides maps of the island and the region of San Jose Paraguachi, to show the general location of the nearby clusters of shell middens. In general, however, in this report de Booy offers less detail about the methodology, the excavations, and the sites than in previous publications.

Trinidad (de Booy 1918d)

After finishing his work on Margarita, de Booy visited Trinidad from May to September of 1915. The purpose of this project was to confirm that two collections obtained by MAI from this

island, which differed greatly from each other, actually represented two different cultures. The first collection was acquired by Fewkes, who in 1912 excavated a shell midden in Erin Bay on the south coast. The second was a small sample obtained by Huckerby, who conducted a limited reconnaissance and excavations on Cape Mayaro on the east coast. Since the latter collection was relatively small, de Booy concentrated his expedition on that region and its surroundings, focusing mostly on the same site where Huckerby had worked, the Saint Bernard Estate. Based on the photographs, it seems that he opened two

trenches (Fig. 22). In his report, de Booy described the stratigraphy as starting with a relatively recent “diluvial deposit,” without significant amount of archaeological remains, overlying a series of alternating shell and ash layers. The number of these latter layers varied with the depth of the deposit. No other details were given besides

the fact that at times the deposit depth reached seven feet. The great majority of the artifacts were found in the ash layers, while the shell strata “...were not mixed with soil and were comparatively clean” (de Booy 1918d: 32). Altogether, de Booy was able to recover artifacts, faunal remains, a sample of pitch (tar), and charcoal.

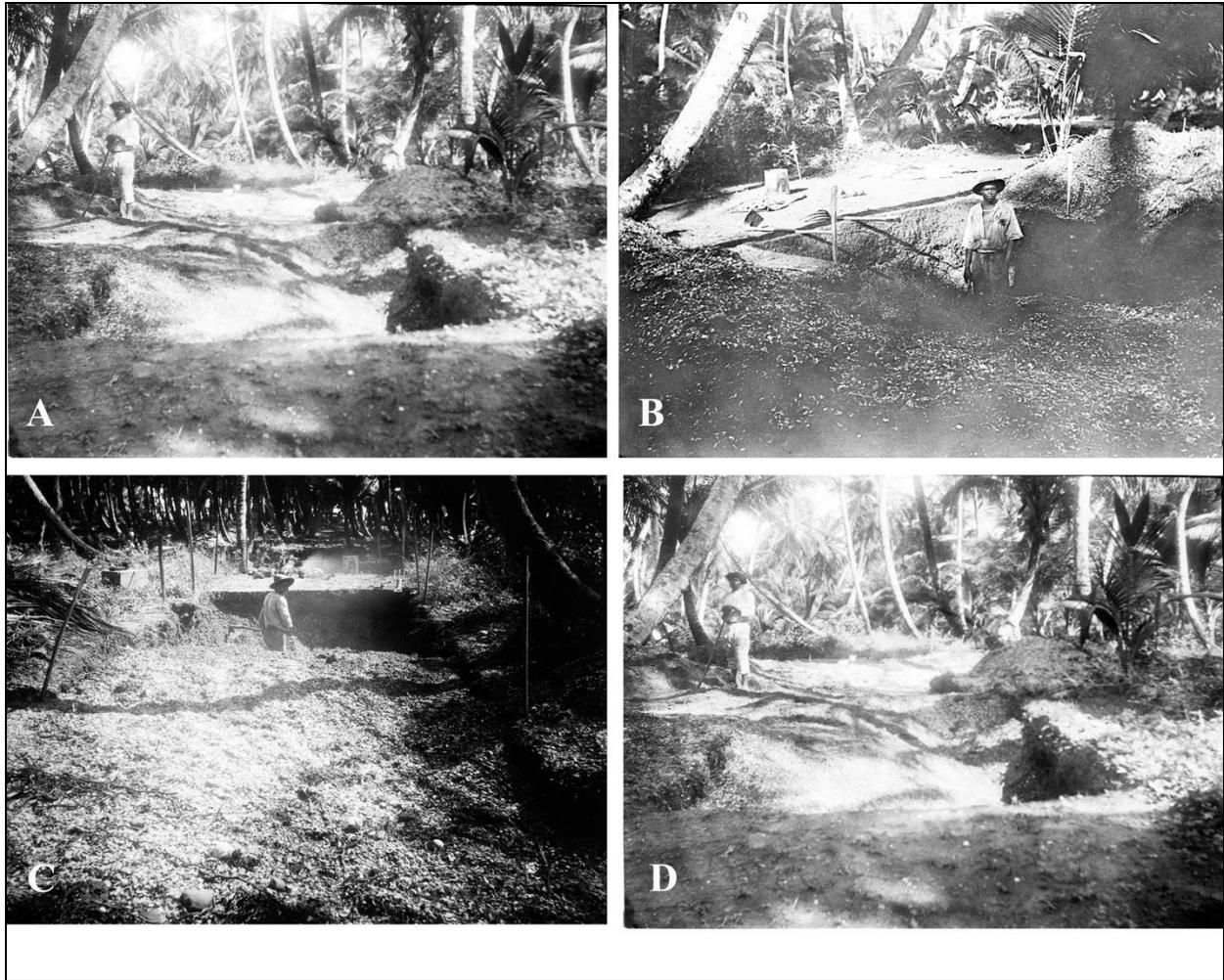


Figure 22. Photographs of de Booy’s excavations at the Saint Bernard Estate, Trinidad A and B: views of No. 1 trench; C and D: views of No. 2 trench (National Museum of the American Indian Cat. Nos. A: N04585; B: N04604; C: N04587; D: N04601).

While a few other sites were surveyed along the eastern coast, only one was deep enough for excavation, the Cocal site, on top of an isolated hill. However, despite the presence of surface materials and

the apparent man-made nature of the hill, the excavations did not provide a single ceramic fragment and produced only three hammerstones and two pieces of rock-crystal. For unknown reasons, none of these objects



Figure 23. Examples of ceramics obtained by de Booy at Saint Bernard Estate, Trinidad (National Museum of the American Indian, Cat. Nos.: A: 046116; B: 046114; A: 46238; B: 46226; C: 046245; D: 046139; E: 046221; F: 039215).

made it to NMAI's collections. A few pieces from the Erin Bay middens on the southern coast are present in the collection, even though the publication does not mention any

visit to that region. It is unclear how de Booy acquired these last objects.

The collections in NMAI for this expedition consist of 2,331 objects

distributed in 151 catalog numbers proceeding from only two sites: 147 records from the Saint Bernard kitchen-middens and four from the Erin Bay middens. The Saint Bernard material is composed mostly of ceramics (Fig. 23) and stone artifacts, although shell artifacts, a small green stone bat-like pectoral (Fig. 24), faunal remains, and a sample of pitch or tar are also present. The pottery represents mostly the Cedrosan Saladoid. The majority of the ceramics consists of shallow, open bowls. Other forms of ceramic objects present are pot-stands and some small vessels. Stone tools are mostly axes, hammer-stones and grinding-stones. The entries for the Erin Bay

objects total 15 ceramic fragments, belonging to the Cedrosan Saladoid with Barrancoid Influence subseries and the Troumassoid series. The collections also include 27 photographs of objects, 12 archaeological photographs, and other photographs of people and of various landscapes of Trinidad. Two of the photos included in the publications are not in NMAI's archives.

Again, de Booy did not provide any final conclusion and, interestingly, he did not deliver an answer on the main research question on the presence of one or two cultures in Trinidad.



Figure 24. Examples of other artifacts excavated by de Booy at Saint Bernard Estate. (National Museum of the American Indian, Cat. Nos.: A: 046176, greenstone pendant; B: 046172, groundstones; C: 046182, shell celt; D: 046179, bone awls/perforators).

Puerto Rico 1916 (Curet 2018)

According to several published and archival sources, de Booy visited Puerto Rico and Martinique during his trip to Dominican Republic in 1916. Unfortunately, very little information is available on this expedition since he never published his finds. References to this expedition are few and insubstantial. Some details of this visit and the collection catalog and archival photographs are published elsewhere (Curet

2018), and only a summary is presented here.

The efforts of this expedition concentrated along the southwestern coast of Puerto Rico, where de Booy visited at least three coastal sites: Joyuda, Punta Ostiones, and Hacienda Belvedere. Judging from the photographs, it seems that the only excavations conducted in the region were one or two narrow trenches at the site of Joyuda (Fig. 25).

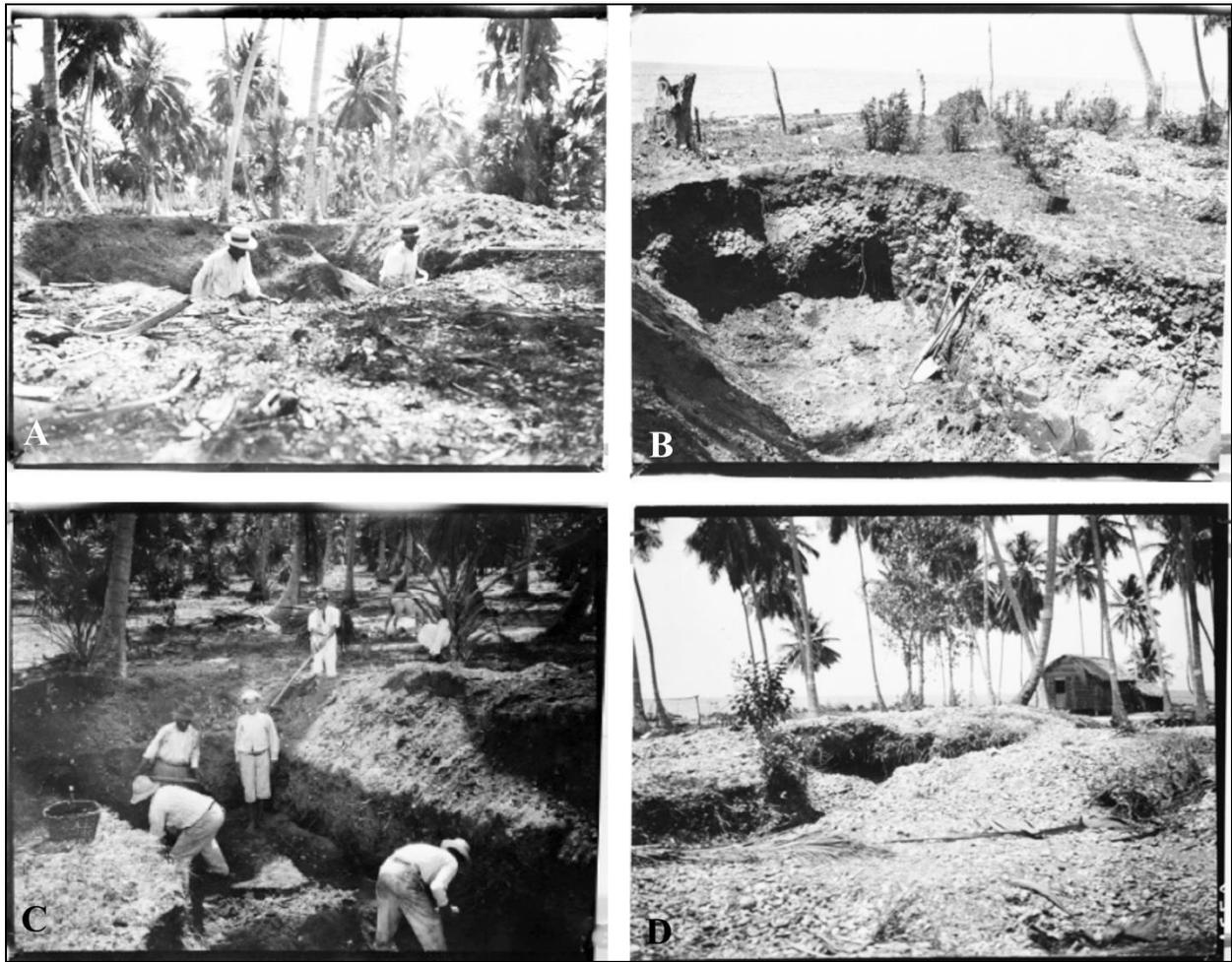


Figure 25. Photographs of de Booy's work in western Puerto Rico. A, B and C: excavations at the site of Joyuda; D: view of the Punta Ostiones site (National Museum of the American Indian Cat. Nos. A: N04737; B: N04724; C: N04736; D: N04721).

Of the 847 objects collected by de Booy, 791 came from Joyuda, 49 from Punta Ostiones, and eight from Hacienda

Belvedere. The overwhelming majority of the pottery collection (Fig. 26) belongs to the Ostonian Ostonoid subseries, but some

Chican Ostionoid pottery is also found. The pottery collection is composed mostly of rim sherds of different ceramic forms including bowls, griddles, plates, ceramic stamps, and *adornos* or modeled handles. Also present are stone tools, shell celts, coral abraders, and samples of faunal remains. Of special interest are the five whole and 17 fragments of ceramic stamps with incised designs belonging to the Modified Ostiones style. Unfortunately, without any kind of report, it is difficult to know de Booy's interpretation

of this material. However, in his publication on the Virgin Islands (see below) he criticized Fewkes' (1914) claims that these islands and Puerto Rico shared a common style of material culture because his (de Booy's) studies on these locations showed marked differences. Of course, now we know that the assemblages from eastern Puerto Rico are similar to the ones of the Virgin Islands, but not those from the western part of the island, where de Booy excavated.

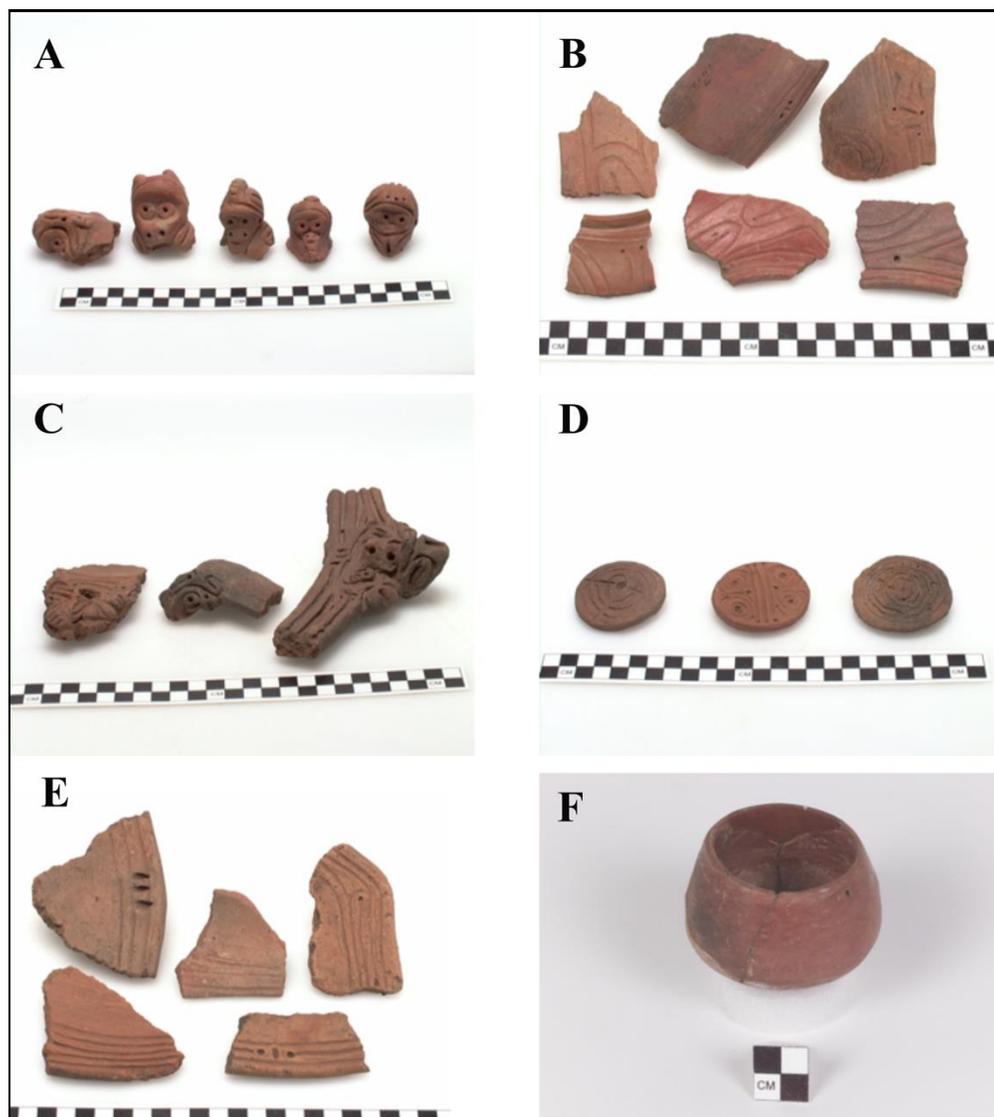


Figure 26. Examples of pottery collection obtained by de Booy during his visit to Puerto Rico (National Museum of the American Indian, Cat. Nos.: A: 072071; B: 072072; C: 072070; D: 072079; E: 072067; F: 072052).

Of de Booy's 71 photos on Puerto Rico in NMAI's Archive Center, 27 portray archaeological excavations or sites. The rest include a few images from Old San Juan and the remainder from the western part of the island. The descriptions and information on these images in NMAI's catalog tend to be non-descriptive or non-specific. Although de Booy never published a report on this expedition, some of the photos were published in unrelated articles (de Booy 1918b; 1918f: 13). No reference was made to his archaeological work in any of these articles, but some of the figure captions provided some information, such as those in an article on the Panama hat industry of western Puerto Rico (de Booy 1918e). All of the images in those publications are present in the NMAI's archives.

Martinique (unpublished)

If little information is available on de Booy's work in Puerto Rico, even less is known about his visit to Martinique. The only written record about this last visit is a short article he wrote in French for the *French Bulletin* on the birthplace of the Empress Josephine, which was later translated and published in English (de Booy 1917). The collections have only eight objects from this expedition, seven celts and one sherd with a perforation. There are also 16 photographs, none of them archaeological in nature and mostly picturing his trip to the estate of Josephine's family. Based on the small size of the collection he obtained here and the lack of any archaeological photograph, it is clear that he did not conduct any excavations or reconnaissance in Martinique.

Virgin Islands (de Booy 1917a, 1917b, 1917c, 1917d, 1919b)

The then Danish West Indies and today the U.S. Virgin Islands was the destination of de Booy's longest and last

archaeological expedition to the Caribbean. He arrived with his wife and children a few days after the hurricane of October 9, 1916 had devastated the region and only months away from the transfer of the islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John to the United States as part of a purchase agreement with Denmark. It is clear that his expedition was somewhat motivated by this event of historical significance. Notwithstanding some possible excavations by local collectors or looters, de Booy's work was the first archaeological research in all of the Virgin Islands, including the British possessions. This expedition produced an extensive essay published by MAI (de Booy 1919b) and two short articles in *Scientific American Supplements* (de Booy 1917c, 1917d). De Booy also published with John T. Faris an extensive, geography-oriented book describing the new U.S. possessions (de Booy and Faris 1918).

The archaeological aspect of the expedition concentrated on investigating sites in the three Danish islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John, in that order. However, on St. Thomas, de Booy found very quickly that finding sites in these islands was more challenging than in other places he had worked before. His traditional method of interviewing local collectors and rural people to find the location of sites did not produce any leads. No one was able to provide information until he decided instead to ask for the locations of shell heaps (i.e., shell middens) and even then he came up with only one indication, the Archaic site of Krum Bay. However, after excavating it he concluded that, because of the complete absence of artifacts, the site was visited by Indians only "...to open the shells in the vicinity of the place where they were gathered" (de Booy 1919: 33). It was then that he decided to use his knowledge of the settlement patterns and environmental conditions common among archaeological

sites he had studied to narrow down areas to survey. Using this knowledge as a guide and after investigating several bays on St. Thomas he discovered the site of Magens Bay on the northern coast where he conducted extensive excavations. Later, he moved on to St. Croix, where he visited and excavated intensively the site of Salt River on the northern coast. Finally, he visited Reef Bay on St. John as well as Congo Cay where he reported several rock art panels.

Interestingly, de Booy begins his discussion of these islands by comparing them with each other and with Puerto Rico in a section he titled “Primitive Culture –

Inter-Insular Communication” (de Booy 1919: 19). It is here where he states his disagreement with Fewkes’ (1914) conclusions that St. Thomas and St. Croix shared cultural traits with Puerto Rico. Instead, de Booy believed that they were different and that the few objects (such as stone collars) found in the Virgin Islands were probably obtained from raids. He continued this discussion on inter-island interaction to include “bartering and peaceful intercourse” between St. Thomas and St. Croix and other islands as far south as Trinidad.



Figure 27. Photographs of de Booy’s work in Magen’s Bay, St. Thomas. A (National Museum of the American Indian Cat. Nos. A: N04167; B: N04285; C: N04168; D: N04192).

The collections from this site at NMAI include 1809 objects in 201 catalog numbers. Objects (Fig. 29) include few ground stones, at least two lithics, one three-pointed made of coral, one possible fragment of a bone spatula, and the distinctive, detailed, anthropomorphic, vomiting spatula. The latter two are probably made of manatee bones. The great majority of them are pottery (Fig. 29) including more than 20 complete or quasi-complete vessels.

Decorations include adornos, incised designs, black and red painting, red slip, and some possible negative-resist. Most of these belong to the Elenan Ostionoid subseries, but some Saladoid and Chican Ostionoid examples are also present. NMAI archives also have also 131 photographs of the island of St. Thomas, Charlotte Amalie, the countryside, and of the excavations at Magens Bay. Of these, at least 29 are images related to the archaeological excavations.

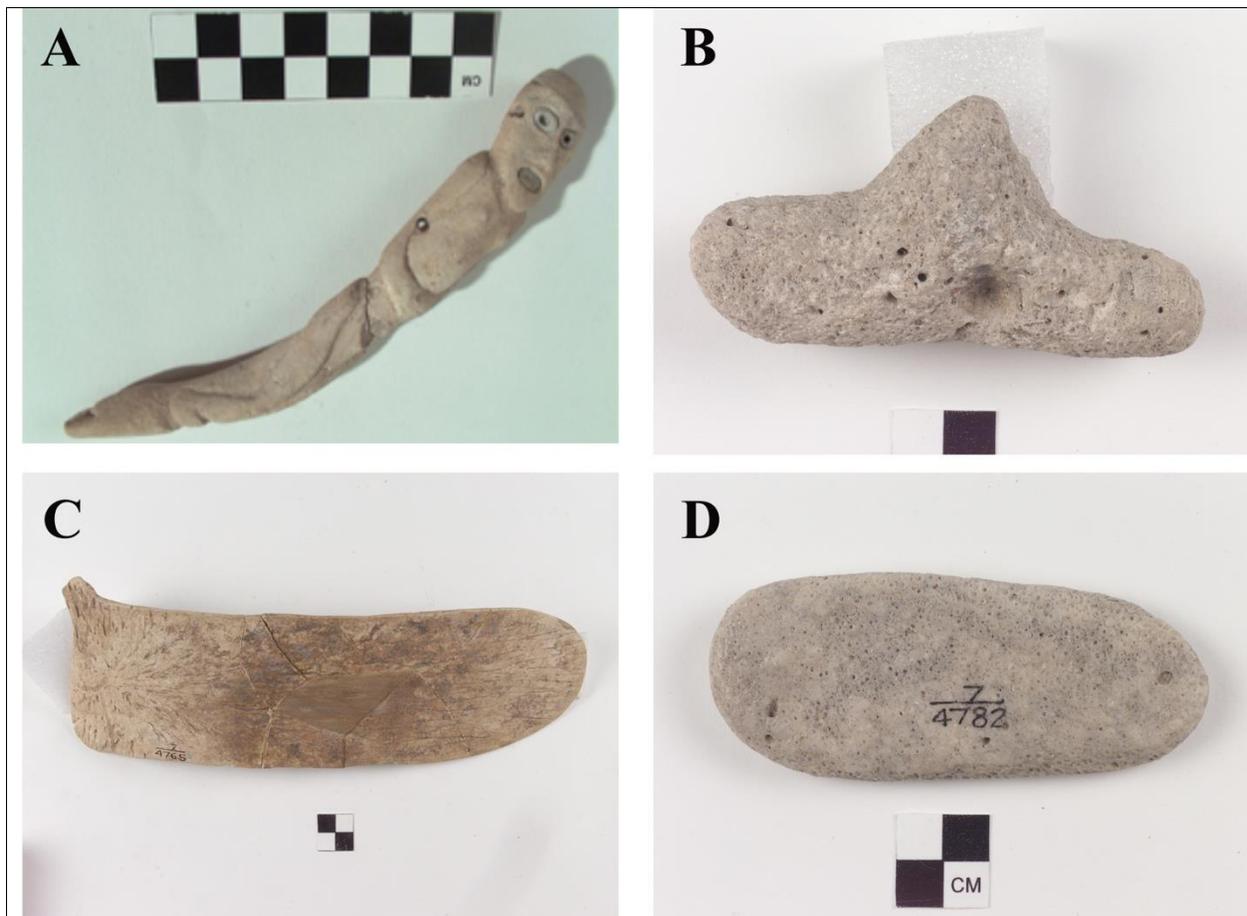


Figure 28. Examples of other artifacts excavated by de Booy at Magen's Bay, St. Thomas. (National Museum of the American Indian, Cat. Nos.: A: 061374, manatee-bone vomitic spatula ; B: 074780; coral three-pointed; C: 074765, bone spatula; D: 074782, stone abrader).

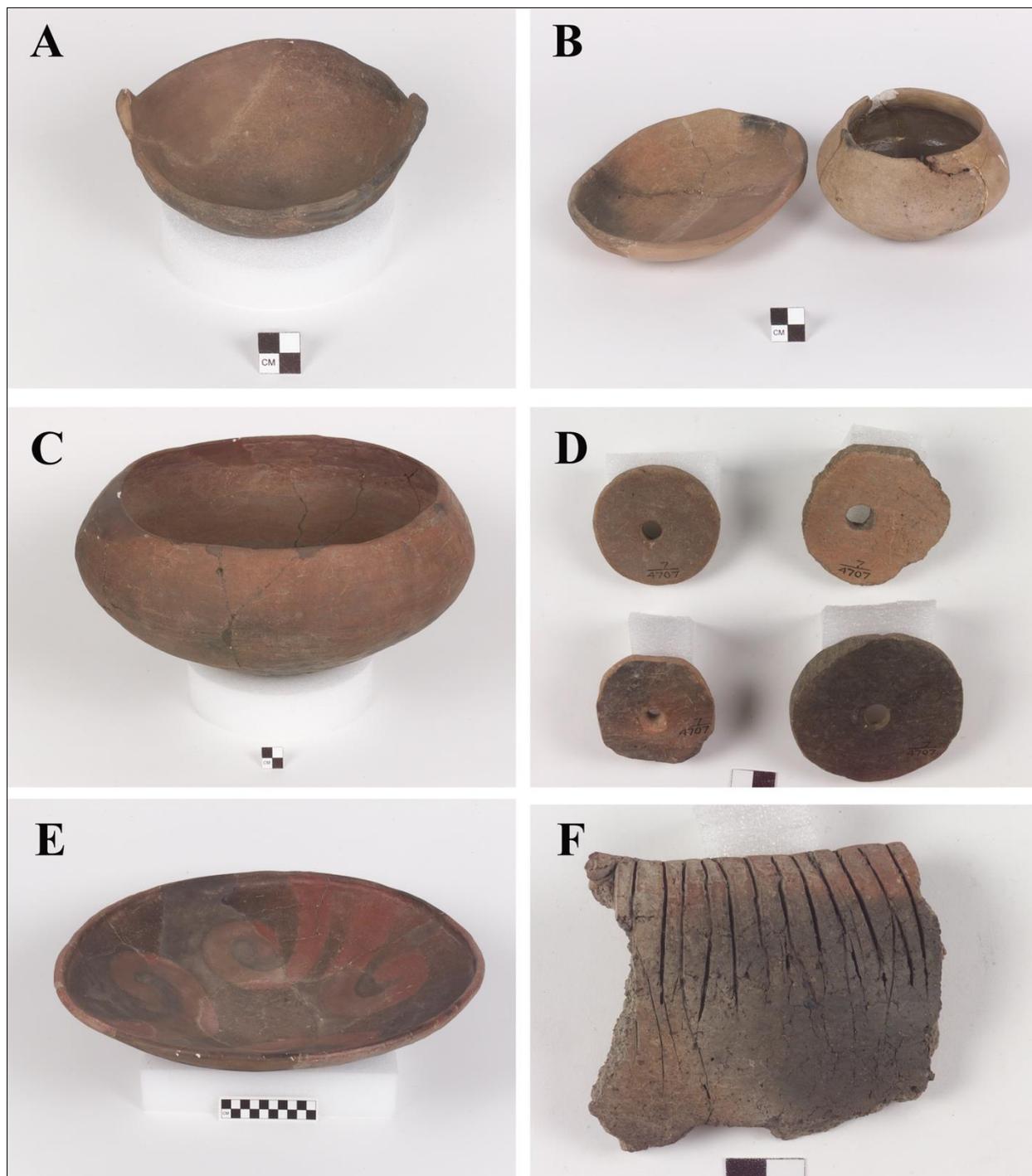


Figure 29. Examples of pottery collection obtained by de Booy in Magen's Bay, St. Thomas (National Museum of the American Indian, Cat. Nos.: A: 074745; B: 074714.003; C: 074636; D: 074707; E: 074643; F: 074654).

St. Croix: The Salt River Site (Fig. 30). After Magens Bay, de Booy moved to St. Croix, where he was able to excavate the now well-known site of Salt River on the northern coast of the island. The excavation consisted of one trench oriented north-south on a ridge and measuring 120 ft. (36.6 m) long, 24 ft. (7.3 m) wide, and 5 ft. (1.5 m) high. From some of the photographs (e.g., see Fig. 33a), this unit seems to have been relatively close to the shore. Two strata are described, a top one composed of “diluvial deposits” 1-2.5 ft. thick and a second one

“...two and a half feet thick, of the usual charcoal, ashes, potsherds, and stone objects, forming a compact mass with the original soil” (de Booy 1917a: 43-44). Most of the discussion in the report concentrates on describing and listing the fauna species identified by specialists including invertebrates, mammals, turtles, birds, and fish. De Booy also reports the discovery of burials, most of them accompanied by ceramic vessels. However, no total number is mentioned.



Figure 30. Photographs of de Booy’s work in Salt River, St. Croix. A (National Museum of the American Indian Cat. Nos. A: N04495; B: N04502; C: N04491; D: N04498).

Collections from these excavations consist of at least 706 objects in 120 catalog records. The great majority are pottery, including at least nine complete or almost complete vessels (Fig. 31), in addition to a coral three-pointer and stone, coral, and shell tools (Fig. 32). Samples of vertebrate and invertebrate faunal remains are also

present. Based on the pottery, the assemblage seems to be characterized mostly by early Elenan Ostionoid, although some Saladoid, late Elenan, and Chican examples are also present. The collections include 21 photos of St. Croix, 13 of them of the excavation at Salt River and eight of rural, coastal, and urban scenes.

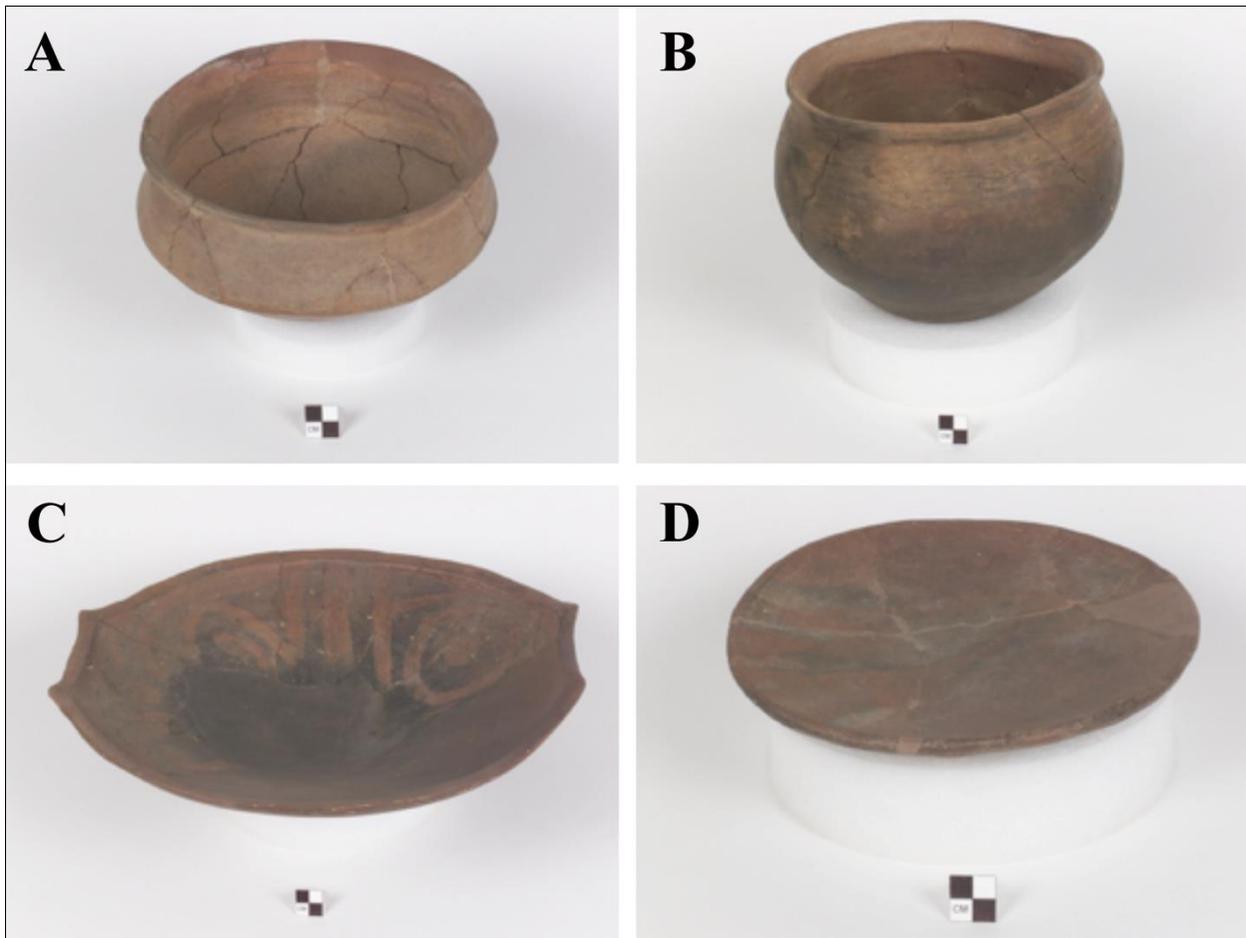


Figure 31. Examples of pottery collection obtained by de Booy in Salt River, St. Croix (National Museum of the American Indian, Cat. Nos.: A: 073314; B: 074642; C: 073389; D: 073305).

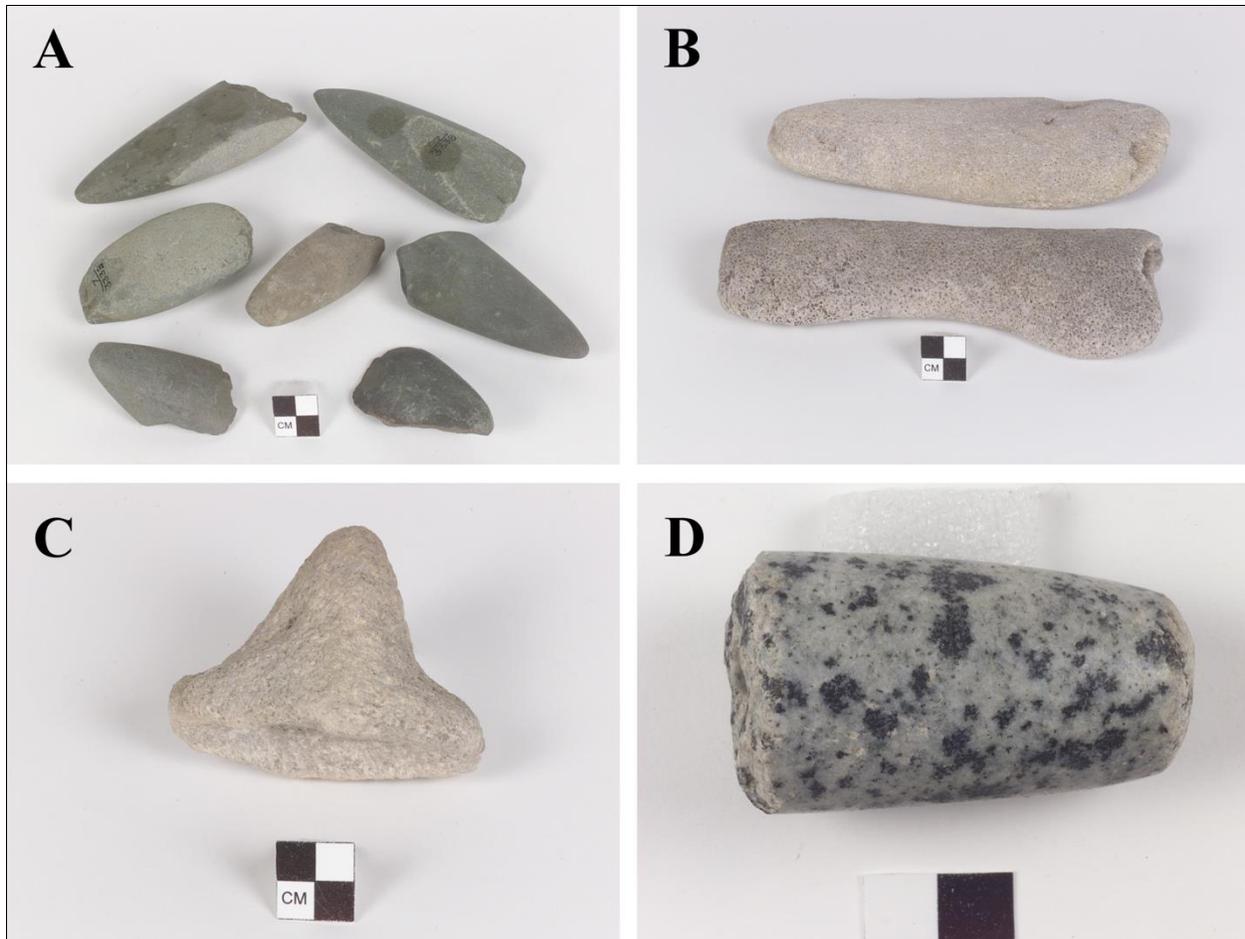


Figure 32. Examples of other artifacts excavated by de Booy at Salt River, St. Croix. (National Museum of the American Indian, Cat. Nos.: A: 073338, stone axes; B: 073331, coral hammer/grinding tools; C: 073330, coral three-pointer; D: 073336, stone bead).

St. John: Reef Bay and Congo Cay sites. De Booy does not seem to have conducted excavations on the island of St. John. Instead he visited two rock art sites. The first and most impressive one consists of the panels found in Reef Bay on the southern coast of the island. Most of the petroglyphs seem to be human faces, some of them sophisticated, although geometric designs are also present. But, what makes this site stunning is the location. The panels are carved on rocks located on a step at the bottom of a waterfall and on the edge of a pool, where the images on the rock are reflected on the pool, thus creating an upside-down, mirror-image of the carvings

(Figs. 33a and b). There is little doubt that the presence of the pool and waterfall the location at the edge between the pool were key factors in the selection of this setting for the petroglyphs. The second rock art site visited by de Booy was on Congo Cay (Figs. 33c and 33d), located between St. John and St. Thomas. Here the petroglyphs are fewer and much simpler in design than the ones at Reef Bay. While de Booy does not mention any evidence for other sites near the rock art of Reef Bay and Congo Cay, he found a depression on the rocky surface of Lovango Cay (near Congo Cay) that he interpreted as a mortar for pounding salt used for processing fish.

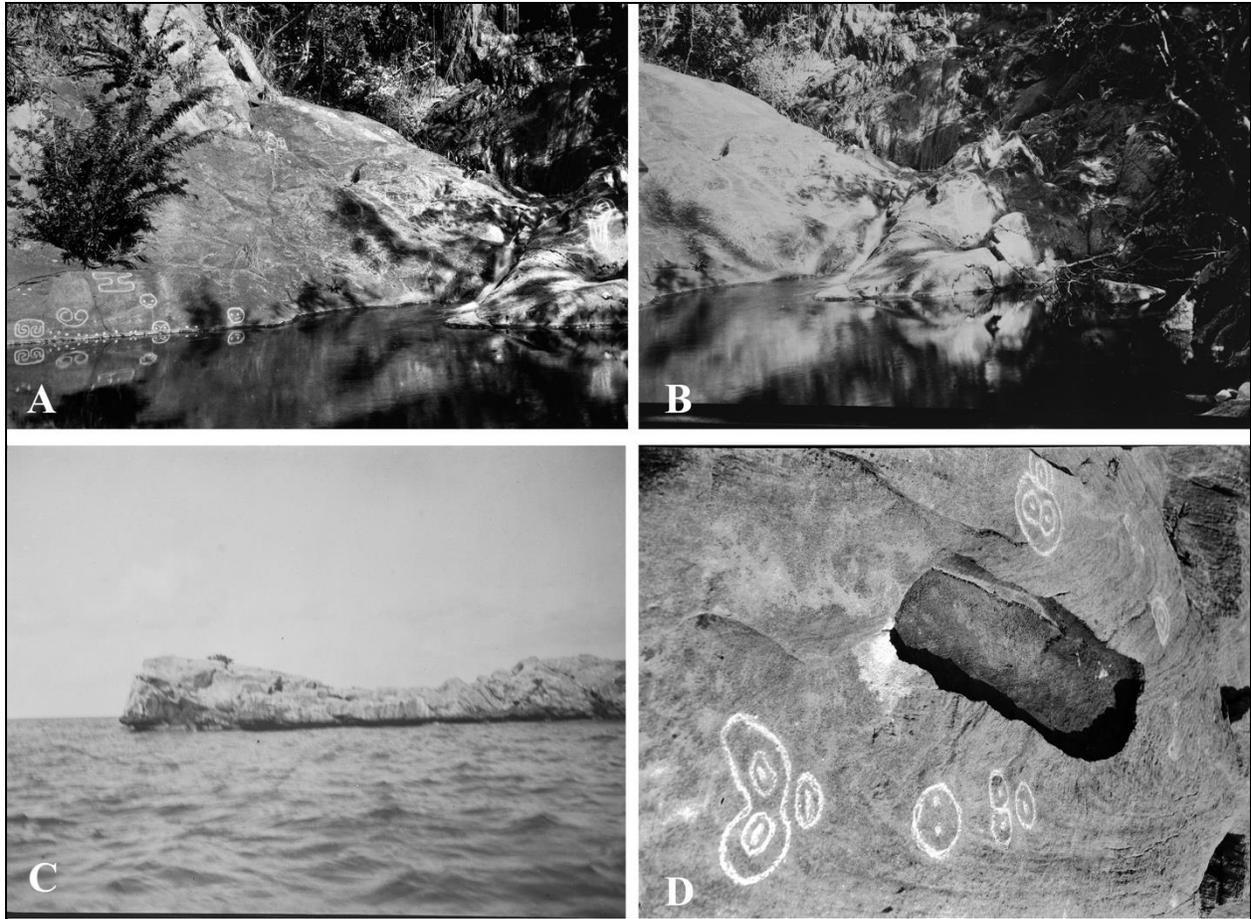


Figure 33. Photographs of de Booy's work in Reef Bay (A and B) and Congo Cay (C and D) (National Museum of the American Indian Cat. Nos. A: N04548; B: N04549; C: N04560; D: N04550).

NMAI's collections house very few artifacts from St. John: 31 fragments of pottery from the site of Old Oven Hill on the southern coast of the island and 13 petaloid stone celts from undetermined sites. However, it does not seem that these objects were excavated by de Booy; instead they may have been purchased from or donated by local collectors. The photographic collections include 67 images; about 10 photographs of the petroglyphs and the rest of various urban, rural, and coastal scenes. The impacts caused by the hurricane of October 1916 are visible in some of the images.

De Booy ends the publication with a description of many of the objects collected during the expedition to the Virgin Islands. These include many whole or almost complete vessels, adornos, handles, spindle whorls, three-pointers, and a pestle made of coral, a stone axe, a stone collar from St. Croix donated by Hamilton Jackson, and the two vomit spatulas made of manatee bone mentioned above.

Discussion and Conclusions

In order to understand the efforts of MAI and de Booy to study, record, and collect archaeological objects from the Caribbean it is necessary to place them in

their historical context. While some cases of travelers and people interested in the ancient Caribbean are reported for the 18th and the early 19th centuries, the works that had the most significance and impact on Caribbean archaeology took place shortly after the end of the Spanish-Cuban-American War (Curet 2011). These projects were led by American and European scholars who came to the islands representing different institutions, such as museums, universities, or scientific academies. To be clear, however, these practices were part of the early, global history of western traditions of archaeology and museums, when scientific expeditions were sent by institutions to explore regions of the world little known to Europeans and North Americans.

While the origin of museums can be traced to the early antiquarians of the 1700s and 1800s, museums as institutions developed from an interest (mostly among the elite) in knowledge and science (Findlen 1994; Trigger 2009). They were highly influenced by the “knowledge for the sake of knowledge” ideas that prevailed among the scholarly circles in Europe and the U.S. Some of the tendencies within this perspective fell more into the model of the humanities aiming for the ideals of the Enlightenment of the Age of Reason prevalent among the elite of this period. A sign of being cultivated was to be educated in multiple areas of knowledge. It was even better to own exotic objects associated with that knowledge (e.g. hunting trophies, “tribal” objects, exotic plants). One aspect of this tendency focused more specifically on the sciences, with a strong interest on zoology, botany, geology, and anthropology/archaeology that led to the establishment of natural history and anthropology museums (Batz 1996). In short, the focus was mostly on the “uncivilized” or “non-domesticated” world. In human terms, other cultures were seen as

uncivilized, savage, wild, and as non-domesticated; non-Westerners were considered less human or less developed both physically and culturally. In other words, they were the “others.”

Similarly, the origin of archaeology can be traced to the early antiquarians, and its growth and early development happened within the same humanistic, “intellectual” tendencies mentioned above (Trigger 2009). Many of the works of early archaeologists had these biases and were heavily influenced by the ideas of cultural evolution. For example, in some instances Caribbean Indians were placed within the Stone Age of a “universal” evolutionary scheme developed by European thinkers (Trigger 2009). This approach supported a perspective wherein the indigenous peoples of the Americas were seen as frozen in earlier cultural evolutionary stages and were considered to belong to a past disconnected from the history of the people inhabiting the American continents today. For many of these scholars, their own past was in Europe, unrelated to the indigenous people they were studying.

In the case of the Caribbean, however, these “academic” trends were catalyzed in great part by the economic and military interest that the American government and companies were taking in the region. For example, shortly after the end of the Spanish-Cuban-American war in 1898, the U.S. began fortifying the passages between islands, beginning with Guantanamo in eastern Cuba and expanding it to later acquisitions. Also, American companies and banks began acquiring and building major investments in the sugar industry of Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, and Cuba. This control over the Caribbean became a priority when the U.S. took over the construction of the Panama Canal in 1904 and the security of the

passages between islands became more critical to ensure the free flow of commodities once ships had traversed the canal (Baatz 1996: 1). The U.S. continued gaining a stronger grip on the region during WWI, as when, for example, the interests of German banks, an economic powerhouse in the Caribbean (and Latin America) before the war, began to be confiscated and sold to American banks and companies (García Muñiz 2013: Ch. 4 and 362-ff.; Leubke 1974). It was also around this time that the U.S. began negotiations that led to the purchase of the Danish West Indies in 1917. Moreover, the U.S. began to get more involved in the internal politics of other islands and countries, particularly the ones that had already gained independence from other European powers. Perhaps, the best examples of this are the intervention in and the occupation of Dominican Republic, which spanned from 1916 to 1924 and that, eventually, led to the brutal presidency of Rafael Trujillo, and the U.S. occupation of Haiti from July 1915 to August 1934.

The publicity of many of these events, the surge of U.S. investments in the region, and the increase of the American population (military and business people) in some of the islands were probably factors that increased the exposure of the Caribbean to Americans and that motivated many U.S. academics to pursue studies in the region, especially in places that the U.S. had secured through political or military intervention. Museums, universities, and scientific organizations sent research expeditions and developed programs focusing on the Caribbean. Some of them lasted for decades, such as the Scientific Survey of Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands, which was sponsored by the New York Academy of Sciences from 1913 to 1934, although its publication continued for almost 25 years more (see various articles in Figueroa Colón ([ed.] 1996). Interestingly,

however, with the exceptions of the Bureau of American Ethnology and the Smithsonian (Fewkes 1904, 1907; Krieger 1929, 1931a, 1931b, 1932, 1933), the archaeological and anthropological expeditions tended to be sponsored and supported by private organizations (e.g. MAI, American Museum of Natural History, Yale University, and Columbia University) and not by the U.S. government.

It was during this early age of museums and archaeology and under the international political climate produced by an increase of American interest in the Caribbean that MAI and, by association, de Booy began their work in the region. Both the photographs and the objects selected for the collections not only are a testament to the practices of the early days of archaeology but also reflect the local and regional economic, social, political, and military conditions.

In terms of the early history of archaeology, these collections present excellent examples of the practices of the disciplines especially since reports and publications included little details of methodology. Among other things, the photographs speak volumes on the underdeveloped field practices of using hoes and shovels as the only tools and the lack of any indication of horizontal or vertical control. The approach of the methodology (or lack of it) emphasized more the recovery of objects than their contexts. While some attention was given to stratigraphy, as indicated by some photographs of excavation profiles, this interest did not influence the excavation techniques whereby materials recovered at various depths were not kept separate. This is also demonstrated by the absence of detailed contextual data in MAI's collection catalog. The interest placed on large pieces or whole artifacts is evidenced by the absence of screens, the selective process of collecting, and the

underrepresentation of faunal remains in the collections when large amounts of at least shells are observable in the excavation photographs.

Despite the many paradigmatic and methodological problems with expeditions such as de Booy's, the data and objects collected remain useful to modern archaeological research. For example, most of these early projects were conducted at a time when most of the sites had not been impacted by development, natural formation processes, collectors, looters, or even other archaeologists and thus retained more reliable integrity. Maps, photographs, writings, and, in some cases, films are helpful sources for archaeologists to reconstruct some aspects of sites that no longer exist. The site of Punta Ostiones in Puerto Rico is a case of how such early studies are useful today. By 1916-1919 this site had been excavated by at least three archaeologists (i.e., Spinden, Lothrop, and de Hostos) and a number of Puerto Rican collectors, and the degree of impact was so high that by the 1930s Rainey claimed that he could not find any untouched area to excavate. Although de Booy did not excavate this site, his photographs of Punta Ostiones include two things. First, they present general views of the condition of the site in the early 20th century, a useful visual record of its pre-modern condition. Second, it also includes views of older trenches already visible on the surface in 1916, which show the size of the traditional trenches of the time and the magnitude of their impact on the general landscape of sites.

Additionally, collections obtained from these projects are useful for many purposes. Despite the absence of detailed contextual information, these collections are valuable for a myriad of investigations ranging from stylistic studies to sourcing of artifacts to the characterization of sites and regions. Excellent Caribbean examples of

the research potential of many of these early collections include Ostapkowicz's work on wood and other perishable materials (Ostapkowicz et al. 2012; Ostapkowicz and Newsom 2012), Knight's on-going stylistic study of small stone figures, and Rouse's consultation of collections held by MAI's, the American Museum of Natural History, and the Peabody Museum-Harvard's early in his career (Rouse 1952). Unfortunately, these examples tend to be in the minority. The reality is that most museum collections around the world are grossly underused.

Besides collecting archaeological objects and information, many of the early archaeologists also documented various aspects of the local populations. Although many times this was done from the perspective of recording the "other," photos, journals, letters, and even objects collected by these expeditions can contribute to the reconstruction and understanding of Caribbean societies in the first half of the 20th century. Importantly, in the majority of the cases these early researchers left a record that included the lower and rural working classes (or, in some cases, the underclass) of the islands, who were normally not considered by the local scholars (mostly composed of urbanites of the elite class) of the time. The people and their life-styles included in these records ranged from fishermen and farmers to craftsmen, itinerant salesmen, and sailors. These early researchers have left us a considerable body of information (written and visual) useful to anthropologists and historians to better understand the recent past, and the metamorphoses they underwent since the early 20th century. In the case of de Booy's work, three examples stand out. The first is the photographs mentioned above showing the damages produced by the 1916 hurricane in the Virgin Islands. The second is the historical photographs of U.S. marines, sailors, and ships stationed in the capital of

Santo Domingo, which offer graphic documentation of the early stages of the U.S. occupation of the Dominican Republic. These photos probably were taken by de Booy during his last expedition to the Dominican Republic in 1916, the same year as the occupation. A third example is the images related to the booming Panama hat industry in western Puerto Rico (see Curet 1918).

Summarizing, despite the lack of professional documentation (i.e., field notes or detailed reports) for de Booy's expeditions, the photographs, collections, and passages in a few of his publications provide enough helpful hints to reconstruct some details of his work. In retrospect, notwithstanding the many issues with his

projects and their colonial origin, the resulting photographic and artifact collections are useful resources that are underestimated and under-used by many researchers. This is true not only for de Booy's collections, but also for the great majority of museum collections throughout the world. There is a general tendency in the discipline of archaeology reflecting a bias favoring excavations over the study of existing collections. This leads to the accumulation of even more collections that end up gathering dust in museums or repositories and that will not be restudied as long as researchers routinely head to the field, even when the answers to their questions may lie in a museum.

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End Notes

¹ He also tried to visit Fish Cay of the Ambergris Cays group, but was unsuccessful because strong currents and high seas did not allow him to land.

² NMAI's collections include objects from some of the sites that supposedly he could not visit and other sites not mentioned in his report. These could have been donated or sold by local collectors or perhaps he may have conducted short visits to some of them.

³ We now know that the archaeological assemblages in Jamaica are dominated by Meillacan pottery, while the regions that de Booy studied in Cuba and Hispaniola had mostly Chican pottery and in Puerto Rico Ostionan and Chican ceramics. He never excavated in the Meillacan regions of Cuba and Dominican Republic.

⁴ Amazingly, the lists of artifacts include some details such as the mound number and date of excavation.

⁵ Actually, de Booy visited Cuba on a fourth occasion sometime between June and July 1917, but this time as an agent of the Office of Naval Intelligence. It is not clear, however, if he visited this island using the disguise of an archaeological expedition as his cover.